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HISTORY

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OF THE

CHURCH,

From Our LORD'S Incarnation, to the Twelfth Year of the Emperour MAURICIUS TIBERIUS or the Year of CHRIST 594. As it was written in Greek, by EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS Bishop of *Cæsaria* in *Palestine*; SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS Native of *Constantinople*; and EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS born at *Epiphania* in *Syria Secunda*.

Made *English* from that Edition of these Historians, which VALESIUS published at *Paris* in the Years 1659, 1668, and 1673.

Also,

The LIFE of CONSTANTINE in Four Books, Written by EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS; with CONSTANTINE'S ORATION to the CONVENTION OF THE SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS'S Speech in Praise of CONSTANTINE, Spoken at His TRICENNALIA.

VALESIUS'S Annotations on these Authors, are done into *English*, and set at their proper places in the Margin; as likewise a Translation of His Account of their Lives and Writings.

With Two Index's; the one, of the Principal Matters that occur in the Text; the other, of those contained in the notes.

Ἡ γὰρ περὶ τούτων [τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησίας γενομένων] γνῶσις, καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ εὐκλεισν φέρει. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἐπισάμενον ἀσφαλέσερον ἀπεργάζεται. διιδάσης δὲ μὴ σαλεύεσθαι, πενοφωνίας τινὸς ἐμπεσούσης ἐκλέξεων. Socrat. Eccles. Histor. Lib. 1. Cap. 18.

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed by *John Hayes*, Printer to the University; For *Nathaniel Rolls*, at his Auction-House in *Petty-Canons*, near the North-end of St. *Paul's* Church-yard; and are to be Sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster* 1692.

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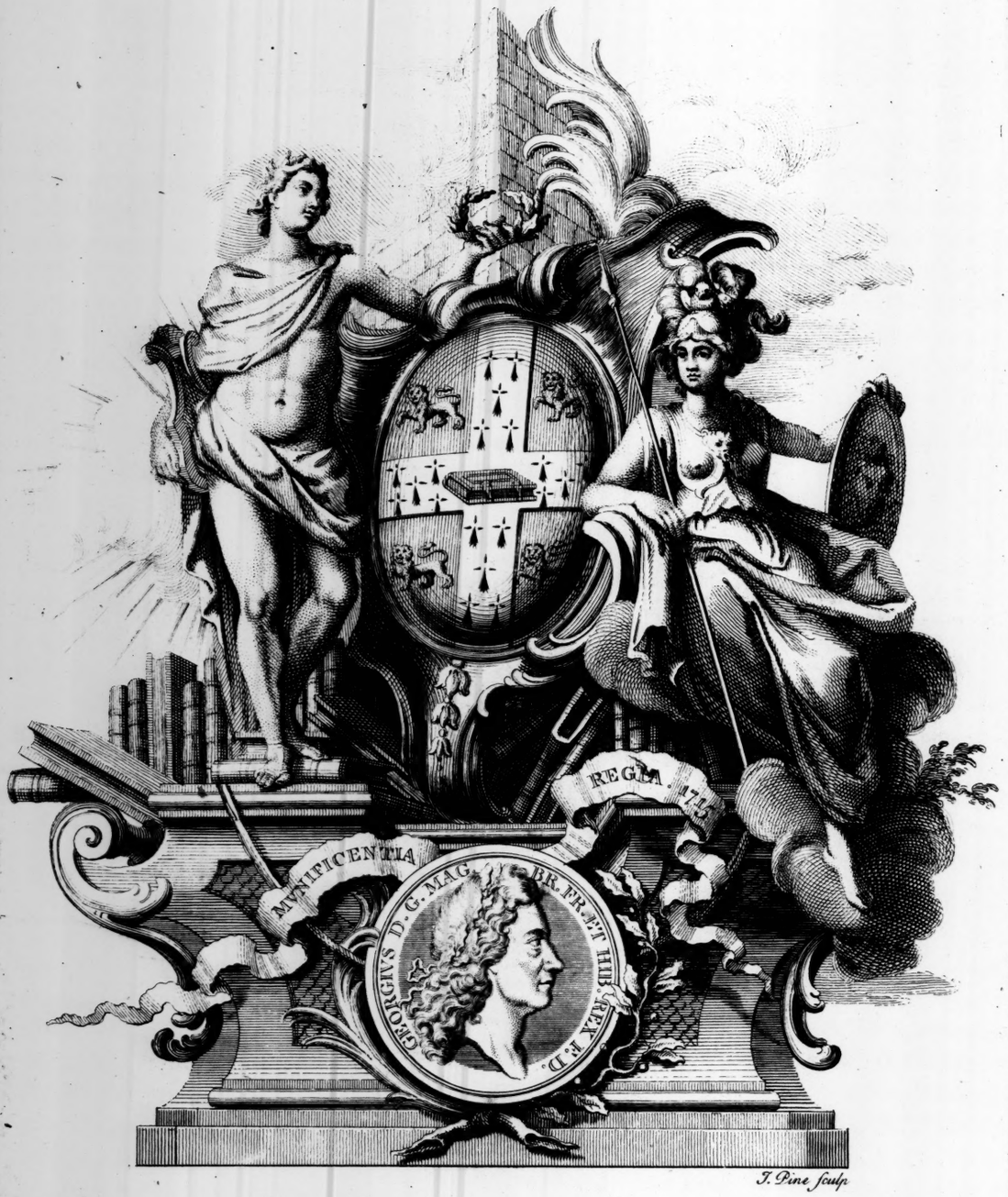

J. Pine sculp.

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The Publisher of this ENGLISH *Translation to the* READER.

VALESIUS has spoken so fully and satisfactorily concerning what He has done in *His Edition* of these following *Ecclesiastick Historians*, as to *His Amendments of the Greek Text*, as to *His Latine Version* of them, and as to *His Explanation of the obscurer passages that occur in them*; and besides, has added such compleat *Accounts concerning the Lives and Histories of these Authours*: (all which particulars, because they were judged necessary to be made known to the *English Reader*, are done into His own language, and prefixed before each Writer whom they concern:) that 'tis needless to give the Reader any farther trouble here, than barely to acquaint Him, for *what reason* this *English-Translation* was at first attempted, and by *what Helps and Assistances* this attempt has at length been finished.

It can't be supposed a thing unknown to any person, though He may have been but meanly conversant amongst Books, that this is not the first time wherein *these Church-Historians* have appeared *in English*. For 'tis now almost a Compleat [a] Century, since *Meredith Hanmer Doctour of Divinity*, first published *His Translation* of them all; excepting onely *Eusebius's Four Books concerning the Life of the Emperour Constantine*, and the *Two Orations* subjoyned thereto: which, by *a Dedication to* S^r *John Lambe Knight, Doctour of Laws, and Dean of the Arches of Canterbury*, seem to have been made *English* several years after *Doctour* [b] *Hanmer's* death, by one M^r *Wye Saltonstall*.

[a] *His Epistle Dedicatory to* Robert *E. of* Leicester bears date *December the* 15^th^. 1584.

[b] He dyed at *Dublin*, of the plague, *anno* 1604. See *Fuller's Worthies of Wales. Flintshire.* pag. 39.

After *Four Editions of Doctour Hanmer's Translation, a fifth*, whereto was added M^r *Saltonstall's Version of the Life of Constantine and the Two Orations*, was published in the Year 1650. *Which Impression* being sold off, and the Book become Scarce; the person whose propriety D^r *Hanmer's Translation* was, some few years since resolved to reprint it. This resolution He communicated to some friends, whom He knew to be able Advisers and Directers in an affair of that Nature. From them He received answer to this effect: that in Doctour *Hanmer's Translation* they saw many things that wanted Correction, which they supposed were not so much to be attributed to the *Doctour*, as to the imperfection and mistakes of the *Greek Text* and those *Latine Translatours*, which the *Doctour* had made use of: that now there was a fair way opened, whereby the errours in the *Doctour's Translation* might be Corrected, in regard the *Original Text* of *these Historians*, after it had been compared with several *Ancient Manuscripts* of the best Note, (whereby the imperfections in it were supplied, and the faults committed in *other Editions* amended;) was, together with an excellent *Latine Version* thereof, published at *Paris* by *Henricus Valesius*, a person of such eminent Learning, that by the unanimous consent of the *Arch-Bishops and Bishops of*

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the Gallican Church, He had been pitcht upon and employed as the fitteſt man to undertake a work of this Nature: and therefore their adviſe was, that the *Doctour's Tranſlation* ſhould be compared with *that Edition of theſe Hiſtorians* which *Valeſius* had publiſhed, and that, whereever it differed, it ſhould be made to agree with the *Greek Text* thereof.

After receipt of this adviſe, 'twas reſolved it ſhould be followed. And accordingly a *Reverend and Learned Divine* was prevailed with to undertake this Work. Who, after He had done ſome *few Chapters* onely of the *Firſt Book of Euſebius's Hiſtory*, for reaſons beſt known to Himſelf deſiſted. But by this Tryal of His it plainly appeared, that (beſides its being an invidious attempt to go about to *interpolate* what another perſon had long ſince put his laſt hand to;) it was a work of far greater labour to bring *Doctor Hanmer's Tranſlation* to an agreement with the *Greek Text* of *Valeſius's Edition*, than to make a *New One*. On which account this latter was reſolv'd upon; and by Divine aſſiſtance being now finiſhed, is here preſented to the *Reader's* view.

The *Reader* having been acquainted with *the Reaſon* why this *New Tranſlation* was at firſt attempted, 'tis fit He ſhould know farther, by what *Helps* and *Aſſiſtances* this attempt has at length been finiſhed.

This Verſion, as has been intimated, was taken immediately from the *Greek*, according to *that Edition which Henricus Valeſius ſet forth at* Paris: whence this advantage will accrue, that whatever errours are found in it, will be errours but of one deſcent. Beſides *Valeſius's Edition*, *That which Robert Stephens Printed at* Paris *in the year* 1544, was likewiſe all along conſulted. Nor were the *Latine Tranſlatours of theſe Hiſtorians* refuſed or neglected: namely theſe four; *Muſculus's Verſion* Dedicated to *Edward the Sixth*, *King of England*, and Printed at *Baſil* in the year 1549; the Tranſlation of *John Chriſtophorſon* (heretofore [a] *Maſter of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge*, afterwards *Biſhop of Chicheſter*;) Printed at *Coloigne*. in the year 1570; *John Curterius's Verſion*, or rather *his Emendation of Chriſtophorſon's*, *Printed at Paris in the year* 1571; and laſtly *Grinæus's Tranſlation*, ſet forth at *Baſil* in the year 1591. All *which Verſions* were all along inſpected; and in all places that required it, their Diſagreements or Conſents are (as the *Reader* will find,) taken notice of; unleſs the *Learned Valeſius's* diligence had made thoſe Remarks needleſs.

[a] See *Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ*, pag. 561: and *Fuller's Worthies. Lancaſhire.*

As for the *Notes* they are in a manner all *Valeſius's*: nor is any Remark of his left untranſlated (though perhaps ſome times made ſhorter;) that was judg'd of uſe to an *Engliſh Reader*, and becoming an *Engliſh Tranſlation*. If the *Reader* does, as now and then He will, meet with a Note that has not *Valeſius's* name ſet at the bottome; He may conclude that not to be *Valeſius's*; however, He generally meets with ſome intimation or other, whereby notice is given him, on what authority ſuch a remark is grounded. But whereas in *Valeſius's Edition*, His Notes on all *theſe Hiſtorians* are placed together in a Body by themſelves, at the latter end of each Authour whereto they belong: here the Reader has them embodied with the Text, and by the Letters of the Alphabet He is ſhown the paſſages in the Hiſtory, whereof they treat. In which method the Reader's eaſe was conſulted, that He might not have the trouble and interruption given Him, of turning forward and backward, from *the Matter* to *the Notes*, and from thence to *the Matter*.

How

To the Reader.

How far *this Tranſlation* is beholding to *That done by Doctour Hanmer*, will quickly be diſcovered by any, that ſhall take the pains to compare them. It need not be diſſembled, that the *Doctour's Verſion* has been ſeen; and 'tis as needleſs to detain *the Reader* in ſhewing Him by tedious inſtances, that He has not been, nor could have been followed, without a departure from the *Original Greek* as publiſhed by *Valeſius*.

It onely remains, that the *Reader* be entreated, before He peruſes *this Tranſlation*, to mend thoſe faults in it that are mentioned in *The Errata*; and to pardon all others He ſhall meet with. Which that He may the eaſier be perſwaded to, He is deſired to be mindful of this excellent ſaying:

Μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν θεῖ θεῷ, καὶ πάντα κατορθῶν:
'Tis God's property to miſtake in nothing, and to correct all things.

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Chap. 26. *That God is the cauſe of the Emperour's Piety; and, that we ought to ſeek proſperous events from God, and to impute them to him; but muſt aſcribe faults to our own ſloth and negligence.* 661

Euſebius Pamphilus's Oration in praiſe of the Emperour *Conſtantine*, ſpoken at *his Tricennalia*, is divided into XVIII. Chapters, without Contents.

ANcient Writers were wont, before their Books, to ſet *an Index* [*or, Contents*] of *the Chapters*; to the end, the Readers might know, at firſt ſight as 'twere, what was treated of in each Book. Now this was uſually done by them two ways. For they either prefixt the Contents of all the Books together, before their whole work; as *Plinius Secundus has done in his Books of Natural Hiſtory*. Or elſe their uſage was, to ſet the Contents of the Chapters before each Book; as *Our Euſebius* has done in *His Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. For 'tis not to be doubted, but *Euſebius* did Himſelf make *theſe Contents* or *Titles* of the Chapters, and ſet them before *His Books of Hiſtory*, as they now occur. We may indeed obſerve, that in *theſe Contents Euſebius* does always Speak of Himſelf in the firſt perſon. For inſtance, after the *Contents of the Chapters of the Second Book*, theſe words occur; Σημ. ὅτι σωθὲν ἡμῖν ἡ βίβλος, ἀπὸ τῆς Κλήμεντος, Τερτυλλιανοῦ, Ἰωσήπου καὶ Φίλωνος. That is, *Note, that this Book was collected by us, out of the Writings of Clemens, Tertullian, Joſephus, and Philo.* Beſides, in *His Seventh Book*, theſe are the *Contents of the laſt Chapter*. Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαπρεψάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν, &c. That is, *Concerning thoſe Eccleſiaſtick perſons who were famous in Our Own age*, &c. Whence it may plainly be gathered, that *Euſebius* the Compiler of this Hiſtory, was the Authour of *The Contents of the Chapters alſo*. Beſides, *Rufinus*, who rendred the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory into Latine*, about Six hundred years after *Euſebius*'s death, found the ſame *Contents* in *His Greek Copy*, which now occur in *Our Copies*. And this is apparent from *Rufinus's Manuſcript Copies*, one of which, written out above Seven hundred years ſince, I have in my Cuſtody. For in them, the *Contents* of the Chapters are always ſet before every Book, in the ſame order wherein they are now placed in *Our Greek Manuſcript Copies*. And *Rufinus* calls them *Capitula*. But *Caſſiodorus*, in *His Preface to the Tripartite Hiſtory*, terms them righter *Titulos*; as does likewiſe S^t *Cyprian*, in *His Exhortation to Martyrdom* [*written*] *to Fortunatus*. *Compendium feci*, ſays He, *ut propoſitis titulis, quos quis noſcere debeat & tenere; Capitula Dominica Subnecterem.* Where you ſee that *Tituli* are diſtinguiſhed from *Capitula*. Moreover, *Suidas*, in the word κεφάλαιον, and in the word πίναξ, remarks that *Tituli* differ from *Capitula*. For inſtance, S^t *Matthew* [He ſays] contains *Sixty eight Tituli*, but *Three hundred fifty five Capitula*; and ſo concerning the other Goſpels. *Capitulum* is properly *a part of a Book, which contains the entire Narrative of ſome one thing*. But *Titulus* is *an Index ſet above the Capitulum*; and ſometimes *One Titulus* or *Title* contains many *Capita* or *Chapters*, as may be ſeen in *The Pandects of the Civil Law*. The ſame thing was heretofore viſible in S^t *Matthew's Goſpel*, which had more *Chapters* than *Titles*, as *Suidas* does atteſt. So alſo in the *other Goſpels*. For, that paſſage which occurs in *Suidas*, namely, that S^t *Mark* had fourty eight *Tituli*, and but thirty ſix *Capita*, is faulty, and inſtead of *thirty ſix*, it muſt be mended thus, *two hundred thirty three*, as may be plainly gathered from *The Canons of the Goſpels* which *Our Euſebius* compoſed. But ſometimes each *Titulus* does anſwer each *Capitulum*, as 'tis in *theſe Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. And in the *Mazarine and Medicæan Copies*, *The Titali* or *Contents* of each Book are prefixed, together with the *Numeral Notes*, or, *Figures*. But in *The Fuketian Manuſcript*, after the *Titulus*, κεφάλαιον is added, together with the *Numeral Note*. But this term never occurs in *thoſe Excellent Copies* which I have mentioned. Yea, inſtead thereof, I found the Word τόμος placed in the Beginning of the *Fourth Book*, over the very *Contents of the Chapters*; Λόγος τετάρτης τόμοι. That is, *The Contents of the Fourth Book*. Valeſ.

THE

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF Eusebius Pamphilus, IN TEN BOOKS.

Made *English* from that Edition set forth by VALESIUS and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereto also is annexed an account of the Life and Writings of the foresaid Historian, Collected by VALESIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed by *John Hayes*, Printer to the University. 1683.

VALESIUS'S PREFACE,

To HIS EDITION of

EUSEBIUS'S HISTORY.

HAving performed the Office of a Solemn [a] Dedication, 'tis now time, *Most Illustrious Prelates!* That I should give *You* a particular Account of my Work. For, whereas this Labour was undertaken by me, on *Your* account chiefly, and by *Your* Command; I do both wish, and also hope, that before all others, *You* will be the Readers and Judges of my Work. There are three things therefore, which I have endeavoured to perform in *this Edition*. The first is, an Amendment of the *Greek Text*: The second, a Latine Version of it. The third is, an Explanation of the obscurer places. As touching the Latine Version, after three Translatours of *Eusebius's History*, I have made a fourth. But no person before us, had attempted an Amendment and Explanation of the *Eusebian Work*. But, that I may speak more distinctly concerning each particular in its place and order, I will begin first from the Emendation. Whoever attempt a new Edition of old Writers, those persons must of necessity begin their Labour from an Emendation. So *Origen*, after He had undertaken a New Edition of the *Seventy Interpreters*, and had found many passages in them that were doubtfull and disagreeable by reason of the diversitie of Copies, in the first place Laboured in an Emendation of them. And having compared the Copies of the *Seventy Seniors*, partly with the *Hebrew Text*, partly with *three other Editions*, namely *Aquila's*, *Theodotion's*, and *Symmachus's*; He took out all those Errours which had crept into the Edition of the *Seventy Seniors*. For this He himself intimates, in *His Eighth Tractate on* S^t *Matthew*, in these words. [b] *In Exemplaribus quidem Veteris Testamenti, quæcunque fuerunt inconsonantia, Deo præstante coaptare potuimus; utentes judicio cæterarum Editionum. Ea enim quæ videbantur apud Septuaginta dubia esse propter Consonantiam Exemplariorum, facientes judicium ex Editionibus reliquis, convenientia Servavimus. Indeed, in the Copies of the Old Testament, whatever* [passages] *were disagreeable, by God's assistance we have been able to make fit; using the judgment of the rest of the Editions. For those* [passages] *which seemed in the Seventy to be doubtful by reason of the agreement of Copies, making a judgment from the other Editions, we have preserved agreeable.*

[a] *Valesius* Dedicated His first Volume, (which contains *Eusebius's Ten Books of History, His Life of Constantine, Constantine's Oration,* and *His Own,*) to the *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the Gallican Church.*

[b] See Origen's Works, second part, pag. 46. *Edit. Paris.* 1619.

Origen's Example was afterwards followed by S^t *Jerome*, who bestowed a new Edition of the *Seventy Translatours* mended by Himself, and distinguished by *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, on the men of His own Language, as He Himself attests in several places. And that I may speak also concerning profane Writers, *Crates* and *Aristarchus*, *Grammarians*, who set forth most accurate Editions of *Homer's Poem*, have done nothing else in a manner, but mended and distinguished that Work. In like manner therefore, when I had resolved to publish a New Edition of the *Eusebian History*, I used my utmost Industry and diligence in its Emendation. Two Editions onely of *Eusebius's History* have hitherto come forth in *Greek*. The one is the *Paris-Edition*, which *Robert Stephens* Printed; a person who on this very account has deserved highly of Learning, because He was the first that published the Body of *Ecclesiastick History* in a most *Excellent Letter*. The other is the *Geneva-Edition*. But *this* has in the *Greek Text* every where expresst *that Edition* of *Robert Stephens*: save onely, that it has various Readings and Emendations set at the margin, [taken] out of the Copies of Learned men; and, that out of those Copies it has supplied some imperfections which occur in the *Books concerning the Life of Constantine*. Therefore, my pains

was to be beſtowed upon that one *Edition* onely of *Robert Stephens*. Which, with as much diligence as I could, I have compared with *Four Manuſcript Copies* of the beſt Note, and have reſtored it in many places. Two of theſe *Four Copies*, the *King's Library* furniſht us with. The former bears *the Arms* of *Francis the fifſt*; written on *Silken paper*, about four hundred years ſince; and it does ſometimes exhibit ſingular Readings, and very different from the other Copies. This is that, which in *my Notes* I have named *The King's Copy*. The other is out of the *Medicæan Library*, which being now removed into the *King's*, is called by one and the ſame name of the *King's Library*. This, to diſtinguiſh it from that *former Copy*, is in *Our Notes* termed the *Medicæan Copy*. Which, though it be ſomething leſs ancient, is nevertheleſs tranſcribed from an excellent Copy, and by a Learned hand. *Robert Stephens* had made uſe of *Both theſe Copies*, in *His Edition* of the *Euſebian Hiſtory*. And in His Printing of the *Text* it ſelf, He has almoſt every where followed the *King's Copy*, and very ſeldom departs from its footſteps, as I have remark'd in *my Notes*. But in the diſtinction of the *Chapters*, He has expreſt the *Medicæan Copy*, wherein the Contents are ſet before each Chapter, and are written in *Red-Letters*. There is, beſides thoſe, a *third Copy*, belonging to the moſt *Eminent Cardinal Julius Mazarinus*. Before I ſpeak concerning the goodneſs and excellency of *which Copy*, it is requiſite, and You (Moſt illuſtrious Prelates!) with importunity ſeem to crave this very thing of me, that a few words ſhould be ſaid concerning the *Moſt Eminent Cardinal*, by whom *that Copy* was lent me. For, whereas this Moſt Eminent Prince, born to every thing that is Great, does embrace Learning with a ſingular affection and benevolence; We, who from our infancy have applied our minds to the Studies of Learning, ſhould doubtleſs be ungrateful, ſhould we not, both in our own, and in the name of all Learned men in general, ſtudy to render Him all poſſible Thanks, as well in words, as in our Writings. Farther, with what favour and how great a benevolence He does honour and reſpect Learning, His bounteous Liberality and Munificence towards Learned men does atteſt; which, to ſpeak nothing concerning other perſons, [a] He was lately willing ſhould be extended even to me alſo, when I neither hop'd for, nor thought of any ſuch thing. The ſame thing is declar'd by His moſt compleatly-furniſht Library. Which having ſtor'd with innumerable Copies of the Beſt Writers, partly Printed, and partly in Manuſcript; He does not keep it perpetually ſhut like ſome Sepulchre, as thoſe old Senators of the City Rome did, whom [b] *Ammianus Marcellinus* doth ſharply reprove on that very account: but opens it, as 'twere ſome publick Houſe, to all the Learned; and voluntarily invites each perſon to it; and freely imparts the uſe of His Manuſcript Books to the Studious, as often as they ſhall have need. What ſhall I ſay concerning His other virtues and eximious Accompliſhments of mind? What concerning His wonderful Moderation and Lenity, whereby He hath allayed inteſtine Commotions and Tumults, without the bloud of any Citizen? But, theſe things will be ſpoken by me more fitly at another time, or more rhetorically by others. For at preſent I have reſolved, to purſue thoſe praiſes of His onely, which do apart belong to the Studies of Literature. Nevertheleſs, I can't poſſibly refrain my ſelf, but muſt ſpeak ſomething here concerning that Peace, which the moſt Eminent Cardinal, with all imaginable earneſtneſs and induſtry, does now chiefly urge and promote, and which we hope will in a ſhort time be made publick by His Majeſties [c] Proclamation. For, this thing is of great concern to the advantage of Learning; which every one knows to be the child of Peace, and to repoſe it ſelf under its Umbrage and defence. Whereas therefore the moſt Eminent Cardinal, when firſt placed at the Helm of State, had not Himſelf raiſed a diſmal War with the *Spaniards*, but had found it already raiſed: by various Councills (as ['tis requiſite] in ſo Great an affair,) long and accurately weighed, at length He hath reſolv'd upon this; that the *Spaniards* are to be broken by a laſting War, and muſt really be made to know how powerfull the *French* are in Arms, Riches, Valour, Conſtancy, and the other neceſſary Proviſions and Helps for a War: that the Enemy, made ſenſible of their own weakneſs and the power of the *French*, might be ſlower in future to provoke Our Nation, either by Arms or injuries. For ['twas His Sentiment,] that a firm and ſecure Peace could no otherwiſe be made with the Enemy, than till ſuch time as by their frequent Overthrows and Loſſes they had perceived, that they were inferiour to the *French* in waging War. Therefore, when the *Spaniards*, no otherwiſe than the *Phrygians*, had at length underſtood that; then the moſt Eminent Cardinal, perceiving a fit opportunity of entring into a Peace preſented it ſelf, refus'd not to make it with the Enemy, and to recede ſomething from Our Right, from the chief point of the whole War, laſtly from that Hope and Victory which we had now almoſt in our hands; that thereby He might [promote] the Good of the people, [anſwer] the wiſhes of all good men, and gratifie the deſire of the whole Chriſtian world. In which affair I can't indeed enough admire His ſingular prudence, and His wiſdom that was ſo ſalutary to the State. For the Peace was for no other reaſon deferred ſo long, than that in future it might be laſtinger and more firm. And let thus much be ſaid by the by, concerning the praiſes of the moſt Eminent Cardinal. Who having, during the War, never deſiſted from cheriſhing Learning and Learned men in a moſt gracious manner; 'tis much more to be hop'd, that in the time of His Own Peace, He will embrace the ſame Arts with a choice Affection and Care: and will bring it to effect, that Our *French*, who for the Glory of Arms have been always eminent above other Nations, may now excell for the praiſe of Learning,

[a] He allowed *Valeſius* a yearly penſion of 1500 *Livers*; which ſum the *Cardinal* ſent him yearly, as long as he lived; and by *his Will* continued it till *Valeſius's* death: See *Valeſius's Life*, written by *his Brother Hadrian*.

[b] See *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 14. pag. 14. *Edit. Paris.* 1636.

[c] Or, *Cryers*,

Learning, and in the ſtudies of the beſt Arts. But, 'tis now time, that we ſhould return thither, whence we have digreſs'd. That *third Copy* therefore, which the *Library of the Moſt Eminent Cardinal* hath furniſhed us with, is far the beſt and ancienteſt of all thoſe Copies of *Euſebius* which I have ſeen. For, whatever Emendations we found in other Copies, are all ſhown us by that Manuſcript: and many other Amendments occur in it, which I found not in other Copies, as the Studious Readers will be able to perceive from my Annotations. It is written in Parchment, [tranſcrib'd] about ſeven hundred years ſince, moſt neatly and alſo moſt correctly. It has likewiſe [a] *Short Expoſitions* now and then ſet at the ſide, ſometimes in an ancient, ſometimes in a more modern hand; which Expoſitions we have ſet down in Our Notes, at their due places. Many other things alſo are to be taken notice of in that Excellent Manuſcript, partly in the *Accents*, partly in the [b] *Diſtinction* or *Punctation*. For, as to the *Accents*, in that Manuſcript words are often *acuted*, which in other Copies have a *Circumflex Accent*. For inſtance, πῶ and καίσαρ in that Copy are always *acuted*. But on the contrary, σφῖσι, which in other Manuſcripts is mark'd with an *acute Accent*, is *Circumflected* in that Copy. And this in my judgment is righter. But, as to the *Diſtinction*, which we vulgarly term the *Punctation*, this Copy is ſo accurately *poynted*, that from this very one Manuſcript you may underſtand the whole manner and knowledge of *poynting*, which is a thing of no ſmall moment. Indeed, before I had procured this Copy, I was not thorowly acquainted with the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of the *Middle diſtinction*; with which, that very one Book diligently inſpected and examined, hath at length made me acquainted. But, we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter, concerning the *Diſtinction*. This moreover I have obſerved in that moſt ancient Manuſcript, as often as a [c] *full diſtinction*, or τελεία στιγμὴ is ſet in any Line, the firſt Letter of the following Line appears without the order of the reſt, and touches upon the very outward margin. And this is a ſigne, that a new Chapter, or a new period is begun after that *final diſtinction*. I have obſerved the ſame in the other Manuſcript Copies alſo. Indeed, in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*, which contain *Euſebius's Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, I have found that 'tis always ſo, as often as a new Chapter is begun. We had, beſides, a *fourth Copy* out of the *Library of that moſt illuſtrious perſonage Nicholas Fuket*, who bears the *Office of Procuratour General in the Senate of Paris*, and at the ſame time manages the *Præfecture of the Royal Treaſury*, with the higheſt commendation. And theſe four Manuſcript Copies we have made uſe of, in order to our amendment of the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. But, we have compared the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperour Conſtantine*, with three ancient Copies. The firſt is *that Copy of the King's*, concerning which I have ſpoken above, in which Manuſcript, before the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, occur the *four Books concerning the Life of the Emperour Conſtantine*, written, though not in the ſame, nevertheleſs in an ancient hand. The ſecond place belongs to the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*. So I call *certain papers*, which are digeſted into *Quaternions*; but they are looſe, and are not made up into the form of a Book. In *theſe Sheets*, beſides *Euſebius's Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, and the *Oration of the ſame Emperour to the Saints*, occurs the *firſt Quaternion of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; whereof I have likewiſe made frequent mention in *my Notes*. All the reſt of it, by what accident I know not, is loſt. The *Fuketian Library* furniſhed us with the *third Copy*. Wherein, before the *four Books concerning the Life of the Emperour Conſtantine*, is prefixt *Euſebius's Panegyrick*, ſpoken to the ſame *Conſtantine*, in the thirtieth year of His Empire. *This Copy*, though of the meaneſt Antiquity, is nevertheleſs of the beſt Note, and in many places more correct and larger than thoſe two former, which *Robert Stephens* made uſe of in *His Edition*. Beſides theſe Manuſcript Copies, we were aſſiſted by thoſe various Readings and Emendations, which learned men had with their own hands noted at the margin of *Robert Stephens's Edition*: Of which ſort many Books are now to be found. But we made uſe more eſpecially of three, which are likewiſe often mentioned in our Notes. The firſt was *Hadrian Turnebus's*, which with great exactneſs He had compared with *The King's*, and *The Medicæan Copy*. But the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperour Conſtantine*, had been compared with *an Engliſh Copy*, either by the hand of *Hadrian Turnebus* Himſelf, or that of *Odo Turnebus*. The ſecond Copy was *Vulcobius's*; which, becauſe *Renatus Moræus a Phyſician of Paris* had lent me, I am wont in my Notes to term *Moræus's Copy*. This Book contains ſome few other Emendations, beſides thoſe which occur in *Turnebus's Copy*. The third was S[r] *Henry Savil*'s Book, a perſon of incomparable Learning; it was ſent me out of *England* by *James Uſher Arch-Biſhop of Armagh*. For, whereas I had perceived, that in *Uſher's Notes on the Martyrdom of the B. Polycarp*, a Manuſcript Copy of *Euſebius's Hiſtory* out of S[r] *Henry Savil's Library* was quoted; and had found, that, by ſome paſſages produced by *Uſher*, *that Copy* was of the beſt Note; I made my requeſt to Him by Letter, that he would tranſmit to me the Various Readings of *that Copy*; for I did ſuppoſe, that the whole Copy had been compared by him. But he wrote back to me, that the Copy it ſelf, written in ſilken paper, had been given by S[r] *Henry Savil* to the *Oxford-Library*. But he preſently ſent me *Robert Stephens's Edition*, in the margin whereof S[r] *Henry Savil* had noted the Emendations taken out of that *his own Manuſcript Copy*. Nevertheleſs, as far as I have been able to conjecture, S[r] *Henry Savil* hath not ſet all the readings of the Manuſcript Copy at the ſide of *that Edition*; but thoſe onely, which he thought to be good and undoubted. For ſome readings are produced by *Uſher* out of that Manuſcript Copy, which I

[a] *Scholia.*

[b] He means, the diſtinguiſhing the Periods one from another, and the Clauſes and Members of each period, by poynts.

[c] *Full poynt.*

afterwards perceived were omitted by S^r *Henry Savil.* Farther, the same S^r *Henry Savil*, at the margin of *that Edition*, hath written many Amendments, out of a Book of *John Christophorson's*, which Book *Christophorson* had compared with some *Manuscript Copies*. These are the Helps from Books, wherewith we were furnished, when we undertook to mend the *Books of Eusebius's History*. But least any one should perhaps think, that any thing hath been altered by us rashly and at pleasure, we do before all things desire the Readers should know, that we have done nothing without the consent and authority of the Best Copies. And so scrupulous were we, of making any alteration in these Books, that when it appeared most evidently, that the place was corrupted, we refused even then to favour and follow our own conjecture. For proof hereof, may be [produced] a place in the close of the *tenth Book of the Ecclesiastick History, pag. 399* [*of Our Edition*;] which runs thus: ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἐκπρεπὴς μέγας Θ. νικητὴς καὶ σεβαστὸς. We could very easily have restored the true Reading here, and instead of ἐκπρεπὴς, mended it in this manner, ἐκπρέπων. For so *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, in [a] *His second Book*, cites this place of *Eusebius*; nor is it otherwise written in *Eusebius's second Book concerning the Life of Constantine, Chap. 19*; where this passage is repeated almost in the very same words. Lastly, no place is mended in *this our Edition*, concerning which I have not advertised the Reader in my Notes, and have not given an account of mine amendment.

[a] Chap. 1. Pag. 45. Edit. Paris. 1590.

Distinction, or *Punctation*, is not the last part of Emendation; concerning which I must say something, least peradventure the Readers should be confounded by a new kind of *poynting*, which was first brought into *this Edition* by me. Although, if we would speak properly, this is not a new sort of *Distinction*, but the oldest, and made use of by all the Ancients, as well *Greek* as *Latine* Writers: which being wholly disused and lost by the negligence of more modern Authours, I have, at least in part, endeavoured to restore in *this Edition*. Those Ancients indeed (the figures of Letters being then newly invented,) wrote in one continued form, without any *distinction* at all. Which thing containing much of difficulty both in reading and pronouncing, the ancient *Grammarians* found out *three positures* or *distinctions*, whereby, as 'twere by certain *Stations* and *Inns*, the continued journey of speech might be distinguished and divided. The *first* they termed ὑποστιγμὴν, that is a *subdistinction*: the *second* μέσην, that is *a middle distinction*: the *third* τελείαν στιγμὴν, that is *a final or full distinction*. Now, they noted them by three *Poynts* plac'd in a different Site. For a *Poynt* set at the bottom of a Letter, denotes a *subdistinction*: a *middle distinction*, which the *Latines* have termed [b] *Moram*, is shown by a *poynt* placed at the middle of a Letter. But that *poynt* which is set at the head of a Letter, denotes *a final distinction*. What the import and design of these *distinctions* is, the *Grammarians* do inform us; *Donatus*, and *Marius Victorinus*, and *Diomedes* in *his Second Book*. Which Authour last named, at this place shall be to us instead of all. *Lectioni*, says he, *posituras accedere vel distinctiones oportet*, &c. *To reading must be added the positures or distinctions, by Græcians termed* θέσεις: *which, during our reading, give a liberty of recovering breath, least it should fail by a continuation. These are three, a distinction, a subdistinction, a middle distinction or pause, or, as some will have it, a submiddle: the diversity of which* [*three,*] *is shown by three Poynts set in a different place.* And after some few words. *A distinction is a token of silence, when, the sense being ended, there is a Liberty of resting longer. The mark hereof, is a Poynt set above the verse, at the Head of the Letter. A subdistinction is a signe of a meet and convenient silence, whereby the Course of pronunciation* (*the sense remaining*) *is so stop'd, that what follows, ought to succeed immediately. The note hereof, is a poynt plac'd under the verse. A pause is a small separation, interpos'd in the continuation of senses, and possesses the middle place of a meet distinction and subdistinction, in such manner that it may seem neither perfect in the whole, nor omitted, but by a signification of staying, may want the beginning of another sense. And it attends this office onely, that by the shortest respiration it may recover and nourish the Reader's breath. For, in pronouncing every one ought in such wise to be silent, that, because the breath it self is changed by a kind of decay, it may afterwards be recovered. As thus,*

[b] *A pause.*

Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
Extulit, & rauco strepuerunt cornua Cantu.
Utque acres concussit equos, utque impulit arma.
Extemplo turbati animi.

For, there are many middle clauses of this reading. First, least those be confounded, which are put as double-membred and treble-membred [*clauses,*] *and the like. Then, that the* [c] *Emphasis of the words may be more eminently apparent and conspicuous, which may be moved by some affection, either by indignation, or commiseration compared*, &c. Such marks therefore of distinctions and punctations as these, all the ancients as well *Greeks* as *Latines*, made use of in their Books: which also, as 'tis manifest, were still in use, in the age of *Isidorus Hispalensis*. For this we learn from *His Origines, Book 1. Chap. 19.* In Manuscript Copies likewise which are somewhat ancienter, the same way of distinguishing is always observed. But more modern Writers, whether

[c] *Actus verborum.*

whether by unskilfullneſs or a kind of ſloth and negligence, have changed them all. And inſtead of a ſubdiſtinction, they have put [d] *little rods*; for the mark of a middle diſtinction, *two poynts*: but they have caſt the Note of a final diſtinction from the head to the feet of a Letter. Which ill way of poynting almoſt all Printers have followed, except *Aldus Manucius*. For he in his Edition of Greek Books, whereof he Printed almoſt an innumerable company, hath always retained that punctation, which he had found in Manuſcript Copies. As to the *Little Rods*, I would not condemn them. For 'tis of very ſmall moment, what mark we ſhould make uſe of, to denote a *ſubdiſtinction*, provided that mark be placed at the feet of a Letter. Indeed, in that Excellent and moſt ancient *Manuſcript belonging to the Mazarine Library*, whereof I have made mention before, I found a *little rod* placed ſometimes for *a middle*, ſometimes for a *final diſtinction*; that is, ſometimes at the middle of a letter, ſometimes at the top. And not onely by a *little rod*, but alſo by a *Sicilicum* or ἁπλῆ *turned backwards, a middle diſtinction* was ſometimes denoted, as *Victorinus* informs us in *his firſt Book of the Art of Grammar*. But, whereas we now-a-days put a point at the feet of a letter for a *final diſtinction*, in my judgment that can in no wiſe be born with. For it does not onely contradict Antiquity, but Reaſon alſo. For Reaſon requires, that a mark placed in the ſame ſite, ſhould denote the ſame *diſtinction*. A poynt therefore placed in the bottom ought to ſignifie the ſame that a *little rod* does, which is ſet at the bottom of a Letter. For, not the mark it ſelf, but the ſite of the mark alters the *diſtinction*. Whence 'tis made evident, that a *final diſtinction* is not rightly ſhown by us, by our ſetting a poynt at the feet of a Letter. Wherefore, 'tis not without reaſon that I have endeavoured to reſtore the old way of *Punctation* in *this Edition*. I have indeed retained the *Little Rod* it ſelf, in regard in denoting a *ſubdiſtinction* it ſerves for the ſame purpoſe with a poynt: but from the authority of the *Manuſcript Copies*, I have, by way of Recovery as 'twere, put the *middle diſtinction* into poſſeſſion of its own places. The advantage and neceſſity whereof, the ſtudious, I hope, will ſoon acknowledge. For, *that middle diſtinction* does not onely ſerve for this purpoſe, that breath may be taken in order to a continuing the beginning of another ſenſe, and *that the Emphaſis may be more eminently apparent and conſpicuous*, as *Diomedes* writes; but alſo, to denote the difference of perſons and dignities. So ſomewhere in *theſe Books*, where the reading is ὑπισκόπων πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, the *Moſt Eminent Cardinal's Manuſcript*, after the word ὑπισκόπων, adds a *middle diſtinction*. Beſides, in many places I have ſet a poynt at the head of the Letter, to denote a *final diſtinction*: and would have done that every where, had not the force of old cuſtom diverted me from my attempt. But, what I have in part onely performed in *this Edition*, that (I hope) will at length be perfected by others endued with greater Learning and Authority, who ſhall in future publiſh the Books of the Ancients. And thus much may ſuffice to have been ſpoken briefly concerning *Our Emendation* and *Punctation*. Come we now to the *Latine Tranſlation*.

[d] *Comma's.*

I doubt not but there will be many who will admire, why, after three *Latine Tranſlatour's* of *Euſebius*, and thoſe not meanly vers'd in the Greek Tongue, I ſhould have made a *fourth Verſion*. To whom in the firſt place I anſwer thus. If after *Ruſinus*, who firſt turned the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* into *Latine*, *Muſculus* might have leave to make a new Tranſlation; if again, after *Muſculus*, *Chriſtophorſon* might have leave to do the ſame, why ſhould not I alſo have the like Liberty with others? Amongſt the *Jews*, after the *Edition of the Seventy Seniours*, confirmed by the Religion of ſo many oaths, by the authority of ſo many ages; firſt *Aquila*, then *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*, did each of them publiſh new Verſions of the *Old Teſtament*. Alſo, ſome perſons are found to be the Authors of a *fifth*, *ſixth*, and *ſeventh Edition*, whoſe names are unknown: and all theſe Tranſlations *Origen* hath plac'd in *His Hexapla*, that they might be read by Catholicks. That therefore which the *Jews* were free to do in the *Old Teſtament*, why may not I have leave to do in *Euſebius*? eſpecially, in regard 'tis leſs dangerous to attempt that in *Euſebius*, than in the ſacred Books of the divine Scriptures. Indeed, many and thoſe cogent reaſons enforc'd me even againſt my will, to undergo the burthen of this new Tranſlation. For, whereas by [e] Your Command and with Your Advice I had undertaken a new Edition of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; and perceived, that the Verſions of former Tranſlatours, by reaſon of their frequent miſtakes and ill Renditions, did in no wiſe ſatisfie the deſire of Learned men; as it has been [f] already declared by the Teſtimony of *J. Curterius* and *Peter Halloixius*: one of theſe two things was of neceſſity to be performed by me, that I ſhould either correct the old Tranſlation, or elſe make a new one. Farther, to correct the Tranſlation of others, as it is in it ſelf a thing troubleſome and difficult, ſo alſo it ſeemed invidious. For, His own praiſe and His own honour, is from us due to each perſon. They have done as much as in them lay, and by their own pains have endeavoured to lighten and leſſen Our Labour. Therefore, the Work of each Tranſlatour ought to be commended by us, rather than *interpolated*. *Ruſinus*, although He follows the ſenſe of *Euſebius* rather than His words, is nevertheleſs neat and clean, and not unpleaſant to the Readers: and even on this very account highly to be commended, becauſe He was the firſt that beſtowed the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory on men of the *Latine* Tongue; whoſe Tranſlation the *Weſtern Church* has made uſe of till Our own age. *Muſculus* keeps cloſer to the words, and in tranſlating is ſhort and clear, and in many places more happy than *Chriſtophorſon*.

[e] He means *the French Clergy.*

[f] In *His Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

ſon. Chriſtophorſon, as He is more diligent and learneder than *Muſculus*, ſo alſo is more verboſe; and has ſomething of the Style of *Cicero*. Beſides, He uſed Manuſcript Copies in the making His Tranſlation: and was the firſt that publiſhed *Euſebius's Panegyrick* ſpoken at *Conſtantine's Tricennalia*, in *Latine*; which the *Geneva-Printers* afterwards Printed in *Greek*. Some body will be ready to ſay here. What need then was there of a new Verſion? whenas thoſe Tranſlatours abound with ſo many and ſuch high commendations. I rehearſe their praiſes, but do not detect their errours: which I had rather ſhould be diſcovered by the teſtimony of others, than mine own. But, if any one will read *my Notes*, or ſhall have a mind to compare my Tranſlation with their Verſion, He will doubtleſs underſtand, with how many and how groſs miſtakes their Tranſlations are ſtuft; and that 'twas not without reaſon, that You had ordered me to make a new Verſion of *Euſebius*. But, becauſe I am faln upon this diſcourſe, not willingly but by a neceſſity, I will ſay ſomething briefly concerning the errours of former Tranſlatours. For, ſhould I have a mind to reckon up all their miſtakes one by one, my diſcourſe would be ſtretcht to a vaſt length. To begin therefore with *Rufinus*; who knows not, that, at his pleaſure, he has added many paſſages to *Euſebius*, has taken away many paſſages from him, has changed many; and in moſt places is rather a *Paraphraſt* than a *Tranſlatour*? For inſtance, in the *Seventh Book* he has inſerted a tedious Narrative concerning the Miracles of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, which occurs not in the Copies of *Our Euſebius*. The ſame perſon, in the *Ninth Book*, rehearſes a ſpeech of *Lucian* the Martyr, ſpoken before the Judge in defence of our faith; which Speech the Copies of *Euſebius* do not acknowledge. He has omitted almoſt the whole *Tenth Book of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, in his Verſion. I ſay nothing here concerning the Chapters altered by him in the *Sixth and Seventh Book*, in as much as I have given the Reader notice of this thing, in *my Notes*. How many places of *Euſebius* are miſunderſtood and ill rendred by him? This is he, who of *Zacharias* the Prieſt, of whom mention is made in Saint *Luke*'s Goſpel, has made us a Martyr of *Lyons*. This is he who hath confounded *Biblias* with *Blandina*. This is he who has made the moſt noble Martyr *Philoromus* a *Tribune* of Souldiers, from his being a *Rationaliſt*. To what purpoſe is it to ſpeak concerning *Muſculus*, whoſe Verſions (for he has tranſlated other Writers alſo *into Latine*,) are not extraordinarily approved of by the Learned? I could, if I had a mind, expoſe his innumerable miſtakes: amongſt which this is a notorious one. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, in *his Epiſtle to Germanus*, which *Euſebius* records in *his Sixth* [g] *Book*, ſays that he was taken by the Souldiers ἀφὶ ἡλίῳ δυσμάς, and was brought to *Tapoſiris*. But *Muſculus* believed *Heliodyſmas* to be a Town. For thus he renders it. *Ego namque cùm Heliodyſmas unà cum illis qui mecum erant veniſſem, Tapoſirim à militibus ductus ſum. For I, after I was come to Heliodyſmæ, together with them that were with me, was brought by the Souldiers to Tapoſiris.* Farther, the ſame *Muſculus* in *his Tranſlation* has wholly omitted *Euſebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, which is ſubjoyn'd to the *Eighth Book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; for what reaſon I know not. For *that Book of Euſebius's*, is a moſt Elegant one. The Tranſlation of *John Chriſtophorſon* remains [to be ſpoken of,] which very Verſion wants not its Blemiſhes. For, to omit the *Barbariſms* which do frequently occur in it, *his Tranſlation* is too prolix and intricate, whilſt he either adds ſome words to fill up the period, or annexes his own Explanations in order to the clearing of an obſcure place. Sometimes alſo, of two periods he makes but one, and puts two Chapters into one: in ſo much that, the diviſion of the *Latine* Chapters in *his Tranſlation* differs much from the *Greek*. Which thing, how much trouble and vexation it breeds in citing places out of *Euſebius*, all the Studious know. The ſame Tranſlatour was indeed ſufficiently well vers'd in Divinity: but he was meanly furniſhed with the skill of [h] *a Critick*, and with the knowledge of *Roman* antiquity. Wherefore, in the proper names of *Roman* Magiſtrates, and in thoſe matters which appertain to the *Civil Adminiſtration*, he is always out: for inſtance, in rendring the words ἡγεμών, στρατηγός, ἐπαρχικῆς τάξεως, and in other ſuch like terms. Laſtly, *Chriſtophorſon* has embodied *Euſebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, (which in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and in the *Manuſcript Copies*, is ſubjoyned to the *Eighth Book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*,) with his *Eighth Book*, becauſe he believ'd it to be a part thereof. Which miſtake of *Chriſtophorſon*'s, the *Geneva-Printers* having afterwards followed, that they might make the *Greek* agree with the *Latine*; of two Books of *Euſebius*'s, have made but one. And let thus much be briefly ſpoken concerning the Errours of former Tranſlations, not with any deſign to diſparage, or leſſen the glory of any Tranſlatour; but, that all the Studious may underſtand, that we had good reaſon for our undertaking a new Tranſlation. Which as I dare not warrant to be perfect and every way compleat, (for that would be too much confidence;) ſo I do boldly affirm, that it wants very many faults, wherewith former Tranſlations do abound. Further, whereas three things are required in a Verſion; namely that it be faithfull, Elegant, and clear; I have made it my Buſineſs, that no one of theſe ſhould be wanting in our Tranſlation.

[g] *Chap.* 40.

[h] Or, *Critical Art.*

The Tranſlation is followed by *the Annotations*. Wherein I had an eye chiefly to two things: firſt that I might give an account of my Emendations, and might propoſe to the Studious the various Readings of Manuſcript Copies: Secondly, that I might clear the obſcurer paſſages in *Euſebius*, and might explain the ancient Uſages and Rites of the Church, by producing and comparing

comparing the passages of other Writers. To *my Annotations* I have subjoyned [a] *four dissertations*. The *first* whereof is, *Concerning the Beginning and Progress of the Schism of the Donatists*. The *Second*, *Concerning the Anastasis and the Jerusalem-Martyrium*. This is followed by *a disputation about the Version of the Seventy Translatours against* James Usher *Arch-Bishop of Armagh*. The *Fourth* is, *concerning the Roman Martyrologie which Rosweydus published*. And these are the things which with care and diligence I have performed *in this Edition*, in order to the illustration of *Eusebius's History*. Which if to any one they shall peradventure seem slight and of little worth, let him think, that all things which are published in this kind of Learning, are in a manner of this nature, and are either valued or contemned according to the affection and stomach of the Readers. For, if they find a candid and studious Reader, they are highly esteemed: but if they shall happen to fall into disdainful ears, they are look't upon as nothing. Besides, what but that which is very ordinary and mean can be expected, from me especially, who by reason of my weakness of sight am forc'd both to reade and write by other mens eyes and hands: and who, whilst by reason of the greatness of the Labour I do always hasten forwards, have so hastily dictated this whole work such as it is, that I have scarce had leisure to reade it over again. On which account I am the more to be pardoned, if perhaps in any place of *my Notes* I have not so fully satisfied the Reader's desire.

[a] These four Dissertations are published at the Latter end of *Valesius's first Volume of the Ecclesiastick Historians*.

VALESIUS'S ACCOUNT

Concerning the

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

Euſebius Cæſarienſis.

Concerning the Life of Euſebius *Biſhop of* Cæſarea, Acacius *His Scholar and Succeſſour in the See of* Cæſarea *had heretofore written a Book, as* [a] Socrates *does atteſt. But in regard this Book, together with very many others, is loſt by the careleſneſs of Antiquity, we, by gathering together from this place and t'other the Teſtimonies of Ancient Writers who have ſpoken concerning* Euſebius, *to the utmoſt of our ability will endeavour to repair that Loſs.* Euſebius *therefore was born in* Paleſtine, *about the Cloſe (as 'tis likely) of* Gallienus's *Reign. That he was a Native of* Paleſtine *is hence prov'd, becauſe by the Ancients he is commonly call'd a* Paleſtinian. *So, 'tis certain,* Baſilius, Theodoret, *and others do term him. And although he might have been thus Sur-nam'd from his being Biſhop of the City* Cæſarea, *yet it ſeems to me truer, that he drew that Sur-name from his Country. Indeed, he himſelf does atteſt, in* his Firſt [b] Book concerning the Life of Conſtantine, *that during his being a youth he was educated and converſant in* Paleſtine, *and that* Conſtantine *was firſt ſeen by him there, whilſt he made a journey thorow* Paleſtine *in the Court of* Diocletianus Auguſtus. *Beſides, in the* Second [c] Book of the ſame work *(where he records a Law of* Conſtantine's, *which he wrote to the* Paleſtinians *in favour of the* Chriſtians,) *he does plainly ſhew himſelf to have been a* Paleſtinian. *For, after he has recited the Contents of that Law tranſmitted to the* Paleſtinians, *he adds theſe words.* Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ὡς ἡμᾶς κατελάμπρυνεν βασιλέως γράμμα, ταῦτα διετάττετο. Theſe were the Conſtitutions contained in the Emperour's firſt Edict ſent to Us. *But whereas I have plac'd his Birth upon the Latter end of* Gallienus's *Reign; of this thing I have* Euſebius *himſelf for my Authour. For ſpeaking (in* his Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory,) *concerning* Dionyſius *Biſhop of the* Alexandrians, *he does atteſt that He had lived in his own age, as may be ſeen* in Book 3, Chap. 28. *Wherefore, in regard 'tis manifeſt that* Dionyſius Alexandrinus *departed this life on the twelfth year of* Gallienus's *Empire,* Euſebius *muſt of neceſſity have been born then; if his age fell on thoſe times wherein* Dionyſius *lived. The ſame may likewiſe be gathered from the* Fifth [d] Book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *about the end of it, where ſpeaking concerning* Artemon's Hereſie, *he writes that* Paul of Samoſata *had revived that Hereſie in* [e] *his age. Laſtly, relating (in* his Seventh Book,) *thoſe things which hapned during the Reign of* Gallienus, *before he begins his Diſcourſe concerning the Errour and Condemnation of* Paul of Samoſata, *he has theſe words.* [f] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη μετὰ τοῦτο περὶ τούτων ἱστορίαν, φέρε καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς πῶς μετέπεσεν γνωρίζειν γενεὰν ὁποία τις ἦν, παραδῶμεν. But now, after an hiſtorical relation of theſe things, we will deliver to the knowledge of poſterity an account of our own age. *Whom he had for his Parents, is unknown to us, excepting that* Nicephorus Calliſtus, *following I know not what Authours, does tell us that he was begotten of the Siſter of* Pamphilus *the Martyr. But in* Arius's [g] Letter *to* Euſebius Biſhop of Nicomedia, *he is termed the Brother of* Euſebius Nicomedienſis. *And although by reaſon of his friendſhip he might be called the Brother, yet it ſeems truer to me, that he was either the near Kinſman or Couſin-germane of* Euſebius Nicomedienſis, *eſpecially in regard* Arius, *although many other perſons are there mentioned, yet terms onely* Euſebius of Cæſarea *Brother to him of* Nicomedia. *Beſides,* Euſebius *of* Nicomedia *was a Native of* Syria. *For he was at firſt Biſhop of* Berytus. *Nor was it the uſage then, that ſtrangers and perſons unknown ſhould be preferred to govern Churches. What Maſters he had in ſecular Learning, is in like manner unknown to us. But in ſacred Literature he had* Dorotheus the Eunuch, *a* Presbyter *of the* Antiochian *Church, for his Maſter: of whom alſo he makes an honourable mention in* his Seventh [h] Book. *Although* Euſebius *at that place ſays onely, that he had heard* Dorotheus, *whilſt he expounded the Holy Scriptures in the Church not unfitly. Nevertheleſs, if any one has a mind (with* Trithemius) *to conclude from thoſe words of* Euſebius, *that* Euſebius *was* Dorotheus's *diſciple, truly I ſhall not very much oppoſe him.* Theotecnus *being at that time dead, the Biſhoprick of the Church of* Cæſarea *was adminiſtred*

[a] *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 2. Chap. 4.*

[b] *See Chap. 19.*

[c] *Chap. 43. where ſee Note (a.)*

[d] *See Chap. 28, at the Beginning.*

[e] *Euſebius's*

[f] *Book 7. Chap. 26.*

[g] *Which occurs in Theodoret's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 1. Chap. 5. Edit. Valeſ.*

[h] *Chap. 32.*

niſtred by Agapius, *a perſon of eminent piety, and large bounty towards the poor. By him* Euſebius *was admitted into the Clergy, and entred into the ſtricteſt and moſt intimate friendſhip with* Pamphilus, *who at that time was eminent amongſt the Preſbyters of the Church of* Cæſarea. Pamphilus *was by Nation a* Phœnician, *born at* Berytus, *Scholar to* Pierius *a Preſbyter of the* Alexandrian *Church, as* Photius *relates. Who (in regard he was inflamed with a ſingular Love of ſacred Learning, and with the greateſt diligence imaginable made a Collection of all the Books of Eccleſiaſtick Writers, and eſpecially of* Origen's;) *founded a moſt famous School and Library at* Cæſarea. *Of which School* Euſebius *ſeems to have been the firſt Maſter. Indeed* Euſebius, *in his* [a] Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine, *writes in expreſs words, that* Apphianus, *who compleated his Martyrdom on the third year of the Perſecution, had been inſtructed in the Sacred Scriptures by him in the City* Cæſarea. *From that time* Euſebius *always lived with* Pamphilus *in the cloſeſt intimacy, and continued his inſeparable companion till his death: ſo dear to him, that from his friendſhip he got the ſurname of* Pamphilus. *Nor did* Euſebius *love him whilſt he liv'd, but had a ſingular affection for him when dead alſo: in ſo much that after* Pamphilus's *death, he always made a moſt honourable, and likewiſe a moſt loving mention of him. This is atteſted by thoſe* Three Books which he wrote concerning the Life of Pamphilus the Martyr, *which Books* S[t] Jerome *terms moſt elegant ones. The ſame is likewiſe gathered from many paſſages which occur in* his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *and in* his Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine. *Laſtly, in* his Second Book againſt Sabellius, *which was written by* Euſebius *after the* Nicene Council, *he frequently commends* Pamphilus *the Martyr, although he ſuppreſſes his name. For even in the very beginning of his Diſcourſe he ſays thus.* Puto adhuc aures obſtrepi meas à memoria beati illius viri, &c. I think my Ears are as yet ſtruck by the memory of that Bleſſed man, who frequently made uſe of that devout word. For even your ears do as yet retain the ſound of that word. For I think I hear him ſaying, The onely-begotten Son of God. For this Religious word was always uttered by his mouth. For it was the remembrance of the Onely-Begotten, to the Glory of the unborn Father. Now, we have heard the Apoſtle commanding, that Presbyters ought to be honoured with a double honour, thoſe eſpecially who labour in the Word and Doctrine. *And at pag.* 29, *he ſpeaks of him again in this manner.* Hæc non nos extollunt, &c. Theſe things do not puff us up, [b] remembring that Bleſſed man. Now I wiſh I could ſo ſpeak, as together with you I did always hear from him. But theſe words which are now ſaid, ſeem to have been pleaſing to him. For 'tis the Glory of Good Servants, to ſpeak truth concerning the Lord; and 'tis the honour of thoſe Fathers who have taught well, if their Doctrines be repeated. *And again in the ſame Book, pag.* 37. Hæc audiebamus ſemper à beato illo viro. &c. Theſe words we always heard from that Bleſſed man. For they were often ſpoken in this manner by him: although ſome ſuſpected, that he uttered theſe words with his mouth, but that in his heart he thought otherwiſe. And indeed I remember with you, that I have heard from him, that he hath ſatisfied us with an holy oath, that there was not one thing in his tongue, and another in his heart. *And a little after.* Sed nunc quidem paucis, &c. But now, Let thus much be ſaid by us in ſhort, in memory and honour of that Our Father, ſo Good, ſo Laborious, and every where vigilant for the Churches. For we have not made mention of his Stock, nor of his Education, or Learning, or of [c] the reſt of his Life and Reſolution. *Which paſſages in* Euſebius *(that I may not defraud any one of his commendation,) were ſhown me by the* Moſt Learned Franciſcus Ogerius. *Now, from what I have ſaid it may be evidently enough gathered, that* Euſebius *was joyned to* Pamphilus *by no* [d] *Tye of kindred, but by the Bond of friendſhip onely.* 'Tis certain, Euſebius, *although he names* Pamphilus *in ſo many places, and boaſts ſo highly of his friendſhip, yet never terms him his Kinſman or Relation. Yea, from* Euſebius's *own Teſtimony* 'tis plainly made out, *that* Pamphilus *the Martyr was not* Euſebius's *Kinſman. For in the cloſe of* his Seventh [e] Book of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *where he makes mention of* Agapius *Biſhop of the Church of* Cæſarea, *his words are theſe.* Κατὰ τοῦτον ἐλλογιμώτατον ἀνδρὸς τε βίῳ φιλόσοφον ἀληθῶς, πρεσβείᾳ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἠξιωμένον, Πάμφιλον ἐγνωμεν. In this man's time we knew *Pamphilus* (a moſt eloquent man, and a true Philoſopher in the practiſes of his Life) honoured with a Presbyterſhip of that Church. *Whereas therefore* Euſebius *himſelf does atteſt, that* Pamphilus *was firſt known by him then, it is ſufficiently apparent, that they were not joyned together by any kindred or affinity. In theſe times happned that moſt ſevere Perſecution of the* Chriſtians; *which being firſt begun by* Diocletian, *was by the following Emperours continued to the tenth year. In the time of this Perſecution,* Euſebius, *in regard he was then a* Presbyter *of the Church of* Cæſarea, *reſided almoſt conſtantly in that City, and by continual Exhortations inſtructed many perſons in order to Martyrdom. Amongſt whom was* Apphianus, *a noble Youth, whoſe illuſtrious Combat* Our Euſebius *does relate in* his [f] Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine. *In the ſame Perſecution* Pamphilus *was taken, and caſt into Priſon, where he ſpent two whole years in Bonds. During which time* Euſebius *in no wiſe deſerted his Friend and Companion: but viſited him continually, and in the Priſon wrote together with him* Five Books in defence of Origen: *the* Sixth *and laſt* Book of that Work *he at length finiſhed after* Pamphilus *was dead.* That whole work *was by* Euſebius *and* Pamphilus *dedicated to the Confeſſours living in the Mines of* Paleſtine, *as* Photius *relates in* his Bibliotheca, *Chapter* 118. *In the time of the ſame Perſecution, on account of ſome urgent Buſineſs of the Church, as 'tis probable;* Euſebius *went to* Tyre. *During his reſidence in that City, he atteſts* (Book 8. Chap 7.) *that he himſelf was eye-witneſs of the Glorious Combats of five* Egyptian *Martyrs. And in the* Ninth Chapter of the ſame Book, *he writes that he came into* Egypt *and* Thebaïs, *whilſt the fury of the Perſecution as yet rag'd; and that there he beheld with his own eyes, the admirable conſtancy of many Martyrs of both Sexes. There are thoſe who relate, that* Euſebius *in this Perſecution, to free himſelf from the Troubles of a Priſon, ſacrificed to Idols: and that that was objected againſt him by the* Egyptian *Biſhops and Confeſſours in the* Synod at Tyre, *as we will hereafter relate. But, I doubt not but this is falſe, and a calumny forged by the Enemies of* Euſebius. *For, had ſo*

[a] Chap. 4. where ſee Note (f.)

[b] *The Remembrance of, &c.*

[c] *His other Life.*

[d] Or, *Right.*

[e] Chap. 32. towards the end.

[f] Chap. 4.

great a Crime been really committed by Eusebius, *how could he have been afterwards made Bishop of the Church of* Cæsarea? *How is it likely that he should have been invited by the* Antiochians, *to undertake the Episcopate of that City? And yet* Cardinal Baronius *has catcht up that as certain and undoubted, which was objected against* Eusebius *by the way of contention and wrangling, by his Enemies, nor was ever confirm'd by any one's Testimony. At the same time, a Book was written by* Eusebius *against* Hierocles. *The occasion of writing it was given by* Hierocles *of* Nicomedia, *who about the beginning of this Persecution, when the Churches of the* Christians *were every where demolished, insulting as 'twere over the disquieted Religion, in the City* Nicomedia *published two Books against the faith of Christ, which he entitled* φιλαλήθης. *In which Books amongst other things he asserted this, that* Apollonius Tyaneus *performed far more and greater Miracles than Christ; as* Lactantius *does attest in his* [a] Seventh Book. *But* Eusebius *contemning the Man, rested satisfied in confuting him in a very short Book.* Agapius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *being dead during this interval, and the Persecution being now abated, and peace restored to the Church; by the general consent of all persons* Eusebius *is put into his place. Others make* Agricola *(who was present at, and subscribed to the* Synod of Ancyra, *on the* year of Christ 314,) *Successour to* Agapius. *So* Baronius *in his* Annals, *at the* year of Christ 314; *and* Blondellus *in his* Apology pro sententiâ B. Hieronymi, Chap. 19. *Where he writes, that* Eusebius *undertook the Administration of the Church of* Cæsarea *after* Agricola's *death, about the* year of Christ 315. *But those Subscriptions of the Bishops which are extant in the* Latine Collections of the Canons, *in my judgment seem to have little of certainty and validity in them. For they occur not either in the Greek Copies, or in the* Latine Version of Dionysius Exiguus. *Besides,* Eusebius *reckoning up (in the* Seventh [b] Book of his Ecclesiastick History,) *the Bishops of the chief Sees, under whom the Persecution began and rag'd, ends in* Agapius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *who (says he) took a great deal of pains in that Persecution for the good of his own Church. He therefore must of necessity have sate Bishop untill the end of the Persecution. But* Eusebius *was made Bishop immediately after the Persecution was ended. For when* Paulinus *Bishop of* Tyre *dedicated a* Cathedral, *sometime after Peace and repose was restored to the Church; He, together with other Bishops, was invited by* Paulinus *to its Dedication, and made a most Elegant Oration before him, as we are informed from the* Tenth [c] Book of his Ecclesiastick History. *Now, this hapned before* Licinius *rebell'd against* Constantine, *which fell out on the* year of Our Lord 315. *About these times* Eusebius *wrote those famous Books concerning* Evangelick Demonstration and Preparation. *Which Books, 'tis plain, were written before the* Nicene Council, *in regard they are by name cited in his* Ecclesiastick History, *which was written by* Eusebius *before that* Council, *as we have shown in* Our Annotations. *In the interim* Licinius, *who managed the Government in the Eastern Parts, incited by a sudden rage, began to persecute the* Christians: *especially those that were Prelates, of whom he had a suspicion that they shewed more of favour to* Constantine, *and put up prayers for him. But* Constantine *undertook an Expedition against* Licinius, *and in a short time compell'd him, after he had been vanquished in two fights by Land and Sea, to a Surrendry. And thus Peace was again by* Constantine *restored to the* Christians, *who inhabited the East. But a far more vehement disturbance was at that time rais'd amongst the* Christians *themselves. For* Arius *a Presbyter of the City* Alexandria, *in regard he would publickly in the Church preach up some new and impious Opinions concerning the Son of God, and having been frequently admonished by* Alexander *the Bishop, would nevertheless persist in those Assertions, was at length condemned together with the Associates of his own Errour, and was expell'd out of the Church. Highly resenting this his Condemnation, he sent Letters, with a draught of his own Faith, to all the Bishops of the neighbouring Cities: wherein he complain'd, that he had been undeservedly deposed by* Alexander, *in regard he asserted the same Points that the rest of the Eastern Prelates maintained. Many Bishops impos'd upon by these Artifices, and powerfully incited by* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia, *who was an open Favourer of* Arius's *Party, wrote Letters in defence of* Arius, *to* Alexander *Bishop of the City* Alexandria, *entreating him to restore* Arius *to his former place. Our* Eusebius *was one of their number, whose Letter written to* Alexander, *is extant in the* Acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod, *and is by us put amongst the* [d] Testimonies of the Ancients. Eusebius Cæsariensis's *example being presently followed by* Theodotus *and* Paulinus, *the one Bishop of* Laodicea, *the other of* Tyre; *they interceded with* Alexander *for* Arius's *restitution. Whose Letters, as Patronizing his own Opinions, in regard* Arius *boasted of in all places, and by the authority of such great men drew many persons into a Society of his own Errour; on this account* Alexander *himself also was forc'd to write Letters to the other Bishops of the East, whereby it might be made publickly known, that* Arius, *together with his Associates, had been justly condemn'd and depos'd. Two Letters of* Alexanders *are at this present extant: the one to* Alexander *Bishop of* Constantinople, *in which* Alexander *complains of three Bishops of* Syria, *who agreeing in opinion with* Arius *had inflamed the quarrel, which they ought rather to have extinguished, and had rendred it fiercer than it was before. These three are* Eusebius, Theodotus, *and* Paulinus, *as may be collected from* Arius's *Letter written to* Eusebius *Bishop of* Nicomedia. *The other Letter of* Alexanders *written to all the Bishops throughout the world,* Socrates *records in his* First [e] Book. *To these Letters of* Alexander *almost all the Eastern Bishops subscrib'd: amongst whom the Prelates of chiefest note were,* Philogonius *Bishop of* Antioch, Eustathius *of* Berœa, *and* Macarius *of* Jerusalem. *Now, those Bishops who seem'd to be of* Arius's *side, in regard they saw themselves severely touch'd in* Alexanders *Letters, made it their business to defend* Arius *with far more of fierceness and Vehemency: but most especially* Eusebius Nicomediensis. *For our* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *together with* Patrophilus *and* Paulinus, *and other Bishops of* Syria, *concluded upon this onely, that* Arius *the* Presbyter *should have a Liberty of holding Assemblies in his own Church; nevertheless, that he should be subject to* Alexander *the Bishop, and should earnestly request of him that he might be admitted to Peace and Communion. The Bishops in this manner disagreeing amongst*

[a] He should have said *his fifth Book*; where see Chap. 2, and 3. p. 307, &c. *Edit. Thys.*

[b] Chap. 32.

[c] See Chap. 4. where *Eusebius* has inserted this his Speech.

[d] *Valesius*, after this his account of *Eusebius*'s Life & writings, adds a Collection (which he had made himself) of the Testimonies of the Ancients, both *for* and *against Eusebius*; a translation whereof into *English*, was lookt upon as needless.

[e] Chap. 6.

amongst themselves, and some favouring Alexanders, *others* Arius's *side; the Contention was incredibly heightned. To cure which mischief,* Constantine *assembled a General Synod of Bishops (such a one as no age had ever seen,) from all parts of the* Roman World, *in* Nicæa *a City of* Bithynia. *Of this Greatest and most celebrated Council,* Our Eusebius *was not the least part. For he had both the first place in the right-hand* [a] *Side, and also in the name of the whole Synod made a Speech to the Emperour* Constantine, *who sate on a Golden Chair in the midst between the two Rows of those who sate together* [in the Council;] *as he himself attests in the* Preface to his first [b] Book concerning the Life of Constantine, *and in his* [c] Third Book of the same work. *The same is likewise confirmed by* Sozomen, *in the* First [d] Book of his Ecclesiastick History. *Farther, when there was a great contest amongst the Bishops concerning a* [e] *Draught of the Creed,* Our Eusebius *proposed a Draught that was exactly true and plain, and which was commended by the consent of all the Bishops, and of the Emperour Himself. But, in regard something seem'd to be wanting in that Draught, in order to confuting the impiety of the new Opinion; the Fathers of the* Nicene Synod *judged these words as necessary to be further added,* Very God of Very God; begotten not made, being of One Substance with the Father. *They likewise annex'd* Anathematisms, *against those who should assert that* the Son of God was made of things which are not, *and that* there was a time when He was not. *And at first indeed* Our Eusebius *refused to admit of the Term* Consubstantial. *But afterwards, informed by the other Bishops what the import and meaning of that word was, he at length consented and subscrib'd to this Creed, as he himself relates in his* [f] Letter to his Diocess of Cæsarea. *Some affirm, that* Eusebius, *forc'd by necessity, and out of a fear of the Emperour, rather than from the Sentiment of his own mind, had subscrib'd to the* Nicene Creed. *I might indeed be easily induc'd to believe that, concerning others who were present at* this Synod. *But, I can't think so of* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea. *For after the* Nicene Synod, Eusebius *always condemned those who would assert that the Son of God was made of nothing, as 'tis plain from* his Books against Marcellus, *and expressly from the* ninth and tenth Chapter of his First Book De Ecclesiastica Theologia. Athanasius *does likewise attest the same concerning him. Who (though he has often related that* Eusebius Cæsariensis *had subscribed to the* Nicene Synod, *yet) does never declare, that he did that dissemblingly and in pretence onely. Had* Eusebius *subscrib'd to the* Nicene Council, *not heartily, but by fraud and under a colour; why did he afterwards send that* Letter *I have mentioned, to* his Diocess of Cæsarea, *wherein he profess'd ingenuously, that he had embraced that Faith, which had been published in the* Nicene Council? *After the* Nicene Synod, *the* Arians *out of a fear of the Emperour, were for some little time quiet. Resuming their boldness presently, after they had by subtlety crept into the Prince's favour; by all ways and arts they began to Persecute the Catholick Prelates. Their first assault was made against* Eustathius *Bishop of the City* Antioch, *who was Eminent both for the Glory of Confession, and was also accounted the Chief amongst the Assertors of the* Nicene Faith. *Him therefore they accuse before the Emperour, because he maintained* Sabellius's *impiety, and because he had reproach't* Helena Augusta *the Emperour's Mother. A numerous Assembly of Bishops is convened in the City* Antioch, *in which presided* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia, *the Chief and Ring-leader of the whole Faction.* Eusebius *of* Cæsarea *was likewise present at* this Synod. Eustathius *therefore having been accused by* Cyrus *Bishop of the* Bereans, *because he held the impious Doctrine of* Sabellius, *and moreover an accusation of* [g] *incontinency having been framed against him, is thrust out of his own See. On which account a most impetuous Tumult is rais'd at* Antioch; *the people being divided into two Parties, some requesting* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *might be put into* Eustathius's *place; others desiring* Eustathius *their Bishop might be restored to them. And it had come to blows, had not a fear of the Emperour, and the Judges authority repress'd them. The Sedition being at length quieted, and* Eustathius *banisht, Our* Eusebius *(although entreated both by the people, and by the Bishops also that were present, to undertake the Administration of the* Antiochian *Church, yet) refused to do that. And when the Bishops by Letters written to* Constantine, *had acquainted Him both with their own* [vote,] *and with the suffrage of all the people;* Eusebius *wrote his Letters also to* Constantine. *Whereto the Emperour* Constantine *gave answer, and highly commended* Eusebius's *resolution.* Eustathius *having in this manner been depos'd, which was done on the year of Christ* 330, *as I have remark'd in my* [h] Annotations; *the* Arians *turn the violence of their fury upon* Athanasius. *And in the first place they complain of his Ordination, in the Prince's presence: then, that* [i] *he exacted an Impost of a Linen Garment from the* Provincials: *that he had broken a sacred cup: lastly, that he had murdered one* Arsenius *a Bishop. Therefore* Constantine *wearied with their most troublesome complaints, indicted a Council in the City* Tyre, *and commanded* Athanasius *the Bishop to repair thither, to make his defence. In that Synod,* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *amongst others, sate as Judge; whom* Constantine *had a mind should be present at that Council.* Potamo *Bishop of* Heracleopolis *(who had come thither with* Athanasius *the Bishop, and some Prelates of* Egypt; *) seeing him sitting in the Council, is said to have accosted him in these words:* [Is it fit,] Eusebius, that You should sit, and that the innocent *Athanasius* should stand to be judg'd by You? Who can bear such things as these? Tell me, were not you in Custody with me during the time of the Persecution? And I lost an eye in defence of the Truth; but you appeared maim'd in no part of your body, nor did you undergo Martyrdome, but are alive and whole. By what means did you escape out of Prison? Unless you promised our persecutors that you would do the [k] detestable thing, and perhaps you have done it. *These things are in this manner related by* Epiphanius *in the* Heresie of the Meletians. *From which words by the by it appears, that they are mistaken who relate, that* our Eusebius *had sometime sacrificed to Idols, and that that was openly objected against him in the* Tyrian Synod. *For* Potamo *accused not* Eusebius, *as if he had sacrificed to Idols; but onely, his dismission out of Prison safe and whole, had given* Potamo *an occasion of suspecting that concerning him. Nevertheless 'tis possible, that* Eusebius *might have been dismist out of Prison by some other way, than that which* Potamo *has related. Farther, from* Epiphanius's *words it may, I think, be gathered, that*

[a] Or, *Wing.*

[b] Chap. 1. where see Note (a.)
[c] Chap. 11.
[d] Chap. 19.

[e] Or, *Form of Faith.*

[f] See this Letter in *Socrates*, Book 1. Chap. 8. pag. 217, &c. of our *English* Version.

[g] See the Story in *Theodoret's Eccles. Hist.* Book 1. Chap. 21. *Edit. Vales.*

[h] See *Life of Constantine*, Book 3. Chap. 59. note (c.)

[i] This calumny the *Melitians* fram'd, instigated by *Eusebius* of Nicomedia; as *Athanasius* tells us in *his Apology to Constantius:* See *his Works*, Tom. 1. p. 778. *Edit. Paris.* 1627.

[k] That is, *sacrifice to Idols.*

that Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *presided at* this Synod. *For he adds, that* Eusebius *being sorely vex'd at the hearing of these words, dismissed the Council. Yet from other Writers we have it for certain, that not* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *but* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia *presided at the* Tyrian Synod. *After the Council held at* Tyre, *all the Bishops who had sate together there, by the Emperour's Order betook themselves to* Jerusalem; *to celebrate the Consecration of that Great Church, which* Constantine *had erected in that place, in honour of* Christ. *There* Our Eusebius *grac'd the Solemnity, by several Sermons which he made in the Church. And when the Emperour by most sharp Letters had summon'd the Bishops to his own Court, that in his presence they might give an account of those things, which by fraud and out of hatred they had transacted against* Athanasius; Our Eusebius *together with five others came to* Constantinople, *and certified the Prince concerning all Transactions. Then also he recited* his Tricennalian Oration *in the Emperour's own presence, in the Palace. Whereto the Emperour hearkened with the greatest joy imaginable, not so much in respect of his own, as God's Praises, whom* Eusebius *has magnified thorowout that whole* Oration. *This was the* Second Oration *that* Eusebius *spoke in the Palace, as he himself attests in* his Fourth [a] Book concerning the Life of Constantine. *For he had before made an Oration in the Palace* concerning the Sepulchre of Our Lord: *which the Emperour heard standing, nor could he ever be perswaded, though he was once and again entreated by* Eusebius, *to sit down in the Seat set for him; saying, 'twas fit, that Discourses concerning God should be heard by persons standing; as* Eusebius *relates in the* thirty third Chapter of the same Book. *Farther, how dear and acceptable* Our Eusebius *was to* Constantine, *may be known both from these matters I have mentioned, and also from many other circumstances. For he both frequently received Letters from him, which occur inserted in the* foresaid Books. *Nor was it seldom that he was sent for to the Palace, and entertain'd at Table, and honoured with private discourse. Moreover,* Constantine *related that Vision of the Cross, which he saw in the Heaven at such time as he was making his Expedition against* Maxentius, *to* Our Eusebius; *and shewed him* the Labarum, *which he had* [*ordered to be*] *made, to express the likeness of that Cross, as* Eusebius *himself does* [b] *attest. And when he wanted* [c] *Copies of the Sacred Scriptures for the use of those Churches which he had built at* Constantinople, *he committed the care and over-sight of transcribing them to* Eusebius; *in regard he well knew him to be most skilfull in these matters. Lastly, when* Our Eusebius *had Dedicated a* [d] Book concerning the Feast of Easter *to him, that Present was so acceptable to* Constantine, *that he ordered* that Book *to be forthwith translated into* Latine, *and by a Letter written to* Eusebius *entreated him, that he would as soon as possible communicate the works of this nature which he was upon, to the Studious in sacred matters. About the same time* Eusebius *comprized a Description of the* Jerusalem-Church, *and of the sacred Gifts which had been consecrated there, in a* small Book, *and Dedicated it to the Emperour* Constantine. Which Book, *together with* his Tricennalian Oration, *he had plac'd at the close of* his Books concerning the Life of Constantine. *But* this Book *is not now extant. At the same time also* Five Books *were written by* Eusebius *against* Marcellus: *the last three whereof* De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ, *he Dedicated to* Flaccillus *Bishop of* Antioch. *Now* Flaccillus *entred upon that Bishoprick a little before the* Synod of Tyre, *which was convened in the Consulate of* Constantius *and* Albinus, *on the* year of Our Lord's Nativity 335. *'Tis certain,* Eusebius (*in* his First Book against Marcellus De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ, Chap. 14,) *writes in express words, that* Marcellus *had been deservedly condemned by the Church. Now* Marcellus *was first condemned in the* Constantinopolitan Synod, *by those very Bishops who had consecrated* Constantine's *Church at* Jerusalem, *that is on the* year of Christ 335, *or else* 336, *as* Baronius *will have it. Indeed* [e] Socrates *acknowledges but* Three Books of Eusebius's *against* Marcellus; *those namely which are entituled* De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ: *whereas nevertheless, the whole Work against* Marcellus, *was by* Eusebius *comprized in* Five Books. *Farther, of all* Eusebius's Books, *the last seem to be* those Four concerning the Life of Constantine. *For* they *were written after the death of that Emperour, whom* Eusebius *did not long survive. For he dyed about the beginning of* Constantius Augustus's *Reign, a little before the death of* Constantine Junior, *which hapned when* Acindynus *and* Proculus *were* Consuls, *on the* year of Christ 340; *as may be gathered from* Socrates's Second [f] Book. *Now, what* Scaliger *says, in* his Animadversions upon Eusebius, pag. 250 of the last Edition, *that* Eusebius's Books against Porphyrius *were written under* Constantius *Son to* Constantine the Great, *can't so easily be admitted of by us, in regard 'tis confirmed by the Testimony of no ancient Writer. But what the same* Scaliger *adds in that very place, that the* three last Books of The Evangelick Demonstration, *the* eighteenth *namely,* ninteenth, *and* twentieth, *were written by* Eusebius *against* Porphyrius; *therein he does manifestly blunder.* Saint Jerome [g] *writes indeed, that* Eusebius *answered* Porphyrius *in three Volumes, that is, in the* eighteenth, nineteenth, *and* twentieth; *who in the* twelfth *and* thirteenth of those Books which he published against the Christians, *had attempted to confute the Book of the* Prophet Daniel. But Saint Jerome *does not mean* Eusebius's Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration, *as* Scaliger *thought, but the* Books he wrote against Porphyrius; *which had this Title,* ἐλέγχε καὶ ἀπολογίας [Books] of Confutation and Apology, *as may be gathered from* Photius's Bibliotheca. *Farther, I am of Opinion, that* these Books *were written by* Eusebius *after* his Ecclesiastick History. *And this I conjecture from hence, because* Our Eusebius *in the* Sixth [h] Book of his Ecclesiastick History, *where he produces a famous passage out of* Porphyrius's Third Book against the Christians, *makes no mention of those Books wherein he had answered* Porphyrius: *whenas nevertheless, he is wont to be a diligent Quoter of his own works, and does frequently referre the Studious to the reading of them. But because a fit opportunity presents it self, I have a mind to make some few Remarks here concerning* his Books of Ecclesiastick History. *For on their account chiefly, all this Labour hath been undertaken by us. Indeed, much hath been written by* Our Eusebius *for the profit and advantage of the Catholick Church, and in confirmation of the truth of the* Christian *faith; partly against the* Jews, *and partly against*

[a] Chap. 46.

[b] *Life of Constant.* Book 1. Chap. 28 & 30.

[c] Id. B. 4. Chap. 36.

[d] Book 4. Chap. 34, 35.

[e] *Eccles. Hist.* B. 2. Chap. 20. where see *Note (k.)*

[f] Chap. 4. & 5.

[g] In *his Preface to his Comments on Daniel.*

[h] Chap. 19.

againſt the Heathens. Nevertheleſs amongſt all his Books, his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory *does deſervedly bear away the Bell. For, before* Euſebius, *many perſons had written Books in defence of the* Chriſtian *Faith, and by moſt cogent Reaſons had confuted the* Jews *Contumacy, and the Errour of the Heathens. But there was no perſon before* Euſebius, *who would deliver to poſterity an Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtick Affairs. On which account* Our Euſebius *is the more to be commended, who was both the firſt that found out this Subject; and alſo, after he had attempted it, left it entire and perfect in every reſpect. 'Tis certain, although many have been found after him, who, incited by his example, have undertaken to commit to writing Eccleſiaſtick matters; yet they have all begun their Hiſtory from thoſe times wherein* Our Euſebius *had cloſed his Work: but the Hiſtory of the foregoing times, which he had ſet forth in* Ten Books, *they have left to him entire and untoucht. Wherefore, ſhould any one have a mind to term him the Father and Founder of* Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *truly that perſon would ſeem to give him this ſurname not abſurdly nor without cauſe. Now, what way* Euſebius *applied himſelf to this Subject, 'tis not hard to conjecture. For, whereas in the laſt part of* his Chronical Canons, *he had accurately noted the Time of Our Lords Coming, and of his paſſion; the names alſo of the Biſhops who had ſate in the four chief Churches, and of the famous men who had flouriſhed in the Church; and laſtly, in their own time and order had digeſted the Hereſies and Perſecutions wherewith the Church had been diſquieted; He was led by the hand as 'twere, by little and little to the writing an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory; that he might handle thoſe matters more largely and copiouſly in* his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *which in* his Chronical Canons *he had comprized in a Summary as 'twere. Indeed he himſelf, in the* [a] Preface to his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *does plainly ſhew that which I have ſaid. Where alſo he requeſts, that Pardon may be granted him by candid Readers, if peradventure he ſhall not ſo largely and copiouſly purſue and finiſh this Subject: for* [he ſays,] *that he was the firſt perſon who applied himſelf to this ſort of writing, and firſt began to walk in a way which had not before been worn by any one's footſteps. But this may ſeem to ſome perſons, not ſo much an excuſe and deſire of Pardon, as an endeavour to procure praiſe and glory. Farther, notwithſtanding it appears evident from* Euſebius's *own Teſtimony, that he wrote* his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory *after* his Chronological Canons; *yet 'tis ſtrange that* Both thoſe Works *proceed to one and the ſame Limit, namely to* Conſtantine's twentieth year, *which was the* year of Chriſt 325. *That moreover may deſervedly be wondred at, that although the* Nicene Synod *was celebrated on* Conſtantine's [b] Vicennalia, *yet no mention is made of it, either in* his Chronicon, *or* Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory. *For, whereas in* his Latine Chronicon, *at the* Fifteenth year of Conſtantine, *theſe words occur*; Alexandrinæ Eccleſiæ 19. ordinatur Epiſcopus Alexander; &c: Alexander is ordained the nineteenth Biſhop of the Alexandrian Church; by whom Arius the Presbyter being ejected out of that Church, joyns many to his own impiety. To confute the perfidiouſneſs of which perſons, a Synod of 318 Biſhops being conven'd at Nicæa a City of Bithynia, ruin'd all the ſubtil devices of the Hereticks by the oppoſition of [the term] HOMOOUSIOS: *'tis plain enough, that thoſe words were not written by* Euſebius, *but were added by* Saint Jerome, *who* interpolated Euſebius's Chronicon, *by inſerting many paſſages on his own head. For, to omit that, namely that the mention of the* Nicene Synod *is here ſet in a forreign and diſagreeable place; who can ever believe, that* Euſebius *would have ſpoken in this manner concerning Arius, or would have inſerted the Term* HOMOOUSIOS *into* his own Chronicon? Which word *always diſpleaſed* him, *as we ſhall ſee afterwards. How ſhould* Euſebius *ſay, that there were three hundred and eighteen Biſhops preſent at the* Nicene Synod? *when in* his Third [c] Book concerning the Life of Conſtantine, *he writes in moſt expreſs words, that ſomething more than two hundred and fifty ſate in that Synod. Yet I don't doubt, but the* Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory *was finiſhed by* Euſebius *ſome years after the* Nicene Synod. *But, whereas* Euſebius *had reſolved to cloſe* his Hiſtory, *with that Peace which after* Diocletian's *Perſecution ſhone from heaven upon the Church, as he himſelf atteſts in the beginning of his work; he deſignedly avoided mentioning the* Nicene Synod, *leaſt he ſhould be compell'd to ſet forth the ſtrifes and broils of the Biſhops quarrelling one with another. For Writers of Hiſtories ought chiefly to take care of and provide for this, that they may conclude their work with an illuſtrious and glorious cloſe, as* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis *has long ſince told us in* his compariſon of Herodotus *and* Thucydides. *Now, what more illuſtrious Event could be wiſh'd for by* Euſebius, *than that Repoſe which by* Conſtantine *had been reſtored to the* Chriſtians *after a moſt bloudy Perſecution; when, the Perſecutours being every where extinct, and laſt of all* Licinius *taken off, no fear of paſt miſchiefs was now left remaining? With this Peace therefore* Euſebius *choſe to cloſe his Hiſtory, rather than with the mention of the* Nicene Synod. *For in* that Synod *the Diviſions ſeem'd not ſo much compoſed, as renewed. And that, not by the fault of the Synod it ſelf; but by their pertinacious obſtinacy who refuſed to acquieſce in the moſt wholeſome determinations of the* Sacred Council. *And Let thus much ſuffice to have been ſaid by us in reference to the* Life and Writings of Euſebius.

It remains, that we ſpeak ſomething concerning his Faith and Orthodoxy. *And in the firſt place I would have the Readers know, that they are not to expect here from us a defence of* Euſebius. *For it belongs not to us to* [d] *pronounce concerning matters of this nature, in regard in theſe things we ought rather to follow the Judgment of the Church, and the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers. Wherefore we will ſet down ſome Heads onely here, whereon relying as on ſome firm foundations, we may be able to determine with more of certainty concerning* Euſebius's *faith. Whereas therefore the Opinions of the Ancients in reference to* our Euſebius *are various; and ſome have thought, that he was a Catholick; others, an Heretick; others* [e] διλωτον, *that is a perſon of a doubtfull and wavering faith; we muſt enquire, to which opinion chiefly we ought to aſſent. 'Tis a conſtant Rule of the Law, in doubtfull matters the more favourable and milder opinion ought to be embrac'd. Beſides, whereas all the* Weſterns, Saint Jerome *onely excepted, have entertained honourable ſentiments concerning* our Euſebius; *and whereas the* Gallican Church *hath enroll'd him amongſt the number of* Saints, *as may be*

[a] Book 1. Chap. 1.

[b] Twentieth year of His Empire.

[c] Chap. 9.

[d] Judge, or give ſentence.

[e] Double-Tongue'd. See *Socrat.* Book 1. Chap. 23.

be gathered from Victorius Aquitanus, [a] Usuardus, and others; without question 'tis better, that we should subscribe to the Judgment of our Fathers, than to that of the Eastern Schismaticks. Lastly, whose authority ought to be greater in this matter, than that of the Bishops of Rome? But Gelasius in his Book De Duabus Naturis, has recounted Our Eusebius amongst the Catholick Writers, and has recited two authorities out of his Books. Moreover, Pope Pelagius [b] terms him the most honourable amongst Historians, and pronounces him free from all Spot of Heresie, notwithstanding he had highly commended heretical Origen. But some body will say, that the Judgment of the Easterns is rather to be followed, in regard the Easterns were better able to know Eusebius, as being a man of their own language. But it may be answered, that there are not wanting some amongst the Easterns, who have thought well of Our Eusebius. Amongst whom is [c] Socrates, and [d] Gelasius Cyzicenus. But, if the judgment of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod be opposed against us, Our answer is in readiness. For, Eusebius's Faith was not the subject of that Synod's debate, but the worship of Images. In order to the overthrowing whereof, when the Adversaries, a little before conven'd in the Imperial City, had produc'd an Evidence out of Eusebius's Letter to Constantia, and laid the greatest stress thereon; the Fathers of the Seventh Synod, that they might lessen the authority of this Evidence, cryed out, that Eusebius was an Arian. But they did this by the by onely, from the occasion and hatred of that Letter; not designedly, or after a cognizance of the Cause. They do indeed produce some passages out of Eusebius, whereby they would prove, that he adher'd to the Arian Opinion. But they make no difference between Eusebius's Books before the Nicene Council, and those he wrote after that Council: which nevertheless ought by all means to be done, to the end a certain and just sentence might be pronounc'd concerning Eusebius's faith For, whatever he wrote before the Nicene Synod, ought not be objected and charg'd as a fault upon Eusebius. Farther, Eusebius's Letter to Alexander, wherein he intercedes with him for Arius, was doubtless written before the Nicene Synod. Therefore, that Testimony of the Fathers of the Seventh Synod against Eusebius, although it has the greatest autority, yet seems to us a rash judgment, before the matter was heard, rather than a Synodal Sentence. But the Greeks may have leave to think thus concerning our Eusebius, and to call him a Borderer upon the Arian Heresie, or even an Arian. But who can with patience bear Saint Jerome, who not content to term him Heretick and Arian, does frequently stile him a Ring-leader of the Arians? Can he be justly termed a Ring-leader of the Arians, who after the Nicene Synod always condemned the Opinion of the Arians? Let his Books De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ be perused, which he wrote against Marcellus long after the Nicene Council. We shall find what I have said, that they were condemn'd by him, who would affirm, that the Son of God was made of things which are not, and that there was a time when He was not. Athanasius does likewise attest the same thing concerning Eusebius, in his Letter about the Decrees of the Nicene Synod, in these words. Καὶ πέπονθέ τι δεινόν. ὡς γὲ ἀπολωλώς, &c. And truly he was unhappy in that: For, to the end he might clear himself, he in future accused the Arians, because, when they would maintain that the Son [of God] existed not before He was begotten, by this means they might deny Him to have existed before His incarnation. *And this is the Testimony which* Athanasius *gives* Eusebius, *who bore* Eusebius *a private grudge.* But S[t] Jerome *who had no reasons of hatred against* Eusebius, *yea who had profited so much from his writings; who had rendred* his Chronical Canon, *and* his Book De Locis Hebraïcis *into* Latine; *yet brands* Eusebius *with this reproach, which even his most malicious Enemies never fastned on him. The reason of which thing I am not able to find out, unless it be, that* Saint Jerome, *having conceived an hatred against* Origen, *beyond measure persecuted all the defenders of his Opinions, and especially* Our Eusebius. *It must indeed be confest, that* Our Eusebius *(although he can't deservedly be termed a Ring-leader of the* Arians, *yet) after the* Nicene Synod *was perpetually conversant with the Chiefs of the* Arians, *and together with them opposed the Catholick Bishops,* Eustathius *namely and* Athanasius, *the principal Maintainers of* HOMOOUSIOS. *That also seems worthy of reprehension in* Eusebius, *that although he always asserted the Eternity of the Son of God against the* Arians, *yet never heartily approved of the word* HOMOOUSIOS. *'Tis certain, he has never made use of that term, either in* his Books against Marcellus, *or in* his Orations concerning the faith against Sabellius. *Yea, in* his Second Book against Sabellius, *he does plainly intimate, that that word, in regard it occurs not in the Scriptures, is displeasing to him. For thus he says.* Sicut ergo de his quæ possunt quæri, inertium est non quærere: *&c.* As therefore concerning those matters which may be search'd into, 'tis sluggishness not to enquire: so, in reference to them which there is no necessity of searching into, 'tis boldness to enquire. What things then ought to be search'd into? Those which we find recorded in the Scriptures. But, what we don't find in the Scriptures, let us not search after. For, were it behoveable that they should be known to us, doubtless the Holy Spirit would have plac'd them in the Scriptures. *And a little after he has these words.* Let us not in such a manner expose our selves to danger, but let us speak safely. But if any thing be written, let it not be blotted out. *And in the end of his Oration he expresses himself in this manner.* Speak what is written, and the controversie will be ended. *In which words* Eusebius *no doubt touches upon the term* HOMOOUSIOS. *But now, if you please, let us hear the* Testimonies of the Ancients *concerning* Eusebius. *Wherein this is chiefly to be remark'd, although the Judgments of men concerning* our Eusebius *have been various, in reference to the purity of the Ecclesiastick Opinions; yet all do unanimously give him the commendation of most profound Learning. One onely person,* Joseph Scaliger, *has lived in our Fathers memory, who, hurried on with a rash boldness and lust of reproaching, has endeavoured to deprive* Eusebius *of this Glory of his Learning, which even his Adversaries never envied him. His* [d] *words, if any one be desirous of knowing them, we have plac'd amongst the* Testimonies of the Ancients; *not that*

[a] In His *Martyrology.*

[b] In Epist. tertiâ ad Eliam Aquileiensem & alios Episcopos Istriæ.

[c] See his defence of him, in Book 2. Chap. 21.

[d] Book 2. *De Synod.* Nicænâ, Chap. 1.

[d] See *Scaliger's Elench. Trihæres.* chap. 27: and Book 6. *De Emend. Temp.* chap. 1. about the end: and his *Animadversions on Eusebius's Chronicon*, pag. 8.

that we have any great value for his judgment, in this particular eſpecially; but with this deſign rather, that his unreaſonable detraction might be expoſed to publick view. Who having reſolved to write Comments on Euſebius's Chronical Canon, *in the very entrance of that work reproves* Saint Jerome, *becauſe he hath termed* Euſebius *a moſt Learned man. And at firſt I had indeed determined, to have reaſoned at large againſt* Scaliger, *and to have confuted his Opinion by a more copious anſwer. But in regard that matter requires a greater Leiſure, and would peradventure be tedious to the Readers, it will be more opportunely deferred to another time.*

Errata

REPD. UL

Errata in the Text.

p. denotes *the Page*, c. *the Column*, l. *the Line*, r. *read*.

P. 3. c. 2. l. 51. read, *and changed this curſed earth for thoſe heavenly delights and pleaſures of old.* p. 18. c. 1. l. 47. r. *Alabarches.* p. 19. c. 2. l. 8. from the Bottome, r. *beſought.* p. 21. c. 2. l. 8. r. *ſecond.* p. 34. c. 2. l. 51. r. *nicer.* p. 47. c. 1. l. 8. r. *Symbol* or *Signall.* p. 58. c. 1. l. 26. r. *aſſigne me a day, and.* p. 60. c. 2. l. 66. r. *monuments of his ingencity.* p. 63. c. 2. l. 56. r. *Syriac* [*Goſpel,*]. p. 72. c. 2. l. 26. r. *Tablet.* p. 97. c. 1. l. 54. r. *Docetæ.* ibid. c. 2. l. 26. r. *concerning faſting.* p. 113. c. 2. l. 15. and 16. r. *Biſhop in a Catholick Church.* p. 120. c. 1. l. 14. r. *For with ſufficient reaſon we abominate.* ibid. l. 17. r. *introduced.* p. 140. c. 1. l. 3, 4, and 5. r. *congregations; and the multitudes of Aſſemblies thorowout every City; and thoſe famous concourſes* [*of the people*] p. 172. c. 1. l. 23. r. *devotion.* p. 175. c. 2. l. 19. r. *devotion.* p. 178. c. 2. l. 60. r. *devotion.* p. 183. c. 2. l. 3, 4, and 5. r. *to place here an entire and compleat Panegyrick.* p. 189. c. 1. l. 32. r. *ſides of the whole Church.* p. 212. c. 2. l. 34. r. *For how.* ibid. l. 44 and 45. r. *my heart hath ſent forth a good word.* p. 215. c. 1. l. 67. r. *and by the greateſt part were with you.* p. 230. c. 1. l. 29. r. *But the Emperour's mother.* p. 237. c. 1. l. 46. r. *God be our Judge.* p. 238. c. 1. l. 35. r. *which is a Suburb of the.* p. 242. c. 2. l. 24. r. *Church of Conſtantinople.* p. 248. c. 1. l. 32. r. *conſulate of Marcellinus.* p. 251. c. 1. l. 11. r. *deferred the conſtituting.* p. 267. c. 1. l. 9. r. *For he ſhall ſit.* p. 360. c. 2. l. 36. r. *Gabala.* p. 367. c. 1. l. 59. r. *Comana.* p. 382. c. 1. l. 29 and 30. r. *by Helion the Patricius, he himſelf.* In the Life of *Evagrius*, p. 3. l. 2. r. *the dignity of a Quæſtorius.* p. 405. c. 2. l. 15. r. *we glorified God the Saviour.* p. 423. c. 1. l. 42. r. *the Biſhops Paſchaſinus and.* p. 597. c. 1. l. 26. r. *Snare of ſouls lying conceal'd in.* ibid. c. 2. l. 9. r. *great Emperour alſo.* p. 677. c. 2. l. 27. r. *worſe.* p. 688. c. 1. l. 8. r. *Harmonious Univerſe.*

After page 154, the next is by miſtake mark'd 157: but that will give the Reader no diſturbance, becauſe from the number laſt nam'd the pages are continued in order, to the end of the work; and the Index's are figured accordingly.

The lines are counted from the top of the page, except where 'tis otherwiſe expreſt in theſe Errata.

Errata in the Notes.

Page 4. Column 1. Line 80. read, ἐκδεδομένῳ. p. 15. c. 2. l. 30. r. *Tiberius.* p. 17. c. 1. l. 3. r. *Centurion of the Proconſular office.* p. 21. c. 2. l. 2. r. *not in his firſt, but in his ſecond Apology.* p. 47. c. 1. l. 15. r. *Symbol or Signall.* p. 78. c. 1. l. 4. from the bottom, read *whole ſtory about the Cells.* p. 83. c. 2. l. 1. r. *the publick Treaſure.* p. 88. c. 2. l. 43. r. *in the name of Eulogiæ.* p. 98. c. 1. l. 41. r. *ſignifies a narration onely.* ibid. l. 59. r. *which are Printed.* p. 120. c. 2. l. 24. r. *ſolemn prayer of the Euchariſt.* p. 123. c. 2. l. 25. r. *in his Libel which.* p. 136. c. 1. l. 27. r. ἐλαδδεῖαν. p. 172. c. 2. l. 2. from the bottom, read, *a ſon of God.* p. 180. c. 1. l. 12. r. *Note (o.)* p. 183. c. 2. l. 15. r. *and we, an entire and compleat.* p. 189. c. 1. l. 37. blot out *and.* p. 215. c. 2. l. 16. r. *Orthodoxæ.* p. 223. c. 1. l. 7. r. *chap. 45.* p. 258. c. 2. l. 25. r. *which is born or begotten.* p. 263. c. 1. l. 35. r. *we owe.* p. 266. c. 2. l. 8. r. *at this place.* p. 310. c. 1. l. 60. read *Saſima.* p. 324. c. 1. line 4. from the bottom, read, *an hundred and thirty ſeaven.* p. 331. c. 1. l. 28. r. *Saſima.* p. 336. c. 2. in the laſt line, read, *in which he terms him Rhutupinus Latro.* p. 353. c. 1. l. 6. r. ἢ ἐπετέλων. ibid. l. 9. r. ἣν ἐπετέλων. p. 357. c. 1. l. 13. r. *Learns the Letters.* p. 434. c. 1. l. 51. r. ἀπ' ἀυτῆς. p. 451. c. 2. l. 57. r. *who imagine* [*or fancy*] p. 470. c. 2. blot out *almoſt an Iſland.* p. 538. c. 2. l. 17. r. *chap. 21.* p. 559. c. 1. l. 44. r. παλαιζίνης.

THE

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

The Subject of this Work.

THE ſucceſſions of the Holy Apoſtles, together with the ſeries of times continued from our Saviour to our age, and how many and great things are ſaid to have been done, agreeable to the ſubject of an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and who have eminently governed and preſided over the Church, eſpecially in the moſt famous Sees[a]; alſo who in every age have ſet forth the Divine Word, either by preaching or writings; And alſo, what men, and how many, and when, through a deſire of innovation, falling into extream errours, have publiſhed themſelves authors of knowledge falſly ſo called, and ſparing none, as ravening wolves, have devoured the flock of Chriſt; and moreover, what evils and calamities befell ſtraightway the whole nation of the Jews, becauſe of their conſpiracy againſt our Saviour; and again, by how great and what manner of means, and in what times the Divine Word hath been impugned of the Gentiles, and what ſingular men in every age have undergone the greateſt perills in defence thereof, by ſhedding their bloud, and ſuffering torments; and beſides all this, the Martyrdoms that have happened in our own times, together with the merciful and benign aſſiſtance of our Saviour graciouſly exhibited towards every one: Theſe things, *I ſay*, I determining to publiſh in writing, will not take my entrance from any other place, than from the very [b] Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus, who is the Chriſt of God. But truly even in the beginning we muſt modeſtly crave pardon; for we confeſs ingeniouſly, it is far beyond our ſtrength to finiſh what we deſign and promiſe perfectly and compleatly, ſo as to omit nothing. For we taking this argument in hand firſt, adventure to tread a ſolitary and untroden way, praying that God may be our guide, and the power of our Lord our preſent help and aid; but we can no where find ſo much as the bare ſteps of any men who have paſſed the ſame path before us: excepting onely ſome ſmall ſhews and tokens divers here and there have left us, particular declarations of the times they lived in, holding forth as it were Torches a far off, and lifting up their voices from one high, and calling as out of a Watch-tower to direct us what way we ought to goe, and how without errour or danger to order our diſcourſe. Whatſoever things therefore we think will be expedient for this preſent argument, theſe we carefully chuſing, as they are here and there by them mentioned, and culling and gathering the commodious and fit ſentences of former Writers, as it were flowers out of Wiſdoms Meadows, we will endeavour by an Hiſtorical narration to compact the ſame into one body, reſting well contented to preſerve from oblivion the ſucceſſions, although not of all, yet of the moſt famous Apoſtles of our Saviour in thoſe Churches which

[a] I cannot approve of *Chriſtophorſons* tranſlation who renders the word [παροικίας] *Provinces*. Neither am I pleaſed with the amendment of *Curterius*, or whoever it was that tranſlated it [Churches.] Indeed παροικία ſignifies a Church amongſt Chriſtian Writers, and particularly in our *Euſebius*, not in one place. The original of which ſignification came from hence, as I judge; becauſe the Church is as it were, πάροικος, a Stranger or Sojourner in the earth; but its Country and freedom is in heaven. Hence we often meet with this phraſe in our *Euſebius*, ἐκκλησία παροικοῦσα ἐν σμύρνῃ, Book. 4. & B 4. Chap. 23. And *Clemens*, in His Epiſt. to the Corinthians, writes thus - ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα ῥώμην, &c. But in this place of *Euſebius* we muſt not tranſlate this word [παροικίας] Churches. For then the ſame word muſt be repeated twice in the ſame clauſe, thus - *Who have governed and preſided over the Church eſpecially in the moſt famous Churches.* I ſhould rather tranſlate it [*Cities* or *Sees*] or, with Rufinus, *in celeberrimis locis, in the moſt famous places*. Sometimes this word is taken for the whole Dioceſs, as it occurs in *Euſebius* in very many places; and in ſeveral other Authours: ſometimes it is taken in a more ſtrict ſenſe, not for the whole Dioceſs, but for one particular Church: So *Apollonius* in his book againſt the *Cataphrygians*, whoſe words *Euſebius* quotes Chap. 18. B. 5. In both theſe ſenſes the word is uſed amongſt the *Latines*. See *Fac. Sermondus* in his notes on the laſt Epiſtle of *Sidonius*. Valeſ. See J. Gs. Notes on *Ridleys* view of the Civil Law. p. 152. edit. *Oxford*, 1634.

[b] Whatſoever our Saviour did on earth in order to the procuring the ſalvation of mankind, that the antient Greek-fathers called οἰκονομίαν. Therefore [ἡ πρώτη τοῦ χριστοῦ οἰκονομία] which is the phraſe here uſed, ſignifies *the Incarnation*; as the laſt οἰκονομία is *His paſſion*. For they are miſtaken who think that οἰκονομία ſignifies nothing elſe but the Incarnation. For this word is taken in a larger ſenſe, and comprehends the whole Life of Chriſt among men. *Nicephorus* therefore (B. 1. Chap. 2.) has rightly uſed, inſtead of this phraſe here in *Euſebius*, this [τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείαν] i. e. *His converſation in the Fleſh*. In this ſenſe *Juſtin Martyr* uſes this word, in his diſputation *adverſus Tryphon*. p. 331. *Clemens* in the 6. of his *Stromat*. And *Irenæus*, Lib. 1. cap. 10. calls the paſſion of Chriſt οἰκονομίαν. So *Chryſoſtom* in his ſecond Homilie on *Matt.* and *Cyrill*, in his 6. B. againſt *Julian*, pag. 213. and *Origen*, in the beginning of his 11 Tome of his commentaries on *John*. Valeſ.

then were eminent, and are ſtill renowned. I ſuppoſe that I have taken in hand a ſubject very neceſſary, becauſe I have not found any Eccleſiaſtical Writer which hath hitherto employed any diligence in a work of this nature; I hope alſo it will appear a moſt profitable work to thoſe who prize the uſefull knowledge of Hiſtory. And indeed I heretofore wrote an Epitome of theſe things, when I compiled my [c] *Chronical Canons*; but the more ample declaration hereof I now purpoſe to undertake. And the beginning of my narration (as I ſaid) will I take from the [d] Diſpenſation of our Saviour Chriſt, and from his [e] Divinity, the conception whereof far exceeds the reach of humane capacity. For it is requiſite for him that would commit to writing an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, thence to begin, even from the incarnation of Chriſt, diviner than it ſeemeth to many, in as much as from him we are honoured with the name of Chriſtians.

[c] In the Maz. M. S. I found this Scholion written in the Margin [σημείωσαι ὅτι ταῦτα προεγράφησαν οἱ Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες ἀνωθεν] that is, *Obſerve that the Chronical Canons were firſt written by* Euſebius. *Valeſ.*

[d] There being in Chriſt a twofold nature, the one Divine, the other Humane, which conjoyned make one perſon: as often as He is treated of, the diſcourſe muſt be divided into two parts. And thoſe things which are ſpoken of His Humanity belong to the οἰκονομία, as we ſaid before; But thoſe which are ſpoken of His Divinity are to be referred to the Θεολογία (which are the two terms here uſed by *Euſebius.*) Thus *Gregor. Nazian.* in his 38 *Orat.* upon Chriſts birth, diſtinguiſhes the *Oeconomia* from the *Theologia* in theſe words, Ταῦτά μοι περὶ Θεοῦ περιλοσοφήσαι παχύν· ἅδε δὲ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα κωμῳδῶ· ὅτι μὴ Θεολογία τὸ προκείμενον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οἰκονομία. And *Chryſoſtome*, in his Sermon *De ſigillis* which is in his ſixth Tome, ſays, that the three former Evangeliſts, being to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt to all Nations, began their diſcourſe from his οἰκονομία· but, that *John*, after them three, ayplyed himſelf to the explicating of his Θεολογία; and took the beginning of his diſcourſe from the Divinity of Chriſt. Whence it appears why *Euſebius* here uſed theſe words [Τῆς κατ' τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιγειμβρὸς οἰκονομίας τε καὶ Θεολογίας.] For when we ſpeak of *Chriſt*, we muſt neceſſarily underſtand His two Natures. *Valeſ.*

[e] The Antients called that *Theologicen*, which we now commonly Stile *Theologiam*; *Jerom* in his 155. Epiſt. *Ad Paulam Urbicam* —— *Aut de Logicâ pro quâ noſtri Theologicen ſibi Vindicant*; ſo its written in the old M. S. of *Henricus Memmius* (not as it is now commonly printed, *Theoricen*, without any ſenſe) which I have heretofore ſeen. After the ſame manner *Pliny* called that *Geometricen*, and *Magicen*, which we now call *Geometriam* and *Magiam*. In the Books of *Jerome* you will never find it termed *Theologiam*, but in Greek Θεολογίαν. See him on Chap. 40. *Ezechiel.* Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

A brief Summary concerning the Præexiſtence and Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

[a] The Maz. Med. and Fuk. M.SS. Begin the firſt Chap. at theſe words, with this Title [Τίς ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὑπόθεσις.] The ſame is obſerved in the Edit. of *Robert Stephens*, who has, throughout the whole work, followed the Kings M. S. in the Stile, or Text of the Chapters, but the Medicæan M. S. in the titles of the Chapters. But any one may ſee that this Title is altogether unmeet for this place. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore rightly ſet it at the beginning of this Book; and here began the ſecond Chapter; whom we have willingly followed. *Valeſ.*

[a] WHereas therefore there is in Chriſt a twofold Nature, the one reſembling the Head of the Body, by which He is underſtood to be God; the other rightly compared to the feet, by which he hath put on our humane nature, ſubject to like paſſions with us, for the ſake of our Salvation; the ſeries of our ſubſequent narration will be perfect and entire, if we begin the declaration of the diſcourſe of the whole Hiſtory concerning Him, from thoſe Heads which are the chief and principal. Hereby alſo both the Antiquity and divine dignity of Chriſtianity will be manifeſtly declared, againſt them which ſuppoſe this Religion new, and ſtrange, of yeſterday and never before apparent. But to declare the Generation, Dignity, Eſſence, and Nature of Chriſt, no ſpeech can ſufficiently ſerve. Wherefore alſo the Holy Ghoſt in the Prophets ſaith; *His Generation who ſhall be able to declare?* Iſai. 53. 8. For *the Father no man hath known but the Son; neither at any time hath any fully known the Son but the Father alone which begat him.* Matt. 11. 27. That Light that ſhone before the World, that Intellectual and Eſſential Wiſdom that was before all Ages, the Living God, the Word, who was in the beginning with the Father, who but the Father alone can clearly and perfectly comprehend? Him, who is before every creature and workmanſhip Iſai. 9. 6. whether viſible or inviſible, the firſt and onely begotten Son of God, chief Captain of the rational and immortal Hoſt in heaven, the Angel of the great Counſel, the [b] finiſher of the ſecret Will of the Father, maker and worker of all things together with the Father, who after the Father, is Cauſe and Authour of all things, the true and onely begotten Son of God, Lord, God, and King of all Creatures, receiving Dominion and Rule from the Father, together with Divinity, Power, and Honour. For, according to the Myſtical and Divine expreſſions of the Scriptures concerning him, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made that was made.* John 1. 1, 2, 3. And the ſame, great *Moſes*, who is the moſt ancient of all the Prophets, when he deſcribes by inſpiration of the holy Spirit the Creation and diſpoſition of the Univerſe, doth ſhew; *to wit*, that God the framer of the World and Architect of All, granted to Chriſt himſelf, and to none other, that is, to his Divine and onely begotten Word, the making of inferiour Creatures, and that he conferred with him about the Creation of Man; *for God ſaid*, ſaith he, *Let us make Man after our own Image and likeneſs.* Gen. 1. 26. And with this ſaying agreeth another Prophet, thus ſpeaking of God in Hymnes, *He ſpake and they were Made, He commanded and they were Created.* Pſal. 33. 9. He introduceth the Father and Maker, commanding, as Univerſal Lord, with his Royal beck; but the Word of God next to him, (not different from him who is Preached by us) in all things [c] miniſtring to his Fathers commands. Therefore from the firſt original of Mankind, all who are ſaid to have been eminent for righteouſneſs and the virtues of Religion, both about the time of *Moſes* that great worſhipper, and before him, eſpecially *Abraham* and his ſons, and as many as in the times following were accounted juſt; and the Prophets alſo who contemplated with the pure eyes of the mind, have acknowledged him, and have attributed to him, as to the Son of God, due honour. And he being in no wiſe ſlothfull about his Fathers worſhip, [d] was appointed a maſter to teach all men the knowledge of his Father. [e] The Lord God therefore appeared in the likeneſs of man unto *Abraham*, as he ſat at the Oak of *Mamre*; but he forthwith falling down upon his face, although with the outward eye he beheld but man, worſhipped him as God, and made ſupplication to him as Lord. And that he was not ignorant who he was, he profeſſeth when he uttereth theſe words, *O Lord, which judgeſt the whole earth, wilt not thou judge rightly?* Gen. 18. 25. For if it be contrary to reaſon that either the unbegotten and

[b] Or, *Miniſter*: for ſome copies read it [ὑπουργὸν;] others [πρόσωπον] as we have tranſlated it. *Valeſ.*

[c] In the Med. & *Savil.* M.SS. There is this Scholion in the Margin at theſe words, [οὐκ ἐπίστατα ὁ τὸ παλαιὸς ὁμούσιος λόγος, ἀλλὰ συνδημιεργῶν τῶν κτίσιν, ὡς φύσει θεὸς καὶ ἰσότιμος] i.e. *The Word of the Father, being of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, is not ſubject to the Father, but together with him framed the Creation, as being by Nature God, and equal to the Father in honour.* Valeſ.

[d] Or, *is appointed*, or, *made.* Valeſ.

[e] At theſe words the Maz. Med. Fuk. and *Savil.* M.SS. begin the ſecond Chapter, to which agrees *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. But we, following *Chriſtophorſon*, have otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed the Chapters: for which we gave the reaſon before. *Valeſ.*

and immutable [f] person or nature of God Almighty should transform himself into the likeness of man, and so by an appearance in a bodily shape deceive the eyes of the beholders; or that the Scripture should feign such things falsly; then that God and Lord, who judgeth the whole earth, and executeth judgment, appearing in the shape of man, who else can he be called (for it is not lawfull to say it of the first Authour of all things) but onely his preexistent Word? Of whom also it is said in the Psalms, *He sent forth his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.* The same, *Moses* plainly calleth Lord, next after the Father, saying, *The Lord rained brimstone and fire from the Lord out of Heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah.* The same doth the Divine Scripture call God, appearing again unto Jacob in the figure of a Man, and saying unto *Jacob, Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast prevailed with God.* At which time *Jacob* named that place the Vision of God, saying, *For I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.* Moreover, neither is it lawful once to surmise that the apparitions of God in the Scripture may be attributed to the inferiour Angels and Ministers of God: for neither doth the Scripture, if at any time any of them appeared unto men, conceal the same; expressly saying, not that God, or the Lord, but that Angels spake; which may easily be confirmed by innumerable testimonies. This same also doth *Jesus* the successour of *Moses* term chief Captain of the great power of the Lord, as Prince of Celestial Angels, and Arch-Angels, and all supernatural powers, and as being the power and wisdom of the Father, and to whom the second place in the rule and government of all things is committed, when as he beheld him in no other form or figure then of Man. For thus it is written, *And it hapned when Joshua was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes, and behold a man standing over against him, having a naked sword in his hand. And Joshua coming unto him said, art thou on our side, or on our Adversaries? And he said unto him, As chief Captain of the Host of the Lord I am now come hither. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said unto him, Lord, what commandest thou thy servant? And the Captain of the Lords Host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shooe from off thy foot: for the place where thou standest is an holy place.* By these very words thou mayst by an attentive consideration perceive, that this person did not differ from him who delivered his Oracles to *Moses*: himself *the Captain of the Host of the Lord*, was the same that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush. Now he concludes this from hence, because this Captain of the Lords Host used the same words to *Joshua*, that God did to *Moses* in the Bush. So, before *Eusebius*, supposed *Justin Martyr*, in his *Disputat. adversus Tryphon.* and others, as *Theodoret* witnesses, in his questions on the Book of *Joshua*. But the rest of the Fathers thought this Captain of the Host of the Lord was not the Son of God, but rather *Michael* the Arch-Angel. In the most antient Maz.M.S. there is at these words, a Scholion put which I thought good here to Translate. But the Church, O holy *Eusebius*, thinks otherwise concerning this, and not as thou dost. For him that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush, the Church concludes to be God; but him that appeared to *Moses*'s successour in *Jericho*, to whom the presidency over the *Hebrews* was allotted, who had his sword drawn and commanded *Joshua* to put off his shooe, him, I say, the Church supposes to be *Michael* the Arch-Angel: and its manifest that it thinks righter than thou. Whence is this gathered? God, that appeared in the Bush in the form of fire, being asked by his servant *Moses*, who he was, most evidently declared this unto him, That he was God. But he that appeared to *Joshua*, in no wise stiles himself God, but calls himself Gods chief Captain. But this Dignity being inferiour to the Supream power and Divinity, and being not Regal, but belonging to a General, as one would say ..... The rest, by reason of the great age of the M.S. could not be read, which indeed is great pitty. For it is both a most elegant Scholion, and also written by the hand of that very Antiquary who wrote out the M. S. that is, by a most learned and antient hand. *Vales.*

[f] *Valesius*, in his Note on this place, says that [ἰδίαν Οὐσίαν, *the Essence of God*] is here taken for [*hypostasis*] i. e. *the person of God the Father*; for so (continues he) the Ecclesiastical writers before the Nicene Council used to speak; he translates it [*Naturam*] nature. For confirmation of which he quotes *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*, Cap. 119. See *Photii Biblioth.* Cap. 119. pag. 300. Edit. *David. Hoeschel.* 1611.

[g] *Eusebius* would here prove, that he who appeared to *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, and called himself *the*

For of him also the Scripture speaketh the same words, *When the Lord saw that he came for to see, God called to him out of the midst of the bush, and said*, Moses, Moses; *and he answered, what is it? And he said, come not nigh hither; put thy shooes off thy feet, for the place where thou standest is holy ground. And he said unto him, I am the God of thy fathers; The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob;* Now that there is a certain Essence living and subsisting before the foundations of the world were laid, which ministred unto the Father and the God of all at the Creation of all Creatures, termed *The Word*, and *the Wisdom of God*; beside the before produced demonstrations, Wisedom her self, in her proper person by *Solomon* plainly speaking and delivering her Mysteries after this manner, is to be heard: *I Wisedome, have fixed a Tabernacle: Councel, Knowledge, and Understanding I have by calling allured unto me. Through me Kings doe reign, and Princes decree justice. Through me Princes bear Rule on earth.* To this she addeth; *The Lord himself fashioned me the beginning of his ways, for the accomplishing of his Works, I have been ordained before the foundations of the World were laid, and from the beginning: Or ever the earth was made, before the well-springs flowed out, before the foundations of the mountains were firmly set, and before all hills, begat he me. When he spread and prepared the Heavens, I was present with him; and when he bound in due order the depths under Heaven I was by, composing all things, I was she in whom he daily delighted; rejoycing continually before his face, when he rejoyced at the perfect finishing of the World.* That therefore the Word of God subsisted before all things, and that to some he appeared, though not to all men, let thus much suffice at this time to have been by us briefly delivered. [h] Now for what cause he was not Preached of old unto all men, and unto all Nations as now he is, thus it shall evidently appear. That antient generation of men was not able to receive the most wise and most excellent doctrine of Christ. For, immediately in the very beginning, after that primitive happy state of life, the first man, being careless of the commandment of God, fell into this mortal and frail life, and changed this cursed earth for those heavenly delights and pleasures of old. And his posterity, when they had replenished this world, appeared far worse, one or two excepted; they gave admission to certain savage and bruitish manners, and led a life not worthy to be called life: And moreover they busied not their minds to erect either City or Common-wealth, nor to profit in Arts or Sciences: They had not amongst them so much as the name either of Laws or Statutes, or moreover of Virtue, or Philosophy: But wandring in deserts, they lived like wild and fierce Savages: They corrupted their natural understanding, and the seeds of Reason and gentleness sown in mans mind with their excessive willfull malice, yielding up themselves wholly to all abominable wickednesses: some-

Gen. 19. 24.

Gen. 32. 28.

Gen. 32. 30.

Josh. 5. 13, 14, 15.

Exod. 3. 4, 5, 6.

Prov. 8. 12, 15, 16.

22, 23, &c.

[h] The Maz. Med. & Fuk. M.SS. begin the third Chapter at these words, to which agrees the Edit. of *Robert Stephens*. But in that I saw the Title of the third Chapter did not agree with this place, I judged it should be placed lower; which also *Christophorson* did. *Vales.*

times they defiled one anothers bodies, ſometimes they ſhed one anothers bloud, and ſometimes they ſpared not to devour one anothers fleſh, yea they audaciouſly undertook to wage war with God, and attempted thoſe Gigantick-combats ſo much talk't of, determining in their minds [i] to pile up the earth in manner of a Bulwark and ſo to ſcale Heaven; and, ſuch was their outragious madneſs, they prepared to give Battel to God himſelf who is over all. Wherefore, they behaving themſelves on this manner, God the Overſeer of all things came upon them with Floods and fiery deſtructions, as if they had been a wild Thicket overſpreading the whole earth: alſo he cut them off with continual Famines and Peſtilences, with Wars, and Thunderbolts from Heaven; Repreſſing with moſt ſharp Puniſhments that grievous and moſt pernicious malady, as it were, of their ſouls. Moreover, when this [k] fullneſs of wickedneſs was now come to its height, and had in a manner ſpread it ſelf over all, ſhadowing and darkning the minds almoſt of all men, as it were a certain grievous and dead fit of drunkenneſs; then that Firſt begotten and [l] Preexiſtent Wiſedom of God, and the ſame Word that was in the beginning with God, out of his ſuperabundant loving kindneſs unto Man, appeared ſometimes by Viſion of Angels unto the inhabiters on earth, ſometimes by himſelf, as the ſaving power of God, unto ſome one or two of the Antients that were beloved of God in no other form or figure than that of Man: for otherwiſe it could not have been. After that by them the ſeeds of Gods Worſhip were now ſown and ſcattered amidſt the multitude of men, and that whole Nation, which originally deſcended from the *Hebrews*, had now addicted themſelves to the worſhip of God, He, by the Prophet *Moſes*, delivered unto them, as unto a multitude, yet [m] corrupted and tainted with old Cuſtoms, Figures and Signes of a kind of Myſtical Sabbath, and Circumciſion, and introductions unto other intelligible contemplations, but not the perfect and plain initiation into the ſacred Doctrines. But when the Law, famous among them, was publiſhed abroad, and diffuſed, like a moſt ſweet Odour amongſt all men, and thereby many of the *Gentiles* then had their [n] mindes and manners civilized by Law-makers and Philoſophers every where, and their rude and bruitiſh ſavageneſs changed into a meek and mild temper and behaviour, ſo that there enſued perfect Peace and friendſhip and mutual commerce amongſt them; then at the laſt to all men, and to the *Gentiles* throughout all the world, as it were now prepared and fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father, the ſame Perſon again, the School-maſter of Virtue, his Fathers Miniſter in all goodneſs, the Divine and Celeſtial Word of God manifeſted himſelf, about the beginning of the *Roman Empire*, in Humane ſhape, for bodily ſubſtance nothing differing from our Nature, and therein wrought and ſuffered ſuch things as were conſonant with the Oracles of the Prophets, who foreſhewed there ſhould come into the world ſuch a one as ſhould be both Man and God, a mighty worker of Miracles, an Inſtructer of the *Gentiles* in the worſhip of his Father; and withall they foretold his Miraculous Birth, his New Doctrine, his wonderfull Works, moreover the manner alſo of his Death, his Reſurrection from the Dead, and laſt of all his Glorious and Divine Return into Heaven. The Prophet *Daniel* therefore by the Divine Spirit beholding his Kingdom that ſhall be in the latter Age of the World, having been moved by the power of that Divine Spirit, hath thus more after the manner of Man, and to Mans capacity deſcribed the Viſion of God; *For I beheld*, ſaith he, *untill the Thrones were placed, and the Antient of days ſat thereon: his garments were as the white ſnow, the hairs of his Head as pure wooll, his Throne a flame of fire, his wheels burning fire. A fiery ſtream ſlided before his face. Thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him: the judgment was ſet, and the Books were opened.* And afterwards, *I beheld*, ſaith he, *and behold, one coming in the clouds like the Son of Man; and he came unto the Antient of days, and he was brought before him: and to him was given Principality, and Honour, and Rule; and all People, Tribes, and Tongues ſhall ſerve him; His Power is an everlaſting Power which ſhall not paſs, and his Kingdom*

[i] Its ſtrange, that in the Tranſlation of this place both *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* erred. Ἐπιτειχίζειν (which is the term here uſed) in *Greek* ſignifies, *to make a Fortification*, or *Bulwarke againſt a place*; See *Harpocration*, in the word [ἐπιτείχισμα.] But it's ridiculous to believe, that men arrived to that degree of madneſs, as by building Rampires to attempt to Scale Heaven, and to turn out God from thence; which yet *Euſebius* ſeems by this place to have believed. Theſe are the fictions of the Poets, who by this fanſie would ſet forth the pride of men of that Age, and their contempt of God. Indeed Holy Writ mentions the Giants, but it ſays nothing of this ſort concerning them; and it teſtifies that that Tower was built, not by the Giants, but by the ſons and poſterity of *Noah*, after the Flood. *Valeſ.*

[k] The term in the Original is [κόρος] and it ſignifies *ſatiety* or *fullneſs*; it is the ſame in *Robert Stephens* Edit. But *Valeſius* ſays it ſhould be [κάρος] which he Tranſlates (*torpor*) i. e. *a ſlothful* heavineſs, for ſo, ſays he, it is written in the Fuk. and Savill. M. SS.

[l] I doubt not but *Euſebius* wrote it thus [πρωτόκτιστον τὸ θεοῦ σοφία, i. e. *the Preexiſtent Wiſedom of God*] as it is in our four M.SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil; and not [πρωτότοκον, i. e. *the firſt produced*, &c.] for this term agrees better with *Euſebius*'s meaning, ſeeing that he had a little above quoted that place out of the Proverbs (Chap. 8. v. 22.) *The Lord himſelf faſhioned me*, &c. Indeed, the Antient Divines, and eſpecially thoſe who wrote before the times of the Nicene-Council, by the word [κτίζειν] underſtood, not onely a Creation which is made of nothing, but, all Production in general, as well that which was from all eternity, as that which is produced in time. Hence it is, that *Melito* wrote a Book [περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως χριστοῦ] as we ſhall ſee at the fourth Book of this *Hiſtory*. But if we ſhould here read [πρωτότοκον] there would be an unmeet repetition, which is called a Tautologie, thus [ὁ πρωτόλογος καὶ πρωτότοκος, &c.] Beſides, [πρωτότοκος] is an unfit term to expreſs the Divine generation. *Valeſ.*

[m] *Nicephorus* underſtood this place amiſs, as if it had been ſpoken by *Euſebius* in praiſe of the *Jews*: But the words of *Euſebius* have a clean contrary meaning. For he ſays, that the *Jews* being corrupted by the contagion of their former life, God thought it ſufficient to preſcribe them legal Ceremonies, and to deliver them as it were certain Signes and Symbols of more ſecret Myſteries, as being yet ignorant, and accuſtomed to the Superſtition of the *Heathens*. *Chryſoſtome*, on *Matthew*, ſays the ſame. Ἐκ διαλάσθαι, from whence the participle here uſed comes, ſignifies in *Greek*, *to be corrupted*, and from a priſtine diſcipline to fall into a luxurious and diſſolute courſe of life. From whence [ἐκδιδυμηκὸς βίος] is *a remiſs and looſe life*; a phraſe taken from intemperate men, who obſerve no rule in meat and drink, nor in their whole courſe of life. This word occurs often in the writings of *Dion Caſſius*. Valeſ.

[n] Tranſlatours underſtood not this place, as it appears from their verſion of it. The meaning of *Euſebius* here is this. He attributes not ſo much to the Law-makers and Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, as if that old Savageneſs and immanity of men were by little and little brought to be more tractable and gentle by their Precepts and Inſtitutes. But he imputes the reaſon hereof to the Law of *Moſes*; which, being known to the whole World, at length reclaimed and civilized the manners of all men. For the Law-makers and Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, having derived all their beſt precepts from that Law, as from a fountain, infuſed them afterwards into the minds of their Auditours: whereby men being poliſhed, were rendred fit to receive the knowledge of the Evangelical Law. For the Moſaical Law was previous and the forerunner to the Evangelical, and prepared the way to Chriſt's Preaching. This place therefore is to be thus written [Τοῖς πλείοσι δὴ ἐθνῶν διὰ δὴ παιδαγόστε νομοθετῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἡμέρωτο τὰ φρονήματα] as it is plainly written in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. and not, as it is in *Robert Stephens* Edit. thus [ἡμερώτατα φρονήματα.] Undoubtedly, unleſs it be thus written, the ſentence will be incoherent. For to what ſhall the particle [ὡς ὃ] be referred, which is put in the beginning of the period? There is alſo another difficulty in this place of *Euſebius*, that is, what is meant by theſe words [ἐξ αὐτῶν.] For *Euſebius* ſays [ἤδη τότε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι, &c.] as before. Which words, as to me it ſeems, were put in, that *Euſebius* might ſhew, that whatever was fitly ſaid by the Law-makers and Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, they borrowed it all from the *Hebrews*. And thus *Ruſinus* underſtood this place, as it plainly appears from his Tranſlation. *Euſebius* diſcourſes largely concerning this point in his Book, *De preparatione*, where he ſhews that the *Grecian* Philoſophers ſtole many things out of the Books of *Moſes*. *Valeſ.*

Dan. 7. 9, 10, & 13, 14.

Kingdom shall never be destroyed. These things can manifestly be referred to none other than to our Saviour, the Word that was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, termed the Son of Man by reason of his Incarnation in the latter times. But because we have in proper and peculiar ° Commentaries collected the Oracles of the Prophets touching our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and have elsewhere confirmed by evident demonstrations those things which have been delivered concerning him, at this present we will be content with the premisses.

° He means his Books *of Evangelical Demonstration*, of which ten onely are now extant. Moreover, this *Ecclesiastical History* of *Eusebius* ought to be so much the more esteemed by us, because he wrote it after almost all his other works. *Vales.*

CHAP. III.

That the very Name of Jesus, *and also that of* Christ *was from the Beginning both known and honoured among the Divine Prophets.*

[a] NOw that the Name both of *Jesus*, and also of *Christ*, was of old honoured among the Prophets beloved of God, it is now an opportune time to declare. First of all *Moses*, knowing the Name of *Christ* to be most especially Venerable and Glorious, when he delivered Types and Symbols of heavenly things, and mystical forms, agreeable to the Divine Oracle that said to him, *See thou doe all things after the fashion that was shewed thee in the mount*, the Man whom he entitled (as much as he lawfully might) the High-Priest of God, the same he stiled *Christ*; and thus to the dignity of High-Priesthood, which excelled in his judgment all other prerogatives among men, he for honour and glory put-to the Name of *Christ*. So then he deemed *Christ* to be a certain Divine thing. The same *Moses* also, when being inspired by the Holy Ghost, he had well foreseen the Name of *Jesus*, judged again the same worthy of singular prerogative. For this Name of *Jesus*, which before *Moses* his time had never been named among men, *Moses* gave to him first, and to him alone, whom he knew very well by type again and figurative sign was to receive the Universal principality after his death. His Successour therefore, before that time not called *Jesus*, but by another Name, *to wit*, [b] *Ause*, which his Parents had given him, he called *Jesus*, giving him this appellation as a singular Title of Honour far passing all Royal Diadems, because that same *Jesus*, the Son of *Nave* bore the figure of our Saviour; who alone, after *Moses*, and the accomplishment of the figurative service delivered by him, was to succeed in the Government of the true and most pure Religion. Thus to two men who surpassed all people of that Age in virtue and glory, one being then High-priest, the other to be chief Ruler after him, *Moses* gave the Name of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, as an Ensign of the greatest Honour. The Prophets also who came after, Propheſied plainly of *Christ* by Name, foretelling long before-hand the treacherous practice of the *Jewish* people against him, and the calling of the *Gentiles* by him. Both *Jeremie* saying thus, * *The Spirit before our face*, Christ *our Lord, is taken in their nets, of whom we spake, under the shadow of his wings we shall be preserved alive among the Heathen:* and *David* also, being very much perplexed, speaking thus, * *Why have the Gentiles raged, and the people imagined vain things? The Kings of the earth stood forth, and the Princes assembled together in the same place against the Lord and against his Christ*; whereunto afterwards he addeth in the person of Christ, *The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession.* The Name of *Christ* therefore among the *Hebrews* hath not onely honoured those that were adorned with the High-priesthood, being anointed with figurative and mystical oyl prepared on purpose, but Kings also, whom Prophets by the Divine appointment anointing, made figurative *Christs*; because they bore in themselves a resemblance of the regal and Princely power of the onely and true *Christ*, *The Word of God*, who governeth all things. And moreover we have learned that certain of the Prophets also by being anointed have typically become *Christs*. So that all these have a relation unto the true *Christ*, the Divine and Heavenly Word, the onely High-Priest of the whole World, therefore onely King of all the Creation, and the onely chief Prophet of the Father among all the Prophets. The proof hereof is demonstrable: For none of them that of old were typically anointed, whether Priests, or Kings, or Prophets, ever obtained so great a measure of Divine power and virtue, as the Saviour and our Lord *Jesus*, the onely and true *Christ*, hath shewed. Indeed none of them, how famous soever they were among their own followers throughout many Ages, by reason of their dignity and honour have caused by their being typically called *Christs*, that such as were conform to them should be named *Christians*. Neither hath the Honour of Adoration been exhibited by their subjects unto any of them, neither after the death of any of them have the minds of any been so much affected towards him, as to be ready to die for the maintenance of his Honour: neither hath there been any so great stir and commotion among all the Nations throughout the whole World for any of them. For the power of the figure and shadow was not of such efficacy in them, as the presence of the truth exhibited by our Saviour. Who though he received not from any the Ensigns and Badges of the High-priesthood, nor indeed * lineally descended according unto the flesh from the Priestly Race, nor was advanced by a Guard of Armed men unto his Kingdom, nor was made a Prophet after the manner of the antient Prophets, nor obtained any preeminence, or prerogative among the *Jews*; yet for all this he was adorned [c] by the Father with all these dignities, though not in Types and Symbols, yet in very truth. And although he obtained all these Titles in another manner then those men did, whereof mention hath been made, yet hath he been more truly stiled *Christ* than they all. And he, as being the onely and true *Christ* of God, hath by that truly venerable and Sacred Name of his filled the whole World with *Christians*: Nor doth he deliver henceforth types and shadows unto his followers, but naked virtues, and an heavenly life accompanied with the undoubted Doctrine of verity.

[a] In the Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. there is no distinction here of a new Chapter: for those Copies begin the third Chapter long before, as we noted above. The Med. M. S. begins the fourth Chapter at these words. But its most certain, as I before intimated, that the third Chapter must begin here; which the Title it self does demonstrate. *Vales.*

Exod. 25. 40.

[b] *Numb.* 13. 16. Where the *Sept.* Edit. calls him [Τὸν Αυσῆ, i. e. Ause.] But *Ferom* (on the 1 Chap. *Hosh.*) notes that this place in the *Sept.* Edit. is corrupted; *Hoshea* being disguised by *Ause*; which Name is yet farther estranged by those who call him [Ναυσῆς, i. e. *Nauses*] as *Eusebius* does thrice, in his *Demonstrat. Evangel.* B. 5. Chap. 17. in *Hebrew* he is Named יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, i. e. *Joshua*, *Numb.* 11. v. 28. *Vales.*

* Lament. 4. 20.

* Psal. 2. 1, 2, 7, 8,

* Heb. 7. 14. It is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*, of which tribe *Moses* spake nothing concerning Priesthood.

[c] Or, *by the Spirit.* But all the M. SS. Copies agree with our translation of it. *Vales.*

And the oyntment He received was not corporal, compounded of ſpices, but Divine, by the Holy Ghoſt and by participation of the unbegotten Deity of the Father. The which thing again *Eſay* declareth, when as in the perſon of *Chriſt* he breaketh out into theſe words, * *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he hath anointed me to Preach glad tidings unto the poor, he hath ſent me to cure the contrite in heart, to Preach deliverance unto the captives, and recovering of ſight to the blind.* And not onely *Eſay*, but *David* alſo, directing his words to his Perſon, ſaith, * *Thy Throne, O God, laſteth for ever and ever: the Sceptre of thy Kingdom is a right Sceptre. Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs and hated iniquity: Wherefore God even thy God hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladneſs above thy fellows.* In which Text the Word of God in the firſt verſe termeth *Chriſt* God, the ſecond honoureth him with a Royal Sceptre: thence deſcending by degrees, after the mention of his Divine and Royal Power; in the third place he ſheweth him to have been *Chriſt*, anointed not with oyl of corporeal ſubſtance, but of Divine, that is of Gladneſs: whereby he ſignifieth his Prerogative and ſurpaſſing Excellency above them which with corporeal and typical oyl had of old been anointed. And in another place the ſame *David* ſpeaketh of him thus, ſaying, † *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand untill I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* And, *Out of my Womb before the Day-ſtar have I begotten thee; The Lord ſware and will not repent, Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of Melchiſedec:* This *Melchiſedec* in the Sacred † Scriptures is brought in the Prieſt of the moſt High God; but neither was he Conſecrated by any oyl prepared of man for that purpoſe, nor by ſucceſſion of kindred had he attained unto the Prieſt-hood among the *Hebrews*: wherefore our Saviour, according unto his Order, and not according to them who received ſignes and ſhadows, is publiſhed, and that with addition of an Oath, *Chriſt* and [d] *Prieſt*. Wherefore alſo the Sacred Hiſtory neither mentions him to be corporally anointed among the *Jews*, nor born of the Prieſtly Tribe, but of God himſelf before the Day-ſtar, that is, having His Eſſence before the ſtructure of the World, immortal, poſſeſſing a Prieſt-hood that never periſheth by reaſon of Age, but laſteth world without end. But this is a great and an apparent argument of his Incorporeal and Divine [e] Power, that he alone, of all men that hitherto ever were, is by all men throughout the whole world called *Chriſt*; is Preached and confeſſed by the common conſent and teſtimony of all, and by this Name every where celebrated among the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*: and that hitherto among all his followers throughout the world, He hath been both honoured as King, had in admiration above a Prophet, and alſo glorified as the true and onely High-Prieſt of God; and above all this, that he is worſhipped even as God, in as much as he is the Eternal Word of God, and ſubſiſted before all Worlds, [f] receiving majeſtical Honour from the Father: But this moreover is moſt of all to be marvelled at, that we who are dedicated unto him, honour him not with voices onely and noiſe of words, but with all entire affection of the mind, ſo that we prefer the confeſſion of him before our own lives,

* Iſai. 61. 1.

* Pſal. 45. 6, 7.

† Pſal. 110. 1, 2, 3.

† Gen. 14. 18. Heb. 7. 1.

[d] Or, *Chief-Prieſt*. For ſo the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. MSS. read it. *Valeſ.*

[e] Or, *Anointing*, for ſome copies have it written [χειστεως] *Valeſ.*

[f] That is, From all eternity. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

That the Religion, by him declared to all Nations, is neither New, nor Strange.

[a] LEt theſe things therefore be neceſſarily placed by me here in the beginning of this Hiſtory, leaſt any man ſhould ſurmiſe our Saviour and Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to be a Perſon newly apparent, by reaſon of the late time of his being converſant in the fleſh. Now alſo, leaſt any ſhould deem his Doctrine to be New and Strange, as delivered by a new comer, and one who nothing differeth from the reſt of men, come on, let us alſo in ſhort debate thereof. It is indeed moſt certain, when as the coming and preſence of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhone now freſh unto all men, that a people new we muſt confeſs, yet neither ſmall, nor ſuch as was ſcituate in ſome corner of the earth, but of all Nations both the moſt populous and moſt religious, and upon this account inexpugnable and invincible, becauſe aided continually by the aſſiſtance of God, at certain ſeaſons predetermined by the ſecret providence of God, to us ſuddenly appeared, being ennobled among all men by the Title and Name of *Chriſt*. This, one of the Prophets by the eye of the Divine Spirit foreſeeing would come to paſs, was aſtoniſhed, in ſo much that he cried out, thus, * *Who hath heard ſuch things? Or who hath ſpoken after this manner? Hath the earth travelling brought forth in one day? And hath a Nation ſprung up ſuddenly and at one time?* Alſo the ſame Prophet ſhews the very Name that ſhould be given, ſaying, * *And they that ſerve me ſhall be called after a New name which ſhall be bleſſed upon earth.* But although, without controverſie we are but of late, and this new name of *Chriſtians* hath been but lately known unto all Nations; yet, that our life and manner of converſation, together with the rules of Religion, are not newly deviſed by our ſelves, but have been (as I may ſay) even from the original of mankind, inſtituted and obſerved by antient godly men from thoſe notions that nature had implanted in their minds, we will thus make evident. That the Nation of the *Hebrews* is no new Nation, but honoured among all people for their antiquity, is well known to all. They have books and monuments in writing containing the actions of antient men, who were rare indeed, and few in number, yet excelled in piety and righteouſneſs, and all other kind of virtues. Whereof ſome flouriſht before the floud, others after; as the ſons and off-ſpring of *Noah*; [b] And moreover *Abraham*, in whom the children of the *Hebrews* doe glory, as their chief Founder, and forefather. Now if any one beginning with *Abraham* and going upwards to the firſt man, does affirm that all thoſe men who have ſo glorious Teſtimonials of their righteouſneſs, were in reality though not by name *Chriſtians*, he ſhall not erre far from the truth. For whereas the name of *Chriſtian* ſignifieth a man who through the knowledge and Doctrine of *Chriſt* excelleth in modeſty and righteouſneſs, in patience of life

[a] At theſe words the Maz. and Fuk. MSS. and the Kings M. S. and the *Old ſheets* begin the 4th Chapter.

* Iſai. 66. 8.

* Iſai. 62. 2.

[b] Some Tranſlatours (as *Muſculus*, and Dr *Hanmer* as appears by his Verſion, and marginal Note thereat) ſuppoſed that [ἀπὸ, i. e. *atar*, which is the word here uſed in the Original, and is a *Greek* adverb] was a proper name, and a corruption of *Terah* the name of the father of *Abraham*, of whom mention is made *Gen.* 11. But this is a great miſtake. For *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, was not one of thoſe whom God loved; as it may be plainly collected from Sacred Scripture: neither did our *Euſebius* think ſo, as appears by his own words, when he ſays, a little after this, in this Chapter, concerning *Abraham*, that *he left the ſuperſtition of his fathers*. We have therefore tranſlated theſe words [ἀπὸ δὲ] *And moreover*. Valeſ.

and

and virtuous fortitude, and in profession of sincere Piety towards the one and the onely God who is above all; they were no less studious about all this than we are. They cared not therefore for corporal Circumcision; no more doe we: nor for the observation of Sabbaths; no more doe we; nor for abstinence from certain meats, and distinction of other things, which *Moses* first instituted and delivered to be typically observed; no more doe *Christians* regard such matters now. But they of Old evidently knew the very *Christ* of God. For that he appeared to *Abraham*, gave answers to *Isaac*, talked with *Jacob*, conversed with *Moses*, and afterwards with the Prophets, we have shewed before. Hence thou maiest find those darlings of God honoured with the name of *Christ*, according unto that saying of them, * *See that ye touch not my* † *Christs, neither deal perversly with my Prophets.* It is manifest therefore that the service of God, which was instituted by the godly of Old about the time of *Abraham*, and published of late unto all the *Gentiles* by the Doctrine of *Christ*, ought to be accounted the first, the eldest, and the antientest of all. But if they say that *Abraham* a long time after received the commandment of Circumcision; yet before the receit thereof he is said to have been justified by his faith; the Scripture speaking thus, * *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousnes.* And he being such a one already before Circumcision, the Oracle from God, who manifested himself unto him, even *Christ* himself, the Word of God before-hand hath uttered this unto him in these words, concerning those who in future Ages should be justified after the same manner with himself, saying thus, * *And all the Tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee*; And that *he should be a great and a populous Nation and all the Nations on the earth should be blessed in him.* And we may by consideration easily perceive that this is fulfilled in us. For he, through Faith in *Christ* the Word of God who appeared unto him was justified, when having left the superstition of his fathers, and the errour of his former life, he confessed one onely God who is over all, and worshipped him with virtuous works, and not with the ceremonious service of the Law delivered afterwards by *Moses*. Unto him, being such a one it was said that, *In him shall all the Tribes of the earth and all Nations be blessed.* The very same manner of Religion which *Abraham* followed, is found at this present among *Christians* alone throughout the world, practised by them in works which are far more evident than words. What then hindreth but that we may henceforth confess, that one and the same way of living, and the same kind of Religion is common to us, who have our name from *Christ*, with them who of Old sincerely served God and were so dear unto him. It plainly appears therefore that that perfect and exact rule of Religion, which hath been delivered unto us by the Doctrine of *Christ*, is neither *New* nor *Strange*, but (if we ought to speak the truth) the first, the onely, and the true one. And of these matters let thus much suffice.

* Psal. 105. 15.

† Christs, that is, anointed.

* Gen. 15. 6. Rom. 4. 3.

* Gen. 11. 3. Gen. 18. 18. & 22. 18.

CHAP. V.

Of the times of our Saviours Manifestation unto Men.

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BUt, after this preparation wherein by way of Preface we have laid down such things as are fit to usher-in the *Ecclesiastical History* we design, it now remaineth that we take the first step as it were of our journey from the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh; calling upon God, the Father of the Word, and upon *Jesus Christ* himself, of whom we Treat, our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Word of God, that he will be our help and fellow-labourer in the declaration of the Truth. It was now therefore [a] the two and fortieth year of the Reign of *Augustus*, and the eight and twentieth year after the subduing of *Egypt*, and the death of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, in whom the Rule of the *Ptolomees* in *Egypt* ceased, when our Saviour and Lord *Jesus Christ* at the time of the first [b] Taxing, which was when [c] *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, was born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea*, agreeable to the Prophecies, that went before of him. Which Taxing under *Cyrenius*, *Flavius Josephus*, a most famous Historiographer among the *Hebrews*, maketh mention of; adding thereto another History concerning the Sect of the Consulship. Thus much concerning the year wherein *Christ* was born. *Eusebius* does no where expresly mention the day. It was the common opinion of the *Western* Church that he was born on the 7. Kalend. *January*: but the *Eastern* Church thought otherwise, that he was born on the 8. Id. *January* (*i. e.* on the 6th day *Jan.*) *Vales.* The learned have found so great difficulty in assigning the day of our Saviours Birth, that *Scaliger* said, *Unius Dei est non hominis definire*; i. e. *God onely, not man, was able expressely to declare it.* It had been much better for these men to content themselves with the tradition of the Church, rather than by such an elaborate unfruitful search to entangle the truth. For the celebration of this festival, many testimonies may be produced out of *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and *Chrysostom*, each of these fathers deducing it from the practise of the first antiquity; and St *Augustine* makes it a Character of a son of the Church to solemnize the Festivals of it, and this (principally and by name) of the Nativity. To which may be added that of the *Author* of the *Constitutions* (Constit. B. 5. c. 13.) τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑορτῆς φυλάσσετε, ἡ πρώτην τῶν ᾠῴθλιον, i. e. *Keep the days of the feasts, and first the day of* Christs *Birth.* So that the Religion of this day, *non est nupera, neque novitia, is not modern, nor newly begun*, though *Scaliger* said so. And for the particular day, the 25th of *December*, whereon this Festival is by us solemnized, (not to mention other testimonies which might be produced to this purpose) In *Joseph* the *Egyptian's Arabick Codex* of the *Counsels* (a M. S. in the *Archives* of the *publick Library* of *Oxford*, of the gift of Sr *Thomas Roe*) this day as well as this Feast is affirmed to stand by *Apostolical Canon.* The words of which, as it is Transcribed by Mr *Gregory*, are in *English* these, *Also that you constitute an anniversary Feast at the Nativity of the* Lord Christ, *on the Day on which he was Born, and that was the five and twentieth of the first Canon* (i. e. *of* December) *For this is the principal of all the Feasts*, &c. See Mr *Gregories* Works, Chap. 34. Dr *Hammond* on the Festivals of the Church, and the Learned *Seldens* Tract of *Christmas-Day* for further satisfaction.

[a] The first year of *Augustus*, according to *Eusebius's* computation, is that wherein *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were Consuls. Therefore the fourty second year of *Augustus* falls on his thirteenth

[b] It is by learned men affirmed, particularly by *Fr. Casaubon* in Bar. p. 105. (and is most probable) that this decree of Taxing (or inrolling every Person, according to their Families and Estates) was an effect of *Augustus* his curiosity (and neither of his desire to enrich his Treasure, nor to reform the excesses of those before him) and this over-ruled by Gods special providence, that this Emperour might serve to be instrumental to the conserving the record of the Birth of *Christ*, whose Name and his mothers, as well as *Josephs*, were now inrolled. And this is an evidence of the nature of this ἀπογραφὴ, that it was not a Tax, for that would not have belonged to women and infants, but to the possessours onely. See Dr *Hammond* on *Luk.* 2. v. 1.

[c] There is a great disagreement amongst the Learned about this enrolment and valuation of mens Persons and Estates, whether it was done once, or twice. Some say there were two, both made by the same *Cyrenius*, (or *Quirinius*,) and both mentioned by St *Luke*: the first he speaks of Chap. 2. 2. of his Gospel; which was made a little before our Saviours Birth, about the latter end of the Reign of *Herod* the *great*, *Sentius Saturninus* being then president of *Syria*; this, say these men, St *Luke* calls πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ, *the first Taxing*, to difference it from that other mentioned by him, *Acts* 5. 37. And whereas St *Luke* says, *Cyrenius* at that time had the rule over *Syria*; these words are to be taken in a looser, not stricter sense; not that *Cyrenius* was then the standing Governour there under the *Romans*, but was sent by the Emperour particularly on this occasion, to take an Inventory of this part of the Empire: for its confest that *Sentius Saturninus* was then the president of *Syria*. The other Taxing, mentioned in the *Acts*, was made ten years after this, after the banishment of *Archelaus*, and about the insurrection of *Judas of Galilee* (*or Gaulanites.*) This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Casaubon*, and *Hammond*. On the other hand, *Valesius* (and with him, as he thinks, agrees our *Eusebius* in this Chapt.) says there was but one Taxing, (which may be supposed to have been begun at the latter end of *Herod* the great his Reign, about the time of *Christs* Birth, and was not perhaps

perhaps finiſhed till ten years after, when *Cyrenius* was preſident of *Syria*, after the baniſhment of *Archelaus*;) his reaſons are theſe; *Joſephus* mentions but one: after this Enrolment once made why ſhould it be repeated, and that by the ſame perſon? For if he had done it equally and exactly, what need of a new one? if not, another perſon ought rather to be ſent who might doe it better: What had a Roman Magiſtrate to doe with any thing of Government in *Judea* whilſt *Herod* lived, who in all right was King there, and was ſo acknowledged by the Roman Senate? Laſtly, about the time of Chriſts Birth *Saturninus* and *Varus* were procurators in *Syria*, and not *Cyrenius*. I ſhall not take upon me to determine this difference; the Reader has here the ſum of the Arguments on both ſides, and is left to his liberty to be ſwayed by which party he pleaſes.

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neither was *Judea* in any danger to be brought into Servitude by Strangers, as long as it obeyed a *Few*, that is, a King of their own Nation. *Valeſ.*

*Act. 5. 37.

[d] This inſurrection of *Judas* of *Galilee* we aſſert to have been after the baniſhment of *Archelaus*. Indeed, before his depoſition there could be no reaſon why *Judas* ſhould ſtir up the people of the *Jews* to a defection. For no Valuation of mens Eſtates could be made by a *Roman* Magiſtrate there, where a King, that was a friend and an Allie of the *Romans*, Governed;

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That in his time, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, the Princes of the Jewiſh *Nation who before by ſucceſſion had held the Principality, ſurceaſed, and that* Herod, *the Firſt of the Aliens, became their King.*

NOw at that time, when *Herod*, the Firſt of them who by deſcent was a Forreigner, had obtained the Rule over the *Jewiſh* Nation, the Prophecy written by *Moſes* was fulfilled, which * Gen. 49. 10. ſaid, * *There ſhall not want a Prince in Juda, neither a Leader fail of his Loyns, untill he come for whom it is reſerved.* Whom he declares to be *the expectation of the Gentiles.* Indeed the things of that Propheſie hung unaccompliſhed all the time that it was lawful for the *Jews* to live under Princes of their own Nation: who taking their beginning as high as *Moſes* himſelf, continued down their Reign even to the Empire of *Auguſtus*: under whom *Herod* the Firſt [a] Forreigner had the

[a] *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Animadverſions upon *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, has ſufficiently made it evident, that *Herod* was no Forreigner. *Joſephus*, in his 20. B. of *Antiquit.* Chap. 6. calls *Herod* τὸ γένος ἰδιώτην, i. e. *a Few as to his Lineage.* Valeſ.

Government of the Jews granted him by the Romans: who, as *Joſephus* declares, was by his fathers ſide an *Idumæan*; by his mothers, an *Arabian*: But, as *Affricanus*, one not of the vulgar ſort of Writers, ſays, they who have been more accurate about his pedegree, ſay he was the ſon of *Antipater*, who was the ſon of one *Herod* an *Aſcalonite*, who was one of the ſervants which Miniſtred in the Temple of *Apollo*. This *Antipater*, being taken by *Idumæan* theeves while he was yet a child, remained a long time among them, becauſe his father being one of a mean Eſtate was not able to redeem him. And being brought up after their manner of breeding, became at length very familiarly acquainted with *Hyrcanus* the High-prieſt of the Jews. This very mans ſon was that *Herod* who lived in the time of our Saviour. When therefore the principality of the Jews was come into the hands of this Alien, then was the expectation of the Gentiles even at the doors, according unto that Propheſie: For then the Line of their Native Princes and Governours was broken off, which had been drawn down by a continued Succeſſion from *Moſes* himſelf untill that time. For before they were taken Captives and carried into *Babylon*, Kings reigned over them, beginning from *Saul* who was the firſt, and from *David*. Before their Kings Princes bore Rule over them, whom they called Judges, beginning their Government after *Moſes*, and his Succeſſour * Jeſus. After their return from *Babylon* there ceaſed not amongſt them a form of Government, an *Ariſtocracie* together with an *Oligarchie*, the beſt ruling, and they but few in number. For the High-Prieſts had held that preeminence untill *Pompey* the Roman Captain coming upon them by main force, beſieged and ranſacked *Jeruſalem*, polluted the Holy places, by entring into the Sanctuaries of the Temple, and ſent priſoner to *Rome* the High-prieſt whoſe name was *Ariſtobulus* with his ſons, who by ſucceſſion from his Progenitors had continued unto that time both Prince and Prieſt; and committed the Office of High-prieſthood unto his brother *Hyrcanus*, and from that time forth made the whole Jewiſh Nation become Tributary to the Romans. And indeed not long after, *Hyrcanus*, the laſt of thoſe to whom the High-prieſthood by ſucceſſion befell, being taken priſoner by the Parthians, *Herod* the firſt Forreigner, as I ſaid before, had the Government of the Jewiſh nation delivered to him by the Roman Senate and the Emperour *Auguſtus*. Under whom, whenas the preſence of Chriſt was apparent, the long-lookt-for Salvation of the Gentiles was accompliſhed, and their calling conſequently followed, according to the predictions of the Prophets. Since which time the Princes and Rulers of *Juda* (thoſe I mean who were of Jewiſh extraction) ceaſing, ſtraightway the ſeries and courſe of the High-prieſthood, which among them by order of ſucceſſion after the deceaſe of the former was always, as it was meet, wont to fall unto the next of bloud, was confounded. Hereof thou haſt *Joſephus* a witneſs worthy of credit, declaring how that *Herod*, after that he was intruſted with the rule over the Jews by the Romans, aſſigned them no more High-prieſts of the antient Prieſtly Race, but conferred that honour upon certain obſcure perſons; and how that the ſame courſe which *Herod* had taken in conſtituting High-prieſts, was followed by his ſon *Archelaus*, and after by the Romans who ſucceeded him in the Government of *Judea*. The ſaid *Joſephus* declareth, how that *Herod* firſt ſhut up under his own Privy-Seal the Holy Robe of the High-prieſt, not permitting the

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* Jeſus otherwiſe called *Joſhua*.

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[b] He means his Books of Evangelical Demonstration. For in the eighth Book of that work he Treats of *Daniels* weeks, which he affirms were compleated at our Saviours coming, according to the opinion of *Africanus*. *Valef.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the disagreement supposed to be among the Gospels about the Genealogy of Christ.

BUt in as much as *Matthew* and *Luke*, committing the Gospel to writing, have differently delivered unto us the Genealogie of Christ, and are thought by many to disagree very much among themselves, so that almost every one of the faithful, through ignorance of the truth, hath ambitiously striven to comment upon those places; come on, let us rehearse a certain History which is come to our hands concerning the premises, the which *Africanus* (whom we mentioned a little before) hath set down in an Epistle written to *Aristides* about the concordance of the Genealogie of Christ in the Gospels: and having indeed [a] blamed the Opinions of others, as wrested and false, he delivereth the History that he himself had met withall, in these very words. "For seeing that the names of kindred in Israel "were numbred either after the line of nature, or after the rule of the Law; after the order of Nature, "as by succession of natural seed, after that of the "Law, as when any one begetteth a son in the "name of his brother who deceased without issue: "For because a perspicuous hope of the Resurrection was not yet granted them, they shadowed out in some sort the promise to come "with this kind of mortal Resurrection, that the "name of the deceased might continue and never "be quite blotted out. Because therefore, of them "that are reckoned in this Genealogy, some succeeded their fathers as natural sons, but others "received their name whence they received not "their nature; mention is made of both; as well "of them who were truly fathers, as of them who "were titular onely and as fathers. Thus neither "of the Gospels is found false, the one drawing "the Pedegree by the Natural, the other by the "Legall line. For the race both of *Solomon*, and "that also of *Nathan*, are so wrapped and twisted together, by reviving of persons deceased "without issue, by [b] second marriages, and by "raising up of seed, that not without cause the "same men are supposed to have had divers fathers, whereof some were onely nominative, "others fathers indeed. Thus the account in both "Gospels is true, and is brought down to *Joseph* "accurately and exactly, though by a various and "different line. And, that what I say may plainly appear, I will recite "the [c] alteration of Families. If we count the Generations (*as* * *Matthew* "*doth*) from *David* by *Solomon*, *Matthan* will "be found the third from the end, who begat *Jacob* "the father of *Joseph*: but if from *Nathan* the son "of *David*, according unto * *Luke*, then the third "in like manner from the end "will be [d] *Melchi*, whose "son was *Heli* the father of "*Joseph*. For *Joseph* was the "son of *Heli*, the son of *Mel*"*chi*. *Joseph* therefore be"ing, as it were, the mark we "shoot at, we must shew how "each person is termed his fa"ther, as well *Jacob*, who deriveth his pedegree "from *Solomon*, as *Heli* who descended from "*Nathan*; and besides, how, in the first place, "these two, *Jacob* and *Heli*, were brethren, then, in "the next place, how their fathers *Matthan* and "*Melchi*, born of divers kindreds, may be made "appear to be Grand-fathers to *Joseph*. Now "therefore *thus it was*: *Matthan* and *Melchi* "marrying, one after the other, the same wife, "begat children who were brethren by the mo"ther; the law not forbidding a widow, either "dismissed from her husband, or after the death "of her husband, to be married unto another man. "First therefore *Matthan*, descending from *So*"*lomon*, begat *Jacob* of *Estha*: for that is said to "be the womans name. After the death of *Mat*"*than*, *Melchi*, who descended from *Nathan*, "being of the same Tribe, but of another race "(as we said before) took this widow to his "wife, and begat *Heli* his son. Thus shall we "find *Jacob* and *Heli*, though of a different "race, yet by the same mother to have been bre"thren. One of whom, namely *Jacob*, after "*Heli* his brother was deceased without issue, "married his wife, and begat on her the third, "*Joseph*, by nature indeed and reason his own "son; whereupon also it is writtten, *And Jacob* "*begat Joseph*; but by the Law he was the son of "*Heli*; for *Jacob* being his brother raised up "seed unto him. Wherefore neither is that Ge"nealogie which concerneth him to lose its au"thority, the which indeed * *Matthew* the Evan"gelist reciting saith, *And Jacob begat Joseph*, "but * *Luke* on the other side, *Which was the son*, "*as it was supposed* (for he addeth this withall) "*of Joseph, which was the son of Heli, which was* "*the son of Melchi*. Nor could he more signi"ficantly and properly have expressed that way "of Generation according to the Law. There"fore in his recital of procreations of this sort, "he passeth over in silence even to the end, the "word of *Begetting*, carrying the whole series "of Families step by step up as high as *A*"*dam*, who was the son of God. Neither is "this matter destitute of good proof, or rashly "and hastily devised. For the kinsmen of our Sa"viour according to the flesh, either out of desire "to make known the Nobility of their stock, or "simply to tell the story, have very truly delivered "even these things unto us; how that Idumæan "Theeves invading the City *Ascalon* in Palæstina, "took Captive together with other spoils out of "the

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[a] Or, Having evidenced them to be false; for so it is in the Kings M.S. *Valef.*

[b] The chief cause of confusing of Families was, when the woman, having had children by a former husband, hastned to remarry, and bore children by her latter also. After which, let us suppose the son, begotten by her first husband, to have married a wife, and afterwads to have died without issue. Then, if his brother by the mother side marry his widow, and beget children of her, in these children there will be a confusedness of families; in so much that by nature they may be called this mans and have one name, but by Law the others, and bear another name. *Valef.*

[c] Or, The successions; So *Robert Stephens* Edit. and the Kings M.S. *Valef.*

* Matth. 1. 15, 16.

* Luk. 3. 23, 24.

[d] But *Melchi* is, in St *Luke*, the fifth, to wit, *Joseph*'s Great-grandfathers Father. Therefore either *Africanus* forgot himself; or else in that Copie of the Gospel he used, *Melchi* was written for *Matthat*; which is the conjecture of *Bede*, on the third Chap. of *Luke*. *Valef.*

* Matth. 1. 16.

* Luk. 3. 23, 24.

AUGUSTUS. "the Temple of *Apollo* adjoyning unto the "walls, [e] *Antipater*, ſon to one *Herod*, that "was Miniſter in that Temple. But, in that the "Prieſt was not able to pay the ranſome for his "ſon, *Antipater* was brought "up after the faſhion of the "Idumæans, and at length "became very familiar with "*Hyrcanus* the High-prieſt "of Judea. He, being by "*Hyrcanus* ſent Embaſſa-"dour unto *Pompey*, and "having recovered him the "Kingdom free and entire, "which his brother *Ariſto-*"*bulus* had in great part uſur-"ped, had the good hap him-"ſelf to gain the Title and Of-"fice of [f] Procuratour of *Pa-*"*leſtine*, and lived in great "proſperity. This *Antipa-*"*ter* being traiterouſly ſlain "by ſome who envied his "great felicity, *Herod* his "ſon ſucceeded him, whom "at laſt *Antonius* and *Au-*"*guſtus*, by decree of the Senate, conſtituted King "over the Jews: whoſe ſons were *Herod* and the "other Tetrarchs. Theſe things are common alſo "among the Greek Hiſtories. Now whenas un-"to that time the Genealogies not onely of the "Hebrews, but of them alſo who Lineally deſcen-"ded from antient Proſelytes, as from *Achior* the "Ammonite, and *Ruth* the Moabiteſs, and thoſe "who came out of *Egypt* with the Iſraelites "and mingled with them, were Recorded a-"mong the antient monuments; *Herod* conſider-"ing that the Iſraelitical pedegrees would avail "him nothing, and being prick't in mind with the "conſciouſneſs of his baſe-"neſs of birth, [g] burnt their "antient recorded Genealo-"gies, ſuppoſing thereby to "make himſelf to be thought "to come of noble paren-"tage, when none other, "aſſiſted by publick Re-"cords, were able to bring "their pedegrees from the "Patriarchs, or antient Pro-"ſelytes, or ſuch as were cal-"led [h] *Georæ*, ſtrangers born, "and mingled among the Iſ-"raelites. Yet ſome few ſtu-"dious in this behalf having "either kept in memory the "names of their Anceſtours, "or copied them out of an-"tient Rolls, have got unto "themſelves their proper pe-"degrees, and glory much "that they have preſerved "the remembrance of their "antient Nobility. Amongſt "whom were thoſe men I mentioned before, who by "reaſon of their near kindred with our Saviour, "were called DESPOSYNI. Theſe travelling "from *Nazara* and [i] *Cochaba*, towns of the Jews, "into other regions, plainly expounded the fore-"ſaid genealogie, partly out of the book of their "[k] Ephemerides, and partly out of their memorie, "as far as they were able. However then the caſe "ſtand, whether thus or otherwiſe, no man in my "judgment, and in the judgment of any other in-"genious perſon, can find "a plainer expoſition. Let "us make much of this there-"fore, though we have [l] no "proof to confirm it, ſeeing "we cannot produce a better, "and a truer expoſition. *The* "*Goſpel* indeed in all reſpects "uttereth moſt true things. And about the end of the ſame Epiſtle he addeth theſe words; "*Matthan de-*"*ſcending from Solomon* be-"gat *Jacob*. *Matthan* de-"ceaſed, *Melchi* of the "ſtock of *Nathan* on the "ſame woman begat *Heli*. "[m] So *Heli* and *Jacob* were brethren by the mo-"thers ſide. *Heli* dying without iſſue, *Jacob* "raiſed unto him ſeed by begetting of *Joſeph*, "his own ſon by Nature, but *Heli* his ſon by "Law. Thus was *Joſeph* ſon to both. So far "*Africanus*. Now the Genealogie of *Joſeph* being thus recited, the ſtock alſo of *Mary*, who was of the ſame Tribe together with him, is in effect made apparent. For by the Law of *Moſes*, mingling of Tribes by marriage was forbidden. For the woman is commanded to be joyned in marriage to one of the ſame Houſe and of the ſame Family, that ſo the inheritance of the kindred might not be removed from tribe to tribe. But of theſe matters let thus much ſuffice.

AUGUSTUS.

[e] This paſſage is altogether fabulous. For the name of *Antipater*'s father was not *Herod*, but *Antipater* an Idumæan; neither was he a miniſter in the Temple of *Apollo*. See *Joſephus* B. 14. Chap. 2. This *Antipater*, *Alexander* King of the Jews made Prefect of all Idumæa; and this firſt *Antipater* ſeems to be the founder of all that Greatneſs, to which his poſterity afterwards arrived. For he had the Prefecture of Idumæa during the reign of *Alexander* and *Alexandra*; and, having made an Alliance with the Aſcalonites, Gazites, and Arabians gat great riches. *Valeſ.*

[f] *Antipater*, the father of *Herod*, was Procuratour of the whole Kingdom of *Judæa* under *Hyrcanus*, and managed all affairs, both Militarie, and Civil. Therefore *Joſephus*, in his 14. B. calls him [ἐπίτροπον, i. e. *Procuratour.*] Valeſ.

[g] I judge this paſſage alſo to have little of certainty in it. For *Joſephus*, in the book of his own life, mentioning the original and antiquity of his own ſtock, fetches it from the *publick Archives*. Therefore thoſe publick tables, which contained the originalls of the Jewiſh families, were extant in *Joſephus*'s time. And ſo its falſe to ſay that *Herod* burnt them. *Valeſ.*

[h] Two ſorts of men joyned themſelves with the children of Iſrael when they went up out of Egypt. The one were native Egyptians, whom *Moſes* (*Exod.* 12. 19.) calls αὐτόχθονας, i. e. *born in the land*: the other ſort were a mixt multitude, whom he there calls γηώρας, i. e. *ſtrangers*. They were extraneous perſons amongſt the Egyptians, who took the land to Till at a certain penſion: the Jews were ſuch, before they went up out of Egypt. Both theſe ſorts of men the ſacred Scripture comprehends under the name of *a mixt multitude* (Exod. 12, 38.) *Valeſ.*

[i] *Cochaba* was a village neer *Decapolis*. *Valeſ.*

[k] Many of the Jews, ſtudious of preſerving their pedegree, had private copies thereof, taken out of the *publick Archives*; as we often ſee Gentlemen doe at this day amongſt us. *Valeſ.*

[l] How much this explication of the place in the Goſpels is to be valued, appears from theſe words of *Africanus*; who confeſſes it is not confirmed by the teſtimonie of any antient writer: But he would have us admit of it, becauſe none that is better can be brought. Which if it be ſo, I wiſh our *Euſebius* had not mentioned this matter in the entrance of his Hiſtory. It had undoubtedly been better and more adviſedly done, to have paſſed over in ſilence this diſagreement of the Evangeliſts, leaſt thoſe Readers, who were not believers (many of which there were at that time) might hence take occaſion to doubt of the truth of the Goſpel. *Valeſ.*

[m] In this way of reconciling this matter, which *Africanus* relates, two things occur which ſeem to have ſome thing of difficulty in them, firſt, I doubt whether it were lawful for the brother by the mothers ſide to marry his brothers widow, and to beget children of her, which were to ſucceed in the name and be accounted of the Familie of his brother. The Law (*Deut.* 25.5.) ſpeaks of the brother that dwells in the ſame houſe, and that is of the ſame Stock: But the brother by the mothers ſide is not of the ſame Houſe, nor of the ſame Stock: Seeing that the Stock, eſpecially amongſt the Jews, was deduced from the fathers Race. Secondly, it may be deſervedly queſtioned, whether in reckoning up the generations, there be any account had of the adoptive fathers. *Obed*, who is mentioned in the Genealogie of Chriſt, is an eminent example hereof. For when *Maalon* was dead in the land of *Moab*, and *Ruth* left a widow without children, *Booz* the kinſman of *Maalon* (he that was a nearer kinſman than he giving up his right) took *Ruth* to wife, whereby he might raiſe up ſeed to *Maalon*. Yet *Obed* that was begotten of her, is by the Evangeliſts, and in the Book of *Ruth* not called the ſon of *Maalon*, but the ſon of *Booz*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of Herods *cruelty towards the Infants, and after how miſerable a manner he ended his life.*

NOw Chriſt being born in *Bethlehem* of *Judæa* at the time before manifeſted, according to the predictions of the Prophets, *Herod*, upon an enquiry made by the *wiſe men that came from the *Eaſt*, asking where he was that was born King of the Jews? for they ſaid they had ſeen his Star, and had therefore made ſuch a long journey with diligence, becauſe they moſt ardently deſired to worſhip him that was born, as God: *Herod*, *I ſay*, being not a little troubled, judging his Government to be in very imminent danger, demanded of the Doctors of the Law, then in the Nation, where they expected Chriſt ſhould be born: when he knew of the Prophecy of *Micah*, who foretold he was to be born in *Bethlehem*; by one expreſs Edict he commands all the young children both in *Bethlehem* and in all the coaſts thereof from two years old and under, according to the time which he

* Matt. 2. 1, 2, 3.

* Micah. 5. 2.

AUGUSTUS. he had diligently enquired of the wise men, to be slain. For he supposed, as it was very likely, that Jesus would be involved in the same calamity with them that were about his age. But his Parents having had notice of the whole matter by an Angel that appeared to them, conveyed the young child into *Egypt*, and so he escaped the Kings bloudy plot. Thus much indeed the sacred writing of the Gospel sets forth. And now moreover it would be worth the while to see what immediately befell *Herod* upon account of his audacious wickedness acted towards Christ and those of the same age with him; How forthwith, without all delay, the Divine vengeance seized him whilst alive after such a manner, as to foreshew some beginnings of those torments which awaited him after this life. And how he clouded the prosperous Successes of his Reign, as he judged them to be, with domestick calamities following one upon another, with the murthers of his wife and children, and others of his nearest relations and deerest friends, I shall not now be able particularly to recount, in as much as the rehearsal of this matter would far surpass even all the most savage cruelty of every Tragedy; which *Josephus* in his History has at large declared. But, how after his cruel plot formed against our Saviour and the other infants, he was forthwith smitten from heaven with a disease, as with a scourge, whereof he died, it will not be unfit to understand from the Authour himself, who in his * seventeenth Book of Antiquities relates after how lamentable a manner he ended his life, writing word for word thus; "But the disease of *Herod* grew "yet more bitterly violent, God exacting this "judgment of his enormities upon him. He had a "gentle feaver not expressing it self so much to "the outward touch and feeling, as more grievously burning him within. Moreover he had a "vehemently strong appetite after meat, but nothing could suffice him; he had an ulcer of the "entrails with sharp conflictations especially of "the Colick-gut: a phlegmatick and shining humour appeared about his feet. Moreover the "disease had gotten about the lower belly, and "more than that, there was a putrefaction of his "Genitalls, and it bred worms; besides he had "a shortness of breath, which was also unsavory; "a troublesome flux of Rheum, which caused a "perpetual difficulty of breathing. And, the "patient having not strength to resist these things, "there followed a convulsion of all the parts. "It was said therefore by the Diviners, and those "who made it their business to give judgement "of such things, that the hand of God was upon "the King to punish him for his so oft repeated "horrible offences. Thus much therefore the foresaid Writer relates in the fore-mentioned Book. And in the Second [a] Book of his History he speaks of him after the same manner, in these words: "After that he was taken with a disease "which seising upon the whole state and habit of "his body, tormented him exceedingly with several "pains: He had a feaver but not of any acute kind, "an insufferable itching over all his body, with "continual tortures of the Colon: by the humours "about his feet you would judge him to have been "Hydropical; besides this, a strange inflammation "of the lower belly, and such a putrefaction of the "Genitalls as bred worms; moreover a shortness "and difficulty of breathing with a convulsion of "all the parts. This moved those of that time "who pretended to know the mind of God, to "term these diseases a punishment inflicted on him "from heaven. But although he strugled with "so many distempers, yet he hoped to live and "recover, and sought for remedy. Passing therefore over *Jordan* he made use of the hot-waters "that are neer *Callirhoe*. They fall into the lake "*Asphaltites*, but are so sweet that they are "potable. There, when his Physitians thought "it good to bathe his whole body in warm oil, "being set into a bathing-vessel filled with oil, "he was so weakened all over his body that he "turned up his eyes as if he had been dead. But "at the noise of his attendants outcries he came "to himself again. After this, despairing of recovery, he gave order for the distribution of "fifty [b] *Drachms* to every "one of his common Soul-"diers, but to his Comman-"ders and friends he gave "great sums of money. "From thence he returned "to *Jericho*; and being "now grown very melan-"choly, he did as it were "threaten death it self, and "resolved upon the commis-"sion of a most horrible and "villanous fact. For he "commanded all the emi-"nent personages that were "in every town of *Judæa* "to be summoned together "and imprisoned in the *Hip-*"*podrome*. Then calling for his sister *Salome* "and her husband *Alexander*, I know, said he, "the Jews will rejoyce mightily at my death; "but, if you will obey my commands, I can make "my self to be lamented by many, and obtain "an honourable Funeral; as soon as breath is out "of my body, doe you being guarded with Soul-"diers, kill all these men whom I have imprisoned; so all *Judæa*, yea every family shall though against their wills, mourn at my death. *And a little* "*after he says*, and again when he was tortured "partly by want of sustenance, and partly by the "Convulsions of his violent Cough, being overcome "with continual torments he resolved to hasten his "own death. And having taken an apple, he asked "for a knife, for his manner was to cut them him-"self when ever he eat them; then looking round "least there should be any one that might hinder him, he lifted up his right hand, as about "to doe violence to himself. *Moreover the same* "*Writer relates farther*, how that a little before "his death he most wickedly "commanded [c] another of his "own sons, having slain [d] two "of them before, to be put "to death, and then soon af-"ter died in most exquisite "torture. And such was the end *Herod* made, suffering a due punishment for his cruelty towards the infants of *Bethlehem*, which he contrived on purpose to destroy our Saviour. After his death an Angel appeared to *Joseph* then in *Egypt*, and commanded him to take the young Child and his Mother and return into *Judea*, telling him they were dead who sought the young Childs Life. To which the * Evangelist farther adds, saying, *when he heard that Archelaus reigned in Judea in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, not withstanding being warned of God in a dream he turned aside into the parts of Galilee.*

AUGUSTUS.

* Joseph. Antiq. B. 17. c. 8.

[a] These words of *Josephus* we meet with now in the 1. B. 21. c. of his History. But in the M.S. copies of *Josephus* in the Books were otherwise divided than now they are. That division *Eusebius* followed, and therefore no alteration is here to be made. *Vales.*

[b] The word δραχμὴ is derived from δραγμὴ, that is, an handfull, as containing so many pieces of brass-money as would make an handfull, to wit, six. This word from the Greeks came not onely to the Romans, but, after the time of the *Selucidæ*, to the Jews also; so Ezr. 2. 69. דרכמונים, the greek word with a very little alteration, rendred by the 72 δραχμαὶ, by us *Drachms*. Now four *Attick Drachms* make one ordinary Shekel (so I call it to distinguish it from that of the Sanctuary which was twice as much) an ordinary shekel is two shillings and six pence in our Coin. So that according to this account *Herods* largess came to six pounds and five shillings a man. *Suid.*

[c] *Antipater* who was beheaded by his fathers command five days before his death. See *Montagues* Acts and Mon.

[d] *Aristobulus* and *Alexander*; who were strangled, at *Samaria* by his special command. *Id.*

* Matt. 2. 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Times of Pilate.

TIBERIUS.

THe said Historian agrees also concerning the Reign of *Archelaus* after the death of *Herod*, declaring the manner of it, how both by his fathers Testament, and also by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar*, he obtained the Kingdom of *Judea*: And how, when after ten years he was deposed from his Government, his brethren, *Philip*, and *Herod* juniour, and [a] *Lysanias* governed their Tetrarchies. The same Authour, in the eighteenth Book of his Antiquities, makes it plainly appear, that *Pontius Pilate* was made Procuratour of *Judea* in the twelfth year of the Reign of *Tiberius* (who then was Emperour, succeeding *Augustus*, who had Reigned fifty seven years) and continued so full ten years, almost as long as *Tiberius* lived. From whence their fiction is manifestly confuted, who of late have published [b] Acts against our Saviour. In which chiefly the title or note of time, inscribed upon the said Acts, does evidently show the Authours thereof to be liars. For those things which these men have impudently feigned concerning the salutary passion of our Lord, are said to have been done when *Tiberius* was Consul the fourth time, which fell out to be the seventh year of his Reign. At which time it is certain *Pilate* was not come as Governour into *Judea*, if we may believe *Josephus*; who in his foresaid Book does expressly shew, that *Pilate* was made Procuratour of *Judea* by *Tiberius*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

[a] St *Luke* mentions this *Lysanias*, chap. 3. 1. But *Josephus* mentions him not in his account of this matter. 'Tis certain he was not *Herods* son, nor yet his successour. *Vales.*

[b] Acts were Books wherein the scribes that belonged to the several places of judicature, recorded the sentences pronounced by the Judges. See *Calvins* Lex. Jurid. the word *Acta*. These Acts of *Pilate* were counterfeited by the Enemies of Christianity, in the Persecution under *Maximinus*, as *Eusebius* affirms, Lib. 9. c. 5.

CHAP. X.

Of the High-Priests among the Jews, in whose time Christ Preached the Gospel.

AT this time therefore, namely in the fifteenth year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, according to the * Evangelist, and the fourth of *Pilate's* Procurator-ship of *Judea*, *Herod*, [a] *Lysanias* and *Phillip* being Tetrarchs over the rest of *Judea*, our Lord and Saviour Jesus, the Christ of God, being about thirty years of Age, was Baptized by *John*, and then first began to Preach the Gospel. And the Sacred Scripture says, that he finisht the whole time of his Preaching under *Annas* and *Caiphas* being [b] High-priests, meaning thereby that all his Preaching was terminated within that space of time wherein they executed the High-priests Office. Although therefore he began when *Annas* was High-priest, and continued till *Caiphas* came on, yet there are scarce full four years contained within this space of time. For, since from the time now mentioned, the Laws and sanctions about Holy matters were almost abolished, the High-preisthood also ceased to be for life and hereditary, neither was the worship of God rightly performed. But the Roman Governours made sometimes one, sometimes another High-priest, none bearing that Office above a year. [c] *Josephus* indeed in his Book of Antiquities does relate, that from *Annas* to *Caiphas* there were in one continued Order four High-priests: his words are these, "*Valerius Gratus* "having put out *Annas* from being High-priest, "made *Ismael* the son of [d] *Baphi* High-priest; "not long after he removed him, and made *Elea-* "*zar*, son of the High-priest *Annas*, High- "priest; within a year after he deprived him, "and gave *Simon* the son of *Camithus* the High- "priesthood. He, after he had held that honour "not more than a year, had [e] *Josephus*, whose "name also was *Caiphas*, for his successour. It is manifest therefore that the whole time of our Saviours Preaching was not compleat four years, within which space of time there were as many High-priests made, reckoning from *Annas* his bearing that Office, to *Caiphas* his promotion to it, [f] every one of which bore the Office one year. The Holy [g] Gospel therefore is right in noting *Caiphas* to be the High-priest that same year in which our Lords salutary passion hapned. From which authority of the Gospel also it is evident, that the time of Christs Preaching does not disagree with the account we have laid down. Now our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, not long after his beginning to Preach, called twelve men, whom he named Apostles, giving to them in particular a Title more honourable, and preferring them before the rest of his disciples. Besides, he chose other seventy men, whom he sent two by two before his face, into every of those places and Cities whither he himself would come.

TIBERIUS.

[b] In all our copies this word is in the singular number [*High-priest*] but in St *Luke* it is in the plural [High-priests] But these words of St *Luke* doe no way mean what *Eusebius* perswades himself they doe; to wit, that Christ began to Preach in that year wherein *Annas* was High-priest, and continued till *Caiphas* came on. For first, *Luke* speaks there concerning *Johns* preaching, which was before Christs, and not concerning our Saviours: Then he says, that that preaching of *John* was begun under *Annas* and *Caiphas* being High-priests; not that there were two High-priests at the same time, which is absurd and was never heard of, but that *Luke* means by these words, that in this fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *Caiphas* was High-priest, and *Annas* was one that had born that Office very lately. (See Dr *Hammonds* note on *Luke* chap. 3. v. 2. where he treats of this matter learnedly and largely.) Whosoever had born the High-priests Office, those were called High-priests during their lives, and took Tythes; So *Josephus* declares B. 20. of Antiq. *Vales.*

* Luk. 3. 1, 2.

[a] I know not why *Eusebius* put *Lysanias* in the middle between *Herod* and *Phillip*, the sons of *Herod* the great. For *Luke*, whose words *Eusebius* does here profess that he follows, in that famous place concerning the Baptism of Christ, names *Lysanias* in the third place. Wherefore *Eusebius* should have observed the same order, especially because *Lysanias* was neither son, nor successour to *Herod*. *Eusebius* also seems to be reproveable here, in that after he had said *Pilate* was then Procuratour of *Judea*, he adds, that the rest of *Judea* was governed by the Tetrarchs, *Herod*, *Phillip*, and *Lysanias*. But *Lysanias* never had any part of *Judea*. For *Abila* was not a City of *Judea*, but of *Syria*. Yet *Eusebius* may be excused, if we say, that by *Judea* he understood the whole dominion of *Herod* the great. For its manifest that he had the Tetrarchie of *Lysanias* given him by *Augustus*. For the Roman Emperours used to bestow these Tetrarchies on those Kings that were their confederates and friends, that they might thereby the more oblige them. Its strange that there is no mention of this *Lysanias*, of whom St *Luke* speaks, either in *Josephus*, *Dion*, or the rest.

[c] *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 18. chap. 4. *Eusebius* is here very much mistaken; for *Josephus* does not speak of the same times that St *Luke* does; *Josephus* speaks of the first ten years of *Tiberius*'s Reign, in which time *Valerius Gratus* was Procuratour of *Judea*; but *Luke* speaks of *Tiberius*'s second ten years, when *Pilate* was Governour of *Judea*. *Vales.*

[d] Or *Phabi*, as some Copies read it. *Vales.*

[e] Or *Josippus*, or, *Joseppus*, as it is in the old Editions of *Rufinus*. *Vales.*

[f] *Eusebius* understands *Josephus* so, as if *Josephus* had said that those four High-Priests, *Annas*, (or *Ananus*,) *Ismael*, *Eleazar*, and *Simon* executed the High-priest hood, each the space of one year. Indeed *Josephus* says this expresly of the two last; but not so of the two first. For he declares that *Ismael* indeed was put out a little after he was made High-priest by *Valerius*: But *Josephus* is so far from making *Ananus* to have been High-priest but one year, that from his words it is plainly gathered he held the High-priesthood three years at least. See *Josephus's* Antiq. B. 20. chap. 8. *Vales.*

[g] He means *John* 11. 18. but the Evangelist does not say there that he was made High-priest that same year.

CHAP.

TIBERIUS.

CHAP. XI.

What hath been testified concerning John *the* Baptist, *and concerning Christ.*

[a] I began the 11 chap. at these words; following the autority of the Kings, the Maz. and the Fuk. M.SS. *Vales.*

[a] THe sacred History of the Gospel also mentions the beheading of *John* the *Baptist*, by *Herod* Junior, to have been not long after this. To which also agrees *Josephus*, who both makes mention particularly of *Herodias* by name, and also expresly declares, how that *Herod*, having put away his former wife lawfully married to him, took this woman his brothers wife by force from him being yet alive, and married her: she was the daughter of *Arethas* King of the *Arabians*: and that upon her account, *Herod* having slain *John*, went to war with *Arethas*, incensed at the disgrace of his daughter. In which war, he relates that *Herod* and his whole Army were vanquished in a Battel, and that these things befell him upon account of his cruelty towards *John*. The same *Josephus* does agree with the Evangelical History in the account it gives of this *John*, especially as to his confessing him to have been a most righteous man and a *Baptist*. He says further, that *Herod* was deprived of his Kingdom for the sake of this *Herodias*, and was together with her banisht to [b] *Vienna* a City of *Gallia*. All this he relates in his eighteenth Book of Antiquities, where also he writes these very words concerning *John*: "But some of the "Jews judged *Herods* Army to have been over-"thrown by God, he avenging justly on him the "murther of *John* called the *Baptist*. For him "*Herod* had slain, who was a good man, and one "that exhorted the Jews to the exercise of virtue, "commanding them to deal justly with one ano-"ther, and to behave themselves piously towards "God, and so to come to be baptized. For "Baptism, said he, was then onely well-pleasing "to God, when it was used, not for the excusing "of some certain offences, but in order to the "cleansing of the body, the soul being before "purified by righteousness. Now when many "flockt to him from every quarter (for they "were strangely taken with hearing of such dis-"courses) *Herod* fearing least through the power-"full perswasion of the man, his subjects should "revolt, (for they seemed ready to doe any "thing that he advised) judged it better to cut "him off before any innovation hapned by him, "than, after it was come to pass, and had greatly "endangered his affairs, to repent he did not when "it was too late. Upon this very mistrust of *He-*"*rods*, he being put into bonds, was sent to the "foresaid Castle of *Macharous* and there slain. Thus far he concerning *John*. The same Authour in the same Book makes mention also of our Saviour in these words; "About that time there was "one Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a "man; for he wrought wonderfull miracles, and "taught all that with delight would embrace the "truth. He had many followers, both Jews and "Gentiles. This was he that was * *called* "Christ. Whom though he was accused by the "chief men of our Nation, and *Pilate* condemned "him to be crucified, yet those who at first loved "him forbore not to worship him. For he ap-"peared unto them alive on the third day, as the "holy Prophets had predicted, who foretold "these and many more wonderfull things concer-"ning him. And till this day that Sect continues, "which of Him are called *Christians*. Seeing there-fore that this Writer, being a Jew born and bred, has in his works recorded thus much of our Saviour and *John* the *Baptist*, what evasion can remain to the Forgers of those Acts against them, that they should not evidently be proved to be the most impudent of men? But thus far of these matters.

[b] *Josephus*, in his 18 B. of Antiquit. 9 chap. says he was banisht by *Caius Cæsar* to *Lions* in *France*. *Vales.*

* Ἀεγόμενον, *i. e. called*, is to be understood, as *Valesius* supposes.

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CHAP. XII.

Concerning our Saviours Disciples.

MOreover, the names of our Saviours Apostles are to all apparently manifest in the Gospel, but as to the seventy disciples, a particular * catalogue of them is no where extant. But *Barnabas* is said to have been one of them, of whom we have frequent mention both in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and also most especially in *Pauls* Epistle to the *Galatians*. *Sosthenes* also, they say, was another of them, he that together with *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*: for so says *Clemens* in the fifth Book of his Institutions; where also he affirms *Cephas* (that *Cephas* of whom *Paul* speaks, * *But when Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to the face*) a name-sake of *Peters*, to have been one of the seventy disciples. *Matthias* also, who was numbred with the Apostles in the room of the Traitor *Judas*, and the other who had the honour to be proposed in the same lot with him, are reported to be of the number of the Seventy. *Thaddæus* likewise; of whom I will by and by adjoyn an History as it came to our hands, is reported to have been one of them. But he that shall attentively observe, will find, even from *Pauls* testimony alone, that our Saviours disciples were more in number than Seventy. For he * says, *Christ after his Resurrection was seen first of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once: of whom some were fal'n asleep, but the greatest part*, he declares, were alive when he wrote these things. Then, says he, *he appeared to James*. [a] He is said to have been one of the Seventy disciples of our Saviour, and also one of the Lords Brethren. Lastly, there being many more besides the twelve, who were called Apostles by way of imitation, of which sort *Paul* himself was one, he farther adds saying, *Then he was seen of all the Apostles*. But so much of this. The fore-mentioned History concerning *Thaddæus* was thus:

* There is a Catalogue of the 70 Disciples, written by *Dorotheus*, but it was not extant in *Eusebius* his time.

* Gal. 2. 11. where, instead of *Cephas* we now read *Peter*.

* 1 Cor. 15. 5, 6, 7.

[a] Many of the antient writers affirm, that *James* the brother of our Lord, he that was Ordained the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was not of the number of the 12 Apostles, but of the disciples of the Lord. Indeed *Paul*, in his 1 Epist. to the *Cor.* chap. 15. v. 7. seems to favour this opinion, where, reckoning up those to whom Christ appeared after his death, after he hath named the 12 Apostles, and five hundred others, he adds *After that he was seen of James*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

The History of the Prince of the Edessens.

THe Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being every where famous by reason of his wonderfull power by which he wrought miracles, drew together an innumerable company even of forreigners, and inhabitants of Countreys far remote from *Judea*, who were sick and troubled with all sorts of pains, hoping to be recovered. Therefore King [a] *Agbarus*, the then

[a] Or, *Abgarus*; for so he is called in some Copies. *Vales.*

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worthy Governour of the [b] Nations lying beyond *Euphrates*, being much weakened with a ſore diſeaſe, incurable by humane skill; as ſoon as he heard of the great Name of Jeſus, and of his wonderfull works atteſted by all, ſent a Letter to him by a Letter-carrier, humbly beſeeching him to vouchſafe to cure his diſtemper. Now though he did not then hearken to his requeſt, yet he vouchſafed to give him anſwer by his own Letter, wherein he promiſed to ſend one of his diſciples, who ſhould both cure him, and alſo bring ſalvation to him, and his relations and friends. Soon after therefore this promiſe was exactly fulfilled. For after his Reſurrection from the dead, and Aſcenſion into heaven, *Thomas*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, moved thereto by Divine impulſe, ſent *Thaddæus*, choſen one of the ſeventy diſciples of Chriſt, to *Edeſſa*, to be a Preacher and Evangeliſt of the Doctrine of Chriſt. By whom all that which our Saviour had promiſed, was fulfilled. The written evidence of this matter we have taken out of the Office of Records within the princely City of *Edeſſa*, in which *Agbarus* then was Governour. For among the publick Records there, wherein the antiquities of the City and the Acts of *Agbarus* are contained, are found theſe things, there preſerved to our days. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the very words of the Letter, which we have taken out of the antient Rolls, and faithfully tranſlated out of the Syriack Tongue in theſe words, thus:

[b] *Agbarus* was Ruler over one nation onely; for he was Prince of the *Arabians*, but not of them all: For the *Arabians* were divided into many tribes; and each tribe had its diſtinct Preſect. This name was common to the Princes of *Edeſſa*. It is an *Arabick* term, and ſignifies *moſt powerfull*. Valeſ.

A Copy of a Letter written by King Abgarus *to Jeſus, and ſent to him to* Jeruſalem *by* Ananias *the Courier.*

"*Abgarus* Prince of *Edeſſa*, to Jeſus the "good Saviour, who hath manifeſted himſelf "within the confines of *Jeruſalem*, ſendeth greeting. I have heard of thee, and of the Cures, "wrought by thee without Herbs or Medicines, "for, as it is reported, thou doſt reſtore ſight to "the Blind, thou makeſt the Lame to walk, thou "cleanſeſt the Leprous, and thou doſt caſt out "devills and unclean ſpirits, and thou healeſt thoſe "that are tormented with diſeaſes of a long continuance, and thou doſt raiſe the dead. When I "heard all this of thee, I was fully perſwaded to "believe one of theſe two things, either that thou "art very God, and art come down from heaven "to doe ſuch things, or elſe the Son of God, and "ſo performeſt them. Wherefore, I have now "written to thee, beſeeching thee to come to me, "and cure my diſeaſe. For, I have heard that the "Jews murmur againſt thee, and contrive to doe "thee miſchief. I have a City, a little one indeed, but it is beautifull, and capable of receiving us both. Thus wrote *Agbarus*, as then but a little enlightned from above. It is alſo worth while to hear the Anſwer of Jeſus returned to him by the ſame Courier; ſhort indeed it is, but it has much of power and efficacy in it; It was thus:

The Anſwer of Jeſus to Agbarus *the King, ſent by* Ananias *the Courier.*

"Bleſſed art thou, *Agbarus*, who haſt believed in me whom thou haſt not ſeen. For it "is [c] written of me, that they which have ſeen me "ſhould not believe in me, that ſo they which have "not ſeen me may believe and be ſaved. But as "concerning what thou writeſt about my coming "to thee, *Know*, that all things for which I am "ſent muſt be here by me fulfilled; which being "finiſhed, I ſhall be taken up and return to him "that ſent me. But after I am aſcended, I will "ſend thee one of my diſciples, who ſhall cure thy "diſtemper, and give life to thee, and to them "that are with thee. To this Letter there is this farther added in the *Syriack* Language; "After Jeſus was aſcended, *Judas*, called alſo "[d] *Thomas*, ſent *Thaddæus* "the [e] Apoſtle who was one "of the ſeventy diſciples, to "*Agbarus*. When he was "come thither, he abode with "*Tobias* the ſon of *Tobias*. "As ſoon as it was heard "that he was come, having "manifeſted himſelf by the "miracles he wrought; *Agbarus* was told, that the "Apoſtle of Jeſus was come "thither according to his promiſe in his Letter. Now "*Thaddæus* began to cure "every diſeaſe and diſtemper "by the power of God, to the "wonder of all. When *Agbarus* heard of the great and wonderfull works "wrought by him, and how in the Name and by the "power of Jeſus Chriſt he cured diſeaſes, he had "ſome ſuſpicion, that this was the perſon about "whom Jeſus wrote to him, ſaying, when I am "taken up, I will ſend thee one of my diſciples, "who ſhall heal thy diſtemper. Having therefore "called for *Tobias*, with whom *Thaddæus* abode, "*I have heard*, ſaid he, that there is a certain "powerfull man come from Jeruſalem, who "lodges at thy houſe, that performs many Cures "in the name of Jeſus. There is a ſtranger, Sir, "*replied he*, come to my houſe who does many "miracles: Bring him, ſaid *Abgarus*, to me. "*Tobias* went home to *Thaddæus* and told him, "*Agbarus* the Governour of this City having "ſent for me, commands me to bring thee to him, "that thou mayeſt cure his diſtemper. I will go, "*replied Thaddæus*, for it is chiefly upon his account that I am with power ſent hither. *Tobias* "therefore getting up early next morning, took "*Thaddæus* along with him, and went to *Agbarus*. When he was come, to *Agbarus* (his "Nobles being preſent and ſtanding round him) "there appeared a wonderfull ſight in the face "of the Apoſtle *Thaddæus*, as he came in to him, "and therefore he worſhipped him. All that were "preſent wondred at that, for they ſaw nothing "of that ſight which appeared onely to *Agbarus*. "Then he asked *Thaddæus*, art thou, in truth a "diſciple of Jeſus the Son of God, who wrote "thus to me, I will ſend thee one of my diſciples, "who ſhall cure thy diſtemper and give life to "thee, and to all with thee? *Thaddæus* anſwered, for as much as thou haſt firmly believed in the "Lord Jeſus who ſent me, therefore am I ſent to "thee, and if thy Faith in him does ſtill increaſe, "according to thy Belief thou ſhalt have the deſires "of thine heart fulfilled. *Agbarus* made him anſwer, I did ſo firmly believe in him, that I would "have raiſed Forces to have deſtroyed the Jews "who crucified him, had I not been inhibited from "that purpoſe by the Roman Empire. Jeſus Chriſt, "replied *Thaddæus*, our Lord God fulfilled the "will of his Father, and having finiſhed that, was "taken up to his Father. *Agbarus* ſaid unto him, "I be-

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[d] *Thomas* indeed, that was one of the twelve Apoſtles, was called *Didymus*; but that the ſame perſon was ſurnamed *Judas*, is not, that I know, any where elſe to be found. Upon this account therefore this ſtory is deſervedly to be ſuſpected. Valeſ.

[e] Apoſtle here is to be taken in a large ſenſe; (See *Euſebius* at the latter end of the foregoing Chapter.) after the ſame manner every Nation and City termed them Apoſtles, from whom they firſt received the truth of the Goſpel. This name was not onely given to the 12; but all their diſciples, companions, and aſſiſtants, were generally called Apoſtles. Valeſ.

[c] In what part of the Old Teſtament theſe words occur I am yet to ſeek. Indeed, in the Goſpel of St *John* it is written that our Lord ſaid to *Thomas* after his Reſurrection, *Joh.* 20. 29. *Bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet have believed.* But this Epiſtle of Chriſt to King *Abgarus*, if it be genuine, preceded that reprehenſion of the Apoſtle *Thomas* ſome years. Valeſ.

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"fore, said *Thaddæus*, I lay my hand on thee, in
"the name of the same Lord Jesus Christ: and
"having done so, he was presently cured of the
"disease and distemper that he had. *Agbarus*
"wondred greatly when he saw that really accom-
"plished, which he had heard concerning Jesus,
"by his disciple and Apostle *Thaddæus*, who
"without the help of Herbs or Medicines, re-
"stored him to his former soundness. And not
"onely him, but one *Abdus* also the son of *Ab-*
"*dus* who had the Gout; he coming and falling
"down at *Thaddæus's* feet, received a blessing
"by prayer and the laying on of his hands, and
"was healed. Many others also of the same City
"with them were cured by the Apostle, who
"wrought wonderfull Miracles, and Preached the
"Word of God. After all this, *Agbarus* spake
"thus, We believe, *Thaddæus*, whatever thou
"dost, thou performest by the power of God,
"and therefore we greatly admire thee. But,
"We pray thee moreover, give us some farther
"account of the Advent of Jesus, How and after
"what manner it was; of his power also, and by
"what virtue he wrought those mighty Works
"we have heard. I shall now be silent, replied
"*Thaddæus*, because I am sent to publish the
"Word of God: But assemble all the men of thy
"City together to me to morrow, and I will
"Preach the Word of God to them, and will
"disperse the Word of life among them, and ex-
"pound the Advent of Jesus, after what manner
"it was, his Commission, and for what reason his
"Father sent him; the power of his Works, the
"Mysteries he declared to the world, by what
"power he wrought so great Miracles, his new
"Preaching, the slender and mean reputation he
"made himself of, the despicableness of his out-
"ward man, how he humbled himself even unto TIBERIUS.
"death, how he lessened his Divinity, how many
"and great things he suffered of the Jews, how
"he was Crucified, how he descended into Hell,
"and rent asunder that Inclosure never before se-
"vered; how he rose again, and together with him-
"self, raised those from the dead who had layn
"buried many ages; how he descended from hea-
"ven alone, but ascended to his Father accom-
"panied with a great multitude, how with glory
"he is set down at the right hand of God his Fa-
"ther in Heaven, and how he will come again
"with power and glory to judge both quick and
"dead. *Agbarus* therefore commanded the men
"of his City to come together very early and hear
"*Thaddæus* Preach. After this he commanded,
"that Gold and Silver should be given to *Thad-*
"*dæus*: But he refused it, saying, how shall we,
"who have left all that was our own, take any
"thing that is anothers? These things were done
"in the [f]Three hundredth and fortieth year. All
this, being translated word for word out of the *Syriack* Tongue, and not unprofitable to be read, we have thought good to set down opportunely in this place.

[f] This Three hundredth and fortieth year according to the account of the *Edessens*, falleth with the first year of the two hundredth and second Olympiad. For the *Edessens* numbred their years from the hundredth and seventeenth Olympiad, fixing their Æra upon the first year of *Seleucus* his Reign in *Asia* (as *Eusebius* writes in his Chronicon) from which time to the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad, there are just three hundred and forty years. Now the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad falleth with the fifteenth year of *Tiberius Cæsar*; in which year, as many of the Antients believed, our Blessed Saviour suffered and ascended. So that this account falls right, placing *Thaddæus* his coming to *Edessa*, and his curing King *Agbarus* on the same year, in which our Blessed Saviour suffered. Note that the *Edessens* began their year, from the Autumnal Æquinox, according to the custom of the *Syrians*, and almost all the *Eastern* Nations. *Vales.*

THE

SECOND BOOK
Of the Ecclesiastical History
OF
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

The PREFACE.

WHatsoever was necessary to be premised by way of Preface *to Our* Ecclesiastical History, *both concerning the Divinity of the comfortable Word, the Antiquity of the points of our doctrine and Evangelical Politie; and also moreover concerning the Manifestation our Saviour lately made of himself, his Passion and the Election of the Apostles, we have Treated of in the foregoing Book, and briefly summed up the proofs thereof. Now therefore in this, we will diligently look into what followed upon his Ascension; partly from what we find noted in Holy Writt, and partly from other Records, which we will mention in due place.*

CHAP. I.

Of those things which were instituted by the Apostles, after the Ascension of Christ.

[a] FIRST of all therefore, *Matthias*, who, as before hath been manifested, was one of the Lords disciples, by lot was elected into the Apostleship of the Traitour *Judas*. Then, seven approved men were by prayer and imposition of the Apostles hands Ordained Deacons for the publick Administration of the Churches affairs; of which number *Stephen* was one: who [b]immediately after his Ordination, as if he had been made Deacon onely for this, was the first that, after the Lord, was slain by those very Jews that had been

[a] At these words we began the first Chapter, following the Autority partly of *Rufinus*, partly of the King's, Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. for, what goes before is a Preface. *Vales.*

[b] The year wherein *Stephen* suffered Martyrdom is not agreed on by all: some say it was the third year after Christs passion, which was the last of *Claudius*, so *Syncellus*. Others say he was martyred on the 7th of the Calend. of *Jan.* that same year in which Christ suffered. So *Scaliger* says in his Excerpt. Chronolog. which he puts out with *Euseb.* Chronicon. p. 68. and this seems to have been the opinion of *Eusebius*, as appears from this place. *Vales.*

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the Lords murtherers, who ſtoned him to death: And thus he, being the firſt of the worthily victorious Martyrs of Chriſt, gained a Crown [c] anſwerable to his Name. Then *James* alſo, who was termed the [d] brother of the Lord, becauſe he alſo was called the Son of *Joſeph*: for *Joſeph* was the father of Chriſt, *to whom* Mary *being eſpouſed, before they came together ſhe was found with child of the Holy Ghoſt*, as the Sacred Hiſtory of the Goſpel doth declare: This ſame *James, I ſay*, who for his eminent virtue the Antients ſurnamed the Juſt, was as they relate the firſt that had the Epiſcopal ſeat of the Church at *Jeruſalem* delivered to him. So *Clemens* affirms in the ſixth Book of his Inſtitutions. For he ſays, That, *after our Saviours Aſcenſion*, Peter, James, *and* John, *although our Lord had preferred them before the reſt, did not contend for the Dignity, but choſe* James *the* Juſt *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. The ſame Author, in the ſeventh Book of the ſame work, ſays this farther of him, *The Lord after his Reſurrection conferred the gift of Knowledge upon* James *the* Juſt, John *and* Peter, *which they delivered to the reſt of the Apoſtles, and thoſe to the Seventy Diſciples, one of whom was* Barnabas. But there were two *James's*; the one ſurnamed the *Juſt*, who was caſt head-long from the Battlement of the Temple, and beaten to death with a Fullers Club: the other was beheaded. *Paul* makes mention of this *James* the *Juſt*, writing thus: * *Other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none ſave James the Lords brother.* At this time alſo all that our Saviour had promiſed to the King of the *Oſdroënians* was fulfilled. For *Thomas*, moved thereto by Divine impulſe, ſent *Thaddæus* to *Edeſſa* to be a Preacher and Evangeliſt of the Doctrine of Chriſt, as from a Record there found we have a little before manifeſted. He, when he was come thither, did in the Name of Chriſt both cure *Agbarus*, and alſo aſtoniſhed all the Inhabitants of the country with the wonderfulneſs of his Miracles. And when he had ſufficiently prepared them with ſuch Works, and brought them to an adoration of Chriſts power, he made them diſciples of his wholeſome Doctrine. From that very time untill now the whole City of the *Edeſſens* has continued to be Conſecrated to Chriſts Name, enjoying no trivial evidences of our Saviour's graciouſneſs towards them. And theſe things are ſaid as from the Hiſtory of the old Records. We will now return again to Holy Writ: After the Martyrdom of *Stephen*, when the firſt and ſoreſt perſecution of the Church at *Jeruſalem* by the Jews aroſe, all the diſciples of Chriſt, except the Twelve onely, being ſcattered throughout *Judea* and *Samaria*, ſome of them travelling as far as *Phœnice* and *Cyprus* and *Antioch*, as Holy Scripture teſtifieth, were not able to be ſo bold as to communicate the Word of Faith to the Gentiles, but Preach't to the Jews onely. At that time * *Paul* alſo untill then made havock of the Church, entring into every houſe of the faithfull, haling men and women, and committing them to priſon. Moreover * *Philip*, one of thoſe who was ordained Deacon with *Stephen*, being one of them that were diſperſed, went down to *Samaria*, and being full of the Divine power, was the firſt that Preach't the Word to thoſe inhabitants. And the Grace of God did ſo effectually cooperate with him, that by his Preaching he drew after him *Simon Magus* with many other men. This *Simon*, at that time very famous, did ſo far prevail with thoſe whom he had deceived by his impoſture, that they thought him to be the great power of God. Then therefore this very perſon, being greatly amazed at the Miracles *Philip* wrought by the power of God, craftily inſinuated himſelf, and ſo far counterfeited a faith in Chriſt, that he was baptized. The ſame thing with admiration we ſee now done by the followers of his moſt filthy Sect, who creeping into the Church, as their fore-father did, like ſome peſtilent and leprous diſeaſe, doe deeply corrupt all thoſe into whom they are any way able to inſtil that pernicious and incurable poyſon which lies concealed within them. But many of them were caſt out of the Church, as ſoon as their vitiouſneſs was diſcovered; in like manner *Simon* himſelf being at length detected by *Peter*, was deſervedly puniſhed. Furthermore when the wholeſome Preaching of the Goſpel daily increaſed, Divine providence brought out of the land of *Æthiopia* a man of great autority under the Queen of that Countrey, for thoſe Nations are according to their countrey faſhion governed by a woman, who being the firſt of the Gentiles, that by *Philip*, warned of God by a Viſion, was made partaker of the Myſteries of the Divine Word; was alſo the firſt fruits of the faithfull throughout the world: Returning into his own country he is reported to have been the firſt publiſher of the Knowledge of the great God, and of the comfortable Advent of our Saviour in the Fleſh: And ſo by him was really fulfilled that prediction of the Prophet, * *Æthiopia ſhall ſtretch out her hand unto God.* At this time, † *Paul*, that choſen veſſel, was made an Apoſtle, not of men, neither by men, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father, who raiſed him from the dead; being vouchſafed this calling by a Viſion, and a voice from heaven which came to him at the Revelation thereof.

TIBERIUS.

[c] *Stephen*, in Greek ſignifies a Crown.

[d] That this *James* was not the Son of the B. Virgin, nor yet of *Joſeph* by one *Eſcha* a former wife; but of *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas* ſiſter to the B. Virgin, may thus be made appear: we read *Jo.* 19. 25. that there ſtood by the Croſs of Chriſt his Mother, and his Mothers ſiſter *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and *Mary Magdalen*: in the reſt of the Evangeliſts we find at the ſame place (*Matth.* 27. 56.) *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joſes*; and again at the Sepulchre (*Matth.* 28. 1.) *Mary Magdalen* and the other *Mary*. Wherefore that other *Mary* by the conjunction of theſe Teſtimonies, appeareth to be the ſiſter of the B. Virgin, to be the wife of *Cleophas*, and the mother of *James* and *Joſes*; and conſequently *James* and *Joſes* the brethren of the Lord, were not the ſons of *Mary* his mother, nor of *Joſeph* by a former wife, but of the other *Mary*, and therefore called his brethren, according to the language of the Jews [See *Gen.* 13. 8. & 12. 5. & 29. 12.] becauſe that other *Mary* was the ſiſter of his mother. See Biſhop *Pearſon* on the Creed. p. 176. Edit. Lond. 1669.

* Gal. 1. 19.

* Acts 8. 3.

* Acts 8. 5, &c.

* Pſal. 68. 31.

† Acts 9. 3, &c.

CHAP. II.

How Tiberius *was affected at the Relation* Pilate *ſent him of thoſe things concerning Chriſt.*

WHen the wonderfull Reſurrection of our Saviour and his Aſcenſion into Heaven was now divulged among all men; becauſe it was of old cuſtomary that the Governours of Provinces ſhould communicate to the Emperour every ſtrange and unuſual accident that happened within their charge, that ſo nothing that was done might eſcape his knowledge; *Pilate* acquainted the Emperour *Tiberius* with the Reſurrection of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt now much talk't of over all *Paleſtine*; giving him an account that he had alſo heard of many other Miracles of his, and how that riſing again after he had been dead, he was now by many believed to be God. And they ſay that *Tiberius* referred this matter to the Senate, but the relation was rejected by them; upon pretence, that they had not firſt approved of the matter,

TIBERIUS. matter; there being an old Law amongst the Romanes, that no one should be deified but by the suffrage and decree of the Senate; but in reality, that the wholesome Preaching of the divine Doctrine might not stand in need of any humane approbation or assistance. When therefore the Senate had rejected the Relation concerning our Saviour, *Tiberius* persisted in his former judgment, attempting nothing prejudicial to the Doctrine of Christ. Thus much [a] *Tertullian*, a man incomparably well skilled in the Roman Laws and every way famous, and most renowned among the Latine Writers, in the Apologie for the Christians written by him in Latine, but afterwards translated into Greek, does declare in these very words: "[b] And that we "may discourse concerning "the Original of these Laws, "there was an old Decree, "that the Emperour should "consecrate no God, before "he was approved by the Senate. *Marcus Æ-* "*milius* knows this concerning his God *Albur-* "*nus*. And this makes for our advantage, because "among you Divinity is weighed by humane ap- "probation. If God please not man, he shall not be "God. Man now must be propitious to God. *Ti-* "*berius* therefore, in whose time the Christian "Name made its entry into the world, communi- "cated to the Senate the account he had received "out of *Syria Palestine*, whereby the Truth of "the Divinity of Christ was made apparent; "which he confirmed with his own suffrage. But "because the Senate had not approved of it, it "was rejected: the Emperour persisted in his "judgment, threatning the accusers of the Chri- "stians with death. Which opinion divine providence, according to his dispensation instilled into the mind of *Tiberius Cæsar*, that the Preaching of the Gospel then in its infancy, might without impediment spread over the whole world.

[a] *Tertullian* was by birth a *Carthaginian*; his father was a *Centurion*, a Deputy-pro-Consul. He wrote many volumes in Latine, of which his Apologie onely was done into Greek, but by whom, it is uncertain: he flourisht under *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*. Vales.

[b] In our translation of this quotation out of *Tertullian*, we have followed the Original expression of the Authour, according to *Rigaltius* his Edition of him: this Greek translation being not fully expressive of the Authours mind, as *Valesius* thinks.

CHAP. III.

How the Doctrine of Christ spread in a short time over the whole World.

AND thus by the cooperation of Divine power, the comfortable Word of God, like the beams of the Sun, on a sudden enlightned the whole world, and presently, agreeable to the Divine * Psal. 19. 4. Scriptures, *the sound of the heavenly Evangelists and Apostles went out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the earth.* And indeed in a short time there were throughout all Cities and Villages Churches gathered, which like a Threshing-floor filled with Corn, were thronged with infinite multitudes. And they, who, deriving their ignorance from their Ancestours and their errours of old, were ensnared as to their souls with the superstitious worship of Idols, as in an inveterate disease, being freed as it were from their cruel masters, and loosned from their heavy bonds by the power of Christ, and the Preaching and Miracles of his disciples, did with scorn reject the multitude of gods brought in by devils, and acknowledged there was one onely God the maker of all things: And him they worshipped with the Holy Rites of true Religion, by that divine and sober way of worship which our Saviour had spread among mankind. When therefore the Grace of God diffused it self into the rest of the Nations; and *Cornelius* of the City [a] *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, in the first place together with his whole household, by a Vision from heaven and the Ministery of *Peter*, embraced the Faith of Christ; and many others of the Gentiles at *Antioch* did the same, to whom the disciples, dispersed upon the persecution that arose about *Stephen*, Preached the word of God, the Church at *Antioch* now increasing and prospering, in which many were gathered together, both Prophets from *Jerusalem*, with whom were *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and besides, also other brethren in number not a few: the appellation of [b] *Christians* then and there first sprang up, as from a pleasant and fertile soyle: and *Agabus* also, one of the Prophets there present fore-told the dearth that afterwards happened; and [c] *Paul* and *Barnabas* were sent to relieve the Brethren by their Ministration.

TIBERIUS.

[a] It was called *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* to distinguish it from *Cæsarea Philippi*, which was in *Phœnice*. Vales.

[b] That our Saviours followers were first named Christians in *Tiberius* his Reign, *Tertullian* affirms in his Apologie, the place is quoted by *Eusebius* in the preceding Chapter. *Vales.*

[c] This journey of *Pauls* to *Jerusalem* can no way fall upon the times of *Tiberius*. For *Luke* writes expresly in the *Acts*, chap. 11. v. 29, 30. that it happened about that time when *Herod Agrippa* was smitten by the Angel of the Lord: which it is most certain, happened in *Claudius* his time. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

How, after the death of Tiberius, Caius *made Agrippa King over the Jews, and punished* Herod *with perpetual Banishment.*

BUT *Tiberius*, having Reigned about two and twenty years, died. *Caius* succeeding him in the Empire, presently gave [a] *Agrippa* the Kingdom of *Judea*, and made him King over the Tetrarchies both of *Phillip* and *Lysanias*. Besides, not long after he gave him *Herods* Tetrarchy also, having condemned *Herod* to perpetual banishment, being together with *Herodias* his Wife deservedly punished for divers enormities: (This was the *Herod* that was present at our Saviours Passion:) *Josephus* is a witness of these things also. Moreover in this Emperours time *Philo* flourished, a man highly esteemed of for his Learning by many, not onely among us but also among forreigners. He was indeed by Original extract an Hebrew, inferiour to none of those that were illustrious in dignitie at *Alexandria*. Moreover what and how great pains he bestowed about divine matters, and in the learning of his own Nation, it is to all evidently manifest. Besides, how excellent he was at Philosophy and Humane Learning it is needless to relate; for he is said to have excelled all of his own time in the Platonick and Pythagorean Philosophy which he much affected.

C. CALIGULA.

[a] *Caius Cæsar* about the beginning of his reign made *Agrippa* King, first of *Trachonitis*, which was *Phillips* Tretrarchy. After that, when *Herod*, Tetrarch of Galilee, by the perswasion of his wife *Herodias*, went to *Rome* to get the Regal dignity of *Caius* the Emperour, *Caius* took from *Herod* his Tetrarchy of Galilee, and gave it to *Agrippa*. At length, after the death of *Caius*, *Claudius* confirmed the Kingdom to *Agrippa* which *Caius* had given him, and gave him also *Judea* and *Samaria*, which his Grandfather *Herod* had. And so the whole Kingdom of *Herod* the great was possessed by *Agrippa*. See Philo *in Flaccum & in Legat. ad Caium sub finem*; and *Joseph.* Hist. B. 18. so that *Eusebius* is mistaken, in that he says, *Caius* made *Agrippa* King of *Judea*. *Vales.*

CHAP. V.

How Philo *went on an Embaſſage to* Caius *upon the Jews Account.*

[a] There are now extant onely two Books of *Philo*'s concerning this Subject, the one entitled *in Flaccum*, the other *de Legatione ad Caium*; ſo that either *Euſebius* forgot their number, or elſe they were heretofore divided into five Volumes: Neither can any one ſuſpect the other three to be loſt: for in thoſe two, we now have, are contained all that happened to the Jews under *Caius* his Empire. *Valeſ.*

MOreover this man comprized in [a] five Books the calamities that befell the Jews in *Caius* his Reign; wherein he ſets forth both the madneſs of *Caius* Proclaiming himſelf to be god, and alſo his inſolent carriage in his Government in innumerable inſtances; likewiſe the diſtreſſes the Jews underwent in his Reign; and declares how himſelf went Embaſſadour to *Rome* upon the account of his Countrey-men that dwelt at *Alexandria*; and how that reaſoning before *Caius* for the Laws and cuſtomes of his own nation, he obtained nothing beſides laughter and reproaches, and narrowly eſcaped the danger of being put to death. *Joſephus* mentions all this in his eighteenth Book of Antiquities, writing thus much word for word: "Moreover, there happened a ſedition at *Alexandria* among the Jews "that dwelt there and the "Greeks, [b] three of each "faction were ſent Embaſſadours to *Caius*. Now *Apion* was one of the *Alexandrian*'s Embaſſadours, "who railed bitterly againſt "the Jews, laying many "things to their charge, and "amongſt the reſt that they "neglected to worſhip *Cæſar*. For when all the ſubjects of the Roman Empire built Temples and "Altars to *Caius*, and at all points worſhipped "him as they did their gods, the Jews onely, "*ſaid he*, accounted it a vile thing to erect Statues to him, and to ſwear by his name. When "*Apion* had urged theſe and many other vehement "accuſations againſt them, whereby he hoped, as "it was likely, to incenſe *Caius*, *Philo* chief of "the Jewiſh Embaſſy, a man every way famous, "brother to *Alexander* [c] *Alabarchus*, and not unskilfull in Philoſophie, was able and ready with an Apologie to anſwer his Accuſations. But *Caius* forbad him, commanding him to depart immediately from his preſence. And the Emperour was ſo highly incenſed, that none doubted but he would moſt ſeverely puniſh the Jews. But "*Philo* being much reviled went out, and, as they "ſay, ſpake to the Jews that were about him to "be of good courage, for "although [d] *Caius* was angry with them, yet he had "now really rendred God his "Adverſarie. Thus much *Joſephus* relates. And *Philo* himſelf, in the account which he wrote of this his Embaſſy, does exactly relate every particular thing that was then done. Whereof omitting moſt part, I will hereunto annex onely ſo much as ſhall make it evidently plain to the Readers, that theſe miſeries ſtraightway without any delay befell the Jews upon account of their enormous impieties committed againſt Chriſt. Firſt of all therefore he relates, that in the Reign of *Tiberius* one *Sejanus* of the City of *Rome*, a perſon who then could doe much with the Emperour, did uſe his utmoſt indeavour to deſtroy that whole Nation: and that in *Judea*, *Pilate*, in whoſe time that horrible wickedneſs was moſt audaciouſly committed againſt our Saviour, attempting ſomething about the Temple at *Jeruſalem* which yet ſtood, contrary to the cuſtomes and ordinances of the Jews, raiſed vehement commotions among them.

[b] *Philo* ſays there were five Embaſſadours of the Jews ſide ſent to *Rome*; See his *de Legat. ad Caium ſub finem.* Theſe Embaſſadours were ſent upon two accounts, firſt, the Jews complained that the *Alexandrians* defiled their *Proſeucha's* by bringing the Emperours Statues into them; and then, that the *Alexandrians* went about to deprive the Jews of their freedom of the City *Alexandria*. Valeſ.

[c] So the chief Magiſtrate among the Jews at *Alexandria* was called: He held his place as long as he lived; and at his death the Jews choſe another into his room. See *Philo* in *Flaccum*. Valeſ.

[d] *Philo*'s meaning here is, that *Caius* indeed was angry with the Jews as to appearance, and in words; but that in reality he did arm God, and ſet him in array againſt himſelf. For, in that *Caius* would have himſelf called god, he provoked God to take vengeance of him. Ἀνθιπαρεξάγειν (whence the word here uſed is derived) is a military term, and ſignifies, *to ſet an army in array againſt an enemy*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VI.

How great miſeries befell the Jews after their audacious wickedneſs committed againſt Chriſt.

HE *relates further how*, after the death of *Tiberius*, *Caius* aſſuming the Government, was every way ſorely injurious towards many, but above all he moſt heavily annoyed the whole Jewiſh Nation, which in ſhort we may underſtand from *Philo*'s own [a] words, writing thus word for word. "So great therefore was the extravagancy and pride of *Caius*'s carriage towards all, "but more eſpecially towards the Jewiſh Nation, "which he bitterly hated, and appropriated to "himſelf all their [b] *Proſeucha*'s in the reſt of the "Cities, beginning with thoſe "at *Alexandria*, filling them "with his own Images and "Statues. For in that he ſuffered others to conſecrate "Statues to him, he ſeemed "in a manner to dedicate "them to himſelf. And he "changed and transformed "the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, "which hitherto had remained undefiled and dignified with all the priviledges of a Sanctuary, "and made it into a Temple dedicated to himſelf, "cauſing it thence forward "to be called the Temple "of CAIUS [c] JUNIOR "JUPITER [d] CONSPICUOUS. Moreover the ſame Authour, in his ſecond Book which he intitled *of* [e] *Virtues*, relates innumerable other calamities, ſuch as are grievous beyond all expreſſion, that befell the Jews dwelling at *Alexandria*, during the Government of the foreſaid *Caius*. To whom *Joſephus* agrees, who notes that thoſe troubles, with which the whole Jewiſh Nation was moleſted, began even from the times of *Pilate*, and from thoſe enormous facts committed againſt our Saviour. Let us therefore hear what he alſo declares in his ſecond Book of the Jewiſh wars, in theſe [f] words, ſaying, "*Pilate* being by *Tiberius* ſent Procurator into "*Judea*, brought into *Jeruſalem* by night the "veiled Images of *Cæſar*, which are called his "Statues,

[a] *Philo* in *Legat. ad Caium* about the end.

[b] The Jews had two ſorts of places, beſides their Temple, (which was for ſacrifice) for religious duties; *viz.* their *Proſeuchæ*, and *Synagogues*; the difference between them was this; the *Proſeucha* was a Plot of ground encompaſſed with a wall or ſome other incloſure, and open above; the uſe of it was properly for prayer; a Synagogue was a covered edifice, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the people inſtructed in divine matters; beſides, the Synagogues were within, the *Proſeuchæ* without the Cities. They were in uſe before the Captivity, as may be gathered from *Joſ.* 24. 26. *Pſal.* 74. 7. See *Acts* 16. 13. Mr *Mede*.

[c] So *Caligula* was called, to diſtinguiſh him from *Julius Cæſar*, who was alſo called *Caius*, and was deified. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἐπιφανὴς, Conſpicuous. *Valeſius* tranſlates it *præſens*; *præſentes dii ſunt vel qui ſtatim præſtant, vel qui coluntur & videntur*. Donat. in Terent. Phorm. That is, *the Propitious or Conſpicuous gods were ſuch, as were at hand, or ſuch as were viſible to the worſhippers.* Hence *Antiochus* King of *Syria* was called *Epiphanes* by his flatterers.

[e] *Valeſius* thinks that by this *Second Book of Virtues* muſt be underſtood *Philo*'s Book *in Flaccum*; and his reaſon is, becauſe *Philo* does no where elſe but in that Book, relate the calamities that befell the Jews of *Alexandria*.

[f] Joſ. Bell. Jud. L. 2. c. 8.

C. CALIGULA. "Statues. As soon as it was day this raised a "great commotion among the Jews. For those "who were near were astonished at the sight, in "that their Laws were violated and trampled "on. For they account it a detestable thing to "place any graven image in the City. These things if thou compareſt with the Evangelical writing, thou shalt understand that that voice they uttered before *Pilate*, crying out **they had no other King but Cæsar*, was soon [g] after revenged upon them. The same Writer relates another following calamity inflicted on them by Divine vengeance in these words: "After this *Pi-*"*late* raised another commotion amongst them; "exhausting the stock of the sacred Treasury (it "is call'd the [h] Corban) in making a Conduit; "wherein the water that was to be brought was "at three hundred furlongs distance. For which "there was great indignation amongst the po-"pulace: And when *Pilate* was at *Jerusalem*, "they flockt about the judgment Seat, and be-"gan to exclaim. But he (for he foresaw there "would be a tumult amongst them) mingled "armed Souldiers, clad like the common people, "amongst the multitude, and, forbidding them "to use their swords, but commanding them to "strike those that cried out with clubs, gave them "a sign from his Tribunal. So the Jews were bea-"ten, and many of them killed, some by the blows "they received perished, others being troden to "death in the croud by those of their own party "that fled. And so the multitude, being astonished "at the calamity of those that were slain, were "silent. Moreover, the same Writer relates in-numerable other commotions raised in *Jerusalem*; and shews, that even from that time forward both the City and all *Judea* was distracted with Seditions, Wars, and continual contrivances of mischief following one upon another, untill at last the Siege in the Reign of *Vespasian* by way of revenge befell them. After this manner therefore hath divine vengeance pursued the Jews for their execrable wickedness committed against Christ.

* Joh. 19. 15.

[g] In this place *Eusebius* is mistaken, in that he thought that those things, which *Josephus* relates concerning the images of *Tiberius* brought into the City of *Jerusalem* by *Pilate*, happened after the death of Christ. But *Josephus* attests (in the 2d B. of the Jewish wars, and in his 18 B. Antiq.) that this happened at the beginning of *Pilates* Government. Now *Pilate* was sent by *Tiberius* into *Judea* in the twelfth year of his Reign. Its absurd therefore to say, that those mischiefs, which befell the Jews long before Christs death, happened to them for no other cause than for their wickedness committed against Christ. Besides, *Eusebius* thought, that one and the same Act of *Pilate*'s was mentioned both by *Philo* and *Josephus*. But *Josephus* speaks of the Images of the Emperour; and *Philo*, of the guilded Bucklers, which had no image, but onely the name of the Emperour to whom they were dedicated, and *Pilate*'s name that made that dedication. Moreover, what *Josephus* relates, happened in the first year of *Pilates* Government; but, what *Philo* reports, came to pass when *Pilate* had been many years Governour. *Vales.*

[h] *Corban* comes from קרב, which signifies *promiscuously* to draw nigh, and to offer: the Evangelist renders *Corban*, a gift (*Matth.* 15. v. 5.) *i. e.* that which is presented and consecrated to God in the Temple: it signifies also the place where the Offerings so called were laid up. Dr *Hammond.*

CHAP. VII.

That Pilate *made himself away.*

IT is also worth knowing, how that this same *Pilate*, who condemned our Saviour, in the Reign of *Caius*, whose times we now Treat of, fell, as it is famed, into so great troubles, that he was [a] forced to be his own Murderer and Revenger, saying violent hands on himself: Divine justice, as it was meet, not long deferring his punishment. This those Grecians do Record, who have written [b] Olympiads, giving an account what was done, and in what time performed. C. CALIGULA.

[a] That is, by reason of despair. This is confirmed by *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*; In the third year of *Caius Caligula*, says he, P. *Pilate* falling into great troubles killed himself. King *Agrippa* (*apud Philon. in Legat. ad Caium*) gives this description of this *Pilate*, ἦν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπὴς, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀυθαδείας ἀμείλικτος; That is, he was of an inflexible nature, and withall arrogant and cruel: which testimony is so much the more considerable, because it came out of *Agrippa*'s mouth, who was an eye-witness of *Pilates* detestable acts. A character well befitting him that condemned our Saviour. *Vales.*

[b] There were amongst the Grecians, games instituted for the exercise of their youth, to the honour of *Jupiter Olympus*, neer unto whose Temple they were performed in the Olympian field. The time was (as onely *Pindar* has revealed) at the full moon which followed the Summer Solstice. They were celebrated every fifth year: and the interval was called an OLYMPIAD, consisting of four *Julian* years, and the odd Bissextile day. The restitution of these Games by *Iphitus*, is so much more taken notice of than the first celebration by *Hercules*. That this, which was many years after, is yet accounted for the first Olympiad, upon which the Grecian Chronology fixeth it self, as upon the certain term, to which their reckoning does refer, See Mr *Jo. Gregory of Oxford, de Æris & Epoch.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Dearth that happened in Claudius *his time.*

BUt *Caius* having held the Empire not full out four years, *Claudius* the Emperour succeeded him. In whose times a Dearth oppressed the whole world, of which those Historians make mention, who are wholly averse from our Religion. And so the prediction of the Prophet *Agabus*, of whom there is mention in the *Acts* of the Apostles, concerning this Dearth that should come upon all the world, was compleated. *Luke* having in the *Acts* mentioned this Dearth that happened in the time of *Claudius*, adds this farther, saying, *That the brethren which were in Antioch, every one according to his ability, sent to them who were in Judea by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.* CLAUDIUS. Acts 11. 28, 29, 30.

CHAP. IX.

The Martyrdom of James *the Apostle.*

NOw *about that time*, to wit, in the Reign of *Claudius*, *Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church: and he killed James the brother of John with the sword.* Concerning this *James*, *Clemens*, in the seventh Book of his Institutions, relates a memorable History, speaking as he had heard from his predecessours. "For he says, that he "that [a] accused him before "the Judgment-seat, seeing "him openly and willingly te-"stifie and declare the faith of "Christ, was moved thereat, "and professed that he also "was a Christian. And so "says he, they were both to-"gether led away to suffer. "And, as they were going, "he beseeched *James* to par-"don him; who, after a short "deliberation, said, peace be "to thee, and kissed him; "and so they were both be-"headed together. Then al-so, as Holy *writ declares, [b] *Herod*, perceiving that the killing of *James* very much pleased the Acts 12. 1, 2.

[a] It was usual for those that were accused, to be brought before the judgment-seat by a Souldier or Apparator: the Greek word (ὁ εἰσαγαγὼν) will bear that sense, as well as *Accuser*, but we have translated it Accuser, upon the account of *Clemens* his following words, saying, that this person asked *James* forgiveness, which, if he had accused him, he had reason to doe; but had he been onely an Officer or Souldier, and had done no more but brought in *James* before the judge, he may seem to have done no more then the duty of his place, what he was commanded; and so needed not have asked *James* forgiveness. *Vales.*

* Acts 12. 3. &c.

[b] This *Herod*, called also *Agrippa*, was eldest son to *Aristobulus* by *Bernice* his Wife, daughter of *Salome* Sister to *Herod* the great: which *Aristobulus* was eldest son to *Herod* the great by his Wife *Mariamne* the *Assamonean*. See *Montagues* Acts, and Mon. chap. 4. Sect. 34. So that this *Herod* was Grandchild to *Herod* the great. *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 18. c. 7.

CLAUDIUS. Jews, ſet upon *Peter* alſo, and having put him in bonds, would forthwith have put him to death, had he not been miraculouſly delivered out of priſon by a divine apparition, *to wit*, by an Angel coming to him by night; being diſmiſt for the miniſtration of Preaching. All which happened to *Peter* by the diſpoſition of divine providence.

CHAP. X.

How Agrippa, *called alſo* Herod, *perſecuting the Apoſtles, preſently felt Divine vengeance.*

BUt the Kings attempt to do violence to the Apoſtles remained not long unrevenged; for a chaſtizing Miniſter of divine juſtice purſued him: He therefore, ſoon after his bloudy plot againſt the Apoſtles, going down to *Cæſarea*, as it is related in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and being there upon the great feſtival day dreſſed in a white and Royal garment, made an Oration to the people from his lofty throne; and when all the multitude gave a ſhout with loud acclamations at his Oration, as at the voice of God and not of Man, Sacred writ declares that he was *immediately ſmitten by an Angel, and was eaten up of worms and gave up the ghoſt*. But the conſent between Holy writ and the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*, in the account given of this ſtrange thing is worthy of admiration. In which he, giving evident teſtimony to the truth in his nineteenth * Book of Antiquities does plainly declare this wonderfull thing in theſe words thus, "The third year of his reign over all *Judea* was "now compleated; when he went to the City "*Cæſarea*, heretofore called the Tower of *Straton*. "There he exhibited ſhewes in honour of *Cæſar*, "knowing that [a] Feſtival to "have been inſtituted for the "proſperity of him. Hereun-"to flockt a great multitude "of thoſe who were honoura-"ble and excelled in digni-"ty, throughout that whole "[b] Province. On the ſecond "day therefore of the ſhews, "being clothed with Robes "made all of ſilver admira-"bly wrought, he entred the "Theatre early in the mor-"ning. When the ſilver of "his Robes, ſhining by rea-"ſon of the beams the riſing "Sun caſt on them made a wonderfull gliſtering, "ſtriking thoſe who ſteadfaſtly looked on him "with wonder and amazement, preſently his flat-"terers, ſome from one place ſome from another, "cryed out with voices moſt pernitious to him "terming him God; and beſeeching him to be "propitious to them. Hitherto, ſaid they, we have "reverenced thee as a Man, but now we acknow-"ledge thee to be above mortal nature. But the "King neither rebuked them, nor rejected their "impious flattery, preſently after looking up he "eſpied an [c] angel ſitting over his head; whom "he forthwith underſtood to be the cauſe of miſ-"chief towards him, having [d] heretofore been the "*foreteller* of his proſperity. A pain that pierced "his very heart immediately ſeized him. He had "beſides a griping all over his belly, which began "with a vehement ſharpneſs, and was continual and "without intermiſſion. Looking therefore upon his "friends, I your God, ſays he, am now compelled to "end my life; fatal neceſſity forthwith demonſtra-"ting the falſhood of your boaſting acclamations "even now uttered concerning me: I, who by you "was ſtiled immortal, am now ſnatch't away by "death. But what deſtinie is to be born with which "God hath decreed. We have in no wiſe lived ill, "and deſpicably, but in ſuch ſplendor as was look't "upon to be moſt fortunate. When he had ſpoken "theſe words, he was ſpent with the vehemency of "his pain. Being therefore preſently carried into "the Palace, a rumour was immediately ſpread "abroad that the King was in imminent danger "of his life; ſtraightway the whole multitude "with their wives and chil-"dren [e] ſitting upon ſpread "ſackcloth, after their coun-"try faſhion, made ſupplica-"tions to God for the King. "Every place was filled with "wailings and lamentations. "But the King lying in an "High-bed-chamber, looked "down upon them as they "lay proſtrate and could not "refrain weeping. At length "having been for five days "ſpace continually tormen-"ted with pains of his Belly, "he died, in the fifty fourth "year of [f] his Age, and "the ſeventh of his Reign. "For firſt he reigned four "years under *Caius Cæſar*, "having governed the Te-"trarchie of *Phillip* three "years; in the fourth he "had *Herods* Tetrarchie an-"next: the three laſt years "of his Reign he paſſed un-"der *Claudius Cæſar*. Thus far *Joſephus*: wherein, as alſo in other paſſages, I much admire him, in that he agrees ſo exactly with Holy Scripture. But if any one ſhould think that there is ſome diſagreement about the name of the King; both the time and the action doe evidently ſhew that he was the ſame perſon; ſo that either his name was changed by ſome miſtake of the Tranſcriber, or elſe this King had, as many others have, two names.

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* *Joſeph.* Antiq. B. 19. c. 7.

[a] This Feſtival was inſtituted firſt by *Herod* the great in honour of *Auguſtus*, in the 192 Olympiad, ſays *Joſephus*, (Antiq. L. 16. c. 9.) at the City *Cæſarea*. *Agrippa* went to *Cæſarea* to celebrate it, in the 4 year of *Claudius*, at the beginning of the 206 Olympiad. *Valeſ.*

[b] He means *Syria*, or (which was part of it) *Phœnicia*; which was called the *Province*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Judea* where *Agrippa* then reigned. Indeed *Luke* ſays expreſly (*Acts* 12. 20.) that the principal men of *Tyre* were then preſent, which *Tyre* was the chief City of *Phœnicia*. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Joſephus* calls it τὸν βεβῶνα, *an owl*: See his words in the B. and chap. laſt cited.

[d] *To wit*, in the reign of *Tiberius*: when *Agrippa*, being in bonds, and leaning againſt a tree, as he ſtood before the palace of *Tiberius*, ſaw an owl ſitting over his head. A German being by, one of his fellow priſoners, foretold this to portend great felicity to *Agrippa*. See the ſtory at large in *Joſeph.* Antiq. B. 18. c. 8.

[e] This was the uſual poſture of the Hebrew mourners. See *Job* 2. 3. *Eſai.* 47. 5. *Lament.* 2. 10. *Jonah* 3. 6, &c. conſonant hereunto, the Reverſes of the medalls both of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, made for the memory and celebration of the conqueſt of *Judea*, were imprinted with a ſilent woman ſitting on the ground, and leaning her back to a palm-tree, with this inſcription, *Judæa Capta*, i. e. *Judea ſubdued*. Note here that the Reverſes made to commit victories to memory were always written upon with ſome repreſentation of proper reſpect to the place conquered. I know the poſture of ſitting is a ceremony of Roman lamentation too. But it was firſt uſed among the Jews, from whom the Romans learned it. Mr *Gregory* of *Oxford*. Chap. 4. pag. 25, &c.

[f] This man had two ſons, and three daughters; his ſons were, *Agrippa* the younger mentioned *Acts* 25. and *Druſus* who died young. His daughters were, *Bernice*, *Mariamne*, and *Druſilla*, which laſt married *Felix* the Procurator of *Judea*, as we have it in the *Acts*: *Bernice* is alſo mentioned in the *Acts* coming in great pomp with her brother *Agrippa* to hear *Paul*. *Joſeph.* Antiq.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Impoſtour Theudas *and his Aſſociates.*

BUt becauſe *Luke* does moreover in the * *Acts* bring in one *Gamaliel* ſpeaking in the conſultation the Jews had about the Apoſtles, of one [a] Theudas *that aroſe up in theſe days boaſting himſelf to be ſome body, who was ſlain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were ſcattered*: we alſo will adjoyn the relation of *Joſephus* concerning this very perſon. Who, in the Book before cited expreſly declares thus much word for word: "When *Fadus* was Procurator of *Judea*, a cer-"tain Impoſtour, by name *Theudas*, perſwaded "a multitude of people to take their goods with "them and follow him to the River of Jordan. "For he ſaid that he was a Prophet, and that he "would, by his command, part the waters of the "river,

* Acts 5. 36.

[a] This *Theudas* *Joſephus* mentions Antiq. B. 20. c. 5. but that was in *Claudius*'s reign, in the time of *Fadus* his Prefecture. And ſo that cannot be the perſon

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mentioned in the *Acts*; for that *Theudas* was before *Judas Galilæus* (*Acts* 5. 39.) and he was in the time of *Cyrenius*'s being Governour of *Syria*. That *Theudas* in the *Acts* therefore must needs be some other person, whom the Jews had recorded in their writings, and from thence *Gamaliel* there recites the story, though we have no other record of it. This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, in L. 6. *de Emendat. Tempor.* and of *Casaubon* in Exercitat. 2. c. 18. and of Dr *Hammond* in his notes on *Acts* 5. 36. *Valesius*, in his annotations, dissents from all these learned men, and says that by those words of St *Luke* [*after this man rose up Judas of Galilee*] is meant, that *Judas* his insurrection was before that of *Theudas*; which exposition he confirms by saying, that whenever we begin to reckon from the last, as nearest to us, (so he supposes St *Luke* there does) we must necessarily place the last person first in such a reckoning, and the first last: so that notwithstanding St *Luke* says (*after this man rose up Judas of Galilee*) yet *Judas* his insurrection was long before *Theudas*'s. This he illustrates by two examples of such an expression, one taken out of *Tertullian* in Apologet. the other out of *Clemens Alexandr.* Lib. 7. *Stromat.* But then being not able to reconcile the time of *Theudas* his insurrection with the time *Josephus* places it in, *to wit*, in the time of *Fadus* his Procuratorship, he says *Josephus* was mistaken, placing it later than he should have done. For he will by no means allow two *Theudas*'s. Another way he has to make up this difference, that is, he thinks St *Luke* in his expression used a prolepsis, anticipating the insurrection of *Theudas* ten years, and makes *Gamaliel* speak that which was agreeable to his present purpose: and thus *Eusebius*, he thinks, understood St *Lukes* words. The Reader has here the opinion of both sides, and is left to his liberty to believe which he pleases.

river, and afford them an easie passage over. By such speeches he deceived many. But *Fadus* suffered them not to take the benefit of their madness, but sent out a body of horse against them, which, falling on them at unawares, partly killed them, and partly took them prisoners. And having taken *Theudas* alive they beheaded him, and carried his head to *Jerusalem*. After this the same writer makes mention of the Dearth which happened in the reign of *Claudius*, after this manner.

CHAP. XII.

Of Helena *Queen of the* Osdroënians.

[a] "AT that time, there happened to be a "great * Dearth throughout all *Judea*. When Queen *Helena*, buying Bread-corn "in *Egypt* at a very deer price, distributed it to "them that were in want. All which we find agreeable to what is related in the *Acts* of † the Apostles; Where we have this moreover, *that the disciples which dwelt at Antioch, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea; which also they did, and sent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.* But of this *Helena*, which *Josephus* has mentioned, there is an illustrious [b] Sepulchral-monument yet to be seen, standing in the Suburbs of *Jerusalem*, which is now called *Ælia*: And she is said to have been Queen of the *Adiabeni*.

[a] *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 20. c. 3.
* This famine happened on the 5 and 6 years of *Claudius*. Vales.
† Acts 11. 28, 29, 30.

[b] There were three Pyramids standing three furlongs from *Jerusalem*, where the bones of this *Helena* were buried, says *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 20. c. 2. he mentions them again in his 6 B. of the Jews wars. *Jerom* mentions them in his Oration *de Obit.* B. *Paulæ*, and says they were standing in his time. *Pausanias* (in *Arcadicis*) reckoning up the stately Sepulchers he had seen, admires two above all the rest, *to wit*, that of *Mausolus* in *Caria*, and this of *Helena* in *Judea*. This *Helena* had a Palace in *Jerusalem*, says *Josephus*, in the 6 B. of the Jews wars. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of Simon Magus.

BUt the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being now every where diffused among all men; that enemy of mans salvation, plotting to possess himself of the Royal City, brings thither the forementioned *Simon*. And, joyning his inchantments to that mans craftiness, he made many that dwelt at *Rome* his own by inducing them into errour. This *Justin* evidences; a man very famous amongst the professours of our Religion soon after the Apostles time; whose worth we will give account of in due place. Let us read what he has writ in his [a] second Apologie to *Antoninus* for our doctrine, where he says thus: "And after the "Ascension of our Lord into "heaven, the Devils sent "forth certain men who stiled themselves Gods: whom "you were so far from persecuting that you worshipped them. Amongst "them there was one *Simon* a *Samaritane*, of the "village named *Gitton*, who in the reign of "*Claudius Cæsar*, having performed many magical wonders by the assistance and art of Devils within your City *Rome* the Metropolis "of the Empire, was accounted a God by you, "to whom you dedicated an Image, as to a God, "in an Island of the river Tiber, between the two "Bridges, with this Latine "inscription, [b] SIMONI "DEO SANCTO, that "is, to *Simon the Holy God*. "Him almost all the *Samaritans*, and some of other Nations, confess to be the great "God, and worship him, as "also one [c] *Helena* at that "time a constant companion "of his, who heretofore was "a prostitute in the stews of "*Tyre* a City of *Phœnicia*; "and her they term the prime "notion (or first conception) from him. Thus far he: with whom agrees *Irenæus* in his first Book against Heresies, wherein he sets forth the Life of this man, his impious and most impure doctrine, which it would be superfluous here to relate; since any one that has a desire may fully understand from the foresaid Books of *Irenæus*, wherein these things are accurately delivered, the original, the life, the grounds and reasons of the false opinions, and the endeavours and purposes not onely of this *Simon*, but also of all other Arch-hereticks. We have heard that this *Simon* was indeed the chief Captain, and first Authour of all Heresie. From which time even to our age those who are followers of his Heresie, although they pretend to have imbraced throughout their whole Lives, the Christian Religion renowned amongst all men for its modesty and sanctity; yet nevertheless they relapse to the superstitious worship of Devils, which they seem'd to have abandoned, prostrating themselves before the Images and Pictures of *Simon* and his forementioned *Helena*, whom they worship with sweet perfumes, sacrifices, and oblations. And those things which are transacted in secret amongst them, which, say they, do forthwith strike terrour into the minds of those that at first hear them, and which (to use the terms of their own written oracle) doe make them tremble and shake by reason of astonishment; are in truth full of terrour, amazement of mind, and outragious madness: So that it is impossible not onely to commit them to writing, but even for men of modesty to utter them through their lips, by reason of their excessive obscenity

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[a] This place of *Justin* is now to be found not in his second but in his first Apologie. *Eusebius* in citing *Justins* Apologies follows not the order of our common Editions. For he always calls that the first which our Editions term the second; and that the second which they call the first: of which more hereafter. *Vales.*

[b] The Learned have long since observed, that *Justin*, by reason of his unskilfulness in the Latine tongue, was here mistaken; thinking that the Image dedicated to *Semon Sancus* was consecrated to *Simon Magus*. Tis certain, that image, which *Justin* had seen in the Island of *Tiber*, was lately dug up, with this inscription upon it, *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio. Sancus* was a God among the *Sabins* that had the charge of bargains and contracts, whence he had the names of *Sangus* and *Fidius*. By him the Romans were wont to swear. Some *Samaritans*, no doubt, deceived *Justin*, making him believe this Image was dedicated to their *Simon Magus*. Vales.

[c] *C. Rufinus* calls her *Selene*. Vales.

CLAUDIUS. obſcenity and uncleanneſs not to be named. For there is not, nor can there be invented, any thing ſo impure, which their moſt lewd Sect does not far ſurpaſs; deluding ſilly women laden with all manner of iniquity.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Peter *the Apoſtle's Preaching at* Rome.

THe devil that hater of all goodneſs and moſt trecherous enemy of mans ſalvation, at this time produced this *Simon* the authour and contriver of ſo much miſchief, that he might be the great Antagoniſt of the divine Apoſtles of our Saviour. But the Divine and Celeſtial grace, which is always aſſiſtant to its Miniſters, by their appearance and preſence ſoon quenched the flame, enkindled by the devil, humbling and depreſſing by them all haughtineſs and ſwelling pride that exalted it ſelf againſt the knowledge of God. Wherefore, neither the devices of *Simon*, nor of any other which then were hatch't, became any ways prevalent during the age of the Apoſtles. For the ſplendour of the Truth vanquiſhed and prevailed againſt all machinations; and the power of the divine Word, which had newly enlightned mens minds from heaven, did both flouriſh upon earth, and alſo was converſant and did effectually cooperate with the Apoſtles. Straightway therefore the foreſaid Impoſtour, having the eyes of his mind blinded by a divine and wonderful ſplendour and light, as ſoon as he was detected by the Apoſtle *Peter* in *Judea* in what he had wickedly committed, took a great journey over ſea, and fled from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern parts: concluding that he could no other way live freely, and according to his own mind. Arriving at *Rome*, by the help and aſſiſtance of a devill [a] there lying in wait, he in a ſhort time ſo far perfected his attempt, that the inhabitants of that City ſet up an Image to him and worſhip't him as God. But all ſucceeded not long according to his mind. For ſoon after, in the reign of *Claudius*, the benign and moſt endearing providence of God brought *Peter*, that valiant and great Apoſtle, for courage chief of all the reſt, to *Rome* againſt this mighty deſtroyer of mankind, who, as a ſtout Leader of God, armed with celeſtial weapons, brought that precious merchandiſe of intelligible light from the Eaſt to thoſe that dwelt towards the Weſt: declaring to them that Light and Doctrine comfortable to the ſoul, *to wit*, the publication of the Kingdom of heaven.

[a] *Euſebius* ſpeaks of a devil, which had made his reſidence and fixt his habitation in *Rome*, being then the metropolis of the whole world. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XV.

Of the Goſpel according to Mark.

WHen therefore he had publiſhed to them the divine Word, immediately the power of *Simon* was extinct, and, together with the man [a] himſelf, deſtroyed. But ſo great a luſtre of Pietie enlightned the minds of them that were the hearers of *Peter*, that they thought it not ſufficient barely to hear him once, nor were contented to have received the publication of the doctrine of the celeſtial Word by word of mouth and unwritten. Therefore they earneſtly entreated *Mark*, *Peters* follower, whoſe Goſpel is at this day extant, that he would leave with them ſome written Record of that doctrine they had heard. Neither did they deſiſt till they had prevailed with the man; and thus they gave the occaſion of writing that Goſpel, which is called *the Goſpel according to Mark*. When the Apoſtle *Peter* underſtood by the Revelation of the holy Spirit what was done, he was much delighted with the ardent deſire of the men, and confirmed that writing by his Autority, that ſo thenceforward it ſhould be read in the Churches. [b] *Clemens* in his ſixth Book of Inſtitutions relates this paſſage. To whom the Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, by name *Papias*, may be added as a witneſs. Furthermore, *Peter* mentions *Mark*, in his former Epiſtle, which, as they ſay, was written at *Rome*; *Peter* himſelf does intimate thus much (calling *Rome* by [c] a figure *Babylon*) in theſe words, * *The Church that is at Babylon elected together with you, ſalluteth you, and ſo doth Marcus my ſon.*

[a] From theſe words of *Euſebius* it is concluded that the death of *Simon Magus* happened at *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*: for *Euſebius* writeth that *Peter* came to *Rome* in *Claudius* his reign, and that preſently after, *Simon*'s magical arts were by his coming deſtroyed together with the Authour. Though there be others that ſay *Simon* was deſtroyed in *Nero*'s time. *Valeſ.*

[b] This place of *Clemens* is quoted again by *Euſebius* in his 6 B. Eccleſ. Hiſt. at which place more ſhall be ſaid of it. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Rome* was parallel to *Babylon* in many things. *Valeſ.*

* 1 Pet. 5. 13.

CHAP. XVI.

That Mark *firſt Preached the knowledge of Chriſt to the* Egyptians.

BUt this *Mark* [a] going into Egypt is reported to have been the firſt publiſher there of the Goſpel he had written, and to have ſetled Churches in the very City of *Alexandria*. And furthermore, that ſo great a multitude both of men and women, who there embraced the faith of Chriſt, profeſſed from the very beginning ſo ſevere and ſo philoſophical a courſe of life, that *Philo* vouchſafed in his writings to relate their converſe, their Aſſemblies, their eating and drinking together, and their whole manner of living.

[a] *Euſebius* in his Chronic. places *Mark*'s going into *Egypt* on the ſecond year of *Claudius*: the Authour of the *Alexandrian* Chronic. and *Georg. Syncellus* ſay he went in the third year of *C. Caligula*: its the opinion of *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria* that *Mark* went thither in the ninth year of *Claudius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVII.

What Philo *relates of the* Aſcetæ *in* Egypt.

IT is reported that this *Philo* in the times of *Claudius* came to be familiarly acquainted with *Peter* at *Rome*, who then Preached the Word of God there: neither is this unlikely. For that work of his, of which we ſpeak, being by him elaborated a long time after, does manifeſtly contain all the Eccleſiaſtical Rules which are to this preſent obſerved among us. And ſeeing he deſcribes evidently the lives of the [a] *Aſcetæ* amongſt us, he does make it ſufficiently perſpicuous that he did not onely ſee, but alſo very much approve of and admire the Apoſtolical men of his time, who being, as it is probable, originally Jews, upon that account did then obſerve in a great meaſure the Judaical Rites and cuſtomes. Firſt of all therefore, in that Book which he intituled, *Of Contemplative life, or, of Suppliants*, having profeſſed that he would inſert

[a] He means not *Monks*; for they were an order of a later date. *Valeſius* ſays they were Chriſtians, who led a retired, and more ſevere and ſtrict ſort of life: ſo they were called from that Philoſophical term [ἄσκησις] which ſignifies the exercise of virtue and abſtinence: and any one that led ſuch a life was called ἀσκητὴς, i. e. *Aſceta*.] The Reader may have farther ſatisfaction in this matter in Biſhop *Montagues Acts & Mon.* Chap. 7. where he will find this buſineſs diſcuſſed at large.

nothing

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But he attests that in the first place they part with their goods; "saying that as soon as they betake "themselves to this course of Philosophizing they "put over their wealth and possessions to their re- "lations. Then, casting away all care of worldly "matters, they leave the Cities, and make their "aboad in gardens and solitary places; well know- "ing the conversing with men of a different and "disagreeing perswasion to be unprofitable and "hurtfull. Which thing the Christians of that time seem to me to have instituted out of a generous and most fervent ardour of faith, endeavouring to emulate the Prophetical severe course of life. Therefore in the * *Acts* of the Apostles (which contain nothing but the perfect truth) it is shewed, that all the disciples of the Apostles selling their possessions and goods, divided the price among the brethren according as every one had need, that so there might not be any indigent person among them. For as the Word says, *as many as were possessours of Lands or houses sold them, and brought the prizes of the things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* After *Philo* has attested the very same things with these, of the *Therapeutæ*, he adds thus much farther concerning them, word for word saying, "This [c] sort of men indeed "is diffused far and wide "over the whole world. For "it was requisite, that both "Greeks & Barbarians should "be partakers of so excellent "a benefit. *Egypt* especially "is full of them, throughout "all its divisions, but most of all about *Alexan-* "*dria*. But from all places the principal of them "retire themselves into a most commodious place "above the Lake *Maria*, situate upon a little "rising hill, excellently well seated both for whol- "someness of air and safe conveniency of abiding, "as into the Country of the *Therapeutæ*. Then, after he has described their houses, after what manner they were built, he speaks thus of the Churches they have in divers places. "In every house there "is a Chappel called a *Semnæum*, and *Monaste-* "*rium*, in which alone by themselves they perform "the mysteries of an holy life. They bring in "thither neither meat nor drink, nor any corporal "provisions or necessaries; but onely the Law, "and the divine Oracles of the Prophets, and "Hymns and such like, whereby knowledge and "piety are increased and perfected. And a little after, he says: "All the interval of time from "Sun rising to the Evening they spend in medita- "tions of Philosophie: For reading the holy "Scriptures, they Philosophize after their Country "way, and expound allegorically. For they sup- "pose that the words are onely notes and marks "of some things of a mystical nature, which are "to be explained [d] figura- "tively. They have [e] wri- "tings of some ancient per- "sons, who have been here- "tofore famous leaders of "their Sect, and have left "them many Monuments of "that learning which con- "sists in dark and secret ex- "pressions, which they, using "as original platforms, doe "imitate thereby that course "of study. These certain- ly seem to be words of such a man as had heard some of our Religion expounding the holy Scriptures. And it is very likely that the writings of those ancient persons, which he says they had, were the Gospels and writings of the Apostles, and certain expositions of the ancient Prophets, of which sort many are contained both in other Epistles of *Paul*, and also in that written to the Hebrews. Afterwards *Philo* thus writeth concerning the new Psalms composed by them: "They do not onely "spend their time in contem- "plation, but they [f] compose "Songs and Hymns to the "praise of God of all sorts of "meeter and musical verse, "which they write in grave "and seemly rhymes. He relates many other things of them in that Book I mentioned: But I judged these fittest to be selected and pickt out, in which certain marks of Church discipline are proposed. But if any one shall think what *Philo* here says to be in no wise proper to the Evangelical politie, but may be adapted to others besides those I have mentioned; he will certainly be convinced by *Philo*'s following words; in which, if he shall duely weigh the matter, he will receive a most undoubted testimony of this thing. Now he writes thus: "Having first laid tem- "perance as a certain foundation, they build there- "upon the other Virtues. For none of them "takes either meat or drink before Sun set: for "they hold it requisite to spend the day in the "study of Philosophy, and the night in making "necessary provision for the body. Therefore "they allot the whole day to study, but allow "a very small portion of the night for bodily "provision. Some of them forget to eat for "three days together, so great is the desire of "knowledge that possesses them. But some others "of

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[b] That these *Therapeutæ* were not Christians we will shew hereafter. Some think they were *Essens*; but that is unlikely: for *Philo* never terms them so in that Book wherein he describes them, but at the very beginning calls them *Therapeutæ*: Besides, the *Essens* (as *Philo* himself witnesses in his Apology for the Jews, cited by *Eusebius* Lib. 8. *De præparat.*) were onely in *Judea* and *Palæstine*; but these *Therapeutæ*, he says were scattered all over the (then known) world. Lastly *Philo* attributes many things to these *Therapeutæ*, which the Sect of the *Essens* by no means allowed: as for example, that they had women conversant among them called *Therapeutriæ*: now *Philo* says expresly that the *Essens* hated womankind. See *Philo de vita Contemplat.* and *Joseph.* Hist. of the Jewish wars. B. 2. Chap. 12. *Vales.*

[c] *Philo*'s description of these *Therapeutæ* in these following words can no way agree with the Christian professours in those times. For they were then few in number, neither did they look upon any Country as their own, besides the heavenly Jerusalem. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐν ὑπονοίας that's the term in the original. So the Ancient Greeks called that which the latter call ἀλληγορίας; that is, *an allegory*, as they term it; when one thing is said, another is to be understood. *Vales.*

[e] From these words of *Philo* we may easily perceive that these *Therapeutæ* were not Christians. For the professours of Christianity were then of a very fresh date. Besides, what writings could these be? The Books of the Prophets they were not, for *Philo* separates them from these, speaking of them a little before: They could not be the Gospels, nor the Epistles of the Apostles, for they were scarce written in *Philo*'s age, however they could not then be called the writings *of antient persons*, at least by *Philo*. Vales.

[f] The composition of *Psalms* and *Hymns* was not in use so early in the Church, as these words of *Philo* must suppose, if we understand them to be spoken of the Christians: that came in after the times of *Antoninus*, when learned men began to embrace the Christian Faith. So that neither can these words of *Philo* be any ways understood of Christians. The junior *Pliny* indeed (in his Epistle to *Trajan* L. b. 10. Epist. 97.) says it was a custome of the Christians in their *Cœtus*, *carmen Christo tanquam Deo dicere secum invicem*, i. e. *to say one with another by turns a verse, or Hymn, to Christ as unto God*: But there is a difference between saying and composing a song or Hymn; and besides, this was long after *Philo*'s time. See Dr *Hammonds* preface to his Exposit. on the *Psalms*; and Mr *Gregory*'s Posthumous works; Discourse 2d.

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[g] *Euſebius* means that whole week which precedes the feaſt of *Eaſter*, which the Greek Fathers call μεγάλην ἑβδομάδα, *the great week*, and we the *Paſſion week*. But in *Philo*'s Book there is no mention of this feaſt of *Eaſter*. He ſpeaks indeed μεγάλης ἑορτῆς, *of a great ſolemnity*; but by his following words 'tis evident he means *the Jewiſh-feaſt of weeks*, or, our *Pentecoſt*. Valeſ.

[h] He means the *Preſbyters*; concerning whom, See *Philo*, in his ſaid Book, *De vitâ contemplat.* p. 899. Edit. *Par.* *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

What writings of Philo's *have come to our hands.*

MOreover this *Philo* being a man of a fluent utterance, and abundant in ſentences, alſo lofty and high in contemplations upon the holy Scriptures, compiled a divers and variable expoſition of the ſacred Volumes of holy Writ: partly explaining in a fit and agreeable ſeries and order, the ſubject matter of the things contained in *Geneſis*, which he entitled *The Allegories of the Holy Laws*: and partly making particular and diſtinct explications of thoſe Chapters in Scripture which contain any thing in them that is dubious, with objections thereupon and ſolutions thereof; which alſo he fitly entitled *Queſtions & Solutions upon Geneſis and Exodus*. There are beſides elaborate tracts of his peculiarly written concerning certain Problems; ſuch as are, two Books *Of Husbandry*, and as many *of Drunkenneſs*, and ſome others having different and fit Titles: Such is that, [a] *Of the things which a ſober mind prayeth for, and which it deteſteth*; and that, *Of the confuſion of Languages*; and that, *Of* [b] *flight and invention*; and that, *Of Aſſemblies upon account of obtaining Learning*: and concerning this ſubject, *Who is the Heir of Divine things*, or, *of diviſion into parts equal and their contraries*: and alſo that, *Of the three Virtues which with others Moſes wrote of*. Beſides, that, *Of them whoſe names are changed, and for what reaſon they are changed*; in which Book he ſays, he wrote *Of Teſtaments the firſt and the ſecond*. There is alſo another Book of his, *Of Removals in journey*, or *ſhifting of places*, and *of the life of a wiſe man perfected according to righteouſneſs*, or, *Of unwritten Laws*, and alſo, *Of Giants*, and, *that God is immutable*; alſo, [c] *That Dreams are ſent from God*, according to the opinion of *Moſes* five Books. And thus many are the Books he wrote on *Geneſis* which have come to our hands. We have alſo known five Books of his, *of Queſtions and Solutions upon Exodus*; and alſo that, *of the Tabernacle*, and that, *of the Decalogue*, and thoſe four Books, *of thoſe Laws which in* ſpecie *have reference to the chief heads of the Decalogue*; and that, *of thoſe beaſts fit for ſacrifice*, and, *what be the kinds of ſacrifices*; and that, *of the rewards and puniſhments propounded in the Law as well to the Good as to the Evil*; and, *of curſes*. Beſides all theſe there are extant of his particular Books,

[a] This Book of *Philo*'s is not now extant. *Valeſ.*

[b] In *Suidas* this Book is called, περὶ φύσεως καὶ εὑρήματος· which inſcription *Suidas* took from *Sophronius* the interpreter of *Ferom*. But our excellent M.SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and S[r] *Henry Savills* have it thus, καὶ ὁ περὶ φύσεως καὶ αἱρέσεως. Wherefore I agree with *Nicephorus*, who rightly diſtinguiſht the two Books of *Philo*: the one of which was entitled περὶ φυγῆς καὶ αἱρέσεως, *Of flight and choice*; the other, περὶ φύσεως καὶ εὑρέσεως, that is, *Of nature and invention*. Whence it appears that that Book of *Euſebius*'s, which *Nicephorus* made uſe of, was in this place more correct than our copies. *Valeſ.*

[c] 'Tis manifeſt that *Philo* wrote three Books on this Subject, *That Dreams are ſent from God*. The firſt of which is loſt; the ſecond is extant in the *Paris* Edition of *Philo*, pag. 465. in the beginning whereof he makes mention of a former Book which he had written on that ſubject. The third is alſo extant in the ſame Edition, pag. 1108. but miſplaced. Whether he wrote any more than theſe three, is uncertain. *Suidas* mentions five Books of *Philo*'s *De Somniis*. Valeſ.

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Books, as that, *Of* [d] *Providence*, and a discourse compiled by him; [e] *Of the Jews*, and, *of the man leading a Civil life*; also, *Alexander*, or, *That Brutes are endowed with Reason*. Besides, of this, *That every wicked man is a slave*, to which follows in order this Book, *That every man studious of Virtue is free*. After these he compiled that Book, *Of contemplative life*, or, *of Suppliants*, out of which we have cited those things concerning the lives of the Apostolical men. Also, The interpretations of the [f] Hebrew names in the Law and in the Prophets, are said to have been done by his diligence. This *Philo*, coming to *Rome* in the time of *Caius*, wrote a Book of *Caius*'s hatred of God, which, by way of Scoff and Ironie, he entituled, *Of Virtues*; which Book, its said, he rehearsed before the whole Roman Senate in the time of *Claudius*; and the piece was so taking, that his admirable works were thought worthy to be dedicated to the publick Libraries. At the same time, when *Paul* travelled from *Jerusalem* round about to *Illyricum*, [g] *Claudius* expelled the Jews from *Rome*. [h] At which time *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, with other Jews, departing from *Rome*, arived in *Asia*, where they conversed with *Paul* the Apostle, then confirming the foundations of those Churches there newly laid by him. Even the Holy book of the *Acts* teacheth us these things.

[d] In the Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. its written, τὸ περὶ προνοίας, truer; for there was onely one Book that bore this Title. In a M. S. copy of *Philo*'s works in the Library of *Auspurg*, this Book of *Philo*'s, *De Providentiâ*, is confounded with another of his *Adversus Flaccum*. Indeed this Book, *De Providentiâ*, is lost. But there is an eminent fragment of it in *Eusebius De præparat* Libr. 8. cap. *Ultim.* and in Libr. 7. cap. 21. *Valesius*.

[e] I doubt not but it should be written ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων, *For the Jews*, for so this Book is quoted by *Eusebius* in his 8 B. *De Præparat. Evangel.* chap. 10. where there is a most elegant place produced ἐκ τῆς φίλωνος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογίας, *i. e.* out of the Apologie of *Philo* for the Jews. *Rufinus* confirms this our emendation; who turns this place thus, *de Judæis Apologeticus Liber*. Valesius.

[f] *Jerome* makes mention of this Book of *Philo*'s, in his interpretation of the Hebrew names. Moreover, *Philo* having onely interpreted those names that occur in the Law and the Prophets, *Origen* added afterwards an interpretation of the words and names of the New Testament; supplying that which seemed to be wanting in *Philo*'s Book, as *Jerome* writes in that Book of his now mentioned. *Valesius*.

[g] *Eusebius* took this out of the *Acts of the Apost.* chap. 18. v. 2. And *Orosius* writes, as he had it out of *Josephus*, that this was done in the ninth year of *Claudius*. But that place of *Josephus* which *Orosius* quotes is not now extant. Therefore *Orosius* seems to me to have forgotten himself. And truely, it is not very likely, that *Claudius* the Emperour, who had so great a kindness for the Jews, as appears by his many Edicts extant in *Josephus*, should drive the Jews in particular out of the City. I should rather think, whenas there was a great famine at *Rome* (which in *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon* is said to have happened in the tenth year of *Claudius*) that *Claudius* expelled all forreiners out of the City, amongst whom were the Jews also. For so *Augustus* did before; and 'twas frequently practised by the following Emperours, as oft as the City of *Rome* was in any scarcity of Provision: and so I judge that place of *Luke* in the *Acts* is to be understood. But if any one, relying on the Authority of *Suetonius* (whose words are these, *Judæos impulsore* CHRESTO *assiduè tumultuantes Româ expulit*; in the Life of *Claudius*. See Dr *Hammonds Annot. on Acts* 26. v. 31.) does reject this our Opinion, I will not much withstand him. All the Chronologers downwards follow *Orosius*; as does also *Barronius* in his *Annals*. Whom I much wonder at, in that when he had placed this Edict of *Claudius* on the ninth year of his Reign, he should also cast the *Jerusalem* Council upon the same year. Which is manifestly repugnant to the History of the *Acts of the Apostles*. For, after the *Jerusalem* Council, which is related Acts 15, *Paul* going back to *Antioch*, delivered the Epistle of the Apostles to the brethren, and is said to have tarried there some time. After this, being parted from *Barnabas*, he went into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, Preaching the Word of God. Then he travelled into *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, and *Mysia*, where he was warned by the Holy Spirit in a dream to sail into *Macedonia*, and first Preach't the Faith of Christ at *Philippi*; after that, at *Thessalonica* and *Berea*. Sailing thence to *Athens*, he staied there a good while expecting *Timothy* and *Silas*; and Preached the Word of God to the *Athenians*. Then going to *Corinth* he found *Aquila* and *Priscilla* there, who were lately come from *Italy* thither, upon account of the Edict of *Claudius* commanding all Jews to depart from *Rome*, as it is in the 18 chap. *Acts*. From all this its apparent, that there was a good distance of time between the Council held at *Jerusalem*, and the Edict of *Claudius*; in which space all this we have related was dispatcht by *Paul* the Apostle. In *Chronico Alexandrino*, the Council at *Jerusalem* is placed on the sixth year of *Claudius*; he had better have said, the seventh. For so all things agree exactly. For *Paul* staid at *Antioch* the remaining months of that year wherein the Council was; then the following year he travelled through *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*. At length in the ninth year of *Claudius*, he came into *Greece*. Valesius.

[h] Ὅτε ἀκύλας, that is, *at which time Aquila*, &c. for it may be read in two words, thus ὅ τε, as I found it written in the Kings, and the Fuk. M. SS. *Valesius*.

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CHAP. XIX.

What a Calamity befell the Jews at Jerusalem *on the very day of the Passover.*

BUt *Claudius* yet ruling the Empire, there happened to be so great a tumult and disturbance at *Jerusalem* on the feast of the Passover, that there were [a] thirty thousand Jews slain, being those onely who by force were prest together about the gates of the Temple and troden under foot by one another. So that that Festival was turned into mourning over the whole Nation, and Lamentation throughout every family. Thus much also *Josephus* relates almost word for word. But *Claudius* made *Agrippa*, the son of *Agrippa*, [b] King of the Jews; having sent [c] *Felix* Procuratour of the whole country of *Samaria* and *Galilee*, and also of the Region beyond *Jordan*. And when he had raigned thirteen years and eight months, he dyed, leaving *Nero* his successour in the Empire.

[a] The same number he sets down in his *Chronicon*. But *Josephus*, in his 2 B. of the *Jewish wars* says there was somewhat more than ten thousand killed. But in his 20th B. of *Antiquities*, which work he compiled after his History, he accounts the number of the slain to be twenty thousand. Which number I would rather agree too, because these Books, as I said, were written last by him. *Valesius*.

[b] This *Agrippa* the younger, to speak properly, was never King of the Jews. For after the death of *Agrippa* his father, who dyed the fourth year of *Claudius*, *Claudius* took him being very young and kept him with him, neither did he permit him to succeed in his fathers Kingdom. Afterwards, *Herod* the King of *Chalcis* being dead, *Claudius* gave *Agrippa* his Uncle's Kingdom; which when he had held four years, *Claudius* in the twelfth year of his Reign gave him *Thraconitis*, which was the Tetrarchie of *Philip*, and also the Kingdom of *Lysanius*; having first taken *Chalcis* from him: He transferred to him also the authority over the Temple, and the power of electing the High-priests, which his Uncle *Herod* had. A little after, *Nero* added to his Kingdom part of *Galilee*, as *Josephus* writes in his twentieth B. of Antiq. Which being thus, its apparent *Eusebius* was mistaken, who wrote both here and in his *Chronicon*, that *Agrippa* the younger succeeded in his fathers Kingdom presently after the death of his father, and was made King of the Jews by *Claudius*. Although *Eusebius* says not here expressly that he was by *Claudius* made King presently after his fathers death. Indeed, out of *Josephus* it may be evidently shown that the younger *Agrippa* was not made King immediately after his fathers death. For in his second Book of the Jewish wars, chap. 13, he makes the twelfth year of *Nero*, wherein the Jewish war began, to be the same with the seventeenth of King *Agrippa*. Therefore the younger *Agrippa* began to reign in the eighth year of *Claudius*. Moreover, I will not deny that he was King of the Jews, seeing he was King of *Galilee*, and is by *Justus* reckoned among the Kings of the Jews. But I deny that ever he was King of *Judea*. For after the death of the Seniour *Agrippa*, which happened in the fourth year of *Claudius*, *Judea* was brought into the form of a *Province*, and every year the Procuratours of *Cæsar* were sent thither, as *Josephus* relates. *Valesius*.

[c] In the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, *Felix* is said to have been sent Procuratour into *Judea* by *Claudius*, in the eleventh year of his Reign. But in *Scaligers* Edition of that work, it is more rightly placed on the tenth year of *Claudius*. Yet it seems to be truer, that *Felix* was sent into *Judea* in the ninth of *Claudius*. For *Tacitus*, in his twelfth Book, says, *That Felix was lately set over the Jews*, (*Sulla* and *Otho* being *Consuls*, which was the tenth year of *Claudius*:) and in Acts 24. *Paul*, pleading his cause before this same *Felix*, which was done on the thirteenth year of *Claudius*, speaks thus to him: *For as much as I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this Nation*. Moreover *Rufinus* is mistaken, in that he thinks these are *Josephus*'s words, when as it appears that they indeed are *Eusebius*'s. *Valesius*.

CHAP. XX.

What was done at Jerusalem *in the Reign of* Nero.

NERO.

NOw in *Nero*'s time, *Felix* being Procuratour of *Judea*, *Josephus* relateth in the twentieth Book of his Antiquities, that there

NERO. was again a Sedition of the Prieſts one againſt the other, in theſe words: "There aroſe alſo a Sedi-"tion of the chief Prieſts, againſt the Prieſts and the "chief of the people of *Jeruſalem*. And each of "them forming for themſelves a company of moſt "audacious fellows and ſuch as indeavoured to "make innovations, behaved themſelves as Ca-"ptains; and encountring they railed againſt each "other, and threw ſtones at one another. There "was no body to rebuke them; but, as in a City de-"ſtitute of a Governour, theſe things were licen-"tiouſly done. And ſo great impudence and pre-"ſumptuous boldneſs poſſeſſed the chief Prieſts, "that they dared to ſend their ſervants to the thre-"ſhing floors, and take the Tythes due to the "Prieſts. Whence it came to paſs that the pooreſt "of the Prieſts were ſeen to periſh for want of "ſuſtenance. In ſuch ſort did the violence of the "Seditious prevail over all juſtice and equity. And again the ſame writer relates that at the ſame time there aroſe a ſort of theeves in *Jeruſalem*, who in the day time, as he ſays, and in the very midſt of the City, killed thoſe they met with; but eſpecially on the Feſtivals, being mixt among the croud, and hiding little daggers under their garments, they ſtab'd the moſt eminent [a] Perſonages; and when they fell, theſe murtherers would diſſemble themſelves to be of the number of thoſe that grieved. Whereby they were undiſcovered, becauſe of the good opinion all men had of them. And firſt, *he ſays*, *Jonathan* the High Prieſt was killed by them, and after him many were ſlain daily, and *he ſays*, the fear was more grievous than the calamity, in that every one, as in war, hourly expected death.

[a] Τὰς διαφθορὰς; ſo it is in *Joſephus*. *Gelenius* renders it, *enemies*: which I like not. For *Joſephus* by that term means τοὺ διαφέροντας; *the moſt eminent Perſonages*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

Of that Egyptian *who is mentioned in the* Acts *of the* Apoſtles.

After theſe things *Joſephus* adds, having interpoſed ſome other words; "But the *Egyptian* "falſe prophet annoyed the Jews with a greater "miſchief than theſe. For he, coming into the "Country, being a Magician, and having gotten "himſelf the repute of a Propher, gathered toge-"ther about thirty thouſand men ſuch as he had "ſeduced; and leading them out of the wilder-"neſs to the mount called the mount of Olives, "prepared by force from thence to enter *Jeruſa-"lem*; and, having vanquiſhed the *Roman* guards, "to ſeize the principality over the people, reſol-"ving to make them his guard who together with "him by violence entred the City. But *Felix* pre-"vented his attempt, having met him with the Ro-"man Souldiers; and all the people joyned their "aſſiſtance in repelling his injurious violence. So "that, the Aſſault being made, the *Egyptian* fled "with a few, and moſt of his party were ſlain and "taken priſoners. Theſe matters *Joſephus* relates in the ſecond Book of his Hiſtory; and its worthy our [a] obſerving, together with what is here related of this *Egyptian*, thoſe things which are declared of him in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: There, in the time of *Felix* it is ſaid by the chief Captain at *Jeruſalem* unto *Paul*, when the multitude of the Jews raiſed a tumult againſt him; * *Art not thou that Egyptian which before theſe days madeſt an uproar, and leddeſt into the wilderneſs* [b] *four thouſand men that were murtherers?* But thus much concerning the times of *Felix*.

[a] Ἐπισῆσαι, ſignifies properly, *to attend too*, or *obſerve*. In this ſenſe *Euſebius* uſes the word chap. 18. of this Book, and in B. 3. chap. 24. This word occurs in *Athenæus*, *Polybius*, and others. *Valeſ.*

* Acts 21. 38. See *Joſephus* Antiq. B. 20. c. 6, & 7. See alſo Dr *Hammond* on Acts 21. 38.

NERO. [b] *Joſephus* ſays there were thirty thouſand men: which is ſo to be underſtood, as that the number of the whole multitude was 30000, of which 4000 onely were murtherers. And ſo *Joſephus* will be reconciled to *Luke*. But I agree not with *Euſebius*, who writes that this was done in *Nero*'s time. For, in Acts 21, this *Egyptian* is ſaid to have been overthrown a little before *Pauls* coming to *Jeruſalem*. Now *Paul* came thither in the laſt year of *Claudius*: which may be gathered from the 24 chap. Acts, where *Luke* writes that *Portius Feſtus* was ſent as ſucceſſour to *Felix*. Seeing therefore *Feſtus* was ſent into *Judea* in the ſecond year of *Nero*, the overthrow of this *Egyptian* muſt neceſſarily fall on the laſt year of *Claudius*. The narration of *Joſephus*, who ſeems to refer all this to the times of *Nero*, deceived *Euſebius*. But *Euſebius* ought to have conſidered, that *Joſephus* does in that place relate all the Acts of *Felix* together, as well what he did under *Claudius*, as what under *Nero*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

How Paul, *being ſent bound from* Judea *to* Rome, *having made his defence, was wholly acquitted.*

But *Feſtus* is by *Nero* ſent as ſucceſſour to this *Felix*: in whoſe time *Paul* having pleaded for himſelf is carried bound to *Rome*; *Ariſtarchus* was with him, whom ſomewhere in his Epiſtles he deſervedly ſtiles his fellow priſoner: And *Luke*, who committed to writing the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, concluded his Hiſtory here, having ſhewed that *Paul* lived two full years at *Rome*, enjoying in a great meaſure his liberty; and, that he Preached the Word of God, no man forbidding him: Then, having made his defence, it is moreover reported that the Apoſtle travelled again upon account of the miniſtration of Preaching; and that, coming the ſecond time to the ſame City, he ended his life by martyrdome in this Emperours Reign. At which time, being in bonds, he wrote the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, ſignifying therein both his former defence, and alſo his approaching death. Take his own Teſtimonie hereof. *At my firſt anſwer*, ſays he, *no man ſtood with me, but all men forſook me, I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge: notwithſtanding the Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthened me, that by me the Preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion.* By which words he makes it plainly evident, that at the firſt time, that his Preaching might be fulfilled, he was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion; ſpeaking, as it was likely, of *Nero*, becauſe of his cruelty. [a] But afterwards he has not added any thing like unto theſe words [*He ſhall deliver me out of the mouth of the Lion:*] for by the Spirit he ſaw that his end was now near at hand: wherefore, having ſaid [*and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion*] he adds this [*The Lord ſhall deliver me from every evil Work and will preſerve me unto his heavenly Kingdom*] evidently ſignifying that his martyrdom was at hand; which he more plainly foretels in the ſame Epiſtle, ſaying, *For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.* Moreover in this ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, he manifeſtly declares, that onely *Luke* was then with him when he wrote it; but, at his firſt anſwer, that not ſo much as he was with him then. Whence 'tis agreeable to reaſon to think, that *Luke* concluded the *Acts of the Apoſtles* at that time, having continued the Hiſtory ſo long as he accompanied *Paul*. Theſe things we have ſpoken, that

[a] Indeed this place is very obſcure; and therefore *Muſculus* (as alſo Dr *Hammer*) omitted it. But, having conſidered upon it long and much, at length I apprehended the true ſenſe of this place. *Euſebius* therefore ſays, that from the ſecond Epiſtle of

NERO. that we may make it manifest that the martyrdom of *Paul* was not consummated at that first coming of his to *Rome*, which *Luke* mentions. For its likely, that *Pauls* Apology for his opinion was more easily admitted by *Nero*, he behaving himself more mildly at the beginning of his Empire; but proceeding afterwards to the commission of most horrid and villanous Acts, those things against the Apostles together with many other persons, were by him taken in hand.

Paul to *Timothy* this may be gathered, *to wit*, that *Paul* in his first defence was acquitted by the Judges sentence; but afterward at his second defence he was condemned. The former part hereof he apparently manifests in these words [*At my first defence no man stood with me*;] and whenas he says [*I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon.*] which is as much as if he had said, *I was snatcht from Nero's jaws.* But *Paul* speaks far otherwise of his second accusation. For he does not say [*The Lord delivered me out of the mouth of the Lyon*] as he had said before. For he foresaw, God revealing it to him, that he should by no means any longer avoid the sword of the persecutour, but should end his life by a glorious martyrdom. Therefore when he had said of his first accusation [*I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon*] concerning his second, with which he was then charged, he adds these words [*The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly Kingdom*] apparently manifesting his death by these words. This is the meaning of this place, which neither the translatours, nor I my self at first understood. Wherefore in the words of *Eusebius*, it must be read [ἔκ ἅν] in two distinct words, or else the accent must be changed, thus ἕκων. Indeed, in the Maz. M. S. it is thus written [ἔκ ἅν] in two distinct words. Moreover *Jerome*, in his Book *De Scriptorib. Ecclesiast.* has quoted this place of *Eusebius*, where he speaks of *Paul*; but he apprehended not *Eusebius's* meaning, as it will be apparent to the Reader. Wherefore *Sophronius* also, when he translated this place of *Jerome*, into Greek, omitted some words, which seemed to hinder the meaning. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How James, *called the brother of the Lord, was Martyred.*

MOreover *Paul* having appealed to *Cæsar*, and being by *Festus* sent to *Rome*; the Jews, who had plotted a design against him, being now disappointed of their expectation, set upon *James* the brother of the Lord, to whom the Episcopal seat at *Jerusalem* was given by the Apostles: and of this sort were their villanous practises against him: Leading him forth publickly, they required him to renounce the faith of Christ before all the people. But when he, contrary to the expectation of all, had spoken freely and with a greater boldness than they looked for, before the whole multitude, and had confessed that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was the Son of God; being no longer able to endure the Testimony of the man, they slew him who was believed by all to be a most just person, by reason of that singular eminence he arrived to, in his leading a Philosophical and pious course of life; taking the vacancy of the Government as a fit oportunity for this their Licentiousness. For *Festus* being at that time dead in *Judea*, that Province was without a President and Procuratour. Now the manner of this *James's* death, the words of *Clemens* before quoted by us have manifested; he having declared, that he was cast headlong from the battlement of the Temple, and beaten to death with a club. But moreover, [a] *Hegesippus*, being one of those who were of the first succession after the Apostles, does in the fifth Book of his Commentaries most accurately relate these things concerning this *James*, speaking after this manner: "*James*, the brother of our Lord, undertook, together with the Apostles, the Government of the Church; That *James* who was surnamed the *Just* by all even from the times of our Lord untill ours. For many were called by the name of *James*; but this man was holy from his mothers womb. He drank neither wine, nor strong drink; nor eat any creature wherein there was life. There never came Rasour upon his head; he anointed not himself with oyl, neither did he use a Bath. To [b] Him onely it was lawfull to enter into the Holiest of Holie's: He wore no woollen, but linnen garments; and went into the Temple alone, where he was found upon his knees, making supplication for the forgiveness of the people: in so much that his knees were become hard and brawny, like those of a Camel, by reason of his continual kneeling to worship God, and to make supplication for the remission of the people. Wherefore, upon account of his most eminent righteousness he was called *Justus* and [c] *Oblias*, which signifies in English, *the defence and righteousness of the people*, as the Prophets declare concerning him. Therefore certain men of the [d] seven Heresies among that people of the Jews, which we have before written of in our Commentaries, asked him, which is the [e] gate of Jesus? And he said, that That Jesus was the Saviour. Some of them believed that Jesus was the Christ: but the forementioned Sects believed neither the [f] Resurrection, nor that he was to come to reward every man according to his works. But as many as believed, believed by the means of *James*. Therefore, many of the chief men believing, there was a commotion among the Jews, and Scribes and Pharisees, who said that all the people were in danger to think Jesus to be the Christ. Coming altogether therefore unto *James* they said unto him, we beseech thee restrain the people, for they are in an errour concerning Jesus, supposing him to be the Christ; we entreat thee, perswade all those that come together at the day of the pasover, *that they may think aright* concerning Jesus: For we all put our confidence in thee; and we and all the people bear thee witness that thou art just, and respectest not the person of any man: perswade the multitude therefore that they be not deceived about Jesus: for we and all the people put our confidence in thee: stand therefore upon the battlement of the temple, that from on high

[a] The first succession of the Apostles is extended to the times of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. For in his Reign *Polycarp* the disciple of *John* the Apostle was crowned with Martyrdom. *Hegesippus* therefore is rightly said to have lived in the first succession of the Apostles, in that he flourished in the Reign of the sons of *Antoninus Pius*. And coming to *Rome* when *Anicetus* was Bishop, he stayed there to *Eleutherus's* time. In the *Alexandrian* Chronicle (which I would more willingly call the *Antiochian*) *Hegesippus* is said to have died in the Reign of *Commodus*. He was therefore cotemporary with *Ireneus*: who also was next to the first succession of the Apostles, as *Eusebius* testifies, Book 5. chap. 20. *Vales.*

[b] *Scaliger*, in his *Animadvers. Eusebian.* p. 178. has examined this whole passage of *Hegesippus's*, and finds fault with many things in it; which are well worth reading. See also *Dionysius Petavius in Not. ad Heresim* 78. *Epiphanii*, & *P. Halloixius*, in his Notes on the Life of *Hegesippus*, chap. 3. *Vales.*

[c] The learned *Nich. Fuller*, Book 3. chap. 1. of his *Miscellan*, has thus corrected this place. ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ σαδδὶκ καὶ Ὠζλεὰμ, ὅ ἐστιν, δίκαιος, καὶ φρούρημα τοῦ λαοῦ; *i. e.* He was called *Saddick*, and *Ozleam*, which signifies in English, *a just man, and the defence of the people*. For צַדִּיק in Hebrew signifies, *a just man*. And *Ozleam* is made up of these two Hebrew words עֹז לְעָם; which signifie, *the strength*, or, *defence of the people*; the Letter ל being the sign of the *Genitive* or *Dative case* with the Hebrews. The original of this appellation is taken from *Psalm* 28. 9. where we meet with these words in the original, יְהוָה עֹז לְעַמּוֹ יִתֵּן *The Lord shall give strength to his people. Fullers Miscell.* B. 3. chap. 1.

[d] This place of *Hegesippus*, wherein, he says, he wrote concerning the seven Heresies, we shall meet with in the 4B. of *Eusebius Eccles. Hist.* where we will speak more concerning them. *Vales.*

[e] By *Gate* here, is meant nothing else, but the way of Entrance to Christ; which is, by Faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Agreeable hereto its said *Psal.* 118. 20. *This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it.* Vales.

[f] The Pharisees, who were one branch of these Sects, believed the Resurrection from the dead. *Vales.*

NERO. "high thou mayeſt be conſpicuous, and thy words "readily heard by all the people; for upon ac- "count of the paſsover, all the tribes, together "with the [g] Nations are come "together. Therefore the "foreſaid Scribes and Phari- "ſees placed *James* upon the "battlement of the Temple, "and cried out to him, and "ſaid, O *Juſtus!* whom "we all ought to put our "confidence in; because the "people are miſlead after "Jeſus who was crucified, "declare to us, which is the "gate of Chriſt who was "crucified: and he anſwe- "red with a loud voice, "Why do ye queſtion me "about Jeſus the Son of "man? He even ſits in "heaven at the right hand "of great power, and will "come in the clouds of hea- "ven. Now when many were "fully ſatisfied and confirm- "ed and glorified God for "this Teſtimony of *James*, "and cryed, ſaying, [h] *Hoſan-* "*na* to the [i] Son of *David*, "then the ſame Scribes and "Phariſees ſaid again to one "another, we have done ill "in exhibiting ſuch a Teſti- "mony to Jeſus; but let us "go up and caſt him down, "that ſo the people being "terrified may not give cre- "dit to him. And they cried "out, ſaying, O, O, even "*Juſtus* himſelf is alſo ſe- "duced. And they fulfilled "that which was written in "*Eſaiah*. [k] *We will deſtroy the righteous, for he is trouble- ſome to us; wherefore they ſhall eat the fruit of their doings.* "They went "up therefore and caſt down "*Juſtus*, and ſaid amongſt "themſelves, Let us ſtone "*James* the *Juſt*; and they "began to ſtone him, for he "was not fully dead after his fall, but turning he "kneeled, ſaying, I intreat thee, O Lord God the "Father, *forgive them, for they know not what "they doe.* As they were thus ſtoning of him, "one of the Prieſts of the ſons of *Rechab* the ſon "of [l] *Rechabim*, teſtifyed of "by *Jeremy* the Prophet, "cried out, ſaying, [m] ceaſe, "what doe ye? *Juſtus* prays "for us. And one of them, "being one of the Fullers, "took a leaver, with which "he uſed to ſqueeze gar- "ments, and ſmote *Juſtus* "on the head; and ſo he "was martyred. [n] And they "buried him in that place, and [o] his Grave-ſtone "as yet remains neer the Temple. This man was "a true and ſubſtantial witneſs both to Jews and "Gentiles, that Jeſus was the "Chriſt: and ſoon after *Ve-* "*ſpaſian* beſet *Judea* round "about, and took the Jews "captive. Theſe things *Hege- ſippus* having related fully and largely, does therein a- gree with *Clemens*. But *James* was a perſon ſo admi- rable, and ſo much cried up amongſt all men for his righ- teouſneſs, that the moſt ſober men of the Jews were of o- pinion that this was the cauſe of the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, which immediately followed upon his Martyrdome: and that this ſiege befell them up- on no other account than that audacious villany committed againſt this *James*; *Joſephus* therefore was not afraid to teſtifie this in writing, decla- ring himſelf in theſe words: "Theſe things befell the Jews "in the way of revenge for "*James* the *Juſt*, who was the "brother of Jeſus called Chriſt; becauſe the Jews "had murthered him, being a moſt righteous per- "ſon. And the ſame Authour in the twentieth Book of his Antiquities, relates his death in theſe words: "*Cæſar*, being certified of *Feſtus* his "death, ſent *Albinus*-Procuratour into *Judea*: "But *Ananus* the younger, who as we ſaid before "had gotten the High-prieſthood, was a man as "to his diſpoſition raſh and exceſſively bold: he "embraced the Sect of the Sadduces, who in mat- "ters of judgment are cruell above all the Jews, as "we before manifeſted. *Ananus* therefore, being "ſuch an one as we have deſcribed him to be, "ſuppoſing he had a fit opportunity, in that *Fe-* "*ſtus* was dead, and *Albinus* yet upon his jour- "ney, called an Aſſembly of the Judges; into "which he cauſed the brother of Jeſus called "Chriſt (whoſe name was *James*) with certain "others to be brought, whom he accuſed as vio- "latours of the Law, and ſo delivered them up "to be [p] ſtoned. But as many as ſeemed to be "the mildeſt and moſt modeſt in the City, and

[g] *Petavius* does here deſervedly reprove *Scaliger*, who had denied, that it was lawfull for any Gentile to be preſent at the Feſtivals of the Jews. For beſides that place which *Petavius* quotes; *John* 12. 20. we are ſupplied with many teſtimonies out of *Joſephus*, to evidence this matter. *Vitellius* the Preſident of *Syria* went up to *Jeruſalem* at the feaſt of the Paſsover, and was honourably entertained by the Jews: as we may read chap. 6. B. 18. of *Joſephus*'s Antiq. He writes the ſame concerning *Quadratus* the Preſident of *Syria*, B. 20. of his Antiq. *Valeſ.*

[h] This word *Hoſanna*, is a corruption of the Hebrew word, הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי (which ſignifies, *preſerve me*, or, *make me ſafe.*) being the *Imperative mood Hiph.* with the *Affixe* נִי; derived from the *Theme* יָשַׁע. See the original Text of *Jer.* 17. 14. And alſo, ſee Biſhop *Pearſon* on the *Creed*, in his marginal notes, pag. 70. Edit. *Lond.* 1659.

[i] Theſe words, which *Hegeſippus* ſays the Jews then uttered, ought to be underſtood of Chriſt, rather than of *James*. For when *James* was ſet upon the battlement of the Temple, and had declared Jeſus to be the Chriſt and Redeemer of mankind, thoſe that embraced the Faith of Chriſt began to cry out, *Hoſanna*, to the Son of *David*, that is, to Jeſus Chriſt. *Valeſ.*

[k] So the 72 Tranſlate *Eſai.* 3. v. 10. Their words are theſe, δίκαιον τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ὅδε· τοίνυν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν φάγονται. But the Hebrew copy differs much from this Tranſlation, אִמְרוּ צַדִּיק כִּי טוֹב כִּי פְרִי מַעַלְלֵיהֶם יֹאכֵלוּ. Which our Tranſlation following, renders thus in Engliſh, *Say ye to the righteous, that it ſhall be well with him; for they ſhall eat the fruit of their doings.* Compare the *Sept.* Tranſlat. of *Iſai.* 3. 10. with the Hebrew Text of that place.

[l] As if he had ſaid, one of the Prieſts, the ſon of *Rechab*, of the family of the *Rechabites*; which laſt words [υἱὸς ῥαχαβείμ] are therefore added, that *Rechab*, the father of this Prieſt, might be diſtinguiſhed from other *Rechabs*. For many were called by the ſame name of *Rechab*: but this man, of whom *Hegeſippus* ſpeaks, was of the ſtock of the *Rechabites*, ſpoken of by the Prophet *Jeremy*, chap. 35. *Valeſ.*

[m] *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſi* 78, writes, that theſe words were not ſpoken by the *Rechabite* Prieſt, but by *Simeon* the ſon of *Cleopas*. Valeſ.

[n] Ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ; ſo the Kings M. S. reads it; which *Stephens* followed in his Edit. But our other three M. SS. Maz. Med. and Fuk. have it thus καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ; that is, *and they buried him in that place, near the Temple*; which reading *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* doe confirm. *Valeſ.*

[o] How can it be that the Grave-ſtone, or Monument of this *James* ſhould remain after the deſtruction of the City by the *Romans*? Neither is that very likely, which *Hegeſippus* ſays, *to wit*, that *James* was buried neer the Temple. For the Jews uſed to bury their dead without the City; as appears from the Goſpel, and from the Sepulchre of *Helena*, which before we ſpoke of, at chap. 12 of this Book. *Rufinus* therefore leaves out this whole clauſe, in his Verſion. In the moſt antient Maz. M. S. I found (at the Grave-ſtone) this note written in the margin: Ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ σήλη αὕτη λίθου ἦν ἀμορφου, ὀπηχαρὸν ἔχων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τεθαμμένου Ἰακώβου; ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἕως νῦν οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν αὐτῶν λίθους ἱστᾶσιν, ἢ ἃ γράμματα ἐν αὐτοῖς χράφουσιν, ἢ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐγχαράσσουσι; That is, *you muſt know that this Monument was nothing elſe but a ſtone not formed into any ſhape, upon which the name of* James *there buried was cut: from whence even to this time the Chriſtians ſet up ſtones on their Sepulchres, and either write Letters thereon, or engrave the ſign of the Croſs.* Valeſ.

[p] What can be more different, yea contrary, than this relation of *Joſephus*, and that of *Hegeſippus*, about *James*'s Martyrdome? For *Joſephus* ſays, he was condemned in a publick council of the Jews; and *Hegeſippus*, that he was murthered in a ſedition and tumult of the people: *Hegeſippus* relates, that he was killed with a Fullers club, in the midſt of the City: but *Joſephus* declares that he was ſtoned; which was always done without the gates of the City. Farther, *Joſephus* ſhews us the year, wherein *James* died, by theſe two remarques, *to wit*, that it was when *Ananus* was High-prieſt, and when *Albinus* came firſt into *Judea*. *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, writes that *Albinus* ſucceeded *Feſtus* in the ſixth year of *Nero*'s Empire; and yet the ſame Authour places the Martyrdome of *James* on the year following, which manifeſtly contradicts what *Joſephus* has related: for he expreſly ſays that *James* was murthered before *Albinus* came into that Province. *Euſebius* therefore ought to have included the beginning of *Albinus* his Procuratourſhip, and *James* his Martyrdom in the ſame year. But *Baronius* denies all this, and proves, that the Martyrdom of *James* happened on the ſeventh year of *Nero*; which aſſertion he confirms both from the conſent of all the Antients, and alſo from *Joſephus* his Hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars B. 2. chap. 12. But I judge that the conſent of *Jerome*, *Nicephorus*, and others, who wrote from, and followed *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon* (*Euſebius*'s opinion not being diſcus'd) is not much to be eſteemed of: Now the place in *Joſephus* proves nothing elſe, than that *Albinus* was Procuratour of *Judea* in the fourth year before the Jewiſh war began, and in the ſeventh before the City was taken. But from that place in *Joſephus* it cannot be concluded that *Albinus* began his Procuratourſhip in the ſeventh year before the taking of *Jeruſalem*. Yea, it ſeems truer in my judgment, that *Albinus* came

came into *Judea* in the fourth year of *Nero*. For *Porcius Festus* Governed *Judea* two years, as appears by his Acts, of which *Josephus* relates but few. To him succeeded *Albinus* in the fourth year of *Nero*, and continued there to the tenth of that Emperour, as *Eusebius* has out of *Josephus* rightly observed. Therefore *James* was Martyred in the fourth year of *Nero*. *Epiphanius* confirms this our conjecture (in *Heres.* 78.) where he says *James* presided over the Church at *Jerusalem* about twenty four years, from the Lords Ascension. *Vales.*

NERO.

"who were the strictest observers of the Law, "were very much offended hereat; and sending "privately to the King, they intreated him to "write to [q] *Ananus*, to warn him that he should "not any more attempt any such thing. For that "he had not done this first fact regularly and le-"gally. And some of them also went to meet *Al-*"*binus* journeying from *Alexandria*, and in-"formed him, that it was not lawfull for *Ananus* "without his consent to assemble the Sanhedrim. "*Albinus* being induced to believe what they said, "wrote in great anger to *Ananus*, threatning "that he would punish him. And King *Agrippa* "for this very thing took the High-priesthood "from him, which he had held three months, and "constituted *Jesus* the son of [r] *Dammæus* High-"priest. Thus much concerning *James*, whose the first of those called the general Epistles is reported to be. But you must know it is [s] suspected to be spurious. Therefore not many of the Antients have made mention of it, like as neither of that called *Jude*, being also one of the seven, termed the general Epistles: Yet notwithstanding we know, that these with the rest have been publickly read in most Churches.

[q] *Nicephorus* (in his second B. chap. 4.) thinks this *Ananus* to be the same with that *Ananias*, who commanded *Paul* to be smitten; of whom *Luke* speaks *Acts* 23. 2. But herein he is much out. For *Ananias* the son of *Nebedæus* (of whom *Luke* there speaks) was High-priest in *Claudius*'s Empire, from his seventh year to the beginning of *Nero*'s reign; a man that was the most potent of all the Jews in his age, as *Josephus* testifies in his twentieth book of *Antiq.* But moreover, that catalogue of High-priests, which is there put down by *Nicephorus*, is to be made up out of *Josephus*'s Books: And after *Joseph* the son of *Cama*, *Ananias* the son of *Nebedæus* is to be placed, of whom *Josephus* speaks in the 3 chap. of his twentieth book. After him was *Ishmael* the son *Phabæus*, made High-priest by *Agrippa* juniour. After whom succeeded *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabus*, the son of *Simon*; and then *Ananus*, the son of *Ananus*, who is here spoken of. *Vales.*

[r] In *Josephus* and *Nicephorus* it is *Damnæus*. Vales.

[s] *Rufinus* and *Christophorson* translated this place so, as if this were the opinion of some; which sense we have followed in our version. But, having now considered the matter better, we think otherwise, *to wit*, that *Eusebius* did absolutely pronounce this Epistle to be *Spurious*. *Ferom* (*de Jacobo*) says thus, *Unam scripsit Epistolam, quæ & ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licèt paulatim tempore procedente, obtinuerit autoritatem*: that is, *He wrote one Epistle, which is affirmed to have been set forth by another, under his name; though by degrees in processi of time it hath obtained autority.* Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

How, after Mark, Annianus *was constituted the first Bishop of the Church of the* Alexandrians.

But *Nero* being in the eighth year of his reign, *Annianus*, the first after *Mark* the [a] Apostle and Evangelist, succeeded in the publick charge of the Church at *Alexandria*; [b] being a man beloved of God, and in all respects admirable.

[a] In the Kings M. S. it is written, μαρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, that is, Mark *the Apostle and Evangelist*; but in the rest of the M.SS. Maz. Med. Fuk and Savil. these words [ἀπόστολον καὶ i.e. *Apostle and*] are wanting: which neither are in *Rufinus*'s translation. I know indeed, that *Mark* may deservedly be called an Apostle; in that he was the first that Preacht the faith of Christ to the *Alexandrians*. *Athanasius* (*in Synopsi*) indeed calls *Mark* and *Luke* Apostles. *Idatius* also (*in Fastis*) stiles *Luke* and *Timothy* Apostles. See what we noted above at the last chap. of the first Book. But we doe not here enquire what title *Mark* deserved, but onely what *Eusebius* wrote. *Vales.*

[b] This whole clause is wanting in our three M.SS. copies, Maz. Med. and Fuk. and in the translation of *Rufinus*. But because it was in the Kings M. S. we have put it in. We have also written the name of *Annianus* with a double *n*; from the authority of the Maz. and Med. M. SS. To which agree *Rufinus*, *Ferom*, and others. For *Annianus* is a Roman name, and is derived from *Annius*. Vales.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the persecution in the time of Nero, *in which* Paul *and* Peter *were for Religion graced with Martyrdome at* Rome.

THe Empire being now confirmed to *Nero*, he, giving his mind to the commission of nefarious facts, armed himself against the very worship of the supream God. Indeed, how wicked a person he was, our present leisure will not permit us to describe: But, in as much as many have related in most accurate Treatises those things that were done by him, he that is desirous, may from thence see the cruelty and insolent rage of the man. Whereby having without all consideration destroyed an infinite number of men, he arrived to such an height of murdering cruelty, that he forbore not his most familiar and most beloved friends; but slew his mother and his wife, with innumerable others that were related to him, as if they had been enemies and adversaries, by sundry kinds of death. This indeed also ought together with the rest to have been ascribed to him as one of his titles, That he was the first of the Emperours that demonstrated himself to be an Adversary to the worship due to God. Thus much again *Tertullian* the Roman does record, saying, after this manner: "[a] Consult your Re-"cords. There you will find "that *Nero* was the first, "who with the Imperial "sword raged against this "Sect then greatly flouris-"ing at *Rome*. But we even "boast of such a beginner "of our persecution. For he "that knows him, may un-"derstand that nothing but "some great Good was con-"demned by *Nero*. Thus therefore this man, being proclaimed the first and chiefest enemie of God, set upon slaughtering the Apostles. Wherefore they relate that in his time *Paul* was beheaded at *Rome*, and also *Peter* crucified. And the name of *Peter* and *Paul* unto this present time remaining upon the Burial-places there doth confirm the story. In like manner, even an [b] Ecclesiastical man, by name *Caius*, who flourisht in the time of *Zephyrinus* Bishop of *Rome*, and wrote against *Proclus* a great defender of the opinion of the *Cataphrygians*, says these very words concerning the places where the sacred bodies of the aforesaid Apostles were depositted: "I am "able to shew the Tro-"phies of the Apostles: For "if you would go to the "[c] *Vatican*, or to the way "*Ostia*, you will find the "Trophies of those who "founded this Church. And

[a] He that translated *Tertullian*'s Apologie into Greek, (were it *Eusebius*, which I think not to be true, or whoever it was;) he understood not *Tertullian*'s words. Neither is this true of this place onely, but of many others also of *Tertullian*, which are produced in Greek by *Eusebius* in this work. *Vales.* *Tertullian*'s words are these: *Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum* Neronem *in hanc Sectam, tùm maximè* Romæ *orientem Cæsariano gladio ferociisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum à* Nerone *damnatum.* Tertul. Apolog. p. 6. Edit. *Rigal.*

[b] The term [*Ecclesiastical*] is used in three senses. Sometimes its taken for a Christian, and opposed to an Heathen, or Gentile: So *Ferome* in his preface to his Book, *De Scriptor. Ecclesias.* Sometimes it denotes a Catholick, and is oppoſed to an Heretick; So *Ferome* also in his preface to St *Matthew*, and on Chap. 13. *Ezechiel.* So *Origen* also, *Tome* 16. Explanat. on St *John*'s Gospel. Lastly, sometimes it signifies a *Clergy-man*, and is opposed to a Laick, or Secular person. So *Ferome* again, in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, and in his 46 Epist. to *Rusticus*. I would rather take this word in the second sense here; both because that signification of this word is more frequent, and also in regard *Eusebius*, speaking here of *Caius*'s Book against *Proclus*, gives each of them his proper Epithet; he stiles *Caius* [*an Ecclesiastical man*] and *Proclus* he calls [the defender of the opinion of the *Cataphrygians*,] i. e. *an Heretick*. The Sect of the *Cataphrygians* was divided into two parts; the Ringleader of the one party was *Proclus*; of the other *Æschynes*. So *Tertullian*, in his Book *De præscript. Hæret.* Vales.

[c] *Peter* was buried in the *Vatican*; *Paul* in the *Via Ostia*. Vales.

NERO. that they both suffered Martyrdome at the same time, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, writing to the Romans, doth thus affirm: "So also you, [d] by "this your so great an admonition, have joyned "together the plantation both of the *Romans*, and "also of the *Corinthians*, made by *Peter* and "*Paul*. For both of them coming also to our "City of *Corinth*, and having planted us, did in "like manner instruct us. Likewise they went "both together into *Italy*, and, having taught "there, suffered Martyrdome at [e] the same time. And thus much I have related, that the History hereof might be yet farther confirmed.

[a] *Dionysius* here answers the Epistle of *Soter* and of the Roman Clergie; who, writing to the *Corinthians*, had in a friendly way admonished them, as *Eusebius* hereafter declares, B. 4. Chap. 23. The same thing *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle had before done. *Dionysius* therefore says to *Soter*; *You by this your admonition have again united the Plantation of the* Roman *and* Corinthian *Churches heretofore made by* Peter *and* Paul. This I have the more largely explained, because the translatours, and especially *Christophorson*, have been much mistaken in the Version of this place. *Vales.*

[c] *Dionysius* does not expressly say that *Peter* and *Paul* suffered on the same day, but onely at the same time; which may be so understood, as that there might be an interval of many days between their sufferings. *Prudentius* [περὶ στεφάνων] says they were both Martyred on the same day, but not in the same year: and that there was a years space between their deaths. With *Prudentius* agrees *Augustine*, in his 28 Sermon, *De Sanctis*; And *Arator*. Lib. 2. Hist. Apost. But *Simeon Metaphrastes* takes these words of *Dionysius* so, as if he said that *Peter* and *Paul* were Martyred on the same day together. His words are to be found in *Comment. de peregrinat.* Pauli *ac* Petri, *apud Surium*, *Tome* 3. Vales.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the Jews *were vexed with innumerable mischiefs, and how at last they entred upon a war against the* Romans.

[a] At these words I began the chapter,

[a] MOreover *Josephus*, discoursing at large about the calamities that happened to the whole Jewish nation, makes it manifest in expres words, amongst many other things, that a great number of the most eminent personages amongst the Jews, having been cruelly beaten with scourges, were crucified even in *Jerusalem* by the command of *Florus*. For it happened that he was Procuratour of *Judea*, when the war at first broke out, in the twelfth year of *Nero*'s Reign. Afterwards, he says, that "after "the revolt of the Jews there followed great and "grievous disturbances throughout all *Syria*, those "of the Jewish nation being by the inhabitants of "every City every where destroyed as enemies, "without all commiseration: In so much that a man "might see the [b] Cities filled with dead bodies that "lay unburied; and the aged together with the in-"fants cast forth dead, and women not having so "much as any covering upon those parts which na-"ture commands to be concealed: and the whole "[c] Province was full of unspeakable calamities: "But the dread of what was threatned was greater "and more grievous than the mischiefs every where "perpetrated. Thus much *Josephus* relates word for word. And such was the posture of the Jews affairs at that time. NERO.

following the authoritie of the Kings M. S. But in the Maz. M. S. we found another reading, and a different distinction. For that begins the chapter from these words (which are the conclusion of the foregoing chapter) [*And thus much I have related*, &c.] and it points the whole place thus, [*And thus much I have related that the History hereof might be yet farther confirmed. Moreover*, Josephus, *discoursing*, &c.] and puts the full point after these words [*makes it manifest in expres words.*] The same reading is observed by the Med. and Fuk. M. SS. But the reading and punctation in the Kings M. S. seems to me to be much better; which both *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* followed. I had almost forgot to put you in mind, that these words [τὸ ὑστάτιον] in the title of this chapter, ought to be taken *adverbially*; for so *Rufinus* translates it; *Ut innumeris Judæi malis afflicti sint, ac novissimè contra Romanos arma moverint.* Vales.

[b] These are the words of *Josephus* in his second Book of the Jews wars, pag: 814. Edit. Genev.

[c] In the original 'tis here τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν; in *Josephus* and *Nicephorus* 'tis written τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν. By the *Province* we must in this place understand *Judea*, which after the death of *Agrippa* the Elder was reduced into the form of a Province, and governed by Procuratours sent from the Emperour. *Vales.*

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

In what parts of the world the Apostles *Preached* Christ.

NOW the affairs of the Jews being in this posture: the holy Apostles and disciples of our Saviour, being dispersed over the whole world *Preached the Gospel*. And *Thomas*, as Tradition hath it, had *Parthia* allotted to him; *Andreas* had *Scythia*; *John Asia*, where after he had spent much time, he died at *Ephesus*: *Peter*, 'tis probable, Preached to the * Jews [a] *scattered throughout Pontus and Galatia, and Bithynia*, * 1 Pet. 1. 1.

[a] The Jews were dispersed at several times, and for several causes. First, when they were carried Captive into *Babylon* and into *Egypt* and *Syria*; and also when they were subdued by *Pompey*. Then, in the times of the *Macchabees*, they did of their own accord remove out of *Judea* into *Egypt*. For the Law forbad not the Jews to remove into other Countreys, as it is manifest from the Book of *Ruth*. Thirdly, they dispersed themselves upon account of gaining Profelytes, which they admitted of all Nations, whence it came to pass that they were scattered over the whole world. *Vales.* Those Jews that were dispersed in Europe had their chief Assembly at *Alexandria*; and there the Septuagints translation of the Bible was in use; and thence they were called (John 7. 35.) διασπορὰ Ἑλλήνων, *the dispersion of the Hellenists*: And of these there were many also in *Jerusalem*, which used the same translation of the Seventy

Seventy two, being thus skilled in the Greek tongue; and these living not in Greece are yet called (Acts 6. 1.) Ἑλληνισταί, because they used the Greek language and the 72 translation, whereas the other are called there (See Acts 6. 1.) Ἑβραῖοι, Hebrews, who used the *Jerusalem* Paraphrase. The *Asian* dispersion is mentioned 1 Pet. 1. 1. they had *Babylon* for their Metropolis, and used the *Targum*, or *Caldee* Paraphrase of *Onkelos* in their Synagogues.

NERO. *Cappadocia and Asia.* Who, at last coming to *Rome*, was crucified with his head downwards; for so he desired to suffer. It is needless to say any thing of *Paul*; who having fully Preached the Gospel of Christ from *Jerusalem* unto *Illyricum*, at last suffered Martyrdome at *Rome* in the time of *Nero*. Thus much [b] *Origen* declares word for word *in the Third Tome of his Expositions on Genesis.*

[b] It is very doubtfull where these words of *Origens*, whom *Eusebius* here quotes, doe begin; whether it be at those words, *And Thomas*, &c. or rather at those, *Peter 'tis probable*, &c. For *Eusebius* has not shown us where they begin. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

Who First Presided over the Roman *Church.*

After the Martyrdome of *Paul* and *Peter*, *Linus* was the First that was elected to the Bishoprick of the Roman Church. *Paul*, writing from *Rome* to *Timothy*, makes mention of him in the salutation at the end of the Epistle; saying, * *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia.*

* 2 Tim. 4. 21.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Epistles of the Apostles.

Indeed, one Epistle of *Peter's*, called his First, hath by general consent been received as genuine; For that the worthy Antients in former ages quoted in their writings, as being unquestionable and undoubted. But as for that called his [a] *Second Epistle*, we have been informed by the tradition of our Predecessours that it was not acknowledged as part of the New Testament. Yet, because to many it seemed usefull, 'twas diligently read together with the other Scriptures. But the Book called *his Acts*, and the *Gospel that goes under his Name*, and that Book termed *his Preaching*, and that stiled *his Revelation*, we know these have in no wise been accounted genuine writings: because no Ecclesiastical Writer either antient or modern hath quoted any authorities or proofs taken out of them. But in the procedure of our History we will make it our chief business to shew, together with the successions, what Ecclesiastical writers in every Age have used the authority of such writings as are questioned as spurious: likewise what they say of those Scriptures that are Canonical and by general consent acknowledged as genuine, and also what concerning those that are not such. And thus many are the writings ascribed to *Peter*, of which I have known onely one Epistle accounted to be genuine, and universally acknowledged as such by the Antients. But of *Pauls* there are fourteen Epistles manifestly known, and undoubted. Yet it is not fit we should be ignorant, that some have rejected that to the *Hebrews*, saying, it is by the Roman Church denied to be *Pauls*. Now what the Antients have said concerning this Epistle, I will in due place propose. But as for those *Acts* that are called his, we have been informed from our Predecessours, that they are not accounted as unquestionable and undoubted. And whereas the same Apostle, in his Salutations at the end of his Epistle to the *Romans*, makes mention among others, of one *Hermas*, who, they say, is Authour of that Book entitled *Pastor*; you must know that that Treatise also has been questioned by some; upon whose account it must not be placed amongst those which by general consent are acknowledged as genuine: But by others it has been judged a most usefull Book, especially for such as are to be instructed in the first rudiments of Religion. Whereupon we know it is at this time publickly read in Churches; and I do find that some of the most Antient writers doe quote it. Let thus much be spoken in order to a representation of the Holy Scriptures, to discriminate those Books, whose authority is in no wise contradicted, from those that by general consent are not acknowledged as genuine.

NERO.

[a] That this 2d Epistle of S. *Peter* was not at first received in the Church of Christ with so universal agreement and consent as the former, may be concluded from this passage in *Eusebius*. But notwithstanding, there are great and sure evidences of this Epistles being written by the acknowledged Authour of it, as (1.) the Title of *Simon Peter* with the Addition of *An Apostle of Jesus Christ* (Chap. 1. v. 1.) (2.) There is a whole passage in this Epistle (Chap. 1. v. 16, 17.) which doth signally belong to *Peter*, that of having been on the holy mount with Christ, and hearing those words, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. which certainly belongs to the transfiguration, Matth. 17. where onely *Peter* and *James* and *John* were present with Christ. (3.) This is said to be a 2d Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 1.) written much to the same purpose with the former. (4.) St *Jude* speaking (v. 18.) *Of the scoffers that should come*, &c. cites that Prediction from *the Apostles of our Lord Jesus* (v. 17.) where it is reasonable to believe that this Epistle (Chap 3. v. 3.) is referred too; for in it those very words are met with (and are not so in any other Apostolick writing) *Knowing this first*, &c. Compare Jude the 17. & 18. v. with 2 Epist. Pet. 3. chap. v. 3. All this in all Copies stands unmoved to secure the authority of this Epistle, and to convince us of the author of it. See Dr *Hammonds* preface to the 2d *Epist. Pet.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the first Succession of the Apostles.

That *Paul* therefore, Preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundations of those Churches from *Jerusalem* and round about unto *Illyricum*, is manifest both from his own * words, and also from what *Luke* has related in the † *Acts*. Likewise in what Provinces *Peter*, Preaching the Gospel of Christ to those of the Circumcision, delivered the doctrine of the New Covenant, is sufficiently apparent from his own ‡ words out of that Epistle of his, which, we have said, is universally acknowledged as genuine; which he wrote to the Jews that were dispersed throughout *Pontus* and *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Asia*, and *Bithynia*. Now how many and what sincere followers of them have been approved as sufficient to take the charge of those Churches by them founded, it is not easie to say; except such and so many as may be collected from the words of *Paul*. For he had very many fellow labourers, and, as he termed them fellow souldiers; many of which were by him vouchsafed an indeleble remembrance, he having in his own Epistles ascribed to them an everlasting commendation. But *Luke*, enumerating, in the *Acts*, the disciples of *Paul*, makes mention of them by name. Moreover, *Timothy* is reported to have been the first that was chosen to the Bishoprick of the Ephesian Church: as also *Titus*, of the Churches in *Creet*. *Luke*, by original extract an Antiochian, by profession a Physitian, for the most part accompanied *Paul*; and being diligently conversant with the rest of the Apostles, has left us, in two Books written by divine inspiration, Lessons that are medicinable for our souls, which he procured of them.

* Rom. 15. 19.
† Acts from 14. to 21. chap.
‡ 1 Epist. Pet. 1. 1.

NERO. them. The one is *the Gospel*, which he * professes he wrote even as they delivered it unto him, *who from the beginning were eye witnesses and Ministers of the Word*, in all which things, he says, *he had perfect understanding from the very first*. The other is *the Acts of the Apostles*, which Treatise he composed now not of such passages as he had received by report, but of what he had seen with his own eyes. They say also that *Paul* was wont to mean the Gospel according to *Luke*, when, speaking, as it were of his own Gospel, he says, † *According to my Gospel*. Of the rest of the followers of *Paul*, *Crescens* is by the Apostle himself declared to be one; who was sent by him into [a] *Gallia*. *Linus* also; whom in his second Epistle to *Timothy* he mentions to be at *Rome* with him, who was before manifested to have been the first that was chosen to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, after *Peter*. *Clemens* also, who was likewise constituted the third Bishop of *Rome*, is attested by *Paul* himself to have been his fellow labourer, and companion in sufferings. Furthermore, that *Areopagite* (by name *Dionysius*, whom *Luke* in the *Acts* records to have been the first that believed after the Sermon made by *Paul* to the Athenians in [b] *Areopagus*) another *Dionysius*, one of the Antients, a Pastour of the Corinthian Church relates to have been the first Bishop of the Athenian Church. But as we goe on with this work of ours, we will in due place declare the successions of the Apostles in their several times. Now we will proceed to that part of our History which follows in order.

* Luke 1. 1, 2, 3.

† 2 Tim. 2. 8.

[a] These words of St *Paul* occur 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. where we now read, *Crescens to Galatia*. But the Antients, among whom *Eusebius* seem to have read *Gallia*: so *Epiphanius* in *Hæres. Alogor.* and *Hieronymus* in *Catalog.* and *Sophronius* and others. But the other reading is the truest, which *Clemens* confirms in his *Constitut. Apost.* *Theodoret* reads *Galatia*, but says that thereby is meant *Gallia*. Vales.

[b] *Areopagus* was the Senate or standing Court of Judicature in *Athens*, by whose Laws and orders any new gods were received among them; and therefore as soon as they perceived that *Paul* was a promulger of strange Deities, they bring him to the *Areopagus* to have him examined what Gods they were that he thus Preached. Two Judicatures they had at *Athens*; one every year changed, made up of 500. chosen men, of whom the Republick consisted; the other perpetual, which judged of Murthers and the like capital Offences; and this was in *Areopago*; of which and the customs thereof, See *Budæus* on the *Pandects*. Why it was called *Areopagus*, see St *Aug. de civit Dei* L. 18. c. 18. The Judges which sat in this Court were called *Areopagitæ*, who were looked upon with such reverence, that an *Areopagite* signified proverbially *an excellent Person*. Gell. L. 12. c. 7. *Dionysius* was one of these *Areopagites*.

CHAP. V.

Of the last Siege of the Jews after Christs *death.*

VESPASIAN. AFter *Nero*, who held the Government thirteen years, *Galba* and *Otho* having reigned a year and six months; *Vespasian* grown famous in the wars against the Jews, was made Emperour in *Judea*, being proclaimed by the Army there. He therefore going immediately to *Rome*, committed the management of the war against the Jews to his son *Titus*. Moreover, after the Ascension of our Saviour, when the Jews, besides the audacious wickedness committed against him, had now contrived and executed very many cruel designs against his Apostles; (first *Stephen* being stoned to death by them; then after him *James* the son of *Zebedee* and brother of *John* beheaded, and last of all that *James* who was first chosen into the Episcopal seat there, after our Saviours Ascension, Murthered according to the fore mentioned manner;) when the rest of the Apostles, were by innumerable wiles laid wait for to be put to death; and being driven out of *Judea*, were gone to Preach the doctrine of the Gospel to all nations, assisted by the power of Christ who had said unto them; * *Goe and teach all Nations in my Name*: And furthermore, when the whole congregation of the Church in *Jerusalem*, according to an Oracle given by revelation to the approved persons amongst them before the war, were commanded to depart out of the City, and inhabit a certain City (they call it [a] *Pella*) beyond *Jordan*; into which when those that believed in Christ had removed from *Jerusalem*; and when the holy men had as it were totally relinquished the Princely Metropolis of the Jews, and the whole Country of *Judea*: then at length divine vengeance seized them who had dealt so unjustly with Christ and his Apostles, and utterly destroyed that wicked and abominable generation from among men. But, how great calamities then befell the whole nation in every place, and how they especially who were inhabitants of *Judea* were driven to the extremity of misery; and how many * Myriads of men, together with women and children, were destroyed by Sword and Famine, and by infinite other kinds of death; and how many and what Sieges there were of the Jewish Cities; and how great miseries and more than miseries they beheld who fled into *Jerusalem* it self, as into the best fortified Metropolis; and also the manner and order of the whole war, and every particular action therein; and how at length the *abomination of desolation* predicted by the Prophets was set up in the very Temple of God, heretofore famous, but now about to suffer all manner of pollution, and to undergoe its last destruction by fire: He that is desirous to know it, may accurately read all this in the History written by *Josephus*. But, how the same Writer relates, that a multitude of about thirty hundred thousand persons assembled together from all parts of *Judea* at the time of the passeover feast, were shut up in *Jerusalem* (*as it were*, says he, *in a prison*) I think it requisite to shew in those his own words. [b] For it was fit, that at that very time (wherein they had killed the Saviour and Benefactour of all, Christ the Son of God,) that in the same days, *I say*, they should be shut up as it were in a Prison, to receive that destruction from divine vengeance which awaited them. But I will omit the particular relation of those miseries which befell them, and their great sufferings by the Sword and otherwaies, and doe think it necessary to propose onely the Calamities of the Famine; that so they who shall read this our work may from that part *of their sufferings* understand, that the divine punishment for their enormous impieties committed against the Christ of God did not long after light upon them.

* Matth. 28. 19.

[a] So says *Epiphanius* (*in Hæres. Nazaræorum* cap. 7.) *to wit*, that the Christians who dwelt in *Jerusalem* being forewarned by Christ of the approaching Siege removed to *Pella*. But in his Book (*de ponderibus & mensuris*) he writes that the disciples of Christ being warned by an angel removed to *Pella*: And afterwards when *Adrian* rebuilt *Jerusalem* and called it after his own name *Ælia Colonia*, they returned thither. *Vales.*

* A Myriad is ten thousand.

[b] Immediately before these words *Bp Christophorson* (in his Latine translation of *Eusebius*) inserts a passage at length out of *Josephus* his Hist. of the Jewish wars, B. the 6th, both against the authority of all the M. SS. Copies, and also without any necessity. Neither *Rufinus* nor *Nicephorus* hath inserted this passage of *Josephus*'s; and *Eusebius* did sufficient to intimate it, and to produce some words from it, as are those, ὥσπερ ἐν εἱρκ]ῇ, i. e. *as it were in a prison*; which words *Eusebius* does sufficiently shew to be *Josephus*'s, in that he says, ὥσπερ ἐν εἱρκ]ῇ ῥῆμασιν ἀν]οῖς, &c. In the common Editions of *Eusebius* these words ῥῆμασιν ἀν]οῖς were wanting, which we have put in, warranted thereto by the old M. SS. copies, Maz. Med. and Fuk. we found those words also in the Kings M. S. which *Robert Stephens* made use of in his Edition of *Eusebius*; who too much favoured his own conjecture, by expunging those words here, and putting them in a little after, thus, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ῥῆμασιν ἀν]οῖς ὑποσημήνασθαι, against the authority of all Copies. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the famine that oppressed the Jews.

COme on therefore, Let us again take the fifth Book of *Josephus* his History into our hands, and rehearse the Tragedy of those things then and there done. * "Moreover (says he) for those that "were rich to stay it was equally destructive. "For they were slain for their wealth, under a pre- "tence of their revolting to the enemy. Together "also with the famine, the insolent rage of the se- "ditious increased, and both those mischiefs "daily grew more extreamly sharp and violent. "Besides, there was no food any where openly to "be seen: but they rushed violently into houses, "and made a strict Search: and when they had "found any, they beat the masters of the houses "after a most cruel manner, because they denied "they had any: but if they found none, they "tortured them, as if they had most carefully "hid it. Moreover, the bodies of the wretches "were a certain sign whether they had any food "or no: for those who were yet strong and lusty "they supposed had plenty of provision; but such "as were already lean and macerated, they medled "not with. For it seemed irrational to kill those "that were ready to die for want of sustenance. "Many also privately exchanged their estates, the "richer sort for one measure of wheat, the poorer "for one of barley: Then locking themselves up "in the inmost recesses of their houses, some of "them by reason of their excessive want of food, "eat the unground corn; others made bread of it "after such a manner as necessity and fear advised "them. Indeed there was no where any table "furnished; but they snatched the meat while it "was raw from the fire, and [a] tore it from one an- "other. The food was miserable, and the spe- "ctacle truly worthy of Lamentation; in that the "stronger sort got all, whilest the weaker bewai- "led their own condition. Famine doubtless is "superiour to all the affections of the mind; but "nothing is so utterly destroyed by it, as is a duti- "full and observant behaviour. For that which "otherwise is worthy of a reverent regard, in "this case (*to wit, in the necessity of famine*) "is contemned. Therefore the wives tore the "meat from their husbands, the children from "their parents; and, which was most exceedingly "lamentable, the mothers snatcht it out of the very "mouthes of their infants; yea, they spared not "to deprive them of those very drops of milk "which were their onely sustenance to keep them "alive, whilest their most beloved babes langui- "shed in their arms. And whilest they eat such "food as this, they notwithstanding could not "secure themselves from being discovered; be- "cause the Seditious were every where at hand, "preying upon them; for when they at any time "saw a house shut, that was a sign that those with- "in were eating victuals; and immediately brea- "king open the doors they rushed in, and squee- "zing the bits of meat even out of their very jaws, "they took them away. The old men, who would "not part with their food were beaten; and the "women which hid what they had in their hands "were drawn about by the hair of the head. No "compassion was shown to the hoary-head, or to "infants; but lifting up the little children on "high, hanging at their morsels of meat, they "dashed them against the pavement. Now to "those, who prevented their incursion and before- "hand devoured what they would by force have "taken away, they were more inhumane, as if such "had done them an injury. Moreover they in- "vented cruel ways of torments for the searching "out of provision; for they stopped up the pas- "sage of the privities of those miserable men with "the pulse called *Orobos*, and thrust sharp rods up "their fundaments; and to force any person to "confess he had but one loaf of bread, or to extort "from him a discovery of his having but one hand- "full of meal hidden, he underwent such torments "as are most horrible to be heard. Now the "tormentours themselves were not oppressed "with hunger; for it would have seemed less "cruel for them to have done all this out of ne- "cessity: but they did it to exercise their out- "ragious insolence, and to procure themselves "provision for the following days. Those also, "who by night crept out as far as the Roman "watch to gather wild herbs and grass, they met; "and when they supposed they had now escaped "the enemy, these men by force took from them "what they had gotten. And when they often "intreated, and by the most Sacred Name of God "beseeched them to communicate some part of "that to them which they had brought off with "the hazard of their lives, they imparted nothing "thereof to them; yea, they were to look upon "it to be a kindness, that they were not also killed, "as well as robbed of what they had gotten. To this, after some other words, he adds, saying, "The Jews, after they were hindred from going "out of the City, were deprived of all hope of "relief. And the famine encreasing extreamly, "consumed the people throughout every house "and family. The houses were filled with wo- "men and infants destroyed by the famine: and "the narrow streets with dead old men: The "children and young men as pale as ghosts wan- "dred up and down the market places, and fell "down whereever the distemper seized any of "them; neither were the sick able to bury their "relations: and those who were strong were "loath to undertake it, both upon account of the "vast numbers of the dead, and also because of the "uncertainty of their own condition. For very "many dropt down dead upon those whom "they were interring. Many also betook them- "selves to their Coffins or Sepulchres before "death seized them. Neither was there mour- "ning or lamentation in these calamities; but "the famine had suppressed every ones affection. "And they who struggled with the very pangs of "death, with dry eyes beheld those who went to "rest before them. A profound silence and dark- "ness loaden with death encompassed the City. "But the theeves were more pernicious than all "this: For they digged through into houses, "now turned into burial places, and robbed the "dead: and taking away the coverings from off "the Corps, went out laughing. They also tried "the [b] edges of their swords upon the dead bodies: "and some of those that lay along, and yet alive, "they ran through, to make trial of the sharpness "of their weapons: But those that beseeched them "to make use of their hand and sword upon them, "by way of scorn they let alone to be destroyed "by the famine. And every one of them that "died, leaving the Seditious yet surviving, [c] fixed

* *Joseph.* Hist. of the Jewish wars B. 6. chap. 26.

[a] *Josephus* means that those wretched people tore the meat from one another; not, that they greedily devoured it, as *Christopherson* took his meaning to be, he translating it *avidè ore abripiebant.* That is the meaning of those words ἐτέλουν δὲ διήπαζον. *Vales.*

[b] In *Josephus* it is ἀκμὰς ξιφῶν; but in the M. SS. copies of *Eusebius* it is ἀκμὰς, &c. which is the better reading; for the Greeks call that ἀκμὴν, which the Latines call *aciem*, and we in English the *edge*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Observe here the religion of the Jews, who in what parts of the world soever they were, always prayed to God with their eyes turned towards the holy City and the Temple. We have an example of this custom in Dan. 6. 10. and 1 Kings 8. 48. and 1 Esdr. 4. 58. Hence perhaps was derived the custom of the Christians, to pray towards the East. *Vales.*

"their

VESPASIAN.

"their eyes ſtedfaſtly upon the Temple. At firſt "they gave command that the dead ſhould be buried at the charge of the publick Treaſury, not "being able to endure the ſtench of the dead bodies: "but afterwards being inſufficient to continue ſo "doing, they caſt them from the walls into deep "pits; which *Titus* having viewed round, when "he beheld them filled full with the dead, and a "thick gore iſſuing from the putrified bodies, he "ſighed, and ſtretching forth his hands, called God "to witneſs, that it was not his fact. To all this, after the interpoſition of ſome words, he adds, ſaying: "I will not be afraid to declare what "grief commands me to ſpeak; I think, had the "*Romans* been ſlack to deſtroy thoſe flagitious "wretches, that either they would have been ſwallowed by the earth opening under them; or that "the City would have been drowned by an inundation; or that, like *Sodom*, it would have been "deſtroyed by lightning. For it had brought forth "a generation of men by far more abominably "impious than thoſe, who had ſuffered ſuch things. "By reaſon therefore of the deſperate outragiouſneſs of thoſe men, the whole body of the people "was together with them deſtroyed. And in his ſixth Book he writes thus: "Of thoſe who periſhed being deſtroyed by the famine throughout the City, the multitude was innumerable; "the afflictions that befell them cannot be uttered. "For in every houſe, where there appeared but "the leaſt ſhadow of proviſion, there was fighting; and ſuch as were deareſt friends ſtrove one "with the other, ſnatching from one another "the miſerable proviſions of their life. Neither were thoſe that dyed believed to expire "for want of ſuſtenance. But the theeves ſearched thoſe that gave up the ghoſt, leaſt any one "having meat in his boſome ſhould feign himſelf "to die. The theeves themſelves, empty and "hollow for want of ſuſtenance, wandred and "hunted up and down like mad dogs, ſtriking "againſt the doors like drunken men; and by reaſon of their ſtupified condition, breaking into "the very ſame houſes twice or thrice in one hour. "Neceſſity made all things to be eaten: and what "was unfitting to be given to the moſt ſordid irrational creatures, they gathered up, and endured to "eat. Therefore at the laſt they did not forbear to "eat girdles and ſhooes: and pluck't the leather from off their Bucklers and eat it. The "ſtumps of old hay were made food by ſome; "and others gathered the very ſtalks or ſmall "fibers of plants, and ſold the leaſt weight of them "for four [d] *Attick drachms*. But what need I "ſpeak of the ſharpneſs, and extremity of the "famine, as to the eating things without life? "For I will declare ſuch a fact, the like whereof is "no where recorded either amongſt the Grecians "or Barbarians; which may ſeem both horrid to "be related, and alſo incredible to be heard. And "indeed leaſt I might ſeem to poſterity to feign "monſtrous ſtories, I could very willingly leave "this ſad accident unmentioned; but that I have "innumerable witneſſes thereof, *to wit*, men that "are cotemporary with me: And beſides, I ſhould "doe my Country a very frigid and inconſiderable "kindneſs, ſhould I goe about to conceal the rehearſal of what it really ſuffered. A woman, of "the Region beyond Jordan, by name *Mary*, the "daughter of *Eleazar*, of the village *Bathezar*, "(which word ſignifies, *The houſe of Hyſſop*) for "deſcent and wealth eminent, flying with the reſt "of the multitude into *Jeruſalem*, was there together with them beſieged. All her goods, which "ſhe had taken with her out of the region beyond "*Jordan* and brought into the City, the tyrants "robbed her of. The remains of what ſhe had, "which was of greateſt value and price, and what "ever proviſion of food ſhe could any way procure, the ſpearmen breaking in daily took from "her. A moſt vehement indignation moved "the woman; and oftentimes ſhe reviled and "curſed thoſe ravenous pillagers, and provoked "them againſt her ſelf. But when none of them "could be either inſtigated by anger, or moved "by compaſſion to kill her; and ſhe being grown "weary of finding victuals for [e] others; and "proviſion being now no where to be found; the "famine alſo having entred her very bowels and "marrow, and her anger being more exceedingly "hot than the famine was ſharp; ſhe took fury and "neceſſity as her adviſers, and in a hoſtile manner "invaded Nature it ſelf. And having ſnatched "up her ſon, for ſhe had a ſucking child, *Miſerable Babe*, ſaid ſhe, *amidſt theſe Wars, Famine "and Sedition, for whom ſhall I preſerve thee? Amongſt the Romans, if they let us live, we ſhall "be ſlaves; and the famine muſt precede that ſervitude; but the Seditious are more miſchievous than both thoſe evils. Be thou therefore my food, a* [f] *fiend "to take revenge upon the "Seditious, and a ſtory for "men to talk of, which is "onely yet wanting to compleat the calamities of the "Jews.* Having ſaid this, "ſhe kills her ſon; then "roaſting him ſhe eat half "of him; the remainder ſhe "kept covered. The Seditious came immediately, "and having ſmelt the horrible ſavour, threatned to "kill her forthwith, if ſhe "would not bring out to "them what ſhe had provided: But ſhe, anſwering that ſhe had reſerved "a good part for them, uncovered the remains of "her ſon. Horrour and aſtoniſhment of mind "ſuddenly ſeized them; and they ſtood benummed, as it were, with amazement at the ſpectacle. This, ſaid the woman, is the ſon of mine "own womb, and this mine own fact: Eat, for I "have eaten of him already; be not you more "effeminate than a woman, or more compaſſionate than a mother. But if you are religious and abhor this my ſacrifice, I have "eaten the one half already, and let the reſt alſo "remain with me. After this they went out trembling, abaſhed at this very one thing, and with "much adoe yielding to leave this food with the "mother. Immediately the whole City was "filled with the noyſe of this deteſtable fact; and "every one ſetting before his eyes this unnatural "deed was horribly afraid and trembled, as if it "had been audaciouſly perpetrated in [g] his own "houſe. And now all who were ſorely preſſed "with the famine, earneſtly haſtned to die, and "happy were they accounted, who were taken "away by death before they heard and ſaw ſo "great calamities. Such was the puniſhment the Jews underwent for their iniquity and impiety againſt the Chriſt of God.

VESPASIAN.

[d] That is, ten ſhillings in our coin. See note on B. the 1. chap. 8. in the margin concerning the word *Drachms*.

[e] That is for the theeves, not for her ſelf: and therefore it is in the original ἐυρεῖν στίον ἄλλοις; not ἄλλως, as the *Genevа* Edition of *Euſebius* adds in the margin. *Valeſ.*

[f] The Jews, as well as the Grecians, believed, that the Ghoſts of ſuch as had been murdered follow thoſe that killed them, to take revenge of them. In this ſenſe thoſe words may be taken, that occur Gen. 4. 10. *The voice of thy brothers bloud cryeth unto me from the ground*: i. e. thy brother, whom thou haſt wickedly ſlain, requires that I ſhould revenge him, and puniſh thee for his murder: Then it follows v. 12. *a fugitive and a vagabond ſhalt thou be in the earth*; i. e. thy brothers ghoſt, whom thou haſt ſlain, ſhall follow thee every where and be always troubleſome to thee. *Valeſ.*

[g] That is; all the Citizens were ſtricken with ſuch an horrour at this fact, as if it had been done in their own houſes. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Christs predictions.

BUt it is worth while to adjoyn hereunto the most true prediction of our Saviour, wherein he manifestly foretells these very things after this manner: * *And wo unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day: for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.* But the same writer adding together the whole number of those that were destroyed, says, that by the famine and by the sword an hundred and ten Myriads perished: And that the Seditious and the Theeves that were left, discovering one another, after the City was taken, were put to death: that the tallest and comelliest of the young men were reserved to adorn the Triumph: that of the rest of the multitude, such as were above seventeen years of age, were sent bound to the Mines in Egypt; and that very many were distributed through the Provinces to be destroyed in the publick Shews by the sword and by wild beasts: that those who were under seventeen years of age were carried captive and sold; and that the number of these onely amounted to [a] ninety thousand. These things were done after this manner in the second year of the Reign of *Vespasian*, agreeable to the presages and predictions of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who by his divine power foreseeing these things, as if they had been present, wept and lamented, according to the History of the Holy Evangelists, who have related his very words; one while speaking as it were to *Jerusalem* it self: *If thou hadst known* (said he,) *even thou at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee*: Then speaking concerning the people: *For there shall be* (said he) *great distress in the Land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be troden down of the Gentiles, untill the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*: And again, *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with Armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.* Now whosoever does compare the words of our Saviour with the rest of our Writers relations of the whole war, he cannot but with admiration confess the prescience and prediction of our Saviour to have been truly divine, and exceeding wonderfull. Therefore concerning those things which befell the whole Jewish nation after the salutary passion of Christ, and after those words, whereby the multitude of the Jews desired a thief and a murderer should be released from his punishment of death, and that the Prince of life should be destroyed, it is needeless to [b] add any thing to the relation given *by Josephus*. So much onely is requisite furthermore to be annexed, as may represent the endearing goodness of the most excellent providence of God, deferring the destruction of these men full forty years after their most audacious villany committed against Christ. During which space, many of the Apostles and disciples, (and *James* himself the first Bishop there, he that was called the brother of the Lord) being yet alive and making their abode in the City of *Jerusalem*, continued to be a most impregnable fortification to that place: divine visitation hitherto patiently forbearing them; that, if peradventure they would yet repent of what they had done, they might obtain Remission and Salvation; and to so great patience and forbearance, adding wonderfull signes from heaven foreshewing what was about to befall them unless they repented. Which signes, having been accounted worthy to be recorded by the foresaid * Writer, nothing hinders but we may here propose to those that shall look upon this our work.

* That is *Josephus*.

Matt. 24. v. 19, 20, 21.

Luke 19. 42, 43, 44.

Luke 21. 23, 24.

Luke 21. 20.

[a] *Eusebius* is here mistaken; for *Josephus* does not say so; but onely affirms that the number of those that were taken captive, during the whole war, by the Romans, amounted to ninety thousand men. The words of *Josephus* are to be seen at the latter end of his sixth Book of the Hist. of the *Jewish wars*. *Vales.*

[b] Ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν; these are the words of *Eusebius*; by which he means, not his own History, as Bishop *Christopherson* thought, but the History of *Josephus*: in our translation therefore we have expressed his name; but it is not, we confess, in the original of *Eusebius*. Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Prodigies that appeared before the War.

LEt us then take the sixth Book of his History, and rehearse what is therein related by him in these words; "Therefore those Impostours, "and such as feigned themselves to be sent of God, "by their false perswasions deceived the wretched "people at that time: So that they neither gave heed "to, nor believed those evident Prodigies which "foreshewed their desolation to be at hand. But "being like persons thunderstruck, and having nei-"ther eyes nor understanding, they contemned "and disregarded the forewarnings of God. First, "a star in the likeness of a sword stood over the "City; and then a [a] *Comet* "continued a whole year. "Further also, when, before "the revolt and the first be-"ginnings of the war, the "people were gathered to-"gether to the feast of un-"leavened bread, on the "eighth day of the month *A-*"*pril*, at the [b] ninth hour "of the night, so great a light "shined round about the Al-"tar and the Temple, that it "seemed to be bright day; "and so continued for the "space of half an hour: "And this was judged by "those that were unskilfull "a good sign; but by the "[c] Scribes that were skilled in the Law, it was im-"mediately concluded to portend those calamities "which afterwards happened: And at the same

[a] We read ὅστις, as it is in *Josephus* B. 7. pag. 960. But *Nicephorus* thought that this Star which appeared in the likeness of a Sword, and the *Comet* which continued a whole year was all one; which, as we judge, is not right. *Vales.*

[b] The Jews divided the whole νυχθήμερον, i.e. *night and day*, or four and twenty hours, into eight parts, each of them containing 3 hours; the 3d the 6th, the 9th, and the 12th hour of the day; and the like again for the several watches of the night: the ninth hour of the night (or third watch) according to their account, was commonly betwixt our hours of twelve and three a clock in the morning. See *Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic.* Chap. 13.

[c] The Scribes amongst the Jews were the same with the Doctors of the Law, as *Petavius* has well observed, in *Animadvers. ad Hæres.* 15 *Epiphanii*. Their office it was, to keep the holy Books of the Law, and to read them in the presence of the people, in the Temple and in the Synagogues. But their principal office was to be assessours with the chief Priests and Elders in the great Councel called the *Sanhedrim*. See the 6, and 23 *Chapters of the Acts*. The name of *Scribe* therefore was the name of a Magistrate among the *Jews* as well as among the *Grecians*. And as the [γραμματεῖς] *Scribes* in *Greece* were to be present at assemblies and judicatures, and to have the custody of the Laws and Statutes made by the people, and Decrees made by the Senate; so also were the Scribes amongst the Jews the keepers of the Law. That this was no small honour, appears from many places in the Gospel; where our B. Saviour reproves their pride and insolence. After the same manner, amongst the Grecians,

cians, the Scribes [γραμματεῖς] were in great authority, as appears from that which S. *Luke* relates *Acts* 19. 35. [*our tranſlation calls him Town-Clerk, how truly,* Mr *Jo. Gregory of Oxford will tell you in his notes on the Text*; chap. 9. p. 43. *of his works.*] Amongſt the Jews the Scribes were ſo much the more reſpected by how much that nation above all others eſteemed their own Laws: of which the Scribes were not onely the *keepers*, but the *interpreters* alſo. Moreover they were conſulted as being taken to be men of great knowledge and skill, and who were beſt able to interpret Signs and Prodigies; and alſo who beſt knew the myſteries of the Law. So we read *Matth.* 2. 4. *Herod* there conſults the Scribes; and in this place of *Joſephus* here, the Scribes foretell the meaning of the Prodigies. Moreover the Magiſtrate of the City of *Jeruſalem* who was called Στρατηγὸς, had his Scribe, as *Joſephus* tells us B. 20. But whither this Scribe was among the number of thoſe that were interpreters of the Law, it is hard to ſay. Farther, the [Ἱερογραμματεῖς] amongſt the *Egyptians* were certain Prieſts who look't after the Ordinances about things Sacred, and had the keeping of the myſtical Learning, and foretold things to come; concerning whom ſee *Joſeph.* L. 2. c. 5. where he calls them Ἱερέας. Theſe, after the *Cantor* and the *Horoſcopus* went in the third place into the Temple, wearing wings on their heads, and carrying before them in their hands, Ink, and a Pen, with a Book. They had alſo the *Hieroglyphical* Books of *Mercury*, and thoſe of *Coſmography*, and *of the ſituation of Countries*, and of *Egypt*, and of the *Nile*, and of *the places conſecrated in honour of their Gods*, committed to their cuſtody, as *Clem. Alexandrinus* writes in his 6 B. *Lucianus* ſaith that theſe ſort of men had been of long continuance in Egypt. *Valeſ.*

VESPASIAN. "Feaſt, a Cow, led to be ſacrificed by the High-
"prieſt, brought forth a Lamb in the midſt of the
"Temple. Alſo the *Eaſtern* gate of the inner
"Temple made all of braſs, exceeding maſſy, and
"ſcarcely to be ſhut in the evening by twenty men,
"(being made alſo very ſtrong by vaſt iron hinges
"on which it moved, and having bolts that went
"into the ground a great depth,) was ſeen to open
"of its own accord about the ſixth hour of the
"night. [d] Not many days
"after the Feaſt, upon the
"one and twentieth of *May*,
"was ſeen a Ghoſt for Pro-
"digiouſneſs wholly incredi-
"ble. But that which I am
"now about to ſay would
"ſeem an idle ſtory, were it
"not related by thoſe that ſaw it, and had not the
"ſubſequent calamities been anſwerable to ſuch
"Prodigies. For before Sun-ſet there was ſeen in
"the Air over the whole Country, Chariots, and
"whole companies of Armed men, running up and
"down in the clouds, and inveſting Cities. Alſo
"at the Feaſt, called Pentecoſt, the Prieſts, as it was
"their manner, going by night into the Temple
"to perform their offices, reported that they per-
"ceived at firſt indeed a motion and heard a
"noiſe; but that afterwards they heard a voice
"as of a great multitude, ſaying, *Let us depart*
"*hence*: But, what was more dreadfull than all
"this; one *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Ananias*, a country
"man of the ordinary rank, four years before the
"war, (the City being then in perfect peace and
"in a flouriſhing condition) coming to the Feaſt,
"in which it's cuſtomary for all to make taber-
"nacles to the honour of God near the Temple;
"on a ſudden began to cry out with a loud voice:
"*A voice from the Eaſt, a voice from the Weſt,*
"*a voice from the four winds, a voice againſt Je-*
"*ruſalem and the Temple, a voice againſt the*
"*bridegrooms and the brides, a voice againſt all the*
"*people.* This he went up and down crying, day
"and night throughout all the narrow ſtreets and
"croſs waies of the City. But ſome of the chief
"of the people were very much diſturbed at this
"ominous cry, and, being highly incenſed, took
"the man and beat him with many and alſo
"grievous ſtripes. But he neither ſpoke any
"thing for himſelf, nor ſaid any thing in pri-
"vate to thoſe that [e] beat him, but perſiſted cry-
"ing thoſe very words he did before. Then VESPASIAN.
"the [f] Magiſtrates, ſuppoſing (as indeed it was)
"that the man was moved by
"divine impulſe, bring him
"to the *Roman* [g] Preſident;
"where being beaten with
"ſtripes till his very bones
"were bare, he neither intreated for himſelf, nor
"ſhed a tear. But to the utmoſt of his power
"changing his voice into a dolefull tone, he anſwer-
"ed every ſtripe, *Wo, Wo to Jeruſalem.* There is
another thing alſo more wonderfull than this,
which the ſame Writer relates, ſaying, that a
Prophecy was found in the holy Scriptures com-
prehending thus much, *to wit*, that about that time
one was to come out of their Country who
ſhould rule over the whole world; which this
Writer underſtood to have been fulfilled in
[h] *Veſpaſian*. But he did not
rule over the whole world,
onely obtained the *Roman*
Empire. This therefore may
more juſtly be referred to
Chriſt, to whom it was ſaid
by the father: * *Deſire of*
me and I ſhall give thee the
Heathen for thine inheritance; *and the utmoſt* * Pſal. 2. 8.
parts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion: And *the*
† *ſound of whoſe Holy Apoſtles* at the very ſame † Pſal. 19. 4.
time *went out into all Lands, and their words*
unto the ends of the world.

[d] After theſe words *Euſebius* omits ſome paſſages that are extant in *Joſephus*, as, of this Prodigies's being told to the Στρατηγὸς, or Magiſtrate; for an account of whom, and his office ſee the Learned *Hammond* in his notes on *Luke* 22. 52.

[e] The reading muſt be, πρὸς τοὺς παίοντας, i. e. *thoſe that beat him*, as it is in *Joſephus*; not παῖδας, i. e. *thoſe that were preſent*; although *Rufinus* followed that reading. *Valeſ.*

[f] That is, the Magiſtrate of the Temple, the chief Prieſts, and the Scribes. *Valeſ.*

[g] That was *Albinus*, who then was Procuratour of *Judea*. *Valeſ.*

[h] *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio; eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæi profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano quantùm eventu poſtea prædictum patuit. Judæi ad ſe trahentes, rebellarunt.* So *Suetonius* in the Life of *Veſpaſian*.

CHAP. IX.

Of Joſephus, *and the Writings he left.*

AFter all this, it is fit that we ſhould not be ignorant of this ſame *Joſephus*, who has given us ſo great aſſiſtance in the Hiſtory we now have in hand, from whence, and of what ſtock he came. And he himſelf does manifeſt even this alſo, ſaying after this manner: "*Joſephus* the
"ſon of [a] *Mattathias*, a
"Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*, who
"my ſelf alſo at firſt fought
"againſt the *Romans*, and
"was by neceſſity forced to
"be preſent at what was
"done afterwards. This man
was eſteemed the moſt emi-
nent perſon of all the Jews
of thoſe times, not onely by
his own country men, but
alſo by the *Romans*: inſo-
much that he was honoured
with a Statue dedicated to
him in the City of *Rome*, and
the Books compiled by him
were accounted worthy to
be placed in the publick Li-
brary. He wrote all the *Jewiſh Antiquities* in
twenty entire Books; and the Hiſtory of the
Jewiſh war, in his own time, in ſeven Books;
which Hiſtory he himſelf teſtifies, he put forth not
onely in Greek, but alſo in his own Country lan-
guage; and He is worthy to be credited both in
this, and in other things. There are alſo two other
Books of his extant very worthy to be read, which
are about the *Ancientneſs of the Jews*: in which
he anſwers *Apion Grammaticus* who at that time
wrote a [b] Volume againſt the Jews, and ſome

[a] In the Kings M. S. it is Μαθθὶ· and ſo alſo in *Joſephus*, in his Book *of his own Life*, and in the proëme to his Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh wars*. In *Sophronius*'s Book, *De ſcriptoribus Eccleſ.* it is, Ἰώσηπος μαθθίου ὑός. So alſo *Sozomen* calls him in the beginning of his firſt Book. And *Rufinus* calls the father of *Joſephus Mathias*; *Joſeppus*, ſays he, *Mathiæ filius, ex Hieroſolymis ſacerdos.* So it is written in the moſt excellent M. S. of the *Pariſian* Church. *Valeſ.* *Suetonius*, in the life of *Veſpaſian*, has this paſſage of *Joſephus*; *Unus ex nobilibus captivis* Joſephus, *cùm conjiceretur in vincula; conſtantiſſime aſſeveravit ſore, ut ab eo brevi ſolveretur, verum jam Imperatore.*

[b] The words of *Euſebius* are σωλαξαντα λόγον; but *Nicephorus* writes λόγους, which *Joſephus* ſeems to confirm, who teſtifies that *Apion* wrote more Books than one againſt the Jewiſh nation. But *Ferom*, in *Catalogo*, where he ſpeaks of *Joſephus*'s writings, defends the ordinary reading. *Valeſ.*

others

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others who had attempted to calumniate the [c] Antiquity and Laws of the Jewish Nation. In the former of these he sets forth the number of the Canonical Books of that called the *Old Testament*, which of them are among the Hebrews unquestionable and undoubted, as being received from antient tradition; discoursing of them in these words.

[c] *Josephus* in his Books against *Apion*, answers not onely those who had calumniated the Laws and Institutions of the Jews; but also he more especially writes against those who had forged certain falsities concerning the original and antiquity of the Jews, as appears by his first Book. But about the end of his second Book he answers *Apollonius*, *Molon*, and *Lysimachus*, who had written some lies about the Laws and Institutions of the Jews. The word πάτεια therefore in this place must mean both these, *to wit*, *the Antiquity*, *and the Laws of the Jewish Nation*. Vales.

CHAP. X.

How Josephus makes mention of the Holy Bible.

"THere are not therefore amongst us an innu-
"merable company of Books disagree-
"ing and contradicting one another; but onely
"[a] two and twenty, con-
"taining an Historical ac-
"count of all times; which
"are worthily believed to
"be divine. And five of
"these are the works of
"*Moses*, which compre-
"hend both the Laws, and
"also a continued Series of
"the generations of men, and
"what was done by them
"from their first creation un-
"till his own death. This
"space of time wants little
"of three thousand years.
"And from the death of
"*Moses* untill the Reign of
"*Artaxerxes* King of the
"*Persians* successour to *Xer-*
"*xes*, the Prophets, who
"succeeded *Moses*, wrote
"what was done in their
"Ages, in thirteen Books:
"The remaining four con-
"tain Hymnes to God, and
"precepts and admonitions
"for the well ordering of
"mens lives. Also from *Artaxerxes* untill our
"own times every thing is indeed recorded, but
"these Books have not been accounted worthy
"of the like authority with the former, in that
"the succession of the Prophets was not so ac-
"curately known. But it is manifestly apparent
"how highly we revere our own Writings: For
"in so many ages now passed over, no one has
"dared either to adde or to diminish from them,
"or to change any thing therein; but it is im-
"planted upon all us Jews immediately from our
"very birth, to think that these are the Precepts
"of God, and to persevere in them, and, if need so
"require, willingly to die for them. And let
these words of this Writer be profitably here inserted. He compiled also another elaborate work not unworthy of himself, about the *Empire of Reason*, which some have entitled *Maccabees*, because it contains the conflicts of those Hebrews, in the writings called the *Maccabees* so termed from them, who valiantly fought for the worship of God. And, at the end of his twentieth Book of Antiquities he intimates, as if he purposed to write in four Books (according to the opinion of the Jews which they had received from their Ancestours) *of God*, and *of his essence*, also *of Laws*, why according to them some things are lawfull to be done, and others forbidden. Himself also in his own Books mentions other works compiled by his diligence. Moreover it is also consonant to reason to adjoyn those words of his which he has inserted at the [b] conclusion of his *Antiquities*, for the confirmation of the quotations and Authorities, we have taken out of him. He therefore, blaming [c] *Justus Tiberiensis*, (who had taken in hand, as well as he, to write an History of those very times,) as having not related the truth, and accusing the man of many other faults, at last adds thus much in these words: "But I was not,
"in that manner as you were, timorous concer-
"ning my Writings; but gave my Books to the
"Emperours themselves, when the deeds done
"were fresh and almost yet to be seen: for I was
"conscious to my self, that I had all along faith-
"fully observed the delivery of the truth; upon
"account whereof, hoping for their evidence,
"I was not disappointed of my expectation: and
"moreover I communicated my History to many
"others, some of whom were actually present in
"the war; as was King *Agrippa*, and [d] several
"of his Relations: Also *Titus* the Emperour
"was so willing that the knowledge of what was
"done should be delivered to men solely out of
"them, that he [e] subscribed my Books with his
"own hand, and gave command they should be

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[a] There were so many Books of the Scripture amongst the Jews, as they had letters in their Alphabet; So *Origen* tells us in his exposition of the first Psalm, and *Jerome in præmio galeato*; where also he saies that there were among them three ranks of these holy Volumes; the first contained the *Law*; the second *the Prophets*; the third the *Hagiography*. All which agrees very well with *Josephus*. But in this they differ; *Josephus* makes thirteen Books to be of the second order; *to wit*, following the series of the times. But of the third, he reckons onely four, disagreeing from S. *Jerom*: who in the foresaid preface, and in that of his before the Prophecie of *Daniel*, reckons up eight Books of the *Prophets*, and nine of the *Hagiography*. But *Josephus* seems to have placed the Book of *Joshua*, and *Judges*, also those of the *Kings*, *Chronicles*, and *Ezra* amongst the Prophetical writings; not that they contain Prophecies, as the Books of the Prophets doe; but because they were written by men that were Prophets. *Vales.*

[b] *To wit*, in the book of his own life, pag. 1026 *Edit. Genev.* which book is the conclusion of his twentieth and last book of his *Antiquities*; from which it is separated unadvisedly in the Greek and Latine Editions. Now that it is the conclusion of the 20th. of *Antiquities*, *Josephus* himself tells us at the close of that Book, and at the end of this book, *of his own life*. *Scaliger* therefore is mistaken, in his *Animadvers.* on *Euseb.* p. 188, where he saies, *Eusebius* forgot himself here; and so is *Christopherson*, who, supposing this place in *Eusebius* to be corrupted, altered it. But had they seen the Greek M. SS. Copies of *Josephus*, or had they consulted the *Basil. Edition of him*, they might easily have found, that which I have said to be true, *to wit*, that this book of *Josephus*'s, of his own life, was nothing else but an appendix or conclusion of his 20 book of *Antiquities*. Vales.

[c] Our M. SS. Copies, Maz. Med. and Fuk. have it thus written, Τιβερέα; corruptly as I judge. For both *Stephanus Byzantius* doth acknowledge it to be Τιβεριάς; and also *Jerom*, in his book *De Scriptorib. Ecclesiast.* calls him *Justus Tiberiensis*; whom we have followed. But *Scaliger* stiles him *Tiberiadensis*. This *Justus* wrote an History of the Jewish wars, as *Josephus* tells us in his book, *De vitâ suâ*; and *Stephanus*, in the word Τιβεριάς. Besides this History he wrote a *Chronicle of the Kings of the Jews*, as *Photius* testifies, in *Bibliothecâ*: which work he dedicated to King *Agrippa*, as *Scaliger* affirms, in *Animadvers. Euseb.* pag. 176. And he adds these words: *Nemo de obitu Regis Agrippæ certius pronunciare potuit quàm is qui illi opus suum dedicavit* i. e. *No body could speak more certainly of the death of King* Agrippa, *than he who dedicated his work to him.* Which I indeed wish, had not dropt from so acute a man. For how can an Historian testifie of the death of him to whom he dedicates his History? unless we say that *Justus* dedicated his *Chronicle* to *Agrippa*, when he was dead, which is absurd. But as *Scaliger* without all ground asserted, that *Justus Tiberiadensis* dedicated his *Chronicle* to K. *Agrippa*; so what he inferrs therefrom is also absurd. But from *Photius* his testimonie it is manifest, that that work was put forth by *Justus* after the death of King *Agrippa*. *Josephus* relates that the History of the Jewish wars was published by *Justus* also after the death of *Agrippa*, although it was written twenty years before. A book of this same *Justus* his, whose title was Στέμμα]α, is quoted by *Laertius*, in the life of *Socrates*; which *Photius* says was the same with his *Chronicle*. Vales.

[d] He means *Julius Archelaus* and *Herod*, as *Josephus* himself declares in his first book against *Apion*. *Julius Archelaus* was brother in law to King *Agrippa*; for he had married his Sister *Mariamne*; so says *Josephus* at the end of his 19 and 20 books of *Antiqu.* Vales.

[e] *Nicephorus*, in his 3 book, chap. 11. interpreting these words of *Josephus*, says that *Titus* with his own hand copied out the books of *Josephus* his History of the Jewish wars. See what *Johannes Langus* has noted at that place of *Nicephorus*. But all interpreters who have translated this place of *Josephus* into Latine, understand thereby that *Titus* onely subscribed the books of *Josephus* with his own hand, and did not copy them out himself. But I would rather follow the opinion of *Nicephorus*. Neither do these words of *Josephus* [ὥστε χαρᾶξαι τῇ αὐτῇ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία, δημοσιεύεσθαι προστάξαι] seem to sound any thing less to me. Thus this place is pointed in all Copies as well M. S. as Printed. But if this place of *Josephus* we e to be understood onely of *Titus* his Subscribing *Josephus* his books with his hand, then the distinction or comma ought to be put after the word χειρὶ: but here you see it put after the word βιβλία. *Vales.*

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"[f] publickly read. And King *Agrippa* wrote "Sixty two Epistles, testifying therein, that the "truth was delivered by me. Two whereof *Josephus* there adjoyns. But let thus much be thus far manifested concerning him. We will now proceed to what follows.

[f] In the most excellent M. SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and in Sr *Hen. Savills* M. S. it is written [ἀημοσιεύεσθαι;] which reading all interpreters seem to have followed: but I like *Rufinus* his Version best, who translates it: *To be publickly read*; in which sense the same word is used by *Eusebius* in chap. 22. of his second book, where he speaks of the General Epistles of *James* and *Jude*; and in chap. 3. of his 3 book. But from these words of *Josephus* we may gather that the History of the Jewish wars was put out by him in the Reign of *Vespasian*; but *his Antiquities* were published by him in the thirteenth year of *Domitian*, as he himself testifies at the end of his 20 book, and at the close of his book, *of his own life*. But, that which *Scaliger* affirms, in *Animad. Euseb.* p. 187. *to wit*, that the book of *Josephus* his own life was by him put out seven years after *his Antiquities*, seems not probable to me; for that book is as we made it out before, onely the conclusion of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*; and at the end of it *Josephus* reckoning up the Roman Emperours, concludes with *Domitian*. Vales.

CHAP. XI.

How, after James, Simeon *Governed the Church at* Jerusalem.

AFter the Martyrdom of *James* and the taking of Jerusalem, which immediately followed thereupon, report goes that the Apostles and disciples of our Lord, who were yet alive met together from all parts in the same place, together also with the kinsmen of our Lord according to the flesh, (for many of them hitherto survived,) and that all these held a consultation in common who should be adjudged worthy to succeed *James*: and moreover that *all* with one consent approved of [a] *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, of whom the History of the Gospel makes mention, to be worthy of the Episcopal seat there; which *Simeon*, as they say, was Cousin German by the Mothers side to our Saviour: for *Hegesippus* relates that *Cleophas* was the [b] brother of *Joseph*.

[a] This account of *Eusebius* his here agrees not with what he has written in that work of his called his *Chronicon*: for there he writes, that presently after the death of *James*, *Simeon* was elected; *to wit*, in the seventh year of Nero. But here he makes it evident, that after the murder of *James*, the Episcopal See was vacant for the space of about eight or nine years. Which intervall of time, that the Authour *Chronici Alexandrini* might fill up, he places the death of *James* on the first year of *Vespasian*. Vales.

[b] That is, because (as we conjecture) he married *Mary* which was Sister to the B. Virgin; upon which account *Simeon* the son of this *Cleophas* is here called *Cousin-German by the mothers side* to our Saviour; for so we translate the word [ἀνεψιὸν] not *patruelem*, i. e. *Cousin-German by the fathers side*, as it is in the version of *Valesius*; but *consobrinum*, i. e. *Sisters son*. For *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and the B. Virgin were Sisters; see *Jo.* 19. 25. and so *Simeon* the son of the former *Mary*, and our Saviour the son of the latter, were Sisters children. See the Learned Bp *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 175, & 176. Edit. Lond. 1669. And *Petavius*, *in haref.* 78. *Epiphan.* cap. 7, & 14. and also St *Jerom*, in *Catalog.*

CHAP. XII.

How Vespasian *commanded that the descendants of* David *should be sought out.*

AND moreover, *it is reported*, that *Vespasian* after the taking of *Jerusalem*, commanded all those that were of the kindred of *David* to be diligently sought out, least any one of them who were of the Royal Race should be left remaining amongst the Jews: and that a most sore persecution was thereby again brought upon the Jews.

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CHAP. XIII.

That Anencletus *was the Second Bishop of the* Roman *Church.*

BUt when *Vespasian* had reigned ten years, his son *Titus* succeeded him in the Empire: In the second year of whose Reign, *Linus* Bishop of the *Roman* Church, having held that publick charge twelve years, delivered it to [a] *Anencletus*. And *Titus*, after he had reigned two years and as many months, was succeeded by his brother *Domitian*.

[a] I know not why *R. Stephens* read *Anacletus*, seeing that all our books have it written *Anencletus*. And so *Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus*, and his Translatour *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* in Chronolog. *Tripartit.* reads it. So also *Nicephorus Callistus* in Libr. 3. cap. 2. and *Georgius Syncellus*, and the M. SS. copies of *Rufinus*. So likewise *Irenæus* (in Lib. 3, where he reckons up the *Roman* Bishops in order) names him *Anencletus*; and omits the name of *Cletus*, which to me seems to be made of a piece of the word *Anencletus*. Neither does *Optatus*, nor S. *Augustine*, in his 165 Epistle (where he counts up the Romish Bishops) acknowledge *Cletus*. But on the contrary, in two very antient Catalogues of the *Roman* Bishops, one whereof is in the *Monastery of S. German*, and the other in the *Jesuits Colledge at Clermont*——there is no mention of *Anencletus*; but onely of *Cletus*, who succeeded *Linus*, and sat eleven years, one month, and two daies. From whence its evident that *Cletus* and *Anencletus* was the same man. See more of this in *P. Halloixius, in notat. ad* cap. 7. *vitæ Irenæi*. Vales.

CHAP. XIV.

That Avilius *was the Second Bishop of* Alexandria.

FUrthermore, in the fourth year of *Domitian*, [a] *Annianus* the First Bishop of the *Alexandrian* Church, having there spent two and twenty years compleat, died. After whom succeeded [b] *Avilius*, being the second Bishop there.

DOMITIAN.

[a] That is, the First after *Mark*. So *Eusebius* said before, concerning *Linus* Bishop of *Rome*, at the 2 chap. of this book. For *Mark* was the Apostle of the *Alexandrians* as we before have said. But the Apostles were not reckoned amongst the number of the Bishops. There was therefore no need of putting in here μετὰ Μάρκον, as *Nicephorus* did. See *Seldens* notes *ad Eutychium patriarcham Alexandr.* Vales.

[b] *Rufinus* and the other Translatours call this man *Abilius*; and also *Jerom* himself, in *Chronico*, not so rightly as I judge. For he ought to be called *Avilius*, which is a *Roman* name; as well as *Annianus*, who was Bishop before *Avilius*. Besides, the order of the chapters is here disturbed in the common Editions; this chap. of the succession of *Avilius* being put before that of the succession of *Anencletus*: but we by the direction of the M. SS. copies Maz. and Fuk. have placed them in their true order. This was a very antient mistake; for in the Index of the chapters prefixed before the 3 B. of *Rufinus* his translation, and in all the Greek copies except in that of Fuk. the same errour is committed. But in the body of the Maz. M. S. (which book has the titles of the chapters exactly placed in their order) this errour is corrected. *Vales.*

CHAP. XV.

That Clemens *was the Third Bishop of the* Roman *Church.*

ALso in the twelfth year of this Emperours Reign, *Anencletus* having been Bishop of the *Roman* Church twelve years, had to his successour *Clemens*: whom the Apostle, writing an Epistle to the *Philippians*, declares to be his fellow-labourer, saying: * *with* Clement *also, and with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life.*

* Philip. 4. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Epistle of Clemens.

MOreover there is extant one Epistle of this *Clemens* his, which by general consent is acknowledged as genuine, and is singularly excellent and admirable; which he wrote in the name of the *Roman* Church to that of the *Corinthians*, there being at that time a Faction raised in the *Corinthian* Church: which Epistle also we have known to have been publickly read in many Churches before the whole congregation, both in times past, and also in our own memory. Now, that in the time of the aforementioned *Clemens* there was a Faction raised in the *Corinthian* Church, *Hegesippus* is a witness worthy to be credited.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Persecution in Domitians *time.*

[a] BEsides, *Domitian* having shown much cruelty towards many, and by unjust sentences put to death no small company of men of *Rome* that were nobly descended and illustrious, and having punished innumerable other most eminent persons undeservedly with banishment and loss of goods, at length rendred himself the successour of *Nero* as to his hatred of God, and his fighting against him. For he raised the second persecution against us: Although his father *Vespasian* had designed nothing injurious towards us.

[a] *Rufinus* thought these words that follow here were the words of *Hegesippus*, whom *Eusebius* quoted at the end of the foregoing chapt. whence it appears that *Rufinus* read as it is in our M. SS. copies, Maz. Med. and Fuk. μαθὼν ὁ ἡγούμενος λέγων. πολλήν μὲν, &c. Moreover in *Rufinus* the chap. 17. begins at those words, *Now that in the time of the forementioned*, &c. as I observed it to be also in the Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. But I rather approve of the ordinary writing and distinction. *Vales.*

[b] Εὐπατρίδης has the same import with εὐγενὴς, that is, it signifies *one that is descended from an illustrious and noble stock.* So *Gregor. Nazianz.* in oration. 40. μὴ ἀπαξιώσητε συμβατρίδην εἶναι πένητι, πλέοντι δὲ· ὁ εὐπατρίδης τῷ δυσγενεῖ. S. *Ferom*, in *Chronico Anno* 8. *Domitian.* saies, *Domitianus plurimos nobilium in exilium mittit, atque occidit.* Vales.

CHAP XVIII.

Concerning John *the Apostle, and his Revelation.*

IN this persecution its reported, that *John* the Apostle and also Evangelist, who yet lived, was banished into the Isle *Patmos* upon account of the Testimony he exhibited to the word of God. Indeed, * *Irenæus*, writing concerning the number of the name of *Antichrist* mentioned in † the † Revelation of *John*, does in these very words in his fifth book against *Heresies* thus speak concerning *John*: "But if at this present time * his "name ought publickly to be preached, it would "have been spoken of by him who saw the Revela- "tion. For it was seen not a long time since, but "almost in our Age, about the latter end of *Do-* "*mitian*'s Reign. But so mightily did the doctrine of our faith flourish in those forementioned times, that even those Writers who are wholly estranged from our Religion have not thought it troublesome to set forth in their Histories both this Persecution, and also the Martyrdoms suffered therein. And they have also accurately shown the very time: relating, that in the fifteenth year of *Domitian*, *Flavia Domitilla*, daughter of the sister of *Flavius Clemens* at that time one of the *Consuls* at *Rome*, was, together with many others also, banished into the Island *Pontia*, for the Testimony of Christ.

* Lib. 5. c. 5.

† Revel. 13.

* That is, *Antichrists* name.

CHAP. XIX.

How Domitian *commanded that the descendants of* David *should be slain.*

WHen the same *Domitian* gave command that the descendants of *David* should be slain, there goeth an antient report that some Hereticks accused the posterity of *Jude*, (who was the brother of our Saviour according to the flesh) as being of the off-spring of *David*, and bearing affinity to Christ himself. And this *Hegesippus* manifests word for word saying, thus.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning those that were Related to our Saviour.

"THere were yet surviving (who were related "to our Lord) the Nephews of that *Jude* "who was called the [a] bro- "ther of Christ after the "flesh, whom they accused as "being descended from *Da-* "*vid*. And these [b] *Evo-* "*catus* brought to *Cæsar* "*Domitian*. For *Domitian* "was afraid of the coming "of Christ, as well as *He-* "*rod*. And he asked them, "if they were of the stock "of *David*; and they ac- "knowledged it. Then he "questioned them how great "possessions they had, or "what quantity of money "they were masters of: and "they said, that they both "had but nine thousand "[c] pence, a moiety where- "of belonged to each of "them: and these they said "they had not in ready mo- "ney, but in land of that va- "lue, being onely thirty nine "Acres: of which also they "paid [d] tribute, and them- "selves were maintained by "their own labour. And "then they shewed their "hands; producing, as an "evidence of their working, "the hardness of their skin, "and a brawniness imprinted "on their hands by reason of "their assiduous labour. Be- "ing also asked concerning "Christ and his Kingdom, "of what sort it was, and "when and where it would "appear; they returned an- "swer, that it was neither "worldly nor Terrestrial, "but Celestial and Angeli- "cal, that it should be at "the end of the world, when "he would come in Glory to "judge the quick and dead, "and

[a] So he is called *Matth.* 13. 55. But it was the usual language of the Jews to call the first Cousins brethren. See Bishop *Pearson* on the *Creed*, pag. 175, 176. Edit. *Lond.* 1669. See also Bishop *Montagues* Acts and Mon. chap. 4. S. 6. concerning the *Despotyni.*

[b] *Rob. Stephens*, in his Edition of *Eusebius* calls him Ἰούδαν, and so does the Med. M. S. but in the Kings M. S. I found it written [ὁ Ἰακώβατος] which *R. Stephens* observed also in his notes added at the latter end of his Edition. *Georg. Syncellus*, *in Chronico*, reads it ὁ Ἰούδας. We from our three M. SS. Copies, *to wit*, Maz. Fuk. and Sr *Henry Savills*, have made good the true writing of this place, τούτους δ' ὁ Ἰούδας ἤγαγε, *and these Evocatus brought*, &c. This reading *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* doe confirm; the words of *Rufinus* are, *Hos Revocatus quidam nomine, qui ad hoc missus fuerat, perduxit ad Domitianum. Nicephorus*, Lib. 3. cap. 10. has it written ὁ Ἰούδας. These *Evocati* were Souldiers of an higher degree who having performed their service and being dismist, were upon occasion summoned by the Emperour himself. There is mention of these in the antient inscriptions, Evoc. *Aug.* i. e. *Evocatus Augusti.* No man need wonder, that *Hegesippus* a Greek writer should make use of a Latine word here; for that is usual with him; and in this very relation of his he has [δηλατορευθὲν] and [δηνάεια] both Latine words. *Vales.*

[c] So we translate the word [δηνάεια] warranted thereto by the same translation of that word, occurring *Matth.* 22. 19. The value of that peny there shewed Christ, was, saies Dr *Hammond* on the place, a whole *Attick drachm*; but what value these here were of, it is hard to say, in regard there were several sorts of these *Denarii*, which were also of a different value. See *Voss. Etymol.*

[d] Φόροι were *Tributes*, or *Taxes*, raised upon Lands, and they were commonly paid in Wheat, Barley, Wine, and the like; as it appears from *Cod. Theodosian.* Τέλη was the *Toll* gathered by the Publicans, who farmed it commonly; it was paid in ready money. The word here is φόρους; which we therefore render *Tribute. Vales.*

DOMITIAN. "and reward every man according to his deeds. "Upon which anſwer *Domitian* condemned them "not, but ſcorning them as deſpicable perſons, he "diſmiſt them unbound, and by Edict appeaſed "the Perſecution raiſed againſt the Church. But "they, thus releaſed, (as tis ſaid) afterwards pre-"ſided over Churches, as being both Martyrs, and "alſo allied to our Lord; and, peace enſuing, "they lived till the Reign of *Trajan*. So far *Hege-ſippus*. But moreover, [c] *Tertullian* alſo makes mention of *Domitian*: *Domitian* alſo attempted a Perſecution, who was a Limb of *Nero* as to cruelty. "But being alſo but a man he ſoon deſiſted from "his enterprize, reſtoring even thoſe whom he "had baniſhed. But after *Domitian* had reigned fifteen years, *Nerva*, having ſucceeded him in the Empire, the *Roman* Senate decreed that *Domitians* Titles of Honour ſhould be abrogated, and that ſuch as were by him unjuſtly baniſhed ſhould return to their houſes and have their goods reſtored. This they relate who committed to writing the Hiſtory of thoſe times. Moreover the account of the Antients amongſt us declares that then alſo the Apoſtle *John*, was releaſed from his baniſhment in the Iſland, and took up his habitation again at *Epheſus*.

[c] *Tertullians* words are theſe, *Pentaverat & Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate. Sed quia & homo, facilè cœptum repreſſit, reſtitutis etiam quos relegaverat*: they are in his *Apolog.* But whoſoever it was that tranſlated his *Apologie* into Greek, he has not rendred his words well. For *Tertullians* words are to this effect, *that after* Nero, *who firſt raged againſt the Chriſtians*, Domitian *alſo, like another* Nero, *attempted the ſame; but as men are fickle and mutable, he ſoon deſiſted from his enterprize.* But *Euſebius*, or whoſoever he was that tranſlated *Tertullians Apology*, takes the meaning of thoſe words [*Quia & homo*] to be, as if *Tertullian* had ſaid, *that* Domitian *was ſomething of a man, but Nero was rather a ſavage beaſt than a man.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXI.

That Cerdo *was the third that preſided over the* Alexandrian *Church.*

TRAJANUS. BUt *Nerva* having reigned ſomething more than a year, *Trajan* ſucceeded him. It was his firſt year, wherein *Cerdo* ſucceeded *Avilius* who had governed the *Alexandrian* Church thirteen years. This *Cerdo* was the third, from *Annianus*, who firſt preſided there. At this time alſo *Clemens* yet governed the *Roman* Church, he being alſo the third that after [a] *Paul* and *Peter* had the Epiſcopal dignity there: *Linus* being the firſt, and after him *Anencletus*.

[a] Here, and before, we may obſerve *Paul* put before *Peter* by *Euſebius*. In the Seals of the *Roman* Church *Paul* is put on the right hand, and *Peter* on the left, as *Baronius* obſerves, in *Expoſitione Concil. Nicen.* and *Euſebius* ſeems to make them both Biſhops of *Rome* together, *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

That Ignatius *was the Second that preſided over the* Alexandrian *Church.*

MOreover, *Euodius* having been conſtituted the firſt Biſhop at *Antioch*, the ſecond was *Ignatius*, a man famous in thoſe times: *Simeon* likewiſe was the ſecond, who, after our Saviours brother, at the ſame time [a] entred upon the publick charge over the Church at *Jeruſalem*.

[a] The Kings M.S. reads according to our tranſlation, τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἦν. But the other four M. SS. *i. e.* Maz. Med. Fuk. and Sr *Henry Savills* have it written τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν, *had the publick charge*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

A Relation concerning John *the Apoſtle.*

AT the ſame time, the Apoſtle and alſo Evangeliſt *John*, (the ſame whom *Jeſus* loved) remaining yet alive in *Aſia*, governed the Churches there, being returned from his Exile in the Iſland after the death of *Domitian*: For that he was hitherto alive, it is ſufficiently confirmed by two, who evidence the matter: and they are very worthy of credit, having been conſtant aſſertours of Catholick ſound Doctrine: I mean theſe perſons *Irenæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*. The former of whom, *in his ſecond book againſt Hereſie*, writes thus word for word: * "And all the "Elders, that were converſant in *Aſia* with *John* "the diſciple of our Lord, do teſtifie that *John* de-"livered it to them: for he continued among "them untill *Trajans* time. And in the third book of that work he manifeſts the ſame thing in theſe words: "Moreover the Church at *Epheſus* "was founded indeed by *Paul*, but *John*; conti-"nuing among them untill *Trajans* time, is a moſt "faithfull witneſs of the Apoſtolick Tradition. And *Clemens* likewiſe, having evidently ſhown the time, adds withall a Relation very neceſſary for thoſe who delight to hear good and profitable things (in that work of his which he entitled *who that rich man is that ſhall be ſaved.*) Let us therefore take his book and read the ſtory, which is thus. "Hear a Relation, which is not a feigned ſtory, "but a real truth, delivered concerning *John* the "Apoſtle, and kept in remembrance. For after "the death of the Tyrant he returned from the "Iſland *Patmos* to *Epheſus*, and being thereto "requeſted, he went to the neighbouring Pro-"vinces, in ſome places conſtituting Biſhops, in "others ſetting in order whole Churches, [a] and o-"ther where electing into the Clergy ſome one or "other of thoſe who were made known to him by "the Spirit. Coming there-"fore to one of the Cities "not far diſtant, the [b] name "whereof ſome mention, "and moreover having [c] re-"freſhed the brethren; at "length caſting his eyes up-"on a youth of a goodly "ſtature of body, comely "countenance, and lively diſ-"poſition, he lookt upon him "whom he had Ordained "Biſhop, and ſaid, This "youth I doe with all ima-"ginable care commit to thy "charge, in the preſence of "the Church, and of Chriſt "as a witneſs. And when he "had undertaken this charge, "and promiſed his utmoſt "care thereof, *John* declared "and deſired the ſame again; "And afterwards returned to "*Epheſus*. But the [d] Preſ-"byter, taking home the "youth committed to his "cuſtody, educated him, "kept him within compaſs, "and cheriſhed him; and at "length baptized him: but "after that, he abated ſome-"thing of his great care "and caution over him; be-"cauſe he had fortified him "with that moſt abſolute de-"fence, *to wit*, the [e] Seal of

TRAJAN.

* *Irenæus*. Lib. 2. cap. 39.

[a] The words of *Euſebius* in the Edit. of *Valeſius* (which in our tranſlation we follow) are theſe, ὅπου δὲ κλήρου ἕνα τινὰ κληρώσων, &c. In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. of *Euſeb.* it is thus, ὅπου δὲ γε κλῆρον ἕνα τινὰ κληρώσων, &c. *Valeſius* ſays, he altered the reading here upon account of the Authority of the three M. SS. Maz. Med. and Fuk. rejecting the reading of the Kings M. S. (which *Rob. Stephens* followed) in that he was not able to make ſenſe of it: And moreover, ſays *Valeſius*, *Ruffinus* his Verſion confirms this our emendation; for he tranſlates this place thus: *Rogabatur etiam vicinas luſtrare provincias, quò vel Eccleſias fundaret, in quibus non erant locis; vel in quibus erant, ſacerdotibus ac miniſtris inſtrueret, ſecundùm quod ei de unoquoque Spiritus Sanctus indicaſſet.* Valeſ.

[b] The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls the name of this City *Smyrna*. Valeſ.

[c] Ἀναπαύσας τὸν ἀδελφόν. This verb occurs often in the New Teſtament, as in 1 *Cor.* 16. 18. 2 *Cor.* 7. 13. &c. where our *Engliſh* tranſlation generally renders it [*to refreſh*] upon which account we thus tranſlate it here.

[d] See Dr *Hammond*, concerning the uſe of this word *Presbyter* by the Apoſtles and writers of the New Teſtament, and by the Fathers in the firſt Apoſtolical times, in his notes on *Acts* 11. 30.

[e] The Primitive Chriſtians ſo termed Baptiſm, as *Gregor. Nazianz. Orat.* 40. where he obſerves that Baptiſm is called by Chriſtians by divers names; δῶρον καλεῖται. χάρισμα, Βάπτισμα, Χρίσμα, φώτισμα, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, σφραγὶς πᾶν ὅπ πίμιον, &c. Now the reaſon why Baptiſm is called σφραγὶς, a Seal, is annext by the ſame *Gregory Nazianz.* becauſe, *to wit*, Baptiſm is, as it were, a preſervation, or a mark of dominion. *Valeſ.*

"the

TRAJAN. "the Lord. But, having obtained his free-
"dom a little too early, some idle dissolute
"young men, that were inured to all manner
"of vice, [f] keep him com-
"pany: and first of all they
"entice him with sumptuous
"Banquets; then going out
"by night to rob and strip
"those they could meet with,
"they carry him a long with
"them: afterwards they desire him to be their
"complice in greater rogueries: So by little and
"little he was accustomed to lewdness; and be-
"cause he was high spirited, having once left
"the right way (like a strong hard mouthed
"horse holding the bitt between his teeth,) he was
"so much the more fiercely hurried into destru-
"ction. In fine, despairing of the salvation of
"God, he spent not his thoughts now upon any
"trifling designe; but attempted some enormous
"wickedness, in as much as he was wholly past
"all hope, he [g] scorned to run the hazard of so
"mean a punishment as other *theeves* did. Taking
"therefore those his accomplices, and having for-
"med them into a Troop of theeves, he was rea-
"dily made their commander in chief; being the
"fiercest, the most bloudy, and cruelest person of
"them all. Sometime after, and there happening
"some necessity for it, they send again for *John*;
"who, after he had set in order those things upon
"account whereof he came, said, Come on, Bishop,
"restore us that which was committed to thy cu-
"stody, which I and Christ delivered to thee to
"take care of, in the presence of the Church as
"witness, over which thou dost preside. But he
"at first was astonished, supposing himself to be
"falsely accused about money which he had not
"received; neither could he give credit to *John*
"concerning his demand of what he had not,
"nor yet durst he disbelieve him. But when *John*
"had said, I demand the young man and the soul
"of our brother; the old man fetching a deep
"sigh and also weeping, said, he is dead. How?
"and what kind of death? To God, said he, he is
"dead; for he proved wicked, and extreamly
"naught, and in conclusion a thief. And now
"instead of continuing in the Church, he hath
"taken possession of the mountain with a troop
"of associates like himself. The Apostle therefore
"having rent his garment, and with a great outcry
"smiting his head, I left, said he, an excellent
"keeper of our brothers soul! But let an horse
"be presently brought me, and let me have a
"guide to direct me in the way. He rode (as
"he was) forthwith from the Church, and com-
"ing to the place, is taken by the watch which the
"Theeves had set; he flyes not, nor makes en-
"treaty, but calls out, For this purpose I came,
"bring me to your captain: he in the mean time,
"armed as he was, stood still; but as soon as he
"knew *John* approaching, being ashamed, he fled:
"But he, forgetfull of his Age, with all possible
"speed pursued him: crying out, Son, why doest
"thou flee from thy Father, unarmed, and aged?
"Have compassion on me, my son; fear not; as yet
"there is hopes of thy salvation; I will intercede
"with Christ for thee; if need require, I will
"willingly undergoe death for thee, as the Lord
"underwent it for us; I will by way of recom-
"pence give my soul for thine; stand still; be-
"lieve me, Christ hath sent me. He, having heard
"this, first stood still looking downward; then he
"threw away his armour; afterwards trembling,
"he wept bitterly; and embraced the approaching
"old man, craving pardon as well as he could for
"crying, and being as it were baptized the second
"time with tears; onely he hid his right hand.
"The Apostle, promising him, and solemnly
"swearing that he had obtained remission for
"him of our Saviour, praying, kneeling, and kis-
"sing the young mans right hand, as being now
"cleansed by repentance, brought him into the
"Church again. And partly by abundant prayers
"making supplication for him, partly with con-
"tinual fastings striving together with him, and
"also comforting his mind with divers [h] sentences
"out of holy Scripture, he departed not, as they
"say, untill he had [i] restored him to the Church;
"having hereby shown a great example of true
"repentance, an illustrious instance of regenera-
"tion, and a Trophie of a conspicuous Resur-
"rection. TRAJAN.

[f] Περιφιλίᾳ, the word here in the original is the same, insignification, with περιέχεσθαι, i.e. *accedere ad aliquem, adjungi, to be of the same company or, to be familiarly acquainted*: onely it is taken in a bad sense. *Valesius.*

[g] *Gruterus* reads it, ἀνηξίᾳ; and so *Rufinus* and *Musculus* seem to have read; I should rather like ἀπηξίᾳ, *he scorned*, &c. *Valesius.*

[h] Ῥήσεις λόγων, are *sayings* or *sentences taken out of the holy Bible*, with which *John* comforted the young mans mind. *Valesius.*

[i] There is a difference between *being brought in*, and *restored to the Church*: he is brought into the Church, who promises he will repent; but he is restored to the Church, who, having been actually and truely penitent, is received into it again and owned as a member thereof. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Order of the Gospels.

THese words of *Clemens*'s we have here inserted, upon account both of the story its self, and also of the profit it may yield to the Readers. But, we will now declare and recount the unquestionable writings of this Apostle. And indeed, the Gospel according to him, well known to all the Churches throughout the world, must in the first place be without controversie acknowledg'd and received as undoubted and genuine. Now that it was truely, and upon a good account put in the fourth place after the other three Gospels by the antients, may after this manner be made apparent. Those heavenly and truely divine persons (I speak of the Apostles of Christ) having been as to their lives and conversations perfectly purified, and as to their souls adorned with all manner of virtue, were indeed rude of speech and uneloquent, but they put their confidence in that divine and wonderfull power of working miracles bestowed on them by our Saviour, and neither attempted, nor knew how to be [a] Ambassadours of their Masters precepts in wittiness of words and artificiousness of language. But they solely made use of the demonstration of the divine spirit cooperating together with them, and the power of Christ with which they were fully endowed, and which by them performed miracles; and so they published the knowledge of the kingdome of heaven to the whole world; making it the least of their care to be diligent about writing books: And this they did, because they were emploied about a more excellent and more than humane work. Indeed *Paul*, who was the most powerfull of them all in the furniture of words, and the most able in weighty expressions, hath left in writing nothing more than some very [b] short Epistles; although he could have disclosed innumerable

[a] The word in the Original is πρεσβεύειν, which we translate, *to be Ambassadours of*, warranted thereto from the same word occurring 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. and there so translated. This word signifies the Apostolical office, and that from God to men, offering pardon on his part, and requiring on their part reformation for the future. See Dr *Hammond* on 2 *Cor.* 5. 20.

[b] It is doubtfull whether *Eusebius* would call *Paul*'s Epistles *short* or *few*: both may be said of them; *to wit*, that they are *few*, being in number not above fourteen; and they are *short* to them that Piously and Religiously read them over. *Origen* in *Libro* 5. *Expositionum in Evangeli. Johan.* calls them, ὀλιγοστίχους, that is, *conteining few verses*: he that desires to read *Origens* words, will find them hereafter quoted in the sixth B. of *Eusebius*. chap. 25. *Valesius.*

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merable ſecrets, becauſe he attained unto a contemplation of thoſe things that are in the third heaven, and being caught up into the divine paradiſe, was voutſafed to hear there unſpeakable words. Moreover the reſt of our Saviours Preachers, both the Twelve Apoſtles, and alſo the Seventy diſciples, together with innumerable others beſides them, were not unexperienced in theſe things. And yet of all the diſciples of the Lord, onely *Matthew* and *John* have left us written records; who alſo, as report ſays, were neceſſitated to write. For *Matthew*, having Preached firſt to the Hebrews, and being about going to other Nations, did in his own Countrey language pen the Goſpel according to him; ſupplying by writing the want of his preſence and converſe among thoſe, [c] whom he was now to leave. Now, when ſoon after *Mark* and *Luke* had ſet forth the Goſpels according to them, *John*, they ſay, ſpent all that time onely in preaching, and at length came to write for this reaſon. The three firſt written Goſpels having been now delivered into the hands of all, and of *John* himſelf, they ſay, that he approved of them, and confirmed the truth thereof by his own teſtimonie; onely there was wanting in writing an account of thoſe things done by Chriſt at the firſt beginning of his Preaching. And the thing is true. For its evidently perſpicuous, that the other three Evangeliſts have committed to writing onely thoſe things which were done by our Saviour in one years ſpace, after *John* the Baptiſts being ſhut up in Priſon; and that they have expreſly evidenced the ſame at the beginning of their Hiſtory. For, after the forty days faſt and the Temptation that followed thereupon; *Matthew* does plainly ſet forth the time of his own writing, ſaying, * *When he had heard that John was caſt into priſon, he departed* out of Judea *into Galilee.* And in like manner *Mark*; † *Now after that John*, ſays he, *was put in priſon, Jeſus came into Galilee.* And *Luke* alſo, before he begins the relation of the Acts of *Jeſus*, does in like manner make this remark, ſaying, that *Herod, adding yet this to all the evills he had done, ſhut up John in priſon.* Therefore they ſay, that the Apoſtle *John*, being for theſe cauſes thereto requeſted, has declared in a Goſpel according to him the time paſſed over in ſilence by the former Evangeliſts, and what was done by our Saviour therein, (and they were the things that he did before the impriſonment of the Baptiſt;) and that he manifeſts the ſame thing, partly when he ſays thus: *This beginning of miracles did Jeſus*; and partly when he makes mention of the Baptiſt, whileſt He is ſpeaking of the Acts of Jeſus, as being at that time *Baptizing in Anon, near to [d] Salem*: and this he evidently declares by ſaying thus; *For John*, ſays he, *was not yet caſt into priſon.* Therefore *John* indeed in the penning of the Goſpel according to him declares thoſe things that were done by Chriſt, the Baptiſt being as yet not caſt into priſon; but the other three Evangeliſts give an account of thoſe things Chriſt did after the Baptiſts confinement to priſon. And to him that ſhall attentively conſider theſe things it will not appear that the Goſpels diſagree one with the other; ſeeing the Goſpel according to *John* contains the firſt part of the Acts of Chriſt; but the remaining three give a relation of what was done by him at the latter end of the time. With good reaſon therefore has *John* paſſed over in ſilence the Genealogie of our Saviour after the fleſh, as having been before written of by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and has begun with his Divinity, reſerved as it were by the divine Spirit for him, as being the more excellent perſon. Let thus much therefore be ſpoken by us concerning the writing of the Goſpel according to *John*: Now what was the occaſion of writing the Goſpel according to *Mark* hath been manifeſted by us in what we ſaid * before. And *Luke* alſo himſelf, in the beginning of his Goſpel, hath ſhewed the cauſe for which he compiled that Hiſtory; for he makes it manifeſt that, becauſe many had raſhly taken in hand to make a declaration of thoſe things which he himſelf moſt certainly knew, he judged it neceſſary to diſengage us from the uncertain conjectures made by others, and therefore hath in his own Goſpel delivered a moſt firm and true account of thoſe things, the evidence whereof himſelf had ſufficiently obtained, having been aſſiſted therein both by the company and converſe of *Paul*, and alſo by his familiarity with the reſt of the Apoſtles. And thus much now concerning theſe things. But at a more opportune ſeaſon we will endeavour to manifeſt, by a quotation of the Antient writers, what has been ſaid by others concerning this very matter. Among the writings of *John*, beſides his Goſpel, alſo the former of his Epiſtles hath without controverſie been admitted as genuine both by thoſe men that are modern and alſo by the Antients: The two other writings of his are queſtioned. The opinion concerning his Revelation is even at this time on both ſides much controverted among many: But this controverſie alſo ſhall at a ſeaſonable opportunity be diſcuſſed by the authority of the Antients.

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* Book 2. Chap. 15.

[c] *Nicephorus*, Libr. 2. chap. 45. reads it τὸ λεῖπον τῆς αὐτῆ παρουσίας; and *Ruſinus* and *Muſculus* tranſlate it as we have done. But *Chriſtophorſon* interprets it otherwiſe; thus, *and what ſeemed to be wanting to thoſe from whom he departed whilſt he was preſent with them, that he fully made up by his ſedulity and labour in writing.* In which tranſlation this is to be blamed, *to wit*, in that he ſays *Matthew* wrote his Goſpel after his departure from the Hebrews, when as *Euſebius* ſays the contrary; For in the Greek it is ἀφ' ὧν ἐξέλλετο, i. e. *from whom he was going.* *Athanaſius* in his Tract *de Libr. S. Scrip.* and *Chryſoſtome* write that *Matthew* firſt wrote his Goſpel at *Jeruſalem*: And *Nicephorus* and the Authour *Chronic. Alexandr.* ſay he wrote it in the 15th year after Chriſts Aſcenſion. *Chriſtophorſon* referred thoſe words τότις ἀφ' ὧν ἐξέλλετο to the words λεῖπον; whereas they are referred to the word ἀπωλείᾳ. And in the Kings Maz. and Med. M. SS. after the word παρουσία and ἐξέλλετο, the comma is put. *Valeſ.*

[d] In the moſt antient Maz. M. S. I found it written σαλεὶμ with a diphthong, i.e. *Saleim.* *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning thoſe Divine writings, which are without controverſie acknowledged; and of thoſe which are not ſuch.

But it will in this place be ſeaſonable ſummarily to reckon up thoſe books of the New Teſtament which have been before mentioned. In the firſt place therefore is to be ranked the *four ſacred Goſpels*: next to which follows the book of *the Acts of the Apoſtles*: after that are to be reckoned the *Epiſtles of Paul*; after which follows that which is called *the firſt Epiſtle of John*, and in like manner *the Epiſtle of Peter* is to be admitted as authentick. Then is to be placed, if you think good, the *Revelation of John*: the opinions concerning which I will in due place declare. And theſe are the books that with general conſent are acknowledged. Among thoſe which are queſtioned as doubtfull, which yet are approved and mentioned by many, is that which is called the *Epiſtle of James*, and *that of Jude*, alſo *the ſecond Epiſtle of Peter*, and thoſe called the *ſecond and third Epiſtles of John*, whether they were written by the Evangeliſt, or another of the ſame name with him. Amongſt

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mongst the [a] *Spurious* works let there be ranked, both the work intituled the *Acts of Paul*, and the book called *Pastor*, and the *Revelation of Peter*; and moreover that which is called the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and that named the [b] *Doctrines of the Apostles*; and moreover, as I said, the *Revelation of John* (if you think good) which some, as I have said, doe reject, but others allow of and admit among those books that are received as unquestionable and undoubted. And among these some doe now number the [c] *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, with which those of the Hebrews that have embraced the faith of Christ are chiefly delighted. All these books may be questioned as doubtfull. And I thought it requisite to make a Catalogue of these also, that we may discriminate those Scriptures that according to Ecclesiastical tradition are true, and unforged, and with general consent received as undoubted, from those other books which are not such, nor incorporated into the *New Testament*, but are questioned as doubtfull; which yet have been acknowledged and allowed of by many Ecclesiastical persons: and further that we may know these very books, and those other that have been put forth by Hereticks under the name of the Apostles, containing as well the supposed Gospels of *Peter*, *Thomas*, and *Matthias*, and of some others besides them; as also the supposed Acts of *Andrew* and *John*, and other of the Apostles. Of which books no [d] Ecclesiastical writer even from the Apostles times hitherto hath in any of his works voutsafed to make the least mention. But moreover also, the manner of the phrase and the stile wherein they are written are much different from the Apostolick natural propriety and innate simplicity: and the meaning and drift of those things delivered in these books, being mightily dissonant from Orthodoxal truth, doth manifestly evince that they are the forgeries of Heretical men. Upon which account they are not to be ranked amongst the *Spurious* writings, but altogether to be rejected, as wholly absurd, and impious. But we will now proceed to what follows of our History.

[a] *Eusebius* does here use this word [νόθοις] very improperly, *to wit*, to signifie those books whose authority is doubtfull; whereas those books are to be called νόθοι, which are adulterated and forged by *Hereticks*, of which sort he makes mention at the end of this chapter, which that it may more manifestly appear, you must understand, there are three sorts of Sacred Books. Some are without controversie true; others without controversie false; a third sort are those, of which the antients doubted. This latter sort can't be called νόθοι, because many accounted them to be genuine: it remains therefore that the second sort onely be called νόθοι, i. e. *Spurious* books. Of which sort is *Pauls Epistle to the Laodiceans*, which S^t *Ferom* says was with one consent exploded by all. But *Eusebius* corrects himself in chap. 31. of this Third book, where he manifestly differences the *Spurious* Books from those which are doubtfull. See his words there. *Gregory Naz.* in *Iambico carmine ad Seleucum*, manifestly confirms our opinion. For of the books of Sacred Scripture, some, says he, are genuine and true, which he there reckons up; others are suppositious, which he calls νόθους, *Spurious*; a third sort he makes those to be, which come neareſt to those books that are genuine, which division *Gregory* had from *Origen*, out of his 13 *Tome of Explanat. in Joban.* But to speak properly, there are but two sorts of Sacred books, those namely that are true, and those whose authority is asserted by some, and questioned by others. For the *Spurious* books deserve not to be reckoned amongst the Sacred Books. *Vales.*

[b] Concerning this book see the Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher* in his dissertation on *Ignatius* Epistles, Chap. 7. Edit. *Oxon.* 1644.

[c] Concerning this Gospel, S^t *Ferome*, *in Catalogo*, where he, speaking of *James* the brother of our Lord, says thus, *Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, & à me nuper in Græcum-Latinumque Sermonem translatum est, quo & Origenes sæpe utitur*, &c. *Julianus Pelagianus*, Lib. 4. speaks of this Gospel, where he accuses *Ferome*, because in his dialogue against the *Pelagians* he made use of an authority of a fifth Gospel, which he himself had translated into Latine. But that which *Eusebius* adds, that the Jews which embraced Christianity are chiefly delighted with this Gospel, makes him seem to mean the *Nazareans* and *Ebionites*; for they use to reade that Gospel written in Hebrew, as S^t *Ferom* shews, in *Esaia* c. 11. and in *Ezech.* c. 18. *Vales.*

[d] *Eusebius* speaks not here of the successours of the Apostles, which title belongs onely to Bishops; but he speaks of the Ecclesiastical writers who in a perpetual succession have flourished in the Church. Therefore ἅπαν καὶ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, is the same as ἅπαν καθ' ἑκάστας χρείας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, i. e. *of the Ecclesiastical writers in every Age.* For, as heretofore among the Jews there was a succession of Prophets, though sometimes interrupted (as *Josephus* says in his first book against *Apion*;) so in the Church there always was a succession of Learned men and Writers which were called *Ecclesiasticks*. Moreover in the M. SS. Maz. Med. & Fuk. it is written καὶ τὰς διαδοχὰς, with the Article. *Vales.*

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CHAP. XXVI.

Of Menander *the Impostour.*

Menander, succeeding *Simon Magus*, shewed himself to be, as to his disposition and manners, a second [a] Dart of Diabolical force no whit inferiour to the former. He also was a [b] *Samaritan*; and, arriving to no less height of imposture than his master, abounded much more in greater and more monstrous illusions: For he said that he himself was a Saviour, sent from above for the salvation of men from invisible ages; and he taught that no man could otherwise overcome the Angels the makers of this world, unless he were first instituted in the Magical knowledge delivered by him, and initiated in the baptism by him imparted. Of which baptism those that were adjudged worthy, they, he affirmed, would be partakers of a perpetual immortality in this very life; they should be no longer subject to death; but continuing in this present life should be always young and immortal. And indeed its easie to know all this from the books of *Ireneus*. And *Justinus* in like manner having made mention of *Simon*, adds also a narration of this man, saying; "And we knew "one *Menander*, a *Samaritan* also of the village "*Caparattæ*, a disciple of *Simon*, who being "moved by the fury of devils, and coming to "*Antioch*, seduced many by Magical art; who "also perswaded his followers that they should "not die; and at this time there are some of his "Sect that profess the same. Wherefore it was the device of the Diabolical power by such Impostours, going under the name of Christians, to endeavour to calumniate by Magick the great Mystery of Godliness, and by them to expose to reproach the Ecclesiastical opinions concerning the immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection of the dead. But those who joyned themselves to such Saviours as followers of them, were frustrated of the true hope.

[a] I wonder that all Interpreters have erred in the translation of this word. *Rufinus* renders it *Scutum*, a *buckler*; *Langus* and *Musculus*, *armaturam*, *armour*: *Christophorson*, *propugnaculum*, a *bulwark*. But ὅπλον here signifies *telum*, a *dart*. Therefore ὅπλον τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας is the same with ὄργανον, *an instrument of diabolical force*. Vales.

[b] In four of our M. SS. copies, *to wit*, Maz. Med. Fuk. & S^t *Hen. Savills* I found a far different punctation of this place from that which *Christophorson* followed, as appears by his version. For in the said M. SS. it is thus pointed, ὅπλον δὲ ὑπῆρχεν τὸ πρότερον, τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας κατεδείκνυτο τὸ τρόπον· ἦν γὰρ οὗτος σαμαρεύς. And truly this punctation is far better than the vulgar. For what can the meaning of these words be [τὸ τρόπον ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς σαμαρεύς?] I know the Jews hated the *Samaritans*, as the worst of men; in so much that the name of *Samaritan* was accounted by the Jews the greatest reproach. But here *Menanders* countrey is spoken of; his manners *Eusebius* speaks of hereafter. Moreover he is said to be a *Samaritan* in the same sense that *Justin* in *Apologet.* and *Clemens* in *Libr. Recognit.* calls *Simon* a *Samaritan*; i. e. *he was of the Province or Countrey of Samaria*, he came not out of the very City *Samaria*. For *Simon* was of the Village *Gitton*; but *Menander* of the Village *Caparattæ*. Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Heresie of the Ebionites.

The malicious devil being unable to remove others from the love of the Christ of God, finding that they might [a] some other way be surprized, he made them his own. These the Antients fitly termed *Ebionites*, in that they had a poor and low opinion of Christ. For they accounted him an ordinary man and nothing more than a man;

[a] Θαλεργαλίπλως. A new word, made up of a strange kind of composition: of θάτερον, and λαμβάνω, *to take* or *catch on some other side*, or *some other way*. Vales.

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[b] אֶבְיוֹן ſignifies *Egenus, a begger*, in Hebrew; from the theam אָבָה *Voluit, deſideravit*; becauſe a begger *deſires*, or *craves ſupplies for his wants*. *Buxtorfs Lexic. Rab.* See *Origen.* Lib. 4. *de Princip.* concerning theſe Hereticks.

"[c] being deſirous to put a creditable name upon "his own Forgery. For this was one of the tenets "of his doctrine, that the Kingdom of Chriſt "ſhould be terreſtrial: and thoſe things which "he, being a lover of his body and altogether "carnally minded, earneſtly luſted after, in them "he dreamt the Kingdome of Chriſt conſiſted, "*to wit*, in the ſatiety of the belly and of thoſe "parts beneath the belly; that is in meats, drinks, "and marriages, and in thoſe things whereby he "thought theſe might with a [d] greater pretence and "ſhew of piety be procured, *that is*, in feaſts, ſacri-"fices, and in the ſlaying of offerings. Thus far *Dionyſius*. But *Ireneus*, in his *firſt book againſt Hereſies*, does recite ſome more ſecret falſe opinions of this mans; and in his third book he delivers in writing a certain ſtory (unworthy to be forgotten) as from the tradition of *Polycarpe*, ſaying, that *John* the Apoſtle going on a time to the Bath to bathe himſelf, and underſtanding that *Cerinthus* was within, retired in great haſt from that place, and fled out at the door, not enduring to goe under the ſame roof with him; and that he perſwaded thoſe who were with him to doe ſo alſo, ſaying, Let us be gone, leaſt the Bath fall, *Cerinthus* that enemy of the truth being within it.

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[c] This place of *Dionyſius* is to be found whole and entire in the 7th B. of this Hiſtory, chap. 25. from thence is to be had the explication of this paſſage. Some, ſays *Dionyſius* there, ſaid that the book of the Revelation was made by *Cerinthus* the Arch-Heretick, who publiſhed it under the name of *John the Apoſtle*, that he might get the greater authority for his own opinions. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Chriſtophorſon*, in ſtead of [εὐφημότερον] read [εὐδυμότερον] from B. 7. c. 25. But that place in B. 7. is rather to be corrected by this, than this corrupted from that. Our M. SS. copies Maz. and Med. have it written εὐφημότερον in B. 7. So alſo *Nicephorus* in his 3d B. c. 14. Under the name of Feaſts and Sacrifices *Cerinthus* hid his Luſts, that he might make a ſhew of honeſty and decency. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Arch-Heretick Cerinthus.

WE have heard that at the ſame time there was one *Cerinthus* a Founder of another Hereſie. *Caius*, whoſe words I before quoted, in that diſputation of his now extant, writes thus concerning him. "But *Cerinthus* alſo, who by Revelati-"ons written *by himſelf* as it were by ſome great A-"poſtle, hath feigned monſtrous narrations as if they "had been ſhewed him by Angels, and ſets them "abroach amongſt us, ſaying, that after the Re-"ſurrection the Kingdom of Chriſt will be ter-"reſtriall, and that men living again in the fleſh "at *Jeruſalem* ſhall be ſubject to deſires and plea-"ſures. He alſo being an enemy to divine Scri-"pture, and [a] deſirous to "induce men into errour, "ſays that there ſhall be "the number of a thouſand "years ſpent in a nuptial "feaſt. And *Dionyſius* alſo, who in our time was choſen Biſhop of the Church of *Alexandria*, [b] in his ſecond book concerning promiſes, ſpeaking ſomething of the *Revelation of John*, as from antient tradition, mentions this man in theſe words: "But *Cerinthus*, the Founder "of the Hereſie called from "him the *Cerinthian He-"reſie*, *was*, *they ſay*, *the "author of that book*; *Euſebius* declares in his ſeventh book. *Valeſ.*

[a] Θέλων σπλανᾶν. So it is Printed in *Rob. Stephens* Edition, I know not by what accident. Which errour of the preſs the *Geneva Edition* afterwards followed: But we, from our M. SS. copies, and from *Nicephorus* his book, have made good the true reading of this place, thus, Θέλων πλανᾶν, *deſirous to induce men into errour*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[b] It ſhould be thus written ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελιῶν, *in his ſecond book concerning promiſes*. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* wrote two books *of promiſes*, or *rewards* which God promiſed to give to pious men after this Life. The ſecond of theſe was written againſt *Nepos* a Biſhop of *Egypt*, who from the *Revelation of John* aſſerted that Chriſts Kingdom would be terreſtrial, as

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Nicholas, *and thoſe Hereticks who bear his name.*

[a] AT this time the Hereſie called the Hereſie of the *Nicholaites* continued for a very ſhort time: of which alſo the *Revelation of John* makes mention. Theſe boaſted of *Nicholas* (one of the Deacons who together with *Stephen* were Ordained by the Apoſtles to miniſter to the poor) *as the Authour of their Sect*. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the third of his *Stromatῶν* relates thus much of him word for word; "He, "they ſay, having a beautifull wife, being after "our Saviours aſcenſion blamed by the Apoſtles "for his jealouſie, brought his wife forth, and "permitted her to marry whom ſhe had a mind "to. For this deed, they report, is agreeable to "that ſaying of his, *to wit*, *That we ought to "abuſe the fleſh*. Thoſe therefore, who follow "his Hereſie, [b] ſimply and "raſhly aſſenting to this ſay-"ing, and imitating this deed, "doe moſt impudently give "themſelves over to fornica-"tion. But I am given to "underſtand that *Nicholas* "made uſe of no other wo-"man beſides her he mar-"ried; and that thoſe of his "children which were daugh-

[a] In the M. SS. Maz. Med. and Sr *Henry Savills* it is ἐπὶ τέτῳ, i. e. *after him*, to wit, *Cerinthus*. Valeſ.

[b] Theſe words [ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως, i. e. *ſimply and raſhly*] ought to be referred to the word, [καθαπτόμενος, i. e. *aſſenting to*] and not to the word [εἰρημένῳ, i. e. *this ſaying*:] which being not minded by *Chriſtophorſon*, he widely miſtook *Clemens* his meaning. For *Clemens* does not ſay that that fact, or that ſaying was done or ſaid by *Nicholas* raſhly and inconſiderately. Yea he declares in the 2d of his *Stromatῶν* about the latter end, that this ſaying [δεῖ φθείρεσθαι τῇ σαρκί] was one of *Nicholas* his Apophthegms, or Pithy ſpeeches. Which ſaying of his, his followers interpreted ſo, as if *Nicholas* had commanded every one to abuſe his fleſh with all manner of voluptuouſneſs and laſciviouſneſs: but *Nicholas* meant the clean contrary by this his ſpeech, *to wit*, that the fleſh ought not to be indulged too, but to be kept under, and wearied out with continual exerciſes of virtue. *Valeſ.*

"ters

TRAJAN. "ters remained virgins when they were old; and "his son continued undefiled by women. Which "things being thus, his bringing of his wife, (over "whom he was said to be jealous) forth before "the Apostles, was a sign of his rejecting and "bridling his passion; and by those words of his "[*that we ought to abuse the flesh*] [c] he taught "continence and an abstaining from those plea- "sures which are with so much earnestness de- "sired by men. For, I suppose, he would not "(according to our Saviours commandment) serve "two masters, pleasure and the Lord. Moreover, "they say, that *Matthias* taught the same doctrine; "that we should war against the flesh, and abuse "it, allowing it nothing of pleasure; but that we "should inrich the soul by Faith and Knowledge. Let thus much therefore be spoken concerning those who endeavoured about that time to deprave the truth, but on a sudden were wholly extinct.

[c] These words are spoken by *Clemens Alexandrinus* by way of *Enallage*; for thus they are to be taken, as if he had said τὸ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς, τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἠσκευῶν ἐδίδαξε, i. e. *by those words of his* [*that we ought to abuse the flesh*] *He taught continencie and an abstaining from pleasures*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning those Apostles that are found to have been married.

BUt *Clemens*, whose words we even now recited, after that passage of his before quoted, does reckon up those Apostles that are found to have been married, upon account of such as despise marriage; "saying, what will they reprehend even "the Apostles also? For *Peter* and *Philip* begat "children; and *Philip* matcht his daughters to "husbands. *Paul* also, in one of his Epistles "fears not to name his wife, whom he carried not "about with him, that he might with more expe- "dition perform his Ministration. But because we have mentioned these things, it will not be troublesome to produce also another story of his worthily memorable, which he hath set forth in the seventh of his *Stromatῶn* after this manner; "Now they say that S[t] *Peter*, seeing his wife led "to be put to death, rejoyced because she was called "by God, and because she was returning home: "and that calling her by her name he exhorted and "comforted her, saying, *O woman Remember the* "*Lord*. Such was the wedlock of the Saints, and "such the entire affection of most dear friends. And thus much, being pertinent to the subject now in hand, we have here seasonably placed.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Death of John *and* Philip.

INdeed, both the time and manner of the death of *Paul* and *Peter*, and moreover the place where after their departure out of this life their bodies were deposited, we have before manifested: concerning the time of *John*'s death we have already also in some sort spoken: but the place of Sepulchre is demonstrated by the Epistle of *Polycrates* (who was Bishop of the *Ephesian* Church) which he wrote to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*; wherein he mentions both him and also *Philip* the Apostle and his daughters after this manner. "For "also in *Asia* the great [a] Lights are dead; which "shall be raised again at the last day, the day of "the Lord's coming, wherein he shall come with "glory from heaven, and shall find out all his "Saints. I mean [b] *Philip* one of the twelve A- "postles who died at *Hierapolis*; and two of his "daughters who continued virgins to the end of "their lives. Also his other [c] daughter who having "lived by the guidance of the Holy Ghost, died at "*Ephesus*. And moreover *John*, who leaned on the "breast of the Lord, and was a Priest and wore "a [d] plate of gold, and was a Martyr and a Do- "ctor; this *John*, I say, died at *Ephesus*. And thus much concerning their deaths. And also in the *Dialogue* of *Caius*, of which we a little before made mention, *Proculus*, against whom he instituted the dispute, agreeing with what we have inforced concerning the death of *Philip* and his daughters, says thus, "After that also, the four Pro- "pheteses the daughters of *Philip* were at *Hiera-* "*polis* a City of *Asia*, their Sepulchre is there, "and also their fathers. Thus he, *Luke* likewise in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* makes mention of the daughters of *Philip* that lived then at *Cæsarea* of *Judæa* with their father, who were endowed with the gift of Prophecy, saying word for word thus: "We came unto *Cæsarea* and we "entred into the house of *Philip* the Evangelist "(which was one of the seven) and abode with "him. And the same man had four daughters, "virgins, which did Prophecie. Having thus far therefore treated of those things which came to our knowledge both concerning the [e] Apostles and the Apostolick times, and the Sacred Writings they left us, both those that are questioned as doubtfull which yet are publickly read by many in most Churches, and those also that are altogether Spurious and Repugnant to Apostolical sound Doctrine, we now proceed to the subsequent part of our History.

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[a] Μεγάλα στοιχεῖα. *Jerome* and *Musculus* translate it *Elementa, elements, or foundations*. *Christophorson* turns it *Seminaria, Seedplotts*: but *Rufinus*, best of all, calls it *Lumina, Lights*. For the *Grecians* were wont to call the signes of the Zodiack στοιχεῖα. So *Diogen. Laert.* in the Life of *Menedemus*. Now the Heathens called those signes so, because they thought the principles of the lives and fortunes of men were placed in them. See *Epiphan. in Hæres. Pharisæorum*. Vales.

[b] *Christophorson* in this place did in no wise perform the office of a good translatour, who for *Philip* one of the Twelve Apostles put in *Philip* one of the seven Deacons. It was an antient mistake, to confound *Philip* the Deacon and Evangelist with *Philip* the Apostle. And because they read, Acts 21. v. 8, 9. that *Philip* had four daughters, virgins, that Propheciced, they asserted *Philip* the Apostle was married and begot daughters. So, besides *Polycrates*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* said in the foregoing chap. and so said *Papeas*, as we shall see hereafter. But from the *Acts* of the Apostles it may be manifestly gathered, that *Philip* the Deacon (he that Baptized the Eunuch and that had the four daughters that were Propheteses) was not the same with *Philip* the Apostle, but another man. See *Isidore Pelusiota*, in his first book Epist. 447. and so on, where he evidently demonstrates this. *Vales.*

[c] This third daughter of *Philip*, *Polycrates* separates from the other two which died virgins; whence it may be collected that she was married. Neither is this repugnant to the Acts c. 21. For it may be answered that then when these things were done that *Luke* mentions, *Philip*'s daughters were virgins: but afterwards one of them was given in marriage by her father. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* seems to intimate thus much in those words of his, which *Eusebius* quotes in the foregoing chap. Moreover *Christophorson* confounds this third daughter of *Philips* with the two former. Whose translation did much trouble *Baronius* as appears from his *Annals. ad Annum Christi* 58. chap. 113. *Eusebius* repeats this passage of *Polycrates* in his fifth book chap. 24. where *Christophorson* does rightly distinguish the three daughters of *Philip*, and amends his former errour. But it may here be deservedly questioned, why *Polycrates* mentions onely three daughters of *Philips*, whereas in the *Acts* they are counted four. I answer *Polycrates* mentioned onely those that died and were buried in *Asia*, as may be seen from his whole Epistle which is recited in the fifth book of *Eusеb.* Hist. seeing therefore one of the four daughters died at *Cæsarea*, or some where else, upon that account *Polycrates* mentions her not. Moreover of these daughters of *Philip*, one was called *Hermione*, the other *Eutychis*. For so it is in *Menæo Græcorum die* 4 Sept. See the place. *Vales.*

[d] Τὸ πέταλον, that's the word *in Polycrates* here quoted by *Eusebius*. The 72 use this word Exod. 28. 36. for so they translate ציץ the Hebrew word there, which properly signifies *a flour*, but by our translatours is in English rendred *a plate* there, and afterwards, Exod. 39. 30. it is called *a plate of the Holy crown*. It was a long plate of gold, two fingers broad, and reacht from one ear of the Priest to the other, says *Maimon.* in his Treatise *of the Implements of the Sanctuary*, Chap. 9. Sect. 1. See *Ainsworth* on the Pentat.

[e] In our four M. SS. copies, Maz. Med. Fuk. and S[t] *Hen. Savills* I found it written περὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων αὐτῶν, i. e. *concerning the Apostles themselves, the word* αὐτῶν being in them added. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

How Simeon *the Bishop of* Jerusalem *suffered Martyrdom.*

AFter the persecution of *Nero* and *Domitian*, Report goes, that under this Emperour whose times we now recount there was a persecution raised against us by piece-meal throughout every City, which proceeded from a popular insurrection. In which we have by tradition received that [a] *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, who we declared was constituted the second Bishop of the Church at *Jerusalem*, finished his life by Martyrdom. And this the same Writer attesteth, several words of whose we have before quoted, *that is Hegesippus*. Who, giving a relation of certain Hereticks, adds; that this *Simeon*, being at that time by them accused and tormented divers ways, and for the space of many days because he was a Christian, struck with a great amazement both the Judge and those about him, and at length died by the same kind of suffering that the Lord did. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the Writer relating these things word for word, thus; "Some of those Hereticks accused *Simeon* "the son of *Cleophas*, as being a descendant from "*David*, and a Christian; and so he suffered "Martyrdom when he was an hundred and twen-"ty years old, under *Trajan* the Emperour, and "[b] *Atticus* of the *Consular* "order *then President of Sy-*"*ria*. And the same Authour says that those his accusers, (such as were of the Royal family of the Jews being at that time sought for) happened to be convicted, as belonging to that family. Now, should any one say that this *Simeon* was one of those who both saw and heard the Lord, he would speak what is in no wise absurd, having as an undoubted evidence thereof the great length of his Life, and the mention made in the Gospels of *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*; whose son that he was, *our former words have manifested. Also the same writer says that others, related to one of those called the brethren of our Saviour (whose name was *Judas*) lived untill this †Emperour's Reign, after their profession of the Faith of Christ under *Domitian*, *before which we mentioned. For thus he writeth, "They come therefore and preside over the whole "Church, as being Martyrs, and of the Kindred of "our Lord. And a profound Peace ensuing over "the whole Church, they continued alive till the "times of *Trajan* the Emperour, untill the foresaid "*Simeon*, the son of *Cleo-*"*phas* (who was [c] Uncle to "our Lord) being accused "by the [d] Hereticks, was in "like manner also impeacht "for the [e] same thing before "*Atticus* the president. And "being cruelly tortured for "many days he with constancie professed the Faith of Christ; in so "much that the President and all those about him "wondred greatly, how a man of an hundred and "twenty years old as he was, could have endured "such torments. And in fine, it was ordered he "should be crucified. Moreover the same man, relating what was done in those times, adds, that untill then the [f] Church continued a pure and undefiled Virgin; those who endeavoured to corrupt the sound Rule of wholesom Doctrine, if any such persons there were, absconding themselves hitherto in obscure darkness. But after the sacred company of the Apostles was by various kinds of death become extinct, and that generation of those men, who were accounted worthy to hear with their own ears the divine wisdom, was gone, then the conspiracy of impious errour took its rise from the deceit of false Teachers; who, in as much as not one of the Apostles was then surviving, did now at length with a bare face attempt to Preach up ——— the knowledge falsely so called, in opposition to the doctrine of the Truth. [g] And thus much this Authour, treating of these things, has after this manner said. But we will proceed to what in order follows of our History.

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[a] In the Kings M. S. it is Σίμωνα, *Simon*, as *Rob. Stephens* observed. *Ferom*, in Chronico, testifies that the name of this Bishop of *Jerusalem* was written two ways, *to wit*, *Simeon* and *Simon*. The same *Georg. Syncellus* observes, and also the Authour *Chronici Alexandrini*. Vales.

[b] That is, when *Atticus* was Deputy of *Syria*. The *Syrians* used to shew their years, by the name of these their *presidents*. Moreover, of the Emperours Deputies some were of the *Consular* order; others of the *Pretorian*. Wherefore *Atticus* is here called ὑπατικὸς, to shew that he was of the *Consular* order, or had been *Consul*. In the M. S. copies of *Rufinus* his translation (that is in the Kings Librarie) it is, *Martyr effectus est cum esset annorum centum* XXV. i. e. *he was Martyred when he was* 125. *years old*. Vales.

* Book 3. chap. 11.

† i. e. *Trajans*.

* Book 3. chap. 20.

[c] That is, because he married *Mary* sister to the B. Virgin. See note A in chap. 11. of this Book.

[d] The Authour *Chronici Alexandrini* supposes that the *Cerinthian* Hereticks and the *Nicholaites* are here meant: to whom I doe not assent. *Hegesippus* means those Sects which at that time were potent at *Jerusalem*, to wit, the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and others, of whom hereafter, at book 4. chap. 22. *Vales.*

[e] That is, because he Preacht the Faith of Christ, as he said before, and says again, B. 4. chap. 22. *Vales.*

[f] This *Hegesippus* spoke of the Church of *Jerusalem* in particular, *to wit*, that it continued a Virgin untill the death of *Symeon*, unto *Trajans* time. The words of *Hegesippus* you will meet with hereafter, at chap. 22. B. 4. *Eusebius* seems to have attributed that to the whole Church which *Hegesippus* spake of the Church at *Jerusalem* in particular. *Vales.*

[g] All these words, to the end of the chapter, are wanting in the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. neither doth *Rufinus* acknowledge them in his translation, as appears therefrom. And this whole clause seems to me to be Spurious and suppositious. For whosoever added it, thought the words that went before were *Hegesippus* his; whereas they are not his, but *Eusebius*'s, as we may see from chap. 22. B. 4. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

How Trajan *forbad that the Christians should be sought after.*

MOreover, so great a persecution raged against us at that time in many places, that *Plinius Secundus* the most eminent amongst the Governours of Provinces, being moved at the multitude of Martyrs, gave the Emperour an account of the great numbers of those that were destroyed, because of their faith; and together therewith certified him, that he found they did nothing of impiety, nor acted any thing contrary to the Laws; onely that they rose at break of day, and sung Hymns to Christ, as unto God; but that they abhor'd the commission of Adultery and Murder, and such like horrid crimes; and that they did all things consonant to the Laws. Upon account of which *Trajan* made this Edict, That the Christians should not be sought out; but if by accident they were lighted on, they should be punished. Which being done, the most vehement heat of the persecution that lay heavy upon us was in some measure quenched: But to those who had a mind to doe us mischief there remained pretexts no whit less fair and specious; in some places the people, in others the Rulers of the Provinces, forming treacheries against us; in so much that even when there was no open and general persecution, yet there were particular ones throughout the Provinces, and very many of the Faithfull underwent various sorts of Martyrdomes. We have taken this account out of *Tertullians* Apology, written in Latine (of which we before made mention) the translation whereof is thus; "But we "have found that the inquisition after us has been "prohibited. For *Plinius Secundus*, when he "was Governour of the Province, having con-"demned some Christians, and deprived other "some,

TRAJAN. "some, being at length troubled at their great "number, asked advice of *Trajan* then the Em- "perour, what he should doe with the Residue, say- "ing, that, besides their obstinacy in not sacri- "ficing, he found nothing of impiety in their re- "ligious mysteries, onely that they held early as- "semblies in singing Hymns to Christ as unto

[a] He that translated the words of *Tertullian* into Greek has rendred them unhappily. For neither does ἐπιχώμιον signifie *discipline*, nor διαφιλόσοφον, *to agree together*. I would therefore rather translate these words of *Tertullian* thus, ᾗ ἵνα ὥσπερ τὸ σύμβολον ἔχωσι τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας, i. e. *and that they had a certain summary of their polity*. Valef.

"God, and that they had a [a] certain summary of "their polity; that they forbad Murder, Adultery, "Fraud, Perfidiousness, and such like crimes. Then "*Trajan* returned answer, that those sort of men "should not indeed be diligently sought out, but "if by chance [b] they were lighted on and brought "before the Governours, they should be punished. And this was then the posture of affairs.

[b] Here also the Greek translatour of *Tertullian* hath done ill; for *Tertullian*, or rather *Trajan*, calls those *Oblatos*, who were brought in before the Judges; for so the Latines use to speak. The sense therefore of the Emperour *Trajans* Rescript against the Christians is this, that the Governours of Provinces should not too diligently hunt after the Christians by sending out Spies and Officers to take them, but if any Christians were by chance found out by their Officers, or if they were made appear to be such by their accusers, that then they ought to be punished. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That Evaresus *was the Fourth that Governed the* Roman *Church.*

CLemens, one of the *Roman* Bishops, having left his Episcopal Office to *Evaresus*, finished his life in the third year of the foresaid Emperours Reign; when he had had the charge of the doctrine of the Divine word for full nine years space.

CHAP. XXXV.

That Justus *was the Third that Governed the Church at* Jerusalem.

BUt moreover, *Simeon* having finished his life after the foresaid manner, a certain Jew, by name *Justus*, succeeded in the Episcopal Seat at *Jerusalem*; there being then an innumerable company of the Circumcision (of which he was one) that believed in Christ.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning Ignatius *and his Epistles.*

MOreover, at this time *Polycarpe* a disciple of the Apostles flourished in *Asia*, to whom was committed the Bishoprick of the Church at *Smyrna*, by those that saw and ministred to the Lord. At the same time [a] *Papias* was famous, who also was Bishop of the Church at *Hierapolis*, a man most eminently learned and eloquent, and knowing in the Scriptures. *Ignatius* also, renowned amongst many even to this day, who was chosen Bishop of *Antioch*, being the second in succession there, after *Peter*. Report goes that this man was sent from *Syria* to *Rome* to be made food for wild beasts, upon account of the profession of his faith in Christ. And being led through *Asia* under the custody of a most watchfull guard, he confirmed the Churches in every City through which he passed, by discourses and exhortations; warning them most especially to take heed of the Heresies, which then first sprung up and increased. And he exhorted them firmly to keep the traditions of the Apostles, which he thought necessary for the more certain knowledge of posterity to be put in writing, having confirmed them by his own testimony. Coming therefore at length to *Smyrna*, where *Polycarpe* then was, he wrote one Epistle to the Church at *Ephesus*, mentioning *Onesimus* the Pastour there: and another to the Church at *Magnesia* standing on the River *Meander*, wherein again he makes mention of *Damas* the Bishop. And another to the Church at *Trallis*, the Governour whereof at that time he declares was *Polybius*. Besides these Epistles he wrote also to the Church at *Rome*, wherein he earnestly beseeches them that they would not intreat him to avoid Martyrdom, least they should defraud him of his desired Hope. Out of which Epistle 'tis worth our quoting some short passages, for the confirmation of what we have said. Thus therefore he writes word for word; "From *Syria* "to *Rome* I fight with beasts, by sea and land, day "and night, bound to ten Leopards, that is, to a file "of Souldiers, who being kindly treated by me, be- "come [b] worse. But by their "injuries I am the more in- "structed; but for all that "I am not justified. Oh! "that I might enjoy the wild "beasts that are provided for "me! which I even heartily "wish may be found to be "fierce! which I will allure "to devour me immediately, "that they spare me not, as "out of fear they have left "some untoucht. But if they "be unwilling to doe it, I "will compell them by force. "Pardon me; I know what "is good for me: Now I "begin to be a disciple: "[c] Let nothing visible or in- "visible divert me from, or "envy my happiness of, at- "taining Christ Jesus. Let "Fire, and the Cross, the as- "saults of the wild beasts, the "pulling asunder of bones, "the cutting off of members, "the stamping in pieces of the whole body, the pu- "nishment of the Devil come upon me; so I may "obtain Christ Jesus. And thus much he wrote from the foresaid City to the Churches before named. Being now gone beyond *Smyrna*, he from *Troas* again sent Letters to those at *Philadelphia*, also to the Church at *Smyrna*, and privately to *Polycarpe* the Prelate thereof: to whom, because he well knew him to be an Apostolical man, he entrusted his flock at *Antioch*, being a very true and good Pastour; requesting him, that he would have a diligent care thereof. The same person writing to those of *Smyrna*, borrows some words, which whence he had I [d] know not;

[b] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. 'tis read χείρονες γίνονται. A little after I read, with *Isaac Vossius*, ἃ ἐγὼ εὔχομαι σύντομά μοι εὑρεθῆναι, that is, *which I heartily wish may be found to be fierce*, which amendment *Rufinus* his translation confirms. For thus he turns it, *Quas & ego opto acriores parari.* Therefore *Rufinus* read, σύντομα, not σύντομα, which signifies [*soon, or straight-ways.*] the same errour is amended by us hereafter, in the sixth book; for there συντόμως was Printed for συντόνως. *Valef.* But Bishop *Usher* reads χείρους; and also, σύντομα. See his Annot. on this Epistle, number 48.

[c] It is as much as if *Ignatius* had said, Let nothing envy me the Glory of being a disciple of Christ; Let no man pluck me from his Embraces. The holy Martyr alludes, as he uses to doe, to those words of St *Paul*, *who shall separate us from the Love of Christ?* Rom. 8. 35. *Valef.* See Bishop *Usher*'s notes on *Ignatius* Epist. to the *Romans*, number 52.

[a] This whole elogue of *Papias* is wanting in our M. SS. copies, Maz. Med. and Fuk. Neither did *Rufinus* read these words in his copies, as may be gathered from his translation. Wherefore I doubt not but they were inserted by some unskilfull *Scholiast*, against the mind and opinion of *Eusebius*. For how can it be, that *Eusebius* should here stile *Papias* a man *most excellently learned, and very skilfull in the Scriptures*, whenas himself does at the end of this book expresly affirm, that *Papias* was *a man of an ordinary wit, and altogether ignorant and simple.* Valef.

[d] This passage of *Ignatius* his concerning Christ is taken out of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; which was either omitted by *Eusebius*, or unknown to him. *Jerome*, in his book *de Ecclesiast. Scriptr.* informs us hereof; as also in his 18 B. of Commentaries on *Esaiah*. See *Ushers* Annotat. on *Ignatius* his Epistles. pag. 48. number 23.

speaking

TRAJAN. ſpeaking thus much concerning Chriſt; "But I "both know and believe that after the Reſur- "rection he was in the Fleſh; and that, coming "to *Peter* and thoſe who were about him, he ſaid "unto them, take hold of me, handle me, and ſee, "for I am not an incorporeal Spirit: And ſtraight- "way they touched him, and believed. *Irenæus* alſo ſpeaks of his Martyrdom, and mentions his Epiſtles, ſaying thus; "As one of our men, con- "demned to the wild beaſts for his faith in God, "ſaid, I am the bread-corn of God, and I muſt "be ground by the teeth of wild beaſts, that I may "be found to be pure bread. And *Polycarpe* men- tions the ſame Epiſtles in that of his to the *Philippians*, in theſe very words; "I therefore beſeech "you all to obey thoſe that are over you, and to ex- "erciſe all manner of patience, which you have "evidently ſeen not onely in thoſe bleſſed men "*Ignatius*, *Rufus*, and *Zoſimus*, but alſo in others "of us; likewiſe in *Paul* himſelf, and in the other "Apoſtles: being fully perſwaded that all theſe "ran not in vain, but proceeded in Faith and "Righteouſneſs; and that they are in that place "due to them from the Lord, together with whom "they ſuffered. For they loved not this preſent "world, but him who died for us, and was by "God raiſed for us again. *And a little after he "adds*; Both you and *Ignatius* wrote to me, "that if any one went into *Syria*, he ſhould carry "your Letters thither. Which I will doe, if I "can get a fit opportunity; either I my ſelf, or "ſome other, whom I will ſend as a meſſenger on "purpoſe for you. Thoſe Epiſtles of *Ignatius* "ſent by him to us, and all the other we had here "with us, we have ſent to you, according as you "enjoyned us; they are made up with this Letter; "from which Epiſtles you may profit very much; "for they contain Faith, Patience, and what ever "is conducible to our Edification in the Lord. And thus much concerning *Ignatius*: After whom ſucceeded *Heros* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning thoſe Preachers of the Goſpel who at that time were eminent.

AMong thoſe who were illuſtrious in thoſe times *Quadratus* was one, who, as Fame ſays, flouriſhed at the ſame time with the daughters of *Philip*, in the gift of prophecy. Many others alſo beſides theſe were famous at that time, having obtained the firſt place among the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles. Who, becauſe they were the [a] eminent diſciples of ſuch men, built up thoſe Churches, the foundations whereof were every where laid by the Apoſtles; promoting greatly the doctrine of the Goſpel, and ſcattering the ſalutary ſeed of the Kingdom of heaven at large over the whole world. For many of the then diſciples, whoſe ſouls were inflamed by the divine Word with a more ardent deſire of Philoſophy, firſt fulfilled our Saviours commandment, by diſtributing their ſubſtance to thoſe that were neceſſitous; then after that travelling abroad, they performed the work of Evangeliſts to thoſe who as yet had not at all heard the word of Faith; being very ambitious to Preach Chriſt, and to deliver the Books of the divine Goſpels. And theſe perſons, having onely laid the foundation of faith in remote and barbarous places, and conſtituted other Paſtours, committed to them the culture of thoſe they had perfectly introduced to the faith, departed again to other Regions and nations, accompained with the Grace and cooperation of God. For the divine Spirit as yet wrought many wonderfull works by them; inſomuch that at the firſt hearing, innumerable multitudes of men did with moſt ready minds altogether admit of and engage themſelves in the worſhip of that God who is the Maker of all things. But it being impoſſible for us to recount by name all thoſe who in the firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles were Paſtours or Evangeliſts in the Churches throughout the world, we will here commit to writing the mention of their names onely, whoſe writings, containing the Apoſtolical doctrine they delivered, are to this day extant amongſt us. TRAJAN.

[a] In our M.SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and Sr *Henry Savills*, it is written, διαπρεπεῖς μαθητὰς, i. e. *eminent*, or *excellent diſciples*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Epiſtle of Clemens, *and thoſe other Writings, which are falſly attributed to him.*

AS for example, the Epiſtles of *Ignatius*, which we have reckoned up, and that of *Clemens* acknowledged by all as undoubted, which he wrote in the name of the *Roman* to the *Corinthian* Church. Wherein, ſeeing he has inſerted many ſentences taken out of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and ſometimes had made uſe of the expreſs words of it, it evidently manifeſts that that work is not new; whence it has ſeemed agreeable to reaſon to reckon this Epiſtle amongſt the reſt of the Writings of that Apoſtle. For *Paul* having written to the Hebrews in his own country Language, ſome ſay that *Luke* the Evangeliſt, but others that this *Clemens*, of whom we ſpeak, tranſlated that work. Which latter ſeems the trueſt opinion, becauſe the ſtile both of *Clemens* his Epiſtle, and alſo of that to the Hebrews appeares to be very like; and the ſenſe and expreſſions in both the works are not much different. You muſt alſo know that there is a ſecond Epiſtle, which is ſaid to be *Clemens* his: But we know for certain that this is not ſo generally acknowledged, nor approved of as the former, becauſe we are ſure the Antients have not quoted any authorities out of it. Further alſo, ſome have of late produced other voluminous and large works, as if they were his, containing the [a] Dialogues of *Peter* and [b] *Apion*; [c] of which there is not the leaſt mention extant amongſt the Antients; neither does there appear in them the [d] pure form of Apoſtolical ſound doctrine. Now therefore 'tis apparent which are the genuine and undoubted writings of *Clemens*: we have alſo ſpoken ſufficiently concerning the works of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpe*.

[a] In the tenth book *Recognit. of Clemens Romanus* there is mention of *Appion*, who is ſaid to have come to *Antioch* with *Anubion* about the ſame time that the Apoſtle *Peter* came thither. But there is nothing ſaid there of *Peters* diſpute with *Appion*. What ſhall we ſay then? that the book of *Clemens* which contains *Peters* diſpute with *Appion* is different from his books *Recognit*? To me indeed they ſeem not to be two books. For if there had been two books of *Clemens*'s, the one *Recognit.* the other containing the diſpute of *Peter* with *Appion*, why ſhould *Euſebius* mention one onely, and omit the other? There was therefore but one book of *Clemens*'s entitled περόδοις, or περιόδοι Πέτρου. But 'twas divided into two parts; the former mentioned *Matidia* and *Fauſtinianus* to be acknowledged of their children; in the ſecond part was contained the dialogues of *Peter* and *Appion*. Indeed *Rufinus*, who tranſlated that book of *Clemens*'s into Latine, does teſtifie, in his Epiſtle to *Gaudentius* the Biſhop, that there were two parts of this book in the Greek; in the one of which ſome things occurred which the other had not: he writes alſo that on ſet purpoſe he omitted ſome things, becauſe they diſagreed from ſound doctrine. *Valeſ.*

[b] This name is written with a double *p*, in all our M. SS. but that of Mr *Fukett*, where tis writ with a ſingle *p*, as it is in *Joſephus* and others. *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* chap. 112, agrees with our copies; and

and *Clemens* also in B. 10. *Recognit.* where he says that *Appion Pliſtonicensis* came to *Antioch* with *Anubion*. Lastly *Agellius*, in his 6 B. says *Appion Græcus homo qui pliſtonices eſt appellatus*. Undoubtedly *Appion* is a *Roman* name, wrested into a *Greek* form, as is μαξίων, κοδρατίων, and the like. *Appion* was a common name amongst the *Egyptians*, derived from *Apis*, whom they worshipped; as, *Serapion*, *Anubion*, and the like. *Ptolemæus* King of the *Cyrenæ* was called *Apion*. Wherefore seeing this Grammarian the son of *Pliſtonices* was an *Egyptian*, it seems that he should be called *Apion*, rather than *Appion*. For *Appion* that was Consul in *Juſtinians* time, the Latine Annalls calls *Appion*; but the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls him *Apion*. Valeſ.

c But *Origen*, in his 3d B. *Explanat.* on *Geneſis*, makes mention of these books of *Clemens*'s; and quotes a passage out of them, which is still extant in the books of *Clemens*'s *Recognit.* This quotation of *Origens* is in the 22 chap. *Philocal.* (pag. 81. Edit. *Cambr.* 1658.) and in the common editions of that piece the place is said to be taken out of his B. 2. against *Celſus*; but in the books of *Origen* against *Celſus* now extant, it is not to be found. This quotation out of *Clemens* is indeed in his 3d B. *Explanat.* on *Geneſis*. — But I have observed that *Origen* does often quote books, whose authority is unknown; wherein he does, like the Bee, gather honey from venomous flowers. *Valeſ.*

d *Photius* testifies the same, chap. 112. *Biblioth.* and before him, *Ruſinus* in his Epistle to *Gaudentius* the Bishop, *to wit*, that in those books *Recognit.* of *Clemens*'s there are some things said concerning the Son of God, which disagree from the true rule of Faith, and make for the opinion of the *Arrians*. *Epiphanius*, in *Hereſ. Ebionæorum* chap. 15. does expresly affirm, that those books of *Clemens Romanus*, entitled πέτρου κήρυγμα, were corrupted and falsified by the *Ebionites*. Valeſ.

TRAJAN.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Books of Papias.

THe Books of *Papias* now extant, are five in number, which he entitled, *an explication of the Oracles of the Lord*. *Irenæus* mentions no more than these five to have been written by him, saying thus; "And these things *Papias*, the Au "ditour of *John*, the companion of *Polycarpe*, one "of the antients, attests in writing, in the fourth of "his books; for he compiled five. Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Papias*, in the preface to his books, does not evidence himself to have been a beholder, or an Auditour of the Holy Apostles, but onely, that he received the matters of faith from those who were well known to them; which he declares in these words; "But it shall not be tedious to "me, to [a] set down in or- "der together with my in- "terpretations, those things "which I have well learnt "from the Elders, and faith- "fully remembred, the truth "whereof will be confirmed "by me. For I delighted not "in those who speak much, "as most doe, but in those "that teach the truth: nor "in those who recite strange and unusual precepts; "but in such as faithfully rehearse the command- "ments given by the Lord, and which proceed "from the truth. Now if at any time I met with a- "ny one that had converst with the Elders, I made a "diligent enquiry after their sayings, what *Andrew*, "or what *Peter* said; or what *Philip*, or *Thomas*, "or *James*, or *John*, or *Matthew*, or any other of "the Lords disciples, were wont to say: And "what *Ariſtion*, and *John* the Elder (the disciples "of our Lord) uttered. For I thought that "those things contained in books could not pro- "fit me so much, as what I heard from the mouths "of men yet surviving. In which words its very observable that he recounts the name of *John* twice; the former of whom he reckons among *Peter*, *James*, *Matthew*, and the rest of the Apostles; manifestly shewing thereby that he speaks of *John* the Evangelist: but, making a distinction in his words, he places the other *John* with those who are not of the number of the Apostles; putting *Ariſtion* before him; and expresly calls him *The Elder*. So that hereby is shown the truth of their relation, who have said that there were two in *Asia* who had that same name; and that there are two Sepulchres at *Epheſus*, and each of them now called the Sepulchre of *John*. Now I judged it very requisite to make this observation. For its likely that the second, (unless any one would rather have it to be the first) saw that Revelation which goes under the name of *John*. Further, this *Papias*, whom we speak of, professes he received the sayings of the Apostles from those who had been conversant with them; and was, as he says, the hearer of *Ariſtion* and *John* the Elder. Indeed he mentions them often by name, and has set down in his works those traditions he received from them. And thus much has been said by us, not unprofitably, as we judge. It is also worth our adding to the fore-quoted words of *Papias*, other relations of the same Authours, wherein he gives an account of some miracles, and other passages, which he received by tradition. Indeed, that *Philip* the Apostle together with his daughters lived at *Hierapolis*, has been manifested by what we said * before. Now we are to shew, that *Papias*, who lived at the same time, mentions his receiving a wonderfull narration from the daughters of *Philip*. For he relates, that in his time a dead man was raised to life again: and further, that there came to pass another miracle about *Juſtus* who was surnamed [b] *Barſabas*; how that he drank deadly poyson, and by the grace of the Lord susteined no harm. That this *Juſtus*, after our Saviours Ascension, was together with *Matthias* set forth by the Holy Apostles, and that they prayed that one of them might instead of the Traitour *Judas* be allotted to fill up their number; the Book of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* doth after this manner relate — *And they appointed two, Joſeph called Barſabas, who was ſurnamed Juſtus, and Matthias. And they prayed and ſaid.* Moreover the same writer has set down some other things which came to him barely by word of mouth, *to wit*, certain strange parables of our Saviours, and Sermons of his, and some other more fabulous relations: Among which he says there shall be a Thousand years after the Resurrection from the dead, wherein the Kingdom of Christ shall be corporally set up here on earth: and, I judge, he had this opinion from his misapprehending the Apostolical discourses, in that he did not see through those things they spake mystically by way of similitude. For he seems to have been a man of a very narrow understanding, as it may be conjectured from his Books. Yet he gave occasion to very many Ecclesiastical persons after him to be of the same erronious opinion with him; who had a regard for the antiquity of the man: as for example, to *Irenæus*, and to every one also who has declared himself to be of the same opinion. He relates also in his Books other interpretations of the foresaid *Ariſtion*'s, of the sayings of the Lord; and the traditions of *John the Elder*. To which we doe refer the studious Readers, and judge it requisite now onely to adjoyn to his fore mentioned words a passage he relates concerning *Mark* the Evangelist, in these words; "This also the Elder said; "*Mark*, being the [c] Interpreter of *Peter*, accu-

* Chap. 31. of this 3d book.

[a] In the Kings M. S. it is, συναδάξαι ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις, agreeable to our translation. *Ruſinus* reads this place so, as appears by his translation. For he renders it thus, *Non pigebit autem nos tibi omnia quæ quondam à Presbyteris didicimus, & benè retinemus, recordantes exponere cum interpretationibus noſtris.* But in the other M. SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and *Nicephorus* it is, συνλάξαι. *Valeſ.*

[b] In 3 of our M. SS. Maz. Med. and Fuk. it is Βαρτιβδᾶν, *Barſabbas*. Valeſ.

Acts 1. 23, 24.

[c] *Jerom, in Catalogo,* calls *Mark* the interpreter of *Peter*, from this place of *Papias*, as I judge. Hence 'tis, that many of the Greeks write, that the Gospel of *Mark* was dictated by *Peter*. So *Athanaſius* in his treatise, *de Libris Sacræ Scripturæ*. Which, how its to be understood, *Papias* declares in this place. For it is not to be supposed that *Mark* wrote his Gospel from the mouth of *Peter* dictating to him; but, when he heard *Peter* Preaching the Word of God to the Jews in Hebrew, *Mark* carefully digested those things in the Greek Language, which concerned Christ. *Valeſ.*

TRAJAN. "rately wrote what ever he remembred; but yet not "in that order, wherein Chriſt either ſpake, or did "them: For he was neither an hearer of the Lords, "nor yet his Follower; but, as I ſaid, he was after- "wards converſant with *Peter*, who Preacht the "doctrine of the Goſpel profitably to thoſe that "heard him, but not ſo as if he would compoſe "an Hiſtory of the Lords ſayings. Wherefore "*Mark* committed nothing of errour, in that he "wrote ſome things ſo as he had remembred them. "For he made this one thing his chiefeſt aime, "*to wit*, to omit none of thoſe things he had heard, "nor yet to deliver any thing that was falſe therein.

Thus much *Papias* relates concerning *Mark*. Concerning *Matthew*, he ſays this; *Moreover Matthew wrote his divine Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them, as they were able.* This *Papias* alſo has quoted authorities taken out of the *Firſt Epiſtle of John*, and likewiſe out of the *former Epiſtle of Peter*. He has ſet down alſo another relation about a woman who was accuſed of many crimes before the Lord; which relation is contained in the Goſpel according to the *Hebrews*. And thus much we have uſefully and diligently obſerved, and added to thoſe things which before we had ſet down. TRAJAN.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

Who were the Biſhops of the Roman, *and* Alexandrian *Churches in the Reign of* Trajane.

ABout the [a] twelfth year of *Trajan's* Empire, *Cerdo* the Biſhop of the *Alexandrian* Church,* whom we a little before mentioned, departed this life: and *Primus*, the fourth from the Apoſtles, was elected to the publick charge of that Church. At the ſame time alſo, *Evareſtus* having finiſhed his eighth year, *Alexander* undertook the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, who was the fifth in ſucceſſion from *Peter* and *Paul*.

[a] In the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*, the beginning of *Primus*'s being Biſhop of *Alexandria* falls upon the tenth year of *Trajan*. Alſo the beginning of *Alexanders* being made Biſhop of *Rome* is placed on the tenth year of *Trajan*. But in the digeſting of the years of the Biſhops both of *Rome*, and alſo of other Cities, I have obſerved that *Euſebius's Chronicon* does often diſſent from his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. Whether it be the fault of the Tranſcribers, or of *Jerome* the Tranſlatour, or of *Euſebius* himſelf, I cannot poſitively affirm: for in ſo great a diverſity its difficult to aſſign the cauſe of the miſtake. But, ſeeing that the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* was written by *Euſebius* after *his Chronicon*, whereſoever ſuch a diſagreement occurs, that ſeems rather to be followed, which is aſſerted in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. Valeſ.

* Book 3. chap. 21.

CHAP. II.

What the Jews ſuffered in this Emperours time.

MOreover, the Doctrine and Church of our Saviour flouriſhing daily, increaſed more and more: but the calamities of the Jews were augmented by continual miſchiefs following one upon another. For, the Emperour entring now upon the eighteenth year of his Reign, there aroſe again a commotion of the Jews, which deſtroyed a very great number of them. For both at *Alexandria* and over all the reſt of *Egypt*; and moreover throughout *Cyrene*, they being ſtirred up as it were by ſome violent and contentious ſpirit, raiſed Sedition againſt the [a] Greeks and Gentiles with whom they dwelt. And they increaſing the Faction very much, on the enſuing year enkindled a great War; *Lupus* was at that time Governour of all *Egypt*: Moreover it happened that in the firſt encounter they were too hard for the Greeks; who flying to *Alexandria*, took the Jews that were in the City alive, and ſlew them. But thoſe Jews who inhabited *Cyrene*, being fruſtrated of aſſiſtance in the war from them, perſiſted to inveſt and deſtroy the countrey of *Egypt* and all its [b] Prefectures, by pillages and robberies, one *Lucuas* being their Leader. Againſt whom the Emperour ſent *Marcius Turbo* with horſe and foot, and alſo with Navall forces: he in many ingagements, having made the war againſt them long and tedious, deſtroyed many Myriads of Jews, not onely of thoſe of *Cyrene*, but alſo of thoſe of *Egypt*, who flockt together to give aſſiſtance to their King *Lucuas*. But the Emperour ſuſpecting that thoſe Jews in *Meſopotamia* would alſo ſet upon the inhabitants there, commanded [c] *Luſius Quietus* to clear that Province of them. Who ingaging with them, deſtroyed a very great number of them that dwelt there: for which ſucceſsfull piece of ſervice he was appointed Deputy of *Judea* by the Emperour. And thus much thoſe heathens, who committed to writing the tranſactions of thoſe times, doe almoſt in the very ſame words relate.

[a] The Jews, who dwelt in the Cities and Towns with the *Grecians* and *Gentiles*, and had equal freedom thereof with them, did frequently diſagree with them; tumults being uſually raiſed by reaſon of their different religions. For the *Grecians* ſcorned that the *Jews* ſhould be fellow citizens with them and enjoy the ſame priviledges they did; on the other hand, the *Jews* would not live in a meaner condition, than the reſt of the Citizens did. Hence aroſe frequent contentions, both in *Egypt*, and alſo in *Syria*, as *Philo*, and *Joſephus* doe atteſt. Therefore in our tranſlation we have inſerted both [*Grecians and Gentiles*] becauſe one word ſeemed not to ſuffice. For the *Jews* did not onely aſſault the *Grecians*, but the Natives alſo of *Egypt* and *Lybia*: nor again, the *Gentiles* onely, but the *Chriſtians* likewiſe, of whom there was then no ſmall number in *Egypt* and *Cyrene*. Valeſ.

[b] This deſtroying of all *Egypt* and *Lybia* by the *Jews*, beſides *Dion*, *Oroſius* mentions, in his 7 B. *Valeſ.*

[c] This

c This man was a *Moor*, not of the Province of *Mauritania*, but of the barbarous *Moors*, who were Allies of the *Roman* Empire. At first he commanded a Troop of *Moors*; not long after he was condemned for his lewdness, and in disgrace cashired. But afterwards in the *Dacick* war, when the Army stood in need of the assistance of the *Moors*, he did a brave piece of service. Upon which account being rewarded and honoured, he did more and braver exploits in the second *Dacick* war. At length, in the *Parthian* war, which *Trajan* waged against the *Parthians*, he was so valiant and fortunate, that he was chosen into the *Pretorian* order, bore a Consulship, and Governed the Province of *Palestine*, which promotion first made him to be envied, then hated, and at last ruined him. Thus much *Dion Cassius* relates, in *Excerpt.* Vales.

CHAP. III.

Who, in the time of Adrian, *wrote Apologies in defence of the Faith.*

ADRIAN. WHen *Trajan* had held the Empire twenty years compleat, excepting six months, *Ælius Adrianus* succeeded in the Government. To whom *Quadratus* dedicated and presented a book, wherein he had comprized an Apology for our Religion; because certain malicious men endeavoured to molest the Christians. This work is still extant amongst many of the brethren, and we also have it. From which book may be seen perspicuous evidences of the man's understanding, and of his truely [a] Apostolical faith and sound doctrine. The same Writer makes his own antiquity sufficiently evident, by what he relates in these very words; "The works of our Saviour were "always conspicuous; for they were true. Those "that were healed, such as were raised from "the dead, did not onely appear after they were "healed, and raised; but also were afterwards "seen of all: and that not onely whilest our Sa"viour was conversant upon earth, but also after "he was gone they continued alive a great while; "in so much that some of them survived even to "our times. Such a person indeed was *Quadratus*. *Aristides* also, a faithfull man of that Religion profest by us, left in like manner, as *Quadratus* did, an Apologie for the faith, dedicated to *Adrian*. And this mans book is, to this day, preserved by many persons.

[a] The phrase in the original is [ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοτομίας, i. e. *of his Apostolical right division.* This word occurs (2 Tim. 2. 15.) In the *Old Testament* the Greek translatours use of the word belongs to a way or path to goe in, which was wont to be cut out that it might be fitter for use; thence the Latine phrase, *viam secare*, i. e. *to cut a way*, that is, *to goe before and direct any in their journey.* And with the word [ὀρθὸς, *right*] joyned with it, it is to goe before one, and direct him in the straight way to such a place. Hence the *Syriack* version of the *New Testament* renders this phrase in Timothy [ὀρθοτομεῖν τὸν λόγον,] recte prædicare sermonem, i. e. *rightly to Preach the word.* *Fullers Miscellan.* B. 3. chap. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Who were ennobled with the Title of Bishops over the Roman, *and* Alexandrian *Churches in this Emperours time.*

IN the third year of *Adrians* Empire, *Alexander* the Bishop of *Rome* died, having compleated the tenth year of his administration. *Xystus* was successour to him: and about that time, *Primus* dying in the twelfth year of his Presidency over the *Alexandrian* Church, *Justus* succeeded him.

CHAP. V.

Who were Bishops of Jerusalem *from our Saviour, even to these times.*

MOreover, the space of time which the Bishops of *Jerusalem* spent in their Presidency over that See I could in no wise find preserved in writing. For, as report says, they were very short lived: But thus much I have been informed of from old records, that unto the Siege of the Jews in *Adrian's* time, there were in number fifteen successions of Bishops there: all whom, they say, were by birth Hebrews, who had sincerely embraced the knowledge of Christ; in so much that by those, who were then able to give judgment as to such matters, they were approved to be worthy of the Episcopal Office. For that whole Church at *Jerusalem* was made up of believing Jews, who had continued steadfast in the faith from the Apostles times even to the then Siege: wherein the Jews, revolting again from the *Romans*, were vanquished and destroyed by no small wars. The Bishops therefore that were of the circumcision then ceasing, it will be now requisite to give a catalogue of them in their order from first to last. The first therefore was *James* called the brother of the Lord; after him the second was *Simeon*; the third *Justus*; the fourth *Zaccheus*; the fifth *Tobias*; the sixth *Benjamin*; the seventh *John*; the eighth *Matthias*; the ninth *Philip*; the tenth *Seneca*; the eleventh *Justus*; the twelfth *Levi*; the thirteenth *Ephres*; the fourteenth [a] *Joseph*; the fifteenth and last *Judas*: And thus many were the Bishops of the City of *Jerusalem*, from the Apostles to this time we are now treating of; all which were of the Circumcision. But now, *Adrian* being in the twelfth year of his Empire, *Telesphorus* the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded *Xystus*, who had compleated the tenth year of his Episcopal Office over the *Romans*; and within a years space and [b] some months *Eumenes*, the sixth in order, succeeded in the Presidency over the *Alexandrian* Church; his immediate predecessour there having sate eleven years.

[a] *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, calls him *Joses*. So *Joseph* the brother of the Lord, of whom *Matthew* and *Mark* speak in their Gospels, is by *Jerom* and others called *Joses*. *Ephres* also is, by *Nicephorus*, called *Ephrem*. Vales.

[b] Or, *one month*; for so *Rufinus* seems to have read in his copy. Vales.

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CHAP. VI.

The last Siege of the Jews in the time of Adrian.

BUt when the rebellion of the Jews again increased exceedingly, * *Rufus* the president of *Judea*, having had auxiliary forces sent him from the Emperour, marched out against them; and, making use of their madness and desperation as an occasion of his sparing none, he slew Myriads together both of men women and children; and by the Law of war reduced their country to servitude and subjection to the *Romans*. The Leader of said the Jews at that time was by name *Barchochebas*, a name indeed that signifies a Star, but otherwise he was a man that was a murderer and a robber: who by reason of his name did monstrously pretend to his followers, being [a] slaves, that he was a star come down from heaven to enlighten them who were now oppressed with servitude. But, the war growing sharp in the eighteenth year of *Adrian's* Empire at the City [b] *Bethera*, which was the best fortified place, and not far distant from *Jerusalem*; and the Siege continuing a long time; the innovatours also having been utterly destroyed by famine and thirst; and the authour of this their madness undergone condigne

* His name was *Tinius Rufus*. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, says this rebellion happened on the 16 year of *Adrian*; at which time the said *Rufus* was President of the Province of *Judea*. Vales.

[a] He calls the *Jews* slaves, because of their poverty and baseness of birth; for most of them were descended of those captives, who were sold under *Titus*. Vales.

[b] Or, *Bithithera*; there was a Town called *Betthar*, which was two and fifty miles distant from *Jerusalem*; another Village there was called *Bethar*, which was twelve miles off *Jerusalem*: both these, *Jerome* calls *Bethoron*. Vales.

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condigne puniſhment; from that time that whole Nation was [c] altogether interdicted to enter into the country about *Jeruſalem*: the Law, Edict, and Sanctions of *Adrian* having commanded them, that they ſhould not ſo much as from a far off behold their paternal ſoyle. *Ariſton* of [d] *Pella* relates this. Thus the City being made deſtitute of the Jewiſh Nation, and wholly cleared of its old inhabitants, was poſſeſſed by forreigners that dwelt there, and [e] afterwards made a *Roman* City; and, changing its name, was, in honour of the Emperour *Ælius Adrianus*, called *Ælia*. And, when there was a Church there gathered of the Nations that dwelt in it, *Mark* was the firſt who, after the Biſhops of the circumciſion, undertook the publick adminiſtration of matters there.

[c] The ſame is atteſted by *Tertullian*, Apologet. c. 16; by *Celſus*, in the latter end of B. 8 of *Origen* againſt him; and by *Gregor. Naz.* in his 12 Orat. Onely, on one day (that whereon *Jeruſalem* was taken and deſtroyed by the *Romans*) the *Jews* out of all nations were wont to meet in *Paleſtine*, and, having paid a ſum of money to the Souldiers, they entred into that part of the City where *Solomon*'s Temple heretofore ſtood; and there they bewailed the deſtruction of the City and Temple. See *Scaliger*, in Animadverſ. *Euſeb.* p. 198. *Valeſ.*

[d] That was a City of *Syria*, which, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, was the ſeat of the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem*; as *Euſebius* teſtifies. This *Ariſton* of *Pella* wrote a book entitled *a Diſpute of Jaſon and Papiſcus*; this book *Origen* makes mention of in his 4 B. againſt *Celſus*: but the Preface of it is onely now extant amongſt the works of *Cyprian*. Valeſ.

[e] *Euſebius* is here doubly miſtaken; both in that he ſays *Jeruſalem* was wholly deſtroyed in *Adrian*'s time; and alſo becauſe he thought that *Ælia Capitolina* was built by the ſame *Adrian* after the Siege of *Betthera*. As to the firſt; its evident from *Joſephus*, that *Jeruſalem* was totally deſtroyed by *Titus*, in ſo much that it was ploughed. As to the ſecond, *Ælia* was ſo far from being built by *Adrian* after this Victory obtained over the *Jews*, that this war was begun by the *Jews* upon that very account. For when the *Jews* ſaw the Soyle of their City occupied by ſtrangers; and perceived that in that very place where the Temple had been, *Jupiter Capitolinus* was worſhiped and ſacrificed to; being not able to endure that, they took Arms, and began this war which *Euſebius* here relates. Which was begun in the 16 year of *Adrian*, and ended the 18 of his Empire. But *Ælia Capitolina* was built long before, *to wit*, in the ſecond year of *Adrian*. From whoſe times to thoſe of *Conſtantine the Great* it was always called *Ælia*. But from the time of *Conſtantine the Great* it recovered again the name of *Jeruſalem*, both upon the account of the honour of that name, and alſo becauſe of its prerogative, being the firſt Epiſcopal Seat. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

Who at that time were the Authours of falſe doctrine.

NOw, the Churches throughout the whole world ſhining like moſt bright ſtars, and the faith in our Saviour and Lord Jeſus Chriſt flouriſhing among all mankind, the Devil that hater of good, as being always the enemy of truth, and moſt malicious impugner of mans ſalvation, uſing all his arts and ſtratagems againſt the Church, at firſt armed himſelf againſt it with outward perſecutions: But then afterwards being excluded from them, he made his aſſaults by other methods, making uſe of evil men and Impoſtours as being the pernitious inſtruments for deſtroying of ſouls, and miniſters of perdition: deviſing all ways, whereby theſe impoſtours and deceivers, cloaking themſelves with the title of our Religion, might both lead into the Pit of deſtruction, thoſe of the Faithfull whom they had enticed to themſelves, and alſo divert ſuch as were unskilfull in the Faith from the way that leads to the comfortable Word, by ſuch means as they attempted to put in practiſe. From that *Menander* therefore, whom we a little * before manifeſted to have been the ſucceſſour of *Simon*, there was hatcht a Serpentine breed, double mouthed as it were, and double headed, which conſtituted the Founders of two different and diſagreeing Hereſies; *Saturninus*, by birth an *Antiochian*, and *Baſilides*, an *Alexandrian*; whereof the former in *Syria*, the other in *Egypt*, ſet up Schools of moſt deteſtable Hereſies. Moreover, *Irenæus* makes it manifeſt that *Saturninus* feigned moſtly the ſame things that *Menander* did; but that *Baſilides* under a pretext of more myſtical matters, moſt mightily enlarged his inventions, forming monſtrous and fabulous fictions for the making up of his impious Hereſie. There being many Eccleſiaſtical men therefore, who at that time were defenders of the Truth, and eloquent maintainers of the Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical doctrine, ſome of them forthwith comprized in writing explanatory accounts of the fore-manifeſted Hereſies, which they left as cautions and preventions to poſterity: of which there is come to our hands a moſt ſtrenuous confutation of *Baſilides*, of *Agrippa Caſtor's*, a moſt eminent Writer in thoſe times; wherein he diſcovers the horrible impoſture of the man: diſcloſing therefore his ſecrets, he ſays that he made four and twenty books upon the [a] Goſpel, and that he counterfeited for himſelf Prophets named by him [b] *Barcabbas* and *Barcoph*, and ſome [c] others who never were in being; and that he gave them barbarous names to aſtoniſh thoſe who were admirers of ſuch things; and that he taught that it was a thing indifferent to taſte of meats offered to Idols, and that in times of perſecutions thoſe did not imprudently who abjured the Faith: and that, after the manner of the *Pythagoreans*, he injoyned a five years ſilence to his followers: the foreſaid Authour having recounted theſe things and others like them concerning this *Baſilides*, hath moſt diligently detected and brought to light the errour of the forementioned Hereſie. But *Irenæus* writeth alſo, that *Carpocrates*, the father of another Hereſie termed the *Gnoſtick Hereſie*, was cotemporary with theſe. Theſe *Gnoſticks* thought that thoſe magical deluſions of *Simon*'s were not to be expoſed covertly as he did, but publickly and openly; boaſting of amorous potions accurately and curiouſly made by them, and of certain ſpirits that were cauſes of Dreams, and [d] Familiars, and of certain other ſuch like deluſions, as if theſe were the greateſt and onely excellent things. And agreeable hereunto they taught, that thoſe who would arrive to perfection in their myſteries, or rather deteſtable wickedneſſes, muſt act all things that were moſt filthy and unclean; being no other ways able to avoid the Rulers of the world (as they call them) unleſs they diſtributed to all of them their dues by moſt filthy and deteſtable acts of obſcenity. The devill therefore who delights in miſchief, making uſe of theſe inſtruments, it came to paſs that he both miſerably enſlaved ſuch as were ſeduced by them, and ſo led them into deſtruction; and alſo gave thoſe Nations that were unbelievers a great occaſion of abundantly ſlandring the divine doctrine; a report ariſing from them being diffuſed to the reproachfull detraction of the whole Chriſtian Religion. Upon this account therefore chiefly it happened that an impious and moſt abſurd ſuſpition concerning us was ſpread abroad amongſt thoſe who then

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[a] *Euſebius* ſays not upon what Goſpel *Baſilides* wrote theſe books, perhaps *Baſilides* made theſe books upon his own Goſpel; for he wrote one, and ſet his own name to it, and called it [*the Goſpel according to Baſilides*] as *Origen* atteſts in his 1 Homil. on *Luke*; and *Jerom* in his Preface to S. *Matthew*. Theſe books were called *Baſilides's Exegeticks*. *Clemens* (lib. 4. Stromat.) quotes ſome places out of the 23[d] of theſe books. *Valeſ.*

[b] Or, *Barcabas*: upon theſe Prophets, *Barcabbas* and *Barcoph*, *Iſodore* the ſon of *Baſilides* wrote ſome books of *Expoſitions*, as *Clemens Alexandr.* ſhews, B. 6. *Stromat.* *Valeſ.*

[c] *Euſebius* ſpeaks here of thoſe Prophets whom *Baſilides* feigned for himſelf. Our Authour is right in his ſaying that *Baſilides's* Hereſie ſprang up in *Adrian's* Reign. For then the Hereticks began to creep out of their holes: they thought (the Apoſtles being all dead) that they had then an opportune time to divulge their errours. *Valeſ.*

[d] So they were called, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to be aſſiſtant to men; and kept them from diſeaſes, and unfortunate accidents. Magicians had ſuch ſpirits as theſe at their command, by whoſe help they did miraculous things. *Valeſ.*

* Book 3. chap. 26.

ADRIAN. then were unbelievers; as if we used detestable carnal copulation with mothers and sisters, and fed upon nefarious meats. But these crafts of the devil's did not long succeed with him; the truth asserted and confirmed its self, and in process of time shone forth most clearly and apparently. For these devices of the adversaries, being repelled by their own force, forthwith became extinct; Heresies of a different sort newly designed and cut out, and succeeding one after the other, the former forthwith melted and fell away, and being dissolved into kinds that were of divers sorts and fashions, were, some one way, some another, destroyed. But the brightness of the Catholick and onely true Church, being always the same and so continuing stedfast and like it self, was greatly increased and augmented; the gravity, the sincerity, the ingenious freedom, the modesty, and purity of an holy conversation and Philosophical course of life shooting forth a splendour over all Nations both Grecians and Barbarians. That reproachfull detraction therefore wherewith our Religion had been overspread, was instantly suppressed. Wherefore our doctrine continued to be the onely, and the [c] prevailing opinion among all men, and was confessed to be most eminently flourishing upon account of its gravity, its prudent modesty, and its divine and wise precepts: in so much that no one hitherto hath been so audacious, as to charge our faith with any foul slander, or any such reproachfull detraction, as those our old adversaries were formerly ready and willing to make use of. But moreover, in these times the truth again produced many that were its defenders, who engaged these impious Heresies, not onely with unwritten arguments, but also with penned demonstrations.

[c] Κρατοῦσα is the term in the original, hence the *Christian* Religion was by the heathens called κρατοῦσα δόξα, i. e. the *prevailing opinion*; and the Christians were termed κρατῆνες by *Porphyrius*, in his book *de Oraculor. Philosoph.* which place *Eusebius* quotes, in his 9th B. *Preparat. Evangel.* cap. 10. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

What Ecclesiastical Writers there were in those times.

[a] In my opinion *Hegesippus* is not rightly placed in the times of *Adrian*; neither doe his words, here quoted by *Eusebius*, evince so much. It's certain, *Hegesippus* wrote his books when *Eleutherus* was Bishop of *Rome*, as he himself attests in the 22 chap. of this book. He was contemporary therefore with *Irenæus*, who then composed his elaborate books against the Heresies. Indeed our *Eusebius*, retracting as it were his former opinion, does, in the 21, and 22 chapt. of this book, place *Hegesippus* in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*. Vales.

[b] Which was celebrated every fifth year, at *Mantinea* in *Arcadia*, says *Pausanias*, *in Arcad.* Vales.

[c] Amongst the *Egyptians*, the chief Priest, who was over the other Priests, and distributed to them the Revenue of the Temple, was called a *Prophet*. For the first Officer of the temple was the *Cantor*, then the *Horoscopus*, after him the *Scriba*, then the *Vestitor*: last of all the *Propheta* took his place, who carried a water-pot in his bosom. See *Epiphan.* in 3 B. adverss. Hæres. &c. Concerning these Prophets of *Antinous* instituted by *Adrian* there is mention made in *an old Greek inscription*, quoted by *Casaubon* in his notes on *Spartianus*. Wherefore its no wonder that *Antinous*, deified by *Adrian*, had his Prophets, seeing he was worshipped chiefly by the *Egyptians*. Vales.

AMongst which flourished [a] *Hegesippus*, out of whom we have quoted many words in our foregoing books, when we delivered some passages of those things done in the Apostles times from his relation thereof. He therefore having in five books set forth the certain relation of the Apostolick doctrine in a most plain series, evidently shews the time wherein he flourished: writing thus concerning those who at first set up images--*For whom they made Monuments and Temples, as untill now they doe. Of which number is* Antinous *the servant of* Cæsar Adrianus, *in honour of whom there is a sacred* [b] *game instituted, called* Antinoium, *which is celebrated now in our days. For* Adrian *also built a City, and named it* Antinous, *and instituted* [c] *Prophets.* At the same time also *Justin*, a sincere lover of the true Philosophy, as yet spent his time about, and was studious in, the writings of the gentile Philosophers: he in like manner declares this very time, in his Apologie to *Antoninus*, writing thus; *We judge it not absurd here to mention* Antinous *also who lived very lately; whom all men through fear have undertaken to worship as a God, notwithstanding they evidently know who he was, and from whence he had his original.* The same Authour, mentioning also the war then waged against the Jews, adds thus much; *For in the* [d] *late Jewish war,* Barchochebas, *who was the Head of the Jewish Rebellion, gave command that the Christians onely should be most cruelly tormented, unless they would deny Jesus Christ, and blaspheme.* But moreover, declaring in the same book, his own conversion from the gentile Philosophy to the worship of the true God, that it was not done by him rashly and unadvisedly, but with judgment and consideration, he writes thus; "I also my self, being much addicted to "and affected with the Platonick Philosophy, hear-"ing the Christians calumniated, and seeing them "undaunted at death, and at what ever else is ac-"counted terrible, thought it impossible that such "men should live wickedly and be given to vo-"luptuousness. For, what sensual or intemperate "person, and one who accounts humane flesh good "food, could willingly embrace death, which "would deprive him of his desires? and would "not rather use his utmost endeavour to live con-"tinually in this life, and conceal himself from "the Magistrates? much less would he voluntarily offer himself to be put to death. Moreover the same Authour relates, that *Adrian* (having received letters from that most eminent Governour [e] *Serenius Granianus* concerning the Christians, setting forth how unjust it was they should be slain uncondemned, meerly to gratifie the clamours of the people, when no accusation appeared against them) wrote an answer to [f] *Minucius Fundanus Proconsul* of *Asia*, wherein he commanded that no one should be put to death without a judiciary prosecution, and an accusation lawfull and allowable. And *Justin* there produceth the copy of the Rescript in Latine, the language wherein it was originally written. But before it he premiseth these words; "[g] And al-"though from the letter of the most excellent and "renowned *Cæsar Adrianus* your father, we "might request you would give command, that "the judiciary proceedings against us be made ac-"cording as we desire; yet we crave this, not so "much because it was commanded by *Adrian*, but, "in regard we know and understand our petition "to be just: And moreover, that you may per-"ceive what we say herein to be true, we have in-"serted the copy of *Adrian*'s letter; which is thus. To these words *Justin* hath annexed the Latine copy of the Letter; which we, as well as we could, have done into Greek, after this manner.

[d] Ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ, &c. i. e. *in the Jewish war which was not long since.* For the Greek word [νῦν] is sometimes used in such a sense, as to signifie [*nuper*] i. e. *lately.* In which sense *Justin* uses it, when he speaks of *Antinous* in this chapt. *Vales.*

[e] Or, *Serennius*; he was Proconsul of *Asia*, and predecessour to *Minutius Fundanus* in that Government. *Vales.*

[f] It may be deservedly questioned, why *Adrian* answered not *Granianus* from whom he received these letters, but wrote to *Minutius Fundanus* his successour: the reason, as I suppose, might be this; either *Granianus* died soon after he wrote to *Adrian*; or else he left that Government; For the Proconsuls were annual. *Vales.*

[g] *Justin*, in his second Apologie, as 'tis now commonly written, p. 99. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

The Rescript of Adrian, *that we* Christians *should not be unjustly prosecuted.*

"TO *Minutius Fundanus*. I received a "letter, written to me, from that eminent "person *Serennius Granianus*, your predeces-

ADRIAN. "four. Indeed, this buſineſs, a I judge, is not to "be paſſed by undiſcuſſed; leaſt both the Chri- "ſtians be moleſted, and alſo an occaſion of do- "ing miſchief given to *Sycophants*. Wherefore "if the men of your Province can by a due way "of complaint openly charge the Chriſtians with "any accuſation, and ſo doe it, as that they ap- "pear and anſwer it before the ſeat of judicature; "let them make it their buſineſs onely to take ſuch "a courſe as this *againſt them*; but let them not "uſe [a] tumultuous outcries and clamours. For "its moſt requiſite, if any perſon preferr's a com- "plaint, that you ſhould have the cogniſance of "the matter. If therefore any one does accuſe "*them*, and make out that they doe any thing con- "trary to the Laws, doe you give ſentence ac- "cording to the nature of the offence. But if it be "certain, that any does frame an accuſation meerly "out of a malicious detraction, doe you determine "according to the heinouſneſs of the crime, and "take care that due puniſhment be inflicted on "him. And thus much concerning the Reſcript of *Adrian*.

[a] He means the out-cries, which the people were wont to make in the Theatres, - *The Chriſtians to the Lyons!* as *Tertullian* atteſts. Sometimes it ſo happened that the *Proconſuls* and Governours were forced to yield to theſe tumultuous clamours, though unwilling to it of themſelves. Wherefore the Emperour *Adrian* admoniſheth *Fundanus* the Proconſul not to ſuffer himſelf to be induced by ſuch requeſts to the perſecution and ſlaughter of the Chriſtians. It was an old cuſtom in the *Roman Empire*, for the populace both in the City and in the Provinces, as oft as they met at the *publick ſhews*, to ask of the Emperour, or Governour what they had a mind to, with loud outcries all at once. Inſtances hereof are frequent in the Writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

Who in the Reign of Antoninus *were Biſhops of the* Roman *and* Alexandrian *Sees.*

ANTONINUS PIUS. But, *Adrian* having paid the dues of nature after he had reigned one and twenty years, *Antoninus*, ſurnamed *Pius*, ſucceeded in the *Roman* Empire. In whoſe firſt year *Teleſphorus* departing this life in the eleventh year of his preſidency, *Hyginus* aſſumed the Epiſcopal Government of the *Roman* Church. Moreover, *Irenæus* relates that *Teleſphorus* ended his life with a glorious Martyrdom; manifeſting in the ſame place, that in the times of the aforeſaid *Hyginus* Biſhop of the *Romans*, flouriſhed at *Rome* both *Valentinus* the introducer of his own Hereſie, and alſo *Cerdo* the Founder of the errour of the *Marcionites*; his words are theſe.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning thoſe who were Arch-Hereticks in theſe times.

"FOr *Valentinus* came to *Rome* when *Hygi-* "*nus* was Biſhop there: but he flouriſht "in the times of *Pius*, and continued to thoſe of "*Anicetus*. *Cerdo* alſo, who was maſter to "*Marcion*, *flouriſht* in the times of *Hyginus* who "was the [a] ninth Biſhop; he went into the Church, "and openly confeſſing his errour, ſo continued *at* "*Rome*; ſometimes teaching "privately, other while a- "gain acknowledging his "errour; but being now and "then reprehended for his "impious doctrine, he [b] with- "drew himſelf from the aſ- "ſembly of the brethren.

[a] Theſe words of *Irenæus* are extant in his 3 B. chap. 4. where *the old tranſlatour* ſeems to have read *the eighth*: which reading is moſt agreeable to *Irenæus*, as appears from the 3 chapt. of the ſame book; where he, reckoning up the *Roman* Biſhops, counts *Hyginus* the eighth from the Apoſtles. But in the 1 B. of *Irenæus* chap. 28. its written [*the ninth*] ſo alſo in *Epiphan.* in Hæreſ. *Cerdon.* and in the Epiſtle of *Cyprian* to *Pompeius*. Valeſ.

[b] *Irenæus* does not ſay he was excommunicated; but that he ſeparated himſelf from the Church; whence it appears, that *Cerdo* condemned himſelf, in his own judgment, and ſo prevented the ſentence of the Church. *Valeſ.*

Thus far *Irenæus*, in *his third book againſt Hereſies*. Moreover, in his firſt book he again ſays this concerning *Cerdo*: "But one *Cerdo*, deriving "the original of his errours from the Tenets of "*Simon*, came to *Rome* in the times of *Hyginus* "(who was the ninth that in the Epiſcopal ſuc- "ceſſion from the Apoſtles had that See) and "taught, that that God, who was Preacht under "the Law, and by the Prophets, is not the father "of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: For the one is known, "the other unknown; the one is juſt, the other "good: *Marcion* of *Pontus*, an impudent blaſphe- "mer, ſucceeding him, did mightily propagate "that opinion. But the ſame *Irenæus*, having ſounded the bottom of that immenſe depth of matter, full of various errours, which *Valentinus, had put together*, does fully diſcover the ſecret and occult deceit and wickedneſs, that like a Serpent lurking in its hole, lies hid within him. Moreover, he ſays there was at the ſame time another perſon (by name *Mark*) who was moſt expert at Magical deluſions: and further, he declares their prophane rites of initiation, and their moſt deteſtable myſteries in theſe very words; "For ſome "of them prepare a nuptial-bed, and perform a "ſecret ceremony by pronouncing ſome words "over ſuch as are to be initiated; and a marriage, "they ſay, thus made by them, is ſpiritual, and "conformable to the celeſtial nuptials: But others "of them bring [thoſe that are to be initiated] "to the water, and dipping them, uſe this form of "words, In the name of the unknown Father of "all, In the truth the Mother of all, In Him who "deſcended upon Jeſus: Another ſort of them "pronounce Hebrew names, to put thoſe that are "to be initiated into the greater conſternation. But *Hyginus* dying, [c] after he had been Biſhop four years, *Pius* undertook the Government of the *Roman* Church. Moreover, at *Alexandria Mark* was choſen Paſtour, *Eumenes* having ſat there thirteen years compleat. Which *Mark* dying after he had preſided there ten years, *Celadion* aſſumed the Government of the *Alexandrian* Church: and at *Rome*, *Pius* departing this life in the fifteenth year of his preſidency, *Anicetus* was preferred to that See. In whoſe time *Hegeſippus* relates that he himſelf came to *Rome*, and continued there untill *Eleutherus* was made Biſhop. But at that time flouriſhed *Juſtin* and was ſingularly eminent, one that in a Philoſophical habit was an aſſertour of the Divine Word, and earneſtly contended for the Faith in his writings: who, in the [d] book he wrote againſt *Marcion*, mentions the man to be alive at that time when he compiled that work. His words are theſe; "And one *Mar-* "*cion* of *Pontus*; who now "at this time teacheth his followers, and inſtructs "them [to believe] there is another God grea- "ter than him that made the world. This man "alſo, aſſiſted by devils hath perſwaded many "throughout the world to ſpeak blaſphemy, to "deny the Maker of the univerſe [e] to be the Fa- "ther of Chriſt, and to affirm there is another

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[c] *Rufinus* ſeems to have read it otherwiſe; for he tranſlates it thus; *Quarto autem Epiſcopatûs ſui anno cùm deceſſiſſet Hyginus*, &c. i. e. *Hyginus dying in the fourth year of his being Biſhop*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Our Euſebius* forgot himſelf here, in that he ſays, that theſe following words of *Juſtins* were taken out of his book againſt *Marcion*: they are taken out of *Juſtins ſecond Apologie*; pag. 70. Edit. *Paris*. Valeſ.

[e] Theſe words [*to be the Father of Chriſt*] are wanting in the common Editions of *Juſtin*; and they ſeem to be ſuperfluous. *Marcion* aſſerted, there were two Gods, the one the Creatour, by whom this world was made; the other ſuperiour to him; who framed the better and more excellent things: this God, he ſaid, we ought to confeſs, and to deny the other. This is the meaning of *Juſtins* words: to whom agrees *Epiphan.* in Hæreſ. *Marcion*. *Marcion* held, that that moſt High God was the Father of Chriſt; and that Chriſt came down from heaven to reprehend the other God *the maker of this world*, whom he called the God of the *Jews*. Valeſ.

"greater

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"greater than he that made it: And all their "followers, as we said, are called Christians, af- "ter the same manner as the name of Philosophers, "derived from Philosophie, is in common given "to all that profess it, though they differ as to "their Sects and Opinions. To this he adds fur- ther, saying, "We have compiled a book against "all the Heresies that ever were, which, if you be "willing to read it, we will deliver to you. The same *Justin*, having wrote many elaborate works against the Heathens, dedicated also some other books, containing an Apology for our faith, to the Emperour *Antoninus*, surnamed *Pius*, and to the *Roman* Senate: For he dwelt at *Rome*: But in his Apologie, he makes known himself, who and whence he was, in these words.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Justin's *Apologie to* Antoninus.

"TO the Emperour *Titus Ælius Hadria-* "*nus Antoninus Pius Cæsar Augu-* "*stus*, and to *Verissimus* his son the *Philosopher*, "and to *Lucius* (By [a] Nature son of *Cæsar* the "*Philosopher*, but by Adoption son to *Pius*) the "lover of Learning: To the sacred *Senate* also, "and *people of Rome*, I *Justin* the son of *Priscus*, "the Grandchild of *Bacchius*, who were of [b] *Fla-* "*via Neapolis* a City of *Syria-Palestine*, make "my Request and [c] Petition in behalf of those "men (being my self one of them) who are un- "justly hated and most injuriously treated by all "mankind. And the same Emperour, being addrest too by other brethren, Inhabitants of *Asia*, who were vexed with all manner of mole- stations by the men of their own Province, voutsafed to send this Edict to the [d] Common- Council of *Asia*.

[a] *Lucius* was by Nature the son of *Ælius Verus Cæsar* whom *Adrian* adopted. He dying, *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, upon this condition, that *Pius* should adopt *Marcus* and *Lucius*; as *Spartianus* and *Capitolinus* doe declare. But others say, that *Lucius* was adopted by *Marcus*; so *Capitolinus* in the life of *Marcus*. Wherefore in these words of *Justin*, can be no other person meant by *Cæsar* the *Philosopher*, than *Ælius Verus*, whom *Adrian* adopted. For *Justin* says, that *Lucius* was by nature the son of *Cæsar* the *Philosopher*, and the adoptive son of *Antoninus Pius*. Now, its evident, *Lucius* was *Ælius Verus*'s own son: therefore by *Cæsar* the *Philosopher* must be meant *Ælius Verus*. But there are two things which seem to withstand this exposition of this passage. The first is, the surname of *Philosopher* is no way agreeable to *Ælius Verus*. Indeed, *Ælius Verus* (who was adopted by *Adrian*) was a learned man, and studious, especially in Poetry, as *Capitolinus* says in his life: but his Moralls were in no wise agreeable to the study and profession of Philosophy. Then further, if *Justin* would here mean *Ælius Verus* why does he not mention his name? For the Appellation of *Cæsar* the *Philosopher* seems not sufficient to evidence him to be meant; in as much as that appellation might be common to *Marcus* also. We could easily clear our selves of these difficulties by admitting the reading of the four M. SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and *Savil.* where this place is thus written [*And to Lucius the Philosopher, by nature the son of Cæsar*] which reading *Casaubon* approves of, in his notes on *Spartianus*. But we judge it not to be good. For it follows in *Justin* [the lover of Learning] where you see *Marcus* and *Lucius* have each their Epitheres: *Marcus* is termed [*the Philosopher*] and *Lucius* [*the lover of Learning*] Vales.

[b] *Neapolis*, a City of *Palestine*, is called *Flavia*, because there was a Colony brought thither by *Flavius Vespasianus*. Before, it was called *Sichem*. Yet *Pliny* does not say there was a Colony there. Afterwards, the Emperour *Severus* deprived it of its priviledges, and reduced it to a village, because it favoured *Nigers* side. *Vales.*

[c] In the Original 'tis [ἔντευξιν] *Rufinus* translates it [*postulatum*, i. e. a *Petition*] The Greek word [ἐντυγχάνειν] signifies, *to goe to the Emperour, and make a request to him*; which was most commonly done in writing: There is extant a form of such a Petition (presented by *Marcellinus* the *Presbyter* to *Theodosius Augustus*) which *Syrmondus* published lately: it begins thus; *Deprecamur mansuetudinem vestram*; i. e. *We earnestly intreat your Graciousness*, &c. *Vales.*

[d] See note B. in the following Chapter.

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CHAP. XIII.

The Rescript of Antoninus *to the Common Council of* Asia, *concerning our Religion.*

"THE Emperour *Cæsar* [a] *Marcus Aurelius* "*Antoninus Augustus Armenicus, Ponti-* "*fex Maximus*, Tribune of the People XV, Con- "sul III. to the [b] Common [Councill] of *Asia*, "*sendeth* greeting. We know "indeed that the Gods doe "take care, this sort of men "should not continue undis- "covered. For it is much "more sutable for them to "punish such as refuse to pay "them Adoration, than for "you. You confirm those, "whom you molest and dis- "quiet, in their opinion "which they have embraced, "whilest you accuse them "of impiety. And it would "please them much more "to seem to be accused and put "to death for their own God, "than to live: upon which ac- "count they are become con- "querours, and doe willingly "lose their lives, rather than "they will be induced to doe "what you command them. "But concerning the Earth- "quakes, which either have "been or yet doe happen, it "will not be inconvenient to "advertise you (because you "despond and are out of "heart when such accidents "come to pass) to compare "[c] your [*manner of life and* "*behaviour*] with theirs. "They [*at such times*] put "a greater confidence in God; but you, du- "ring the whole time (upon which account "you seem to us to err through ignorance) neg- "lect the Gods, and are careless both of all other "[*religious performances*,] and also of the wor- "ship of the immortal God: And the Christi- "ans, who adore him, you are enraged at, and "persecute even to death. Concerning these "men many Governours of Provinces heretofore "wrote to [d] our most divine "father. To whom he re- "turned answer, that such "men should not be mole- "sted, unless it appeared they "attempted any thing preju- "dicial to the State of the "*Roman* Empire: And ma- "ny also have given us in- "timation concerning these "men, whom we answered "pursuant to our Fathers decree. If therefore "any one shall still persevere to give disturbance "to any one of these sort of men, because he is a "Christian, the party accused shall be acquitted, "although it evidently appears he is a Christian; "but the accuser shall be obnoxious to punishment. *This Edict* was [e] publisht at *Ephesus* in the

[a] *Eusebius* is mistaken in attributing this Rescript to *Antoninus Pius*, whenas it was *M. Aurelius*'s (as appears by the Title) written in the first year of his Reign, when he was Consul III. See *Onuphrii Fast. ad ann. Vrb.* 914. The testimony of *Melito* (which *Eusebius* produces to confirm his opinion in this point) destroys it. For *Melito*, in his Apologie, reckons up all the Rescripts of *Antoninus Pius* in favour of the Christians; *to wit*, his Epistle to the *Larisæans*, to the *Thessalonians*, the *Athenians*, and to all the *Grecians*: Now if this Rescript to the Common Council of *Asia* had been *Antoninus Pius*'s, doubtless *Melito* (being of the Province of *Asia*) would not have omitted it. For he could not be ignorant of it, since it was publisht at *Ephesus*: and, when he had reckoned up the other Rescripts of *Pius*, why should he not make mention of this, which was written to the people of his own Province? *Vales.*

[b] Συνέδριον, i. e. *Councill*, is to be understood. For the *Asians* had a Common-Councill of the whole Province, to which each City sent its Representatives; as *Aristides* declares, in the 4. of his *Orat. Sacr.* And the same Authour says there, that this Councill met in the *upper Phrygia*, that is, at *Apamea*, or *Synnada*. Yet, as it seems, they met in other Cities. There were, in the other *Roman* Provinces, such Councills as these. *Vales.*

[c] It should be ὑμέτερος, i. e. *Your*: as it is in *Justins* Apologie, at the end. *Vales.*

[d] Although this Rescript be not *Antoninus Pius*'s; yet it's here produced in an opportune place. For in it is mention made of that Epistle which *Antoninus Pius* wrote to the Governours of Provinces, when they enquired of him what they should doe with the Christians. *Melito* makes mention of this Epistle of *Pius*'s; whose words *Eusebius* quotes in chap. 26. of this 4 book. *Vales.*

[e] To some Laws, in the *Codex Theodosian.* there is put [P.P.] which mark signifies that that Law of the Emperour was made Publick in *such a* City. For the Emperours, as oft as they would have any Edict be taken notice of and known to all, were wont to write with their own hand this word [*Proponatur*, i. e. *Let it be Published.*] Vales.

ANTONINUS PIUS. f publick aſſembly of *Aſia*. That theſe things were thus done, *Melito* Biſhop of the Church at *Sardis* (who flouriſht in the ſame times) does evidently atteſt, by what he has ſaid in his moſt uſefull Apologie, which he made to the Emperour *Verus*, for our Religion.

f That is, in the room or place where the Councill met. It may alſo be taken for the Temple which the Province of *Aſia* built in honour of *Rome* and *Auguſtus*. There is extant an old Coin of *Claudius Auguſtus*, whereon there is a Temple to be ſeen with this Title [R. & AUG.] and this inſcription [COM. ASIÆ.] on both ſides of the Temple. This Temple, I ſuppoſe, was at *Epheſus*, wherein all the Cities of *Aſia* met to ſolemnize their Religious Rites for the proſperity of the Emperour and the *Roman* People: and this Temple was for the uſe of all *Aſia* in common, being built at the publick charge. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

Some memoires of Polycarp *the diſciple of the Apoſtles.*

AT this time, *Anicetus* preſiding over the *Roman* Church, *Irenæus* relates that *Polycarp* (who till now ſurvived) came to *Rome* and diſcourſt *Anicetus* about a queſtion that aroſe concerning *Eaſter-day*. And the ſame Authour delivers another relation concerning *Polycarp*, (in his *third book againſt Hereſies*) which I judged requiſite to adjoyn to what has been mentioned concerning him; it is thus: "And *Polycarp*, who "was not onely inſtructed by the Apoſtles and "converſant with many that ſaw Chriſt, but alſo "was by the Apoſtles ordained Biſhop of the "Church of *Smyrna* in *Aſia* (whom we alſo ſaw "in our younger days; for he lived to a great "age, and being very antient, ended his life by "a glorious and moſt renowned Martyrdom) "*This Polycarp, I ſay*, continually taught what "he had learned of the Apoſtles, ſuch points as "the Church now teacheth, and ſuch onely as are "true: all the Churches throughout *Aſia* doe atteſt "this, and alſo all thoſe who to this day have been "ſucceſſours to *Polycarp*; who doubtleſs is a "witneſs much more worthy to be credited, and "gives a firmer aſſurance to the truth, than either "*Valentinus*, or *Marcion*, or any other Au-"thours of corrupt opinions. This *Polycarp*, "coming to *Rome* in the times of *Anicetus*, con-"verted many of the foreſaid Hereticks to the "Church of God, declaring that he had received "the one and onely truth from the Apoſtles, "which was taught by the Church. And there "are ſome yet ſurviving, who heard him relate, "that *John* the diſciple of the Lord going into the "Bath at *Epheſus* to waſh himſelf, and ſeeing *Ce-*"*rinthus* in it, leapt out having not bathed him-"ſelf, but ſaid, let us make haſt away, leaſt the "Bath fall, *Cerinthus* that enemy of the Truth "being within it. This ſame *Polycarp* alſo, when "*Marcion* on a time came into his preſence and "ſaid to him [a] Take acquain-"tance of us, returned him "anſwer, I take notice of "thee to be the firſt begot-"ten of the devill. So ex-"ceedingly cautious were the "Apoſtles and their diſci-"ples, not ſo much as by "ſpeech to have any con-"verſe with ſuch as were "corrupters of the Truth; "as *Paul* alſo ſaid, * *A man* "*that is an heretick, after* "*the firſt and ſecond admonition, reject: knowing* "*that he that is ſuch, is ſubverted, and ſinneth,* "*being condemned of himſelf*. There is extant "alſo of this *Polycarp*'s a moſt incomparable "Epiſtle, written to the *Philippians*; from which "thoſe who are deſirous to be carefull about their "own ſalvation, may learn the character of his "Faith, and the publication of the Truth. Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Polycarp*, in his ſaid Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, which is ſtill extant, quotes ſome authorities out of the firſt Epiſtle of *Peter*. Moreover *Antoninus*, ſurnamed *Pius*, having compleated the two and twentieth year of his Reign, *died*; and was ſucceeded by *M. Aurelius Verus* (who alſo was named *Antoninus*, and was his ſon) and his brother *Lucius*.

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[a] In the Original the term is [ἐπιγίνωσκε] which in this place is the ſame almoſt in ſignification with the word [*Salutare*, i. e. *to Salute*]. For therefore would *Marcion* have had himſelf taken notice of, that he might be ſaluted. So, antiently in the Church, when the Faithfull approacht the holy Table, the *Deacon* was wont to cry aloud often [ἐπιγινώσκεσθε ἀλλήλους, i. e. *acknowledge one another*] *to wit*, leaſt any prophane perſon or Jew ſhould come to the Sacrament. *Valeſ.* S. *Paul* uſes this term (1 Cor. 16. 18.) where our tranſlation renders it [*acknowledge.*]

* Tit. 3. 10. 11.

CHAP. XV.

How, in the Reign of Verus, Polycarp, *together with others, ſuffered Martyrdom in the City of* Smyrna.

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AT this time, when moſt ſore perſecutions were ſtirred up in *Aſia*, *Polycarp* ended his life by Martyrdom: [The account of] whoſe death (as it is yet extant in writing) we judged moſt requiſite to be inſerted into this our Hiſtory. It is an Epiſtle, written from the Church over which he preſided to the Churches throughout [a] *Pontus*, which ſets forth the ſufferings of *Polycarp* in theſe words: "The Church of God which is "at *Smyrna*, to the Church at *Philomelium*; and to "all the congregations of holy Catholick Church "every where, the mercy, "peace and love of God the "Father, and of our Lord Je-"ſus Chriſt be multiplied; "we have written unto you, "brethren, both concerning "others who ſuffered Mar-"tyrdom, and alſo about the "bleſſed *Polycarp*; who by "his own Martyrdom ſealed "up, as it were, and put an "end to the perſecution. [b] After theſe words, before their relation concerning *Polycarp*, they give an account of the other Martyrs; deſcribing their conſtancy of mind during their torments: "For "thoſe, they ſay, who ſtood "round were aſtoniſhed, when "they ſaw them firſt lacera-"ted with ſcourges even as deep as their in-moſt "Veins and Arteries; (inſomuch that the hidden "parts of their bodies, and their bowels were vi-"ſible;) then laid upon the ſhells of a ſort of Sea-"fiſh, and on ſome very ſharp heads of darts and "*Javelins* ſtrewed on the ground, and undergoing "all ſorts of puniſhments and torments; and in "fine, thrown to the wild beaſts to be devoured. But moſt eſpecially they relate, that *Germanicus* was moſt ſignally couragious, who being [c] corroborated by divine grace, overcame that fear of bodily death implanted by nature on the mind of man. For when the *Proconſul*, deſirous by perſwaſion to prevail upon him, propoſed to him

[a] Inſtead of [χατ πόντον, i. e. *throughout Pontus*, the reading, as I judge, ſhould be [χατ πάντα τόπον, i. e. *Every where*: which is confirmed by the inſcription of the Epiſtle, which is thus χατ πάντα τόπον, &c. i. e. *every where*, &c. Neither is there any mention of the Churches of *Pontus* in the title of this Epiſtle. For *Philomelium* is not a City of *Pontus*, but of *Lycaonia*, as *Pliny* ſays, or (as others) of *Piſidia*. For ſo in the Acts of the *Council* of *Chalcedon*, one *Paul*, a *Philomelian*, is named among the Biſhops of *Piſidia*. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* Edit. it is [χατ πόντον, i. e. *throughout Pontus*.

[b] This whole Epiſtle, concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, is put out by the Learned Biſhop *Uſher*. Our *Euſebius* does not inſert the whole Epiſtle; the Learned reader may ſee it entire in that Edit. of Biſhop *Ushers*.

[c] In Biſhop *Ushers Edit.* of this Epiſtle this place is different from what is here. The words there are theſe [ὁ γὰρ γενναῖος Γερμανικὸς ἐπῤῥώννυεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς; i. e. *For the moſt couragious Germanicus ſtrengthened the imbecillity of others by his great patience in undergoing the Tortures.*

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him his youthfullness, and earnestly entreated him that, being young and in the prime of his years, he would have some compassion on himself: he made no delay, but readily and couragiously enticed the wild beast to devour himself, and almost forced and stimulated it, that he might the sooner be dismist out of this unrighteous and wicked life. Immediately upon his glorious death, the whole multitude, greatly admiring the couragiousness of the divine Martyr, and the fortitude of all the other Christians, on a sudden began to cry out, *destroy the impious: Let* Polycarp *be sought after.* Moreover, there following a great tumult upon these clamours, a man, by name *Quintus*, by extract a *Phrygian*, lately come out thence, seeing the wild beasts, and the other tortures they threatned to make use of, was daunted and dispirited, and at length gave way to a desire of saving his life. The contents of the foresaid Epistle doe manifest, that this *Quintus* (together with some others) ran with too much rashness, and without any religious consideration, to the place of judicature; but being forthwith apprehended, he gave all men a signal example, that none should be so audacious, as to precipitate themselves into such dangers without a considerate and pious circumspection. But thus far concerning these men. Now the most admirable *Polycarp*, when he first heard these things, was not at all disturbed, but continued to keep himself in a steadfast, serene, and unmoved temper of mind; and resolved with himself to continue in the City. But his friends and those who were about him, beseeching and entreating him, that he would withdraw himself, he was prevailed with, and went out of the City to a countrey-house not far distant therefrom; where he abode with a small company, spending the time day and night (being intent upon nothing else) in continued prayers to the Lord; wherein he craved and made humble supplications and requests for the peace of all the Churches throughout the world: For that was his constant and continual usage. Moreover, three days before his apprehension, being at prayer in the night time, and falling into a sleep, he thought he saw the pillow, whereon his head lay, on a sudden consumed by a flame of fire. Whereupon being awaked out of his sleep, he forthwith expounded the vision to those who were then present, and having little less than predicted what was in future to be, he expressly declared to those that were about him, that he should be burnt to death for [the testimony of] Christ. Further, when those that sought for him used their utmost care and diligence to find him out, he was again constrained through the love and affection of the brethren to remove, as they say, to another countrey house. Whither his pursuers soon after came, and catcht up two boys that were there; by the one of which, after they had scourged him, they were conducted to the house where *Polycarp* lodged; and coming in the evening, they found him reposing himself in an upper room. Whence he might easily have removed into another house, but he would not, saying, *The will of the Lord be done.* Moreover, when he understood they were come, as that Epistle relates, he went down, and with a very chearfull and most milde countenance talked with the men: insomuch that they (to whom *Polycarp* was before unknown) thought they saw a wonder, when they beheld his exceeding great age, and his venerable and grave [d] behaviour; and they admired so much diligence should be used to apprehend such an old man. But he, making no delay, presently ordered the table to be spread for them: then he invites them to a sumptuous feast and requested of them one hours space, which he might without disturbance spend in prayer: when they permitted him that, he arose and prayed, being so full of the grace of the Lord, that those who were present and heard him pray were struck with admiration, and many of them altered their minds and were now very sorry that so venerable and divine an old man was forthwith to be put to death. Afterwards, the foresaid Epistle contains word for word this subsequent relation concerning him, "But after he had ended "his prayer (wherein he made mention of all per- "sons who at any time had "been [e] conversant with him, "both small and great, noble "and obscure; and also of "the whole Catholick Church "throughout the world) the "hour of his departure being "now come, they set him up- "on an Asse, and brought "him to the City on the day "of the [f] great Sabbath: He- "rod the [g] *Eirenarch* and his "father *Nicetes* met him; "who taking him up into "their Chariot, as they sate "together, endeavoured to "perswade him, and said: "*For what harm is it to say "these words, Lord Cæsar, "and to sacrifice, and so to "evade punishment?* He at "first made them no answer; "but, they continuing to be "importunate with him, he "said, I will never doe what "you endeavour to induce "me to. They, despairing "of perswading him, gave "him opprobrious language, "and thrust him out of their "Chariot so hastily, that in "his going down he very "much bruised the fore part "of his leg. But he, no more "concerned than if he had "suffered no harm, went on "chearfully and made haste, "being brought [by a guard] "to the †*Stadium*: but (there "being so great a noise made "in the *Stadium* that few "could perfectly hear) this "voice came from heaven to "*Polycarp* as he entred the "*Stadium*, *Be couragious*, "Polycarp, *and behave thy "self valiantly*: no person "indeed saw him that spoke, "but many of us Christians "heard the voice. When "therefore he was brought "before the Tribunal, a great "shout was made, because "the multitude heard *Polycarp* whas apprehended. "After that, when he was come near him, the [h] Pro- "consul asked him whether he were *Polycarp*;

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[d] Or, *countenance*; for in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [προσώπου] But in the Kings M. S. it is [τρόπου; i. e. *behaviour*, or, *carriage*;] as we translate it. *Vales.*

[e] In the Mazz. and Med. M.SS. in stead of [συμβεβηκότων, i. e. *which happened*, &c.] the reading is [συνδεδληκότων, i. e. *which had been conversant*] and so *Rufinus* read this place, as appears from his Version: and the old Translatour of this Epistle, put forth by Bishop *Usher*, is found to have read it so likewise. *Vales.* In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [συμβεβηκότων αυτῷ, i. e. *which had happened to him.*

[f] So it was called whenever the first day of the feast of unleavened bread fell on the Sabbath day. See Jo. 19. 31. & 7. 37. For that which among the Jews is חג *a feast*, מקרא קדש, *the day of solemn assembly* in any feast, (and such were the first day, and the last of the feast of tabernacles, the first and seventh of the feast of unleavened bread, and the day of *Pentecost*) is by the Jews, writing in Greek, called μεγάλη ἡμέρα, *a great day.* So the 72 render it, Isa. 1. 13. where we read *calling of assemblies.* See *Scalig. proleg. de Emend. Temp.* p. 6, & 7. Bishop *Usher* (in his tract *De anno Macedon.* chap. 3.) says that the *great Sabbath*, mentioned here, was that which immediately preceded *Easter*; the Learned reader may see the Authour and his reasons.

[g] It was the office of this Magistrate to apprehend seditious persons, and disturbers of the publick peace, and, having before sent their indictments, to bring them to the places of judicature: so says *August.* in his 140, and 159 Epist. Hence 'tis here said, that *Herod*, the *Irenarch* of *Smyrna*, took up *Polycarp* into his Chariot, whom he had commanded to be found out and apprehended by his guards. These *Irenarchs* were made of some of the members of the Court of Judicature, as the 49th Law in the *Codex Theodos.* does shew. At last *Theodosius* Junior wholly abolished that office in the East: his constitution is extant in the *Codex Theodos.* They had under their command horsemen; and the *Diogmitæ*, [i. e. *pursuers*] a sort of Souldiers that were lightly armed, and so more expedite to pursue and take such as were thieves. *Vales.*

† That was the place where their sacred games and shews were exhibited.

[h] This *Proconsul's* name was *Statius Quadratus*; for so 'tis truly Printed in the old Latine translation of this Epistle, which the most learned *Arch B. Usher* published. This man, as I judge, was the same person with *L. Statius Quadratus*, who was Consul in the reign of *Antoninus*, *anno urb. condit.* 895. *Aristides* makes

makes mention of this *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, in the firſt and fourth of his *Sacred Orations*: where he alſo calls him a *Rhetorician*. I doubt not therefore but he was the ſame man with *Quadratus* the Conſul, who, as *Philoſtratus* ſays, was the maſter of *Varus Sophiſta*, who was wont to declaim *extempore* upon any ſubject given; and was a great emulatour of *Favorinus Sophiſta*. In what year he bore the office of Proconſul of *Aſia*, *Ariſtides* indeed ſays not. But that, as it ſeems to me, may be made out from his relation. For, in the 4 of his *Orat. Sacr.* *Ariſtides* ſays, that a little after that Plague which raged in *Aſia*, *Severus* was *Proconſul*. *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places that Plague on the 8 year of M. *Aurelius Antoninus*. Therefore *Severus* was *Proconſul* of *Aſia* in the 9 of M. *Aurelius*. When he was *Proconſul*, *Ariſtides* writes, that he received letters out of *Italy* from the Emperours; *to wit*, from the ſeniour *Auguſtus* and his ſon: where by the name of *Auguſtus* he underſtands *Marcus*; and the ſon of the Emperour is *Commodus*, who was then called *Cæſar*. Next before *Severus*, *Pollio* was Proconſul, as *Ariſtides* atteſts in the ſame place; and immediately before *Pollio*, our *Quadratus* was the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*: for ſo ſays *Ariſtides* in the ſame Oration. So that *Quadratus* was *Proconſul* of *Aſia* in the 7 of *Marcus*'s Empire. On which year alſo *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Martyrdome of *Polycarp*. They are in an errour therefore, who ſay the Martyrdome of *Polycarp* happened on the ninth of *Marcus*. For, whereas tis manifeſt from the atteſtation of *Ariſtides*, that *Quadratus* (under whom *Polycarp* ſuffered) bore the *Proconſulate* of *Aſia* in the ſeventh year of *Marcus*, the death of *Polycarp* is neceſſarily to be placed on the ſame year. *Valeſ.*

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"and when he had confeſſed he was, the Proconſul endeavoured to perſwade him to renounce "[Chriſt] ſaying, *have a reverent regard to thine age* (and ſome other words agreeable hereto, "which 'tis uſual for them to ſpeak) *ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar; change thy mind, ſay, deſtroy the impious*: But *Polycarp*, beholding with a grave "and ſevere countenance the multitude that was "in the *Stadium*, ſtretched forth his hand towards them, and ſighed, and looking up towards "heaven, ſaid, deſtroy the impious. When the "Governour was urgent with him, and ſaid, *ſwear and I will releaſe thee, ſpeak reproachfully of Chriſt*; *Polycarp* made anſwer, *I have ſerved him theſe eighty and ſix years; during all which time he never did me injury; how then can I blaſpheme my King, who is my Saviour?* "But when the *Proconſul* was again inſtant with "him, and ſaid, *ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar*; "*Polycarp* ſaid, *becauſe you are ſo vain glorious as to be urgent with me to ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar, (as you call it) pretending your ſelf ignorant who I am; hear me plainly and freely making this profeſſion; I am a Chriſtian: now if you are deſirous to learn the doctrine of Chriſtianity, allow me one days ſpace, and you ſhall hear it.* The Proconſul ſaid, perſwade the people: I have thought good (anſwered *Polycarp*) to give you an account; for "we are taught to attribute due honour (ſuch as is "not prejudicial to our profeſſion) to Magiſtrates "and powers which are ordained of God; but I "judge them unworthy of having an account given "them of our faith. The Proconſul ſaid, I have "wild beaſts, to them I will caſt thee, unleſs you "alter your mind: Command them to be brought "forth (ſaid *Polycarp*) for our minds are not "to be altered from better to worſe; but we account that change good, which is from vice to "virtuous actions. He ſaid again to him, ſince you "contemn the wild beaſts, I will give order that "you be conſumed by fire, unleſs you change "your mind. You threaten me (replied *Polycarp*) with a fire that burns for an hour, and "ſoon after becomes extinct; but you are ignorant "of that fire of the future judgment and eternal "puniſhment, which is reſerved for the impious; "but why doe you make delays? Order [1] which "you will to be made uſe of upon me. When "he had ſpoken theſe and many other words, he "was filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance was repleniſhed with a comely graceM. AURELIUS & L. VERUS.
"fullneſs: in ſo much that he was not onely not "overwhelmed with terrour at what was ſaid to "him, but (on the contrary) the Proconſul "ſtood aſtoniſhed; and ſent the Cryer to make "Proclamation thrice in the midſt of the *Stadium*, *Polycarp* profeſſeth himſelf to be a Chriſtian: at which words uttered by the Cryer, the "whole multitude both of Heathens and Jews who "were inhabitants of *Smyrna*, in a moſt furious "rage and with a great noyſe cryed out, This is "the Teacher of *Aſia*, The Father of the Chriſtians, The deſtroyer of our Gods, who gives "command to many men not to ſacrifice, nor "adore the Gods. Having ſaid theſe words they "cryed out and requeſted "*Philip* the [k] *Aſiarch* to let "forth a Lyon upon *Polycarp*. But he made anſwer, "that that was not lawfull "for him to doe, becauſe the "*Amphitheatrical ſhews*, or "the hunting of the wild "beaſts were concluded. "Then they all cryed out "with a joynt conſent, that "*Polycarp* ſhould be burnt "alive. For it was neceſſary that the viſion which "appeared to him upon his "pillow ſhould be fulfilled; "when, being at prayer, he "ſaw that burning, he turned "to the brethren that were "with him and ſaid Prophetically, I muſt be burnt alive. Theſe things therefore "were with no leſs celerity "done then they had been "ſpoken; the multitude immediately brought together "wood and dried branches "of trees out of their ſhops, "and from the Baths; but the "Jews eſpecially moſt readily (as it was their uſage) "aſſiſted in this buſineſs. Now "when the pile of wood for "the fire was made ready, "*Polycarp*, having unclothed "himſelf, and unlooſed his "girdle, endeavoured alſo to "put off his own ſhoes; a "thing which before he never did, becauſe every one "of the faithfull continually "ſtrove who ſhould ſooneſt "touch his skin: for he was "always reverenced for his "godly courſe of life, even "before he came to be gray"headed, preſently therefore "all the [l] inſtruments pre-

[k] Theſe *Aſiarchs* were the Prieſts of the community (or whole body of inhabitants) of the Province of *Aſia*: for as the people of *Aſia* had Temples built by common charge, ſacred games, ſacred feaſts in common, and a Common-council; ſo alſo they had a Prieſthood called *Aſiarchia*, that is, the common prieſthood of *Aſia*; and thoſe who executed this ſacerdotal office (which conſiſted in the managing their publick ſports or ſpectacles) were termed *Aſiarchs*. Theſe *Aſiarchs* were elected after this manner: each City of *Aſia*, at the beginning of every year (that is, about the *Autumnal equinox*) had a publick meeting, wherein they appointed one of their own Citizens to be an *Aſiarch*; then they ſent Deputies to the Common-council of the Province, who declared to them his name whom they had made choice of at home: after which the Common-council choſe about ten to be *Aſiarchs*, out of the number of all thoſe, whom each City had elected to that office. See *Ariſtides*, in *Orat. Sacr.* 4tâ. Now the difficulty is, whither all theſe, who were elected by the Common-council, executed this office altogether, or whither onely one of them was *Aſiarch*: *Valeſius* thinks there was but one *Aſiarch*; his reaſons are theſe; thongh more than one were elected by the Senate of *Aſia*, yet that perhaps was done that out of them the *Roman Proconſul* might chooſe one, as he uſually did in the Election of the *Irenarchs*: again, the Senate might elect more than one, becauſe if the firſt that was choſen *Aſiarch* ſhould die, before he had ended his year, there might be another to ſupply his place: laſtly, that there was but one *Aſiarch* every year, is apparent from the words at the latter end of this Epiſtle (which *Euſebius* leaves out in his quotation, but the learned reader may ſee them in Arch B. *Uſhers*'s Edit. of it) where 'tis ſaid, *Polycarp* ſuffered under *Philip* the *Aſiarch*, and *Statius Quadratus* Proconſul of *Aſia*. This is the opinion of *Valeſius*, and theſe are his reaſons for it. On the other ſide, the incomparably learned *Uſher* affirms that there were more *Aſiarchs* than one at the ſame time; which he collects from Acts 19. 31. with whom agrees the learned Dr *Hammond* in his Paraphraſe and Notes on that Text, and alſo Mr *Fo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, pag. 49. of his works, Edit. *Lond.* 1665. This office (ſays *Valeſius*) was very chargeable, therefore the richeſt perſons were elected to it. Hence 'tis that *Strabo* affirms, that the *Aſiarchs* were commonly choſen out of *Trallis*, the Citizens whereof were the wealthieſt of all *Aſia*.

[l] That is, the ſtake, (to which ſuch as were to be burnt were bound) the Nails, the Ropes, and the *Tunica moleſta* (mentioned by *Juvenal*) which was *a Coat, daubed all over with Pitch and Brimſtone, and put upon the Perſon who was to be burnt*, Valeſ.

[1] *To wit*, either the fire, or the wild beaſts.

For the reading in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. is [φέρε ἃ θέλεις] in the plural number; and ſo we tranſlate it. *Valeſ.*

"pared

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"pared for the fiery pile were applied to and put "about him; but when they went about to nail "him to the stake, he said, *Let me be as I am; "for he that gives me strength to endure the fire, "will also grant that I shall continue within the "pile unmoved and unâisturbed by reason of my "pain, even without your securing me with nails:* "so they did not make him fast to the stake with "nails, but onely bound him to it. He therefore, "having put his hands behind him, and being bound, "(as it were a select Ram, pickt out of a great "flock, to be offered as an acceptable *Holocaust* to "Almighty God) said; *Thou Father of thy well be-"loved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom "we have received the knowledge of thee! Thou "God of Angels and powers, and of the whole Crea-"tion, and of all the generation of the Just who "live in thy presence! I bless thee because thou "hast vouchsafed to bring me to this day and this "hour, wherein I may take my portion among the "number of the Martyrs, and of the cup of Christ "in order to the resurrection both of soul and body "to eternal life, in the incorruption of the Holy "Spirit; among whom let me (I beseech thee) "be this day accepted in thy sight, as it were a sa-"crifice fat and well pleasing to thee, according as "thou hast prepared, foreshewed, and fulfilled, thou "God of truth who canst not lie; wherefore also "I praise thee for all these things, I bless thee, I "glorifie thee, through the eternal Highpriest Jesus "Christ thy well beloved Son, through whom to "thee together with him in the Holy Ghost be glory "both now and for ever. A-"men:* [m] When with a loud "voice he had said *Amen*, "and made an end of pray"ing, the officers who had "the charge about the fire, "kindled it; and when there "arose a great flame, we (who "were permitted to see it, "and who are hitherto pre-"served alive to relate to "others what then happened) saw a wonderfull "sight. For the fire, composing it self into the "form of an arch or half circle (like the sail of "a ship swelled with the wind) immured within "a hollow space the body of the Martyr; which, "being in the middle of it, lookt not like burnt "flesh, but like gold, or silver refining in a fur-"nace; and forthwith we smelt a most fragrant "scent, as if it had been the smell of frankincense, "or of some other of the pretious sweet scented "spices. In fine therefore, when those impious "wretches saw the body could not be consumed by "the fire, they commanded "the [n] *Confector* to approach "it, and sheath his sword in "it; which when he had "done, there issued forth so "great a quantity of bloud, "that it extinguisht the fire; "and the whole multitude "admired, in that there was so great a difference "shewed between the infidels and the Elect. Of "which number this most admirable person was "one, who was the Apostolical and Prophetical "doctour of our age, and Bishop of the Catholick "Church at *Smyrna*. For every word, which pro-"ceeded out of his mouth, either hath been, or "shall be fulfilled. But the envious and malevo-"lent devil, that deadly enemy to the generation of "the just, understanding the couragiousness of his "Martyrdom, and his unblameable conversation "even from his youth, and [perceiving] that "he was now encircled in a Crown of immorta-"lity, and had most undoubtedly obtained the "glorious reward of his victory; *the devil, I say,* "used his utmost diligence that his body should "not be born away by us Christians, although "many of us were desirous to doe it, and to have "[o] been conversant with his "sacred dead body. Some "therefore suggested to *Ni-"cetas* the father of *Herod*, "but the brother of [p] *Dalcis*; "do address to the Gover-"nour, that he would not give "us his body; least (as they "said) they leave him that "was crucified, and begin to "worship this person: and "this they spoke upon ac-"count of the suggestion and "importunity of the Jews, "who very diligently watcht "us when we were about to "take his body out of the "fire: but they were igno-"rant, that we could ne-"ver at any time relinquish "Christ (who suffered for "the salvation of all those "throughout the world who "were to be saved) nor yet "worship any other. For "we adore him as being the "Son of God; but we have a worthy affection "for the Martyrs (as being the disciples and fol-"lowers of the Lord) because of their most ex-"ceeding great love shown to their own King and "Master; whose [q] companions and fellow disci-"ples we wish our selves to be. The *Centurion* "therefore, perceiving the "contentious obstinacy of "the Jews, caused the body "to be brought forth, and "(as 'tis customary with "them) burnt it: and so we at length gathered "up his bones, more highly to be prized than the "most pretious gemms, and more refined than the "purest gold, and deposited them in a decent place "of burial: whereat being assembled together, "the Lord grant we may with joy and gladness "celebrate the [r] Birth-day of his Martyrdom, both "in memory of those who have heretofore under-"gone and been victorious in "this glorious conflict, and "also for the instruction and "preparation of such as here-"after shall be exercised "therein. Thus much con-"cerning the blessed *Polycarp*, who together with "[s] twelve *Philadelphians* was crowned with Mar-"tyrdom at *Smyrna*: who alone is so eminently "famous and memorable a-"mongst all men, that e-"ven the heathens every-"where doe make mention "of him: [t] Such was the

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[m] From this passage I conjecture, that *Polycarp* said this foregoing prayer of his with a low voice; but pronounced *Amen* aloud. That this of old was the custom of the Christians (that is, loudly to resound the *Amen* at the end of the prayer) the rite now observed in the Church does demonstrate, *to wit*, that after each prayer repeated by the Priest, all the people doe with a loud voice answer *Amen*. Vales.

[n] This officers charge was (not to fight with the wild beasts, as the *Bestiarii* did, but) to dispatch them, if at any time they were enraged, and like to endanger the spectatours, as sometimes it happened. They were also called *Lancearii*. Vales.

[o] The phrase in the Original is this [κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ σαρκίου] κοινωνεῖσιν (says *Hesychius*) οἱ μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις, καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀλλήλων φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως. i. e. *They are said to communicate, who distribute to one another, and they that partake and receive from one another, whether friendship, or knowledge.* Whence it appears that the word [κοινωνῆσαι] is appliable to *friendship* or *society*; which the primitive Christians expresst to the Martyrs, &c. departed, when, meeting yearly at the place where their sacred reliques were interred, they celebrated the anniversary day of their Martyrdom: thus they maintained a friendship or society (as it were) with the departed Martyr. The following words of this Epistle doe declare the resolution of the Church of *Smyrna* about the celebration of the day of *Polycarps* Martyrdom, after this manner, and also the reason of that their so doing.

[p] Or, *Alce*, for so it is in Bishop *Ushers* Edit. *Vales.*

[q] In the learned *Ushers* Edit. 'tis [κοινωνούς] that is, *companions*; from the verb [κοινωνέω] used here in the same sense, as we said (*note o.*) it is sometimes taken to signifie.

[r] Ἡμέραν γενέθλιον is the original phrase: so the primitive Christians called the days whereon the Martyrs suffered, because at their deaths they were born sons (as it were) and heirs of the Kingdom of Glory.

[s] This passage is otherwise (and truer) in B. *Ushers* Edit. thus [*who together with those of Philadelphia* was the twelfth that suffered Martyrdom in *Smyrna*.] So that, those Martyrs of *Philadelphia* were not 12 in number but 11 onely; and *Polycarp* was the twelfth. *Vales.*

[t] *Eusebius* purposely omitted the conclusion of this letter, as being unserviceable to his present design; and because he had inserted the entire Epistle into another work of his, *to wit*, into his book *concerning the sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs*: the learned Reader may see this whole Letter (as before we intimated) put forth by Arch B. *Usher*, from the conclusion whereof he may observe, (1.) that this Epistle was not written immediately after *Polycarps* Martyrdom, but that there was some distance of time between that and the writing thereof: for the *Philomelians*, hearing

hearing a report of the ſuffering of *Polycarp*, ſent Letters to the Church of *Smyrna*, deſiring an account of all particulars that happened at the ſuffering of this B. Martyr: which thoſe of *Smyrna* willingly undertook, and wrote them this Letter, moſt part whereof *Euſebius* quotes in this Chapter. (2.) That *Polycarps* Martyrdom is there called Evangelical; and the reaſon is given, *to wit*, becauſe *Polycarp* fled from thoſe who purſued him, (agreeable to the example of our Saviour.) Laſtly, 'tis obſervable therefrom, that *Polycarp* was Martyred the 2d day of the month *Xanthicus*, that is, the 7th of the *Calend.* of *March*. Valeſ. But Arch B. *Uſher* diſſents (in this particular, that is, concerning the day of *Polycarps* Martyrdom) from *Valeſius*, as the learned reader may ſee in his notes on that Epiſt. and in his tract *De Anno Solar. Maced. & Aſian.*

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glorious exit of the admirable and Apoſtolick *Polycarp*, whoſe ſtory the brethren of the Church in *Smyrna* have in the fore-cited Epiſtle recorded: and to the ſame writing concerning him are annexed other Martyrdomes undergone at the ſame City of *Smyrna*, and at the [u] ſame period of time wherein *Polycarp* ſuffered. Amongſt which number *Metrodorus*, ſuppoſed to be a Presbyter of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, was burnt to death. But the moſt famous and eminent Martyr of thoſe times was one *Pionius*. Whoſe particular profeſſions, boldneſs and freeneſs in ſpeaking, Apologies and moſt learned orations in defence of the faith, made both before the people and in the preſence of the Governours; and moreover, his affectionate invitations and encouragements to thoſe who in time of perſecution fell into temptation, and the conſolatory ſpeeches he uſed to ſuch brethren as made him viſits during his impriſonment; and further than all this, the torments, and beſides them the exquiſite tortours he endured, his being nailed to the ſtake, and his fortitude amidſt the fiery pile, and laſtly his death which was ſubſequent to all theſe miraculous ſufferings: whoſoever are deſirous *to know all theſe particulars*, we remit them to the Epiſtle (which contains a moſt ample account concerning him) which we have inſerted into that collection we made of the ſufferings of the Primitive Martyrs. Moreover there are extant the Acts and Monuments of others who ſuffered Martyrdom at *Pergamus*, a City of *Aſia*, *to wit*, of *Carpus* and *Papulus*, and of a woman named *Agathonica*, who after many and moſt eminent confeſſions of our faith, were made perfect by a glorious death.

[u] *Euſebius* is here much miſtaken in that he thought, *Pionius*, *Metrodorus*, *Carpus*, and the reſt ſuffered in the Reign of M. *Antoninus*, at the ſame time when *Polycarp* was Martyred: for 'tis manifeſt from the Acts of *Pionius*, *Carpus*, and *Papulus*, that they were Martyred in the Reign of *Decius*. Valeſ. See *Uſher*, in his book *De Anno Solar. Maced. & Aſian.* cap. 3.

CHAP. XVI.

How Juſtin *the Philoſopher, aſſerting the Chriſtian Religion at the City of* Rome, *ſuffered Martyrdom.*

AT the ſame time alſo *Juſtin*, of whom we made mention a little before, having preſented [a] a ſecond Apology to the foreſaid Emperours in defence of our faith, was crowned with divine Martyrdom; *Creſcens* the Philoſopher (whoſe life and manners were anſwerable to the appellation of a *Cynick*; of which Philoſophical Sect he was a follower) formed and contrived the treacherous plot againſt him: becauſe *Juſtin* confuted him often in ſeveral diſputes had in the preſence of many auditours, at length by his own Martyrdom he obtained the reward of that truth he was an aſſertour of. Thus much, this moſt ſtudious follower of the truth (perceiving before hand what was about to befall him) does, in his *foreſaid Apology*, expreſly predict in theſe ſame words; "[b] And I alſo my ſelf doe expect to be "treacherouſly betraied by ſome one of thoſe cal-

[a] *Euſebius* mentions this ſecond Apology of *Juſtins* in the following chapter and ſo does *Ferom* in his work *De Script. Eccleſiaſt.* But in the vulgar Editions of *Juſtin's* works, his Apologies are prepoſterouſly placed: for that which in the Printed Copies is put in the ſecond place, ſhould be placed firſt; and that which in thoſe Editions is ſet firſt, and dedicated to the *Roman Senate*, ſhould be placed laſt; which we ſhall more fully manifeſt hereafter. *Valeſ.* [b] This paſſage of *Juſtin's* is now extant in his firſt Apology; pag. 46. *Edit. Paris. Græco-Latin.* Valeſ.

"led [Philoſophers] and [c] put in the ſtocks: M. AURELIUS & L. VERUS.
"and perhaps by *Creſcens* that illiterate *fellow*,
"and one who is a lover of
"vain glorious boaſting: for
"the man is unworthy the
"name of a Philoſopher, be-
"cauſe he declares in publick
"ſuch things as he is alto-
"gether ignorant of, and
"affirms the Chriſtians to
"be impious and irreligious
"perſons, meerly to pleaſe
"and delight the multitude;
"[d] committing herein a great
"errour: For, in that he in-
"veighs againſt us, having
"never read the doctrine of
"Chriſt, he is abominably
"wicked, and much worſe
"than the vulgar ſort of men,
"who moſt frequently are
"cautious in their diſcourſes
"concerning thoſe things
"they are ignorant in, and
"avoid ſpeaking falſely there-
"of. But if he has read our
"doctrine, and underſtands
"not the majeſtick ſublimity
"thereof; or if he underſtands it, and behaves
"himſelf thus becauſe he would not be ſuſpected
"[*to be a Chriſtian:*] then he is far more baſe
"and wicked, in that he makes himſelf the ſlave of
"popular applauſe and irrational fear. For I
"would have you to know that when I propoſed
"to, and asked him ſome ſuch queſtions as theſe,
"I perceived and was convinced he indeed under-
"ſtood nothing at all: and that you may know I
"ſpeak what is true, I am ready (if thoſe our diſ-
"putations have not come to your knowledge) to
"propoſe the queries again even in your preſence.
"And this exerciſe will by no means be misbe-
"coming your Imperial Majeſty. But if both
"my queſtions, and alſo his anſwers have been
"made known to you, then it will be apparently
"manifeſt to you that he is altogether ignorant
"of our Religion. But if he underſtands it, but
"dares not freely declare himſelf becauſe of his
"auditours; he is no Philoſopher, (as I ſaid
"before,) but is manifeſtly evidenced to be an
"affector of popular applauſe, and has no eſteem
"for that moſt excellent
"[e] ſaying of *Socrates* [*to*
"*wit, that no man is to be*
"*preferred before the truth.*]
Thus far therefore *Juſtin*. And, that he was put to death (according to his own prediction) by a treacherous plot, of which *Creſcens* was the framer, *Tatianus* (a man who in the former part of his life had been a [f] teacher of *Rhetorick*, was well read in the *Grecian* learning, and obtained no ſmall repute by his being converſant therein; who alſo has left in his works many monuments of his Ingenuity) does relate in the [g] book he wrote *againſt the*

[c] The Maz. Fuk. & Med. M. SS. interpoſe here the prepoſition [ἐν, i.e. *in*] which we have followed in our tranſlation. The term [ξύλω] we have rendered [*ſtocks*;] in which ſenſe this word is frequently uſed in *Euſebius*; for example, in the beginning of his 5 B. The learned *Petavius* (in his notes on *Themiſtius*, Orat. 9.) remarques that the word [ξύλον] which there occurs, is the ſame in ſignification with [*nervus*, i.e. *a kind of ſtocks*] For theſe ſort of fetters were made *of wood*. Valeſ. The ſame word is uſed Acts 16. 24. where our tranſlatours render it thus [*And made their feet faſt in the ſtocks.*]

[d] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. the reading is [πλανωμένως τῶτο περὶτῶν]; i. e. *Creſcens* did very ill, to defame the Chriſtians, (the points of whoſe religion he was altogether ignorant of) meerly to win the applauſe of the multitude. *Valeſ.* In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [ἐπὶ πλανωμένῳ, &c. i. e. *Creſcens* did this to pleaſe and delight the *erroneous multitude.*

[e] He means that incomparable ſaying of Socrates, that is in *Plato's* works: which *Valeſius* thought good to inſert into his tranſlation; (ſuppoſing it was left out by the negligence of the tranſcribers of *Euſebius*;) and we alſo have expreſt it in our Verſion; but it is not in this original Edit. of *Euſebius*, nor in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. and is therefore Printed in a different Character.

[f] Σοφιστεύσας is the term in the original; which though it be ſometimes taken in that ſignification *Euſebius* here uſes it in; yet by other Writers (and particularly by *Tatianus* in his book here quoted by *Euſebius*, about the end of it) it is uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, as to comprehend *all the learning of the Grecians, and the Liberal Sciences.* Valeſ.

[g] This work of *Tatianus's* is extant at the latter end of *Juſtin Martyrs* works, *Edit. Paris.* 1636. It is there called *Tatiani Aſſyrii contra Græcos oratio.* This paſſage here quoted by *Euſeb.* occurs p. 157, 158, where the tranſlatour renders theſe words [μεσάλη πόλι] *in Megalopolis*: but we, following *Valeſius*, have tranſlated it thus [*in the great City*, i.e. *Rome.*]

Grecians

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Grecians in these words; "And the most admirable *Justin* said truely, that the foresaid persons were like thieves. Then, interposing some words concerning these Philosophers, he adjoyns thus much; "Indeed *Crescens*, who had made his nest in the great City [*Rome*,] was most notorious for the sin of buggering boys, and above all men most addicted to covetousness: and he, who exhorted all men to despise death, did so mightily dread it himself, that he made it his business to procure *Justin* to be put to death, (*as judging* that to be the worst of evils) because he Preacht the truth, and manifestly proved, that the Philosophers were gluttons, and deceivers. And this indeed was the true cause of *Justins* Martyrdom.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning those Martyrs, whom Justin *makes mention of in* his Apology.

THe same *Justin*, before his own Martyrdom does in *his* [a] *first Apology* make mention of some others who suffered as Martyrs before him. which words of his, because they are accommodate to our Subject, I will here recite: He writes thus "A certain woman had an husband who led a lascivious and libidinous course "of life; she her self also "had formerly been addicted to lightness and a dishonest behaviour, but after she had been acquainted with the doctrine of "Christ, she became modest "and chast, and made it her "business to perswade her "husband to live in like manner continently and chastly; advertizing him of the "Christian precepts, and declaring to him the future "punishment in eternal flames "prepared for such as lead "an obscene and disorderly "course of life. But he, persevering in his wonted lasciviousness, by such his "doings, alienated his wife's "affection from him. For "the woman at last judged it a wicked thing for "her to cohabit with an husband who wholly "practised all manner of lustfull courses, contrary "to the law of nature, and disagreeable to justice "and honesty; and therefore she resolved to be "divorced from him. But the woman was obedient to the instructions of her friends, who advised her to continue married a while longer, in "expectation that her husband would in future alter his mind, and ere long lead a more regular "course of life; so she constrained her self and "continued with him. But after this, her husband, "having made a journey to *Alexandria*, was discovered to have committed more notorious acts "of lewdness; the woman therefore (fearing, that by her continuing married to him, and by her being his consort at bed and board, she should "be partaker of his wickednesses and impieties) sent him that which we call a bill of divorce, and departed from him. But this excellent fellow her "husband (who ought to have rejoyced, because his wife (who formerly had committed "lewdness with servants and mercenary fellows, and took delight in drunkenness and all manner "of vice) did now both desist from those wicked "doings, and also desired him to leave them off; "which because he would not doe she was divorc't from him) drew up an accusation against "her, and said she was a Christian. And she presented a [b] Libell to thee, O Emperour; wherein she requested liberty might be allowed "her first to set in order her domestick affairs; after which settlement she promised to put "in an answer to her accusation. And You granted the "womans Petitions. But her "(heretofore) husband, "being within that [c] space "unable to say any thing against her, set upon one "*Ptolemæus* (whom [d] *Urbicius* put to death) who "had been the womans instructour in the Christian "Religion, after this manner: he perswaded a Centurion, who was his friend, "to apprehend *Ptolemæus*, "and having put him in "bonds, to ask him this one "question, whether he were "a Christian? And *Ptolemæus*, (being a lover of "truth, and no deceitfull person, nor falsifier of his own "judgment) confessing that he was a Christian, "the Centurion caused him to be bound in fetters, "and afflicted him with a long imprisonment. "At length, when the man was brought before "*Urbicius*, he was again asked this one question, "whether he were a Christian? And he, assuredly "knowing that he should obtain glory and happiness by the doctrine of Christ, again made "profession of that divine and virtuous institution. "For, he that denies himself to be a Christian, "declines the confession of that Religion, either "because he is a disallower as well as a denier of it, "or in regard he knows himself to be unworthy "of, and estranged from its Rules and Precepts: "neither of which can happen to him that is a "true Christian. When therefore *Urbicius* had "given command that *Ptolemæus* should be led away to be put to death, one *Lucius*, (who also was "a Christian,) considering the injustice of the sentence

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[a] It should be [*in his second Apology*, &c.] as the learned *Petavius* has conjectured (*in his notes on Heresy 46. Epiphan.*) For *Eusebius* does not recount the Apologies of *Justin* in the same order wherein they are now Printed. For that which in the ordinary Editions is termed the second, and is dedicated to *Antoninus Pius*, *Eusebius* calls the first, as appears from chapt. 12. B. 2. and from chapt. 12, and 18. B. 4. And that, which in the vulgar Editions is said to be his first Apology, and is dedicated to the Senate, *Eusebius* calls the second, (See chap. 16. of this book,) and says (chap. 16. and 18, of this 4 B.) it was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, after the death of *Pius*. As to the order of *Justins* Apologies I agree with *Eusebius*, and doe grant that to be the latter which is in the vulgar Edit. inscribed to the Senate. But whereas *Eusebius* says, *Justins* former Apology was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; I cannot assent to him. For, in the beginning of that Apology *Justin* says, that the woman (which was a Christian) being accused by her husband, presented a Petition to the Emperour [*and she presented a Libell to thee O Emperour:*] (see these words in this chapter.) Now if that Apology had been presented to the Successours of *Antoninus Pius*, as *Eusebius* thinks it was, doubtless *Justin* would have used the plural number, and said [*To You, O Emperours:*] For *Marcus* and *Verus* were both Emperours together. Again, *Justin* says, that one *Lucius*, seeing *Ptolemeus* a Christian led away to be put to death, used these words to the Judge [*these judiciary proceedings are misbecoming both Pius the Emperour, and the son of Cæsar the Philosopher*, &c.] (in chap. 12. of this 4th B. the reading is better, thus, [*and the Philosopher*] which is confirmed by our M. SS.) Who therefore sees not, that *Antoninus Pius* is meant in these words? For his surname [*Pius*] evidently shews so much; and [*the Philosopher son of the Emperour*] manifestly confirms this our opinion. Lastly, *Urbicus* the Prefect (See note d. in this chap.) whom *Justin* there mentions, lived in the times of *Antoninus Pius*. For he was that *Lollius Urbicus*, who, being the Emperours Deputy, appeased the Rebellion of the *Brittans*, as *Capitolinus* relates in the life of *Antoninus*. *Apuleius* (in the beginning of his Apology) affirms that this *Lollius Urbicus* was Prefect of the City in the Reign of *Pius*. These are the reasons by which I am induced to affirm, that the latter Apology of *Justin* was not presented to *M. Aurelius*, but to *Antoninus Pius*: under which Emperour he suffered Martyrdom, and not under *Marcus Aurelius*, as *Eusebius* here places his Martyrdom: But, in his *Chronicon* (whom *Georg. Syncellus* also follows) he seems to place it in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; and so does *Mich. Glycas*, in *Annal. Valef.* Mr *Tho. Lydiat*, in his *Emend. Temp.* says *Justin* suffered under this Emperour *Antoninus Pius*.

[b] That is, *a Petition*, wherein the woman requested of the Emperour, that the proceedings against her might be deferred, which delay was usually granted as well to the accused, as to the Accusor. See *Cod. Theod. Tit. 36. ut intra annum*, &c. *Valef.*

[c] *To wit*, which was prefixt by the Emperour; who had granted the womans Petition, in regard it was reasonable and just. *Valef.*

[d] This *Urbicus* was Prefect of the City; whose sentence, pronounced against the two Christians *Ptolemæus* and *Lucius*, was the occasion of *Justins* writing this Apology. He was called Q. *Lollius Urbicus*, as an old inscription at *Rome* attests. See *Apulcius, in defens. sua:* yet, 'tis strange that in all our Copies he is written *Urbicius*. In *Justin* he is now and then rightly called *Urbicus*, *to wit*, in the beginning of his Apology, and a little after that. *Valef.*

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"tence that was pronounc't, ſpake thus to *Urbi-*
"*cius*; what reaſon is there that thou ſhouldſt
"have condemned this man, who is neither adul-
"terer, nor fornicatour, nor murderer, nor thief,
"nor robber, and who is not in any wiſe convi-
"cted of any other wicked fact, but onely owns
"and acknowledges the appellation of a Chri-
"ſtian? Such judiciary proceedings as theſe, O
"*Urbicius!* are misbecoming both *Pius* the
"Emperour, and the ſon of *Cæſar* the Phi-
"loſopher, and alſo the ſacred Senate. But *Ur-*
"*bicius* made *Lucius* no other anſwer, onely ſaid
"thus to him, you alſo ſeem to me to be ſuch an
"one, and when *Lucius* had ſaid that he was, *Ur-*
"*bicius* again gave command that he alſo ſhould
"be led away to be put to death: *Lucius* ac-
"knowledged himſelf much oblieged to him; for
"I ſhall be delivered, ſaid he, from ſuch wicked
"maſters, and goe to a gracious God, who is my
"Father and King. And a third, ſtepping forth,
"was alſo condemned to undergoe the ſame pu-
"niſhment. After this, *Juſtin* does pertinently
and agreeably induce thoſe words (which we
quoted before) ſaying, "And I alſo my ſelf doe
"expect to be treacherouſly betrayed by ſome one
"of thoſe called [Philoſophers] and ſo forth.

CHAP. XVIII.

What books of Juſtin's *are come to our hands.*

THis perſon has left us many monuments of his learned and moſt accompliſht [a] under-
ſtanding, and alſo of his ſedulous deligence about
divine matters, full of variety of profit: to which
we will remit ſuch as are lovers of learning, after
we have uſefully remark't ſuch of them as are
come to our knowledge. The firſt therefore of
his books is his ſupplication to *Antoninus* ſur-
named *Pius*, and his ſons, and to the *Roman*
Senate, in behalf of our Religion: the ſecond con-
tains another Apology for our faith, which he
preſented to *Verus* (who was ſucceſſour to, and
bore the ſame name with, the foreſaid Emperour
Antoninus) whoſe times we are now giving an
account of. There is alſo another book of his
againſt the Gentiles; wherein he treats at large,
both of many queſtions that are uſually diſpu-
ted both amongſt us and the Gentile-*Philoſo-*
phers; and alſo declares his opinion concerning
the nature of Spirits; which 'tis of no impor-
tance for us here to inſert. And further there is
another work of his againſt the Gentiles come to
our hands, which he entitled, *A confutation:* and
beſides theſe another, *concerning the Monarchy of*
God; which he confirms not onely by the Authority
of the ſacred Scriptures, but alſo from the teſtimo-
nies of the Writers amongſt the Gentiles. Moreover
he wrote another book, the title whereof is *Pſal-*
tes: and another, containing [b] *ſome ſhort notes*
concerning the ſoul; wherein he propoſes divers
queſtions pertinent to the explication of that Sub-
ject, and produces the opinions of the Philoſophers
among the Gentiles, which he promiſeth to con-
fute, and to ſet forth his own opinion thereof in
another work of his. He alſo compoſed *a Dia-*
logue againſt the Jews, being a conference which
he had at the City of *Epheſus* with one *Trypho*
the moſt famous perſon amongſt the Jews at that
time. In which book he manifeſts, after what
manner divine grace incited him to embrace the
doctrine of the true faith; and with what ſedulous
earneſtneſs he before that ſet himſelf about the
ſtudy of Philoſophy, alſo with how great an
ardency of mind he was laborious in finding out
the truth. Moreover, in the ſame book he relates
concerning the Jews, how that they formed trea-
cherous plots and contrivances againſt the doctrine
of Chriſt; and uſeth theſe expreſs words to *Try-*
pho; "So far were you from a repentance of
"your impious doings, that you choſe out ſome
"men fit for ſuch a deſign, and at that time ſent
"them forth from *Jeruſalem* over the whole
"world, to publiſh this, that there was an impious
"Sect called Chriſtians ſprung up; and to divulge
"the ſame reproaches, which all thoſe that are ig-
"norant of our Religion doe now faſten upon us:
"ſo that, you are not onely the authours of your
"own wickedneſs and errour; but alſo give the ſole
"occaſion thereof to all other men. He ſays alſo,
in the ſame work, that the gifts of Prophecy even
in his time ſhone forth upon the Church. More-
over, he has mentioned the Revelation of *John*, and
ſays expreſly 'twas written by that Apoſtle. Alſo
he recites ſeverall teſtimonies of the Prophets,
which, in his diſpute with *Trypho*, he evinces were
cut out of the Bible by the Jews. Several other
works alſo of his are extant among many of our
Chriſtian brethren. Further, the Books of this
perſon were ſo highly eſteemed by the Antients,
that *Irenæus* quotes ſome expreſſions of his;
partly *in his fourth book againſt Hereſies*, where
he produces theſe words of his; *And* Juſtin
ſays well, in his book againſt Marcion, *I would*
not have credited the Lord himſelf, if he had
Preached any other God than him, who was the
Maker of the world: and partly, in *his fifth book*
of the ſame work, where he quotes theſe words
of his; *It was well ſpoken of* Juſtin, *to wit*, that
before the coming of our Lord, Satan never durſt
blaſpheme God, becauſe till then he did not cer-
tainly [c] *know his own condemnation.* And let
thus much be here neceſſarily ſaid by us, to incite
ſuch as are lovers of learning, to have an high
eſteem for, and accurately to read over, his books.
Thus far concerning *Juſtin*.

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CHAP. XIX.

Who, in the Reign of Verus, *preſided over the Churches of* Rome, *and* Alexandria.

NOw the foreſaid Emperour being in the eighth year of his Reign, *Anicetus*, having compleated the eleventh year of his Epiſcopal dignity over the *Roman Church*, was ſucceeded by *Soter*. And moreover, *Celadion*, having preſided fourteen years over the Church at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* was his ſucceſſour in that See.

CHAP.

[a] Or, *mind*; as it is in the Kings M.S. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* Edit. tis [διανοίας, i. e. *underſtanding*.

[b] The term in the original is [σχολικόν] in *Nicephorus*, 'tis σχόλιον. The antient *Græcians* called [*Scholia*] *ſome ſhort notes*; and diſtinguiſh't them from *Exegeticks*: for *Exegeticks* were long and large expoſitions, and explained the whole work of a writer: but *Scholia* were put to explain particular words, or to expound one ſentence. Sometimes, *Scholia* are called ſhort expoſitions of more obſcure words and ſentences. Such were *Cyrill's Scholia concerning the incarnation of the onely begotten ſon of God*, which are now extant, and are nothing elſe but ſome ſhort explications of the more obſcure queſtions concerning the *Incarnation*. And of this ſort was *Juſtin's* book *of the ſoul*; *to wit*, ſome queſtions and opinions, concerning the nature and origin of ſouls; to which were added *Juſtin's* expoſition and demonſtration thereof. *Ferom* calls them *Excerpta*, which *Origen* termed σχόλια. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Epiphanius* ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion. In his *Panarium* (lib. 1. Hereſ. 39. pag. 289. *Edit. Petav.*) he propoſeth to us, as a certain truth, that the devil, before the coming of Chriſt,--ἐνόμιζέ τε τάξασθαί τινος ἐλέους, *was in hopes of grace and pardon*; and that out of this perſwaſion of his, he never all that while ſhewed himſelf refractory towards God: but that having underſtood by the manifeſtation of our Saviour, that there was left him no hopes of ſalvation, he from thenceforth had grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much miſchief as poſſibly he could againſt Chriſt, and his Church. But this opinion (as the learned *Petavius* has obſerved in his note on that paſſage) *vulgò non probatur*, i. e. *is not generally approved of, as true.*

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CHAP. XX.

Who then Governed the Church of Antioch.

AT that time also *Theophilus*, the sixth from the Apostles, flourisht *in his Presidency* over the Church at *Antioch*: for *Cornelius*, successour to *Heros* was the fourth that presided there; after whom *Eros*, in the fifth remove *from the Apostles*, succeeded in that Episcopal See.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers who flourisht in that Age.

IN those times *Hegesippus* flourisht in the Church, of whom we have made frequent mention in the foregoing book; and *Dionysius* Bishop of the *Corinthians*; also one *Pinytus* Bishop of the *Cretians*. Moreover, *Philippus*, *Appollinaris*, and *Melito*; *Musanus* also, and *Modestus*: and lastly *Irenæus*. All which persons wrote books that are come to our hands, containing the sound doctrine, and true faith, delivered by the Apostles.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Hegesippus, *and those he makes mention of.*

MOreover, *Hegesippus*, in his five books of Historicall memorials, which are come to our hands, has left a most full and compleat account of his own faith and opinion. Wherein he declareth, that travelling as far as *Rome*, he discourst with many Bishops, and from them all heard one and the same doctrine. You may please to hear him (a after some words of his concerning the Epistle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*) continuing his discourse thus; "And the *Corinthian* Church con-"tinued in the true faith untill *Primus* came to be "Bishop there: with whom I had some discourse "in my voyage to *Rome*, and was conversant with "the *Corinthians* a sufficient time; wherein we "received mutual refresh-"ment from the true faith. "But arriving at *Rome*, I "b staied there till *Anice-"tus*'s time, whose Deacon "*Eleutherus* then was: after "*Anicetus* succeeded *Soter*, "and next to him *Eluthe-"rus*. Now in every suc-c cession [of Bishops] and "throughout each City the "doctrine is conformable to "what the Law, the Prophets, "and our Lord Preach't. And the same Authour subjoines an account of the Heresies which were broacht in his age, in these words; "And after *James* the *Just* "had suffered Martyrdom "(as the Lord had also) for "the preaching of his do-"ctrine, *Simeon* the son of "*Cleophas* (which [*Cleo-"phas*] was Uncle by the "mothers side to our Sa-"viour) was constituted Bishop in his room; "whom all preferred to be second Bishop there, "because he was the Lords c Cousingerman by the "mothers side. Upon which account that Church "was stiled a Virgin; for it was not hitherto cor-"rupted with vain opinions. d *Thebuthis* (be-"cause he was not made a Bishop) was the first "that began to vitiate it. "This man was e one of "those that took his rise from "the seven Sects, which were "amongst the [Jewish] peo-"ple: of which *Simon* was "another, from whom the "f *Symonians*; and *Cleobius*, "from whom the *Cleobi-"ans*; f and *Dositheus*, from "whom the *Dositheans*; and "*Gortheus*, from whom the "g *Gortheans*; and *Masbo-"theus*, from whom the "*Masbotheans*, had their "denomination: from these "also came the *Menandri-"ans*, and the *Marcionists*, "and the *Carpocratians*, and "the *Valentinians*, and the "*Basilidians*, and the *Sa-"turnilians*; each of which "men in particular was an "introducer of his own o-"pinion. From these came "the false Christs, the false-"Prophets, and the false-A-"postles; who rent asunder the Unity of the "Church by their corrupt opinions brought in "against God, and his Christ. Moreover, the same Writer gives an account of the Heresies which were heretofore amongst the Jews, in these words; "There were divers Sects and Opinions "in the Circumcision among the children of "Israel, which were opposite "both to the h tribe of *Ju-"dah*, and also to Christ; "*to wit*, the i *Essæans*, the "k *Galilæans*, the *Hemero-"baptists*, the l *Masbothe-"ans*, the *Samarites*, the "*Sadducees*, and the *Phari-"sees*. And he writes many other things, of which we have partly made mention before, and inserted his relations in their proper and opportune places and times. Also, he produces several passages out of *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, out of the *Syriack*, and particularly out of the Hebrew tongue; whereby he plainly intimates himself to have been converted from being a Jew to the faith of Christ. He makes mention also of other things as contained in the unwritten

a In stead of [μεγάλα πνά.] as it is in the Kings M.S. and in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it should be [οὐ πνὰ, i.e. *after some words*; as we translate it. *Vales.*

b Sr *Henry Savil*, at the Margin of his M. S. made it [διατελὼν ἐπισκόπῳ] that is, *I staied there*. In *Robert Stephens* Edit. 'tis [διαδοχὴν.] Whether *the learned Knight* corrected this passage from his own conjecture, or by the autority of some M. S. copie, is to me uncertain: However this emendation is very necessary. Further, *Eusebius* quotes this passage of *Hegesippus*'s in chap. 11. of this book; between which place and this here there seems to be some disagreement. For *Eusebius* writes there, that *Hegesippus* came to *Rome* in the times of *Aniccius*, and staid there till *Eleutherius* was promoted to that See. But *Hegesippus* himself does not say so here, onely, that he staied at *Rome* untill *Anicetus* was Bishop there. Therefore *Hegesippus* came thither about the latter end of *Pius*'s Reign. *Vales.*

c See note (a) on c. 11. book 3.

d In the Kings, the Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. his name is Θεβουθὶς, i. e. *Thebuthis*. In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. he is called Θεβουλὶς, i. e. *Thebulis*. *Rufinus*, in his Version, calls him *Theobutes*, and *Thobutes*. *Vales.*

e That is, he was one that gathered up his errours from the false opinions of those seven Sects amongst the Jews; as did also *Simon*, *Cleobius*, *Dositheus*, &c. Vales.

f Some think that this *Dositheus* was much antienter than these times he is here mentioned to have lived in: *Drusius* (in *Respons. ad Minerval Scrati*, cap. 10.) asserts he lived in the times of *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria*; and *Jerom* is of that opinion, as appears by what he says in *Dialog. Adverf. Luciferian.* But *Scaliger*, (*in Elencho tribæres.*) and *Origen* (book 1. against *Celsus*) affirm he lived since our Saviours incarnation, and was co-temporary with *Simon Magus*. See *Photii Bibliothec.* cap. 230. *Vales.*

g Or, *Goratheans*: for so these Hereticks are named in the Kings, Maz. Med. Fuk. and Sr *Henry Savills* M. SS. *Vales.*

h By this passage *Hegesippus* seems to have thought the tribe of *Judah* clear of all Sects and Heresies; so that none of that tribe were followers of the *Essens*, *Sadducees*, and *Pharisees*, &c. But this is very improbable. *Hegesippus* said it only in favour of that Tribe, from whence Christ sprang. *Vales.*

i These were the seven Sects amongst the *Jews*; of which *Hegesippus* makes frequent mention, as may be seen from some quotations out of him, which occur in the foregoing books. *Justin* (in *disputat. adverf. Triphon.*) mentions them, but calls them by other names, *to wit*, *Sadducees*, *Genists*, *Merists Galilæans*, *Hellenians*, *Pharisees*, and *Baptists*. *Epiphanius* terms them, *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essens*, *Nazarcans*, *Hemerobaptists*, and *Herodians*. Vales.

k *Judas Galilæus* was the original authour of this Sect, (says *Josephus*, Antiq. B. 18. chap. 2.) who, having joyned *Saddock*, a Pharisee, to him, sollicited the people to defection, telling them, that God was to be their onely Prince and Master, and no mortal to be acknowledged as such; that the requiring a Tax from them, if it were by them paid, was a manifest profession of servitude, and that 'twas their duty to vindicate their liberty; by which means he raised a great Sedition among the Jews, and was the cause (under pretence of defending the publick liberty) of innumerable mischiefs to the nation. See *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 18. chap. 2.

l They are called also *Marboncans* and *Morboncans*; they must be distinguisht from those whom *Hegesippus* mentions a little before; for these here were one of the seven Sects amongst the Jews; but those were propagated from the seven Sects; as were also the *Simonians*, *Dositheans*, &c. *Vales.*

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written traditions of the Jews. Now, not onely he, but alſo *Irenæus*, and all the Antients, doe call the *Proverbs of* Solomon, *the book of Wiſdom that* [m] *contains the Precepts of all Virtue:* and, treating of thoſe books which are termed *The Apocrypha*, he relates that ſome of them were forged by certain Hereticks in his times. But we muſt now proceed to another Writer.

[m] Indeed, *Ferom* gives this Epithet to that B. called *the Wiſdom of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach*, (in his Preface to the books of *Solomon*) his words are theſe: *Fertur & panæretos Jeſu filii Sirach liber, & alius pſeudepigraphus, qui ſapientia Solomonis inſcribitur. Quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi; non Eccleſiaſticum, ut apud Latinos, ſed parabolas prænotatum*, &c.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Dionyſius, *Biſhop of the* Corinthians, *and the Epiſtles he wrote.*

AND firſt we are to ſpeak of *Dionyſius:* who had the Epiſcopal Chair of the *Corinthian* Church; and liberally and copiouſly communicated his divine labours, not onely to thoſe committed to his charge, but alſo to ſuch as inhabited Countreys remote and at a great diſtance: rendring himſelf moſt ſerviceable and uſefull to all perſons, by thoſe general Epiſtles he wrote to divers Churches. Of which number one is that to the *Lacedæmonians*, containing the firſt rudiments of, and inſtitutions in, the true Faith; and moreover an exhortation to Peace and Unity. Another of them is that to the *Athenians*, which is excitatory to Faith, and to lead a life anſwerable to the Precepts of the Goſpel: in which point he reproves the negligence of [the *Athenians*] who had in a manner apoſtatized from the Faith, ſince the time that *Publius* their Biſhop ſuffered Martyrdom, during the perſecutions which then happened: he makes mention alſo of [a] *Quadratus*, who was conſtituted their Biſhop, after the Martyrdom of *Publius*; and atteſts, that by his labour and induſtry, the congregations [of the Chriſtians] were re-aſſembled, and the ardour of their faith revived, and re-kindled. He relates moreover, that *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* (who was converted to the Faith by the Apoſtle *Paul*, according to the account given in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*,) was made the firſt Biſhop of the *Athenian* Church. There is alſo extant another Epiſtle of his to the *Nicomedians*, wherein he impugneth the Hereſie of *Marcion*, and ſtrenuouſly aſſerts and defends the exact Rule of Truth: He wrote likewiſe to the Church at *Gortyna*, and to the reſt of the Churches in *Creet*; and commends *Philip* their Biſhop, becauſe the Church under his charge was renowned for many ſignal acts of fortitude; and admoniſhes them to uſe caution againſt the deceit and perverſneſs of Hereticks: And in the Epiſtle he wrote to the Church of *Amaſtris*, together with the other Churches throughout *Pontus*, he mentions *Bacchylides* and *Elpiſtus*, as being the perſons that incited him to write: he annexes likewiſe ſeveral expoſitions of holy Scripture, and by name mentions *Palma* their Biſhop. He recommends to them many things concerning marriage and chaſtity, and commands thoſe that recover from any lapſe whatſoever, (whether vitiouſneſs, or Heretical errour) to be affectionately received. In the ſame Volume is contained another Epiſtle to the *Gnoſſians*, wherein he admoniſhes *Pinytus* the Biſhop of that Church, not to impoſe the heavy yoak of continency upon the brethren, as if 'twere neceſſary; but to have a regard to the infirmity of moſt men. To which *Pinytus* returning an anſwer, does greatly admire, and extol *Dionyſius*; but withall exhorts him, that in future he would impart ſtronger food, and nouriſh up the people under his charge by ſending again to them ſome letters that contain more perfect and ſolid doctrine; leaſt, being continually accuſtomed to ſuch milky expreſſions, they ſhould grow old in a childiſh diſcipline. In which Epiſtle, both the Orthodox Faith of *Pinytus*, and his ſollicitude for the proficiency of thoſe under his care; his eloquence alſo, and underſtanding in divine matters, is moſt accurately and to the life repreſented. Moreover, there is extant an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius*'s to the *Romans*, ſuperſcribed to *Soter*, at that time the Biſhop there: out of which it's not amiſs here to inſert ſome words, wherein he much commends the uſage and cuſtome of the *Romans*, obſerved by them even untill the times of the perſecution raiſed in our own [b] age; he writes thus; "For this hath been your cuſtome even "from the beginning [of your converſion to "Chriſtianity] to be divers ways beneficial to all "the brethren, and to ſend relief to moſt Churches "throughout every City, ſometimes ſupplying the "wants of ſuch as are in neceſſity; at others, furniſhing thoſe brethren with neceſſaries that are "condemned to work in the mines. By ſuch "charitable gifts, which from the beginning you "have been accuſtomed to tranſmit to others, "being *Romans*, you retain the cuſtom received "from your *Roman* fore-fathers. Which uſage "your bleſſed Biſhop *Soter* has not onely diligently obſerved, but greatly improved; being "both inſtrumental and ready in the conveyance "of your bounty deſigned for the Saints; and alſo comforting with bleſſed words (as a tender and affectionate father does his children) "thoſe brethren that come as "[c] ſtrangers to you. In the ſame Epiſtle alſo he makes mention of the Epiſtle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*, and manifeſts that 'twas very antiently cuſtomary to recite it publickly in the preſence of the Church: for he ſays; "[d] This "day therefore, being the holy day of the Lord, "we have now paſſed over, wherein we read over "your Epiſtle; which (as alſo the former Epiſtle "of *Clemens*'s written to us) we continuing to "read henceforward, ſhall abound with moſt excellent Precepts and inſtructions. Further, the ſame Writer ſpeaking of his own Epiſtles which by ſome forgers were corrupted, ſays thus; "For "I wrote ſome Epiſtles, being thereto requeſted "by the brethren: but the emiſſaries of the devil "have filled them with darnell; expunging ſome "paſſages out of them, and adding other ſome; for "whom a *Woe* is reſerved. Its no wonder therefore, "that ſome attempt to adulterate the holy writings "of the Lord, ſince they have baſely falſified ſuch as "are of an inferiour authority. Beſides theſe, there is extant another Epiſtle of *Dionyſius*'s, written to *Chryſophora* a moſt faithfull Siſter, to whom he writes what is agreeable, and imparts to her ſuch Spiritual food as is convenient for her. Thus much concerning the writings of *Dionyſius*.

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[a] This *Quadratus*, I judge, is not the ſame perſon with that *Quadratus*, the diſciple of the Apoſtles, mentioned by *Euſebius* (book 3. chap. 37.) For the *Quadratus* laſt named was not a Biſhop, as it plainly appears from the foreſaid place of *Euſebius*. But, that *Quadratus* (ſpoken of by our Authour at the beginning of this fourth book) who preſented an Apology to *Adrian* for our Religion, was the diſciple of the Apoſtles, as *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, expreſly affirms. Now this *Quadratus* here ſpoken of (who was Biſhop of the *Athenians*) muſt, as I ſaid, be diſtinguiſhed from *Quadratus* the diſciple of the Apoſtles: for this latter lived not beyond the times of *Adrian*; but he that was Biſhop of the *Athenians*, governed that Church in the times of *M. Antoninus*, as 'tis evident from *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to the *Athenians*; for he ſpeaks of him, as being his co-temporary: Now *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* flouriſht in the Reign of *M. Antoninus*. Valeſ.

[b] He means the perſecution in *Diocletians* Reign. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Dionyſius* means thoſe brethren, who uſually came from remote Countreys to *Rome*, to procure ſome relief for ſuch as in their own Country were in diſtreſs, and neceſſity. *Valeſ.*

[d] To this fragment of *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to the *Roman* Clergy is to be joyned that other paſſage of the ſame Epiſt. quoted by our *Euſebius* (chap. 25. B. 2.) *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Theophilus, *Bishop of the* Antiochians.

THere are extant of this *Theophilus's* (whom we declared to have been Bishop of the *Antiochian* Church) three books written to *Autolycus*, containing the first rudiments of the Faith. He has another Tract also extant, entitled, *Against the Heresie of* [a] *Hermogenes*, wherein he quotes authorities out of the *Revelation of S^t John*: there are besides some other books of his, wherein are delivered the first principles of our Faith. Moreover, whenas in that age the Hereticks (like darnell) did nevertheless corrupt the pure seed of the Apostolick doctrine, the Pastours of Churches were every where very earnest and industrious to chase them away (being as it were savage and wild beasts) from the sheep of Christ; partly by admonishing and exhorting the brethren; and partly by encountring valiantly with the Hereticks themselves; whom they either confuted by dint of arguments and unwritten questions propounded face to face; or else disproved their opinions by written Treatises most accurately compiled. That *Theophilus* therefore did, together with others, engage these Hereticks, 'tis manifestly apparent from that elaborate piece, (not unworthy of himself) which he wrote against *Marcion*; which book, together with those other we have recounted, is at this present time extant. Further, *Maximinus*, the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded this person in the Bishoprick of the *Antiochian* Church.

[a] Concerning this *Hermogenes*, and his Heresie, see *Baronius, ad annum Christi* 170. But, I cannot give my assent to him, as to what he affirms, *viz.* that *Hermogenes* taught in *Asia*. Valef. The Heresie of this *Hermogenes* is related by *Theodoret* (Heret. fab. L. 1. cap. 19.) ἐφη (ὁ Ἑρμογένης) τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ εἶναι τοῦ Κυρίου, ἢ ὃ διάδολον καὶ πῦρ δαίμονας εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀναχεῖσθαι. i. e. *This Hermogenes asserted, that the body of the Lord was deposited in the Sun: and that the devil and the evil spirits should be turned into matter.* The *Seleuciani* and *Hermiani* taught the same; *to wit*, *that the body of Christ ascended no farther than the sun*; the occasion of which assertion they took from those words of the Psalmist, Psal. 19. 5. which in S. *Jeroms* translation is thus rendred, *in sole posuit tabernaculum suum*: but in the Psalms used in our Liturgy 'tis thus worded, *In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun.* See D^r *Hammond* on that Text. The same opinion *Gregory Nazianzen* attributeth to the *Manicheans*: Epist. 1. ad *Cledonium*, and S. *August.* Tract. 34. in *Joh.* This opinion is more largely and clearly set down, but without a name, in the *Catena patrum* on Psal. 18. where 'tis said, that *these* [*Hereticks*] *assert, that after his resurrection, our Saviour deposited his body in the sphere of the sun, to be preserved there till his second coming.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Philippus *and* Modestus.

MOreover, *Philippus* (who, as we are informed by the words of *Dionysius* [even now quoted] was Bishop of the Church at *Gortyna*) compiled also a most elaborate piece against *Marcion*. So likewise did *Irenæus*, and *Modestus*. But this person last named did most excellently (even better than the other Writers) detect the errours and frauds of the man, and exposed them to the view of the world. Several others also wrote, whose Labours are to this day with exquisite care preserved by many of the brethren.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Melito, *and what he has made mention of.*

ALso, at that time *Melito*, Bishop of the Church at *Sardis*, and *Apollinaris* Prelate of the Church at *Hierapolis*, flourished and were eminently famous. Each of which persons did severally dedicate an Apology written in defence of our faith to the foresaid Roman Emperour, who reigned at that time. The Books of each of them, which are come to our knowledge, are these that follow. Two books of *Melito's concerning Easter*; one of his, [a] *concerning the true way of converse, and of the Prophets*: another, *concerning the Church*; and a third, *concerning the Lords day*: Moreover, one, *concerning the nature of man*, and another, *about the frame and composure of man*: and one, *concerning the* [b] *obedience of the senses and their subjection to faith*; and moreover, one book, *concerning the soul, the body and the mind*: a book, *concerning Baptism*; one, *of Truth*; one, *concerning the* [c] *Origination and Generation of Christ*: his book *of Prophecy*, another, *concerning Hospitality*; and that entitled, *The key*: besides one, *concerning the Devil*, and, *of the Revelation of John*; and another, *about the incarnation of God*; and lastly, *his Apology to Antoninus*. Now, in his books *concerning Easter, to wit*, in the beginning of that work, he declares the time when he wrote, in these words, "*Servilius Paulus* being Pro-"consul of *Asia*, at that time "when *Sagaris* suffered Mar-"tyrdom, there arose a great "controversie at *Laodicea* "concerning *Easter*, which "happened to fall on those "days in its due season: at "which time I wrote these "books. *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes mention of this book, in his piece *concerning Easter*; which book of *Melito's* was, as he says, the occasion of his composing that work. Now, in that book dedicated to the Emperour, he relates what was acted against us Christians in his Reign. "For now, "*says he*, that sort of men "who are pious and holy are "persecuted, (a thing which "was never before done) and "molested with new Decrees "throughout all *Asia*. For most impudent in-"formers, who are desirous to possess themselves "of other mens goods, taking an occasion from the "Imperial Edicts, doe openly commit robberies, "and day and night take away the goods of inno-"cent persons. And, after some words, he continues, thus; "Now if all this be done by Your "command, let it pass for an orderly and due "way of proceeding. For a just Emperour can "never decree or authorize any thing that is "unjust: and we willingly undergoe the reward "of such a death. This request onely we hum-"bly make to you, that you your self would first

[a] In all our M.SS. copies this title [*concerning the true way of converse and of the Prophets*] evidently appears to be the title but of one book. *Ferom* (in his book *de Eccles. Scriptor.* which is almost wholly taken out of *Eusebius*) entitles this piece of *Melito's* thus [*de vitâ Prophetarum*, i. e. *concerning the life of the Prophets.* Valef.

[b] *Melito* wrote a book upon this subject, because there were some Hereticks who asserted, that such men as were carnal, believed by the help of their *senses*; but those who were spiritual believed by *reason*. So *Heraclio* expounded that Text in S. *Johns* Gospel (c. 4. 48.) *Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe.* Which words *Heraclio* said, were properly directed to those, who by works and their senses had the nature *of obeying*, but not *of believing* through reason. *Origen* (*Tome* 13. *Enarrat.* on S. *John's Gospel*) mentions, and confutes this opinion: where he declares, that neither *spiritual* nor *carnal* men can believe, unless it be by *sense*. Valef.

[c] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*, this book of *Melito's* is intitled [περὶ πίστεως, &c.] i. e. *concerning the Origination*, &c. which reading, we doubt not but is true. *Rufinus*, as appears by his Version, and *Robert Stephens*, as may be seen in his *Edit.* read [περὶ πίστεως,] i. e. *concerning Faith*, &c. The antient Fathers, who lived before the *Nicene Council*, meant (by the word [κτίσεως]) not onely such a creation as is made out of nothing, but also all sort of production whatsoever, and therefore the divine origination of the Word. Those words of the Apostle (*Colos* 1. 15.) *The first born of every creature*, they asserted, were to be understood of the *eternal generation of the Son.* Valef. But as D^r *Hammond* observes in his notes on that Text, πρωτότοκος, i. e. *first born*, is used some times for *a Lord*, or *person in power*, who hath the priviledge of the first born, dominion over all his brethren: and according to this notion (*continues he*) 'tis used commonly in scripture for *a Prince*, or *principal person.* See Psal. 68. 27. Job 18. 13. Or it may peculiarly refer to his resurrection, in which he was *the first born from the dead.* See *Hammond* on *Colos.* 1. 15.

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"take cognizance of [d] them that are ſufferers of "this vexatious moleſtation; and then deter- "mine impartially, whether they are worthy of "puniſhment and death; or deſerve to live in "peace and quietneſs. But if this Decree, and "this new Edict (which ought not to have been "eſtabliſhed againſt the moſt "barbarous enemies) does "not proceed from You, then "we more earneſtly beſeech "You, not to be unmindfull "of us, nor permit us to be "any longer infeſted with "theſe publick Rapines. Then, after the interpoſition of ſome words, he adds thus much; "For this Sect of Phi- "loſophy, which we profeſs, "at firſt flouriſht amongſt "the [e] *Barbarians*. But when, "in the Reign of the Great "*Auguſtus* Your Progeni- "tour, it began to be eminent and conſpicuous in "Your Provinces; it brought with it moſt for- "tunate and proſperous ſucceſs to Your Empire. "For from that time the power of the *Roman* "Empire began to be eminently great, and was "much augmented. Of which Empire You by "ſucceſſion are the moſt acceptable Inheritour "that could be wiſh't for, and ſhall ſo continue, to- "gether with your [f] Son, if "you will be the defender of "that Religion which was "nurſed up together with "Your Empire, which took "its beginning under the "Reign of the Great *Au-* "*guſtus*; and which your "Anceſtours did together "with other Religions both "eſteem, and reverence: And "this is a moſt certain evi- "dence that our Religion "(which flouriſht together "with your happily begun "Empire) brought with it "publick ſucceſs and proſpe- "rity; *to wit*, that from the "time of *Auguſtus*'s Reign "no unſucceſsfull accident hath intervened; but on "the contrary ſuch ſplendour and magnificence "hath always attended Your Empire, as is agree- "able to the deſires and prayers of all men. Of [g] "all the Emperours, onely [g] *Nero* and *Domitian* "(induced thereto by the perſwaſion and advice "of ſome malevolent perſons) endeavoured to "fix a calumny and reproach upon our Religion. "From whom that falſe and malicious detraction "happened to be conveyed down to ſucceeding "times, agreeable to the uſage of the rude multi- "tude, which irrationally gives credit to ſuch "groundleſs rumours. But Your pious An- "ceſtours corrected their ignorance: and by "frequent Reſcripts reproved ſuch as audaci- "ouſly attempted to be inſolent and vexatious to- "wards thoſe of our Religion. Amongſt whom "Your Grandfather *Adrian* wrote both to *Fun-* "*danus Proconſul* of *Aſia*, and alſo to many "other [Governours of Provinces;] and [h] your "Father, even at that time when You were his "Colleague in the Empire, wrote to the Cities that "they ſhould not raiſe tumults, nor commit any "inſolencies againſt us; namely to the *Lariſſeans*, "to the *Theſſalonians*, the *Athenians* and to all "the *Grecians*. But we moſt confidently per- "ſwade our ſelves that You (who retain the ſame "opinion concerning us that your Anceſtours "had; yea, who are enclined to be much more "gracious and mild towards us, and to entertain "wiſer and diſcreeter thoughts concerning us,) "will doe whatſoever we requeſt of you. This paſſage is extant in the fore mentioned Apologie of *Melito*. The ſame Authour (in that book *of Extracts and Collections* written by him) does, at the beginning of that work, make a Catalogue of thoſe books of the Old Teſtament that by general conſent are acknowledged as Canonical: which Catalogue I judged neceſſary to be here inſerted: It is word for word thus. "*Me-* "*lito* to *Oneſimus* the brother ſendeth greeting. "Whereas, becauſe of your love to, and dili- "gence beſtowed about, the word of God, you "have often requeſted me to make you ſome ſhort "Collections and excerptions both out of the "Law and the Prophets about thoſe things that "belong to our Saviour, and all the Articles of "our Faith; and moreover, you being very de- "ſirous to have an accurate account of the books "of the Old Teſtament, how many they are in "number, and in what order they were written; "I have made it my buſineſs to doe all this, and to "ſatisfie your deſire herein. For I well know "with what an ardour of faith you are enflamed, "and how earneſt your deſires are after know- "ledge; and that, by reaſon of your love of God, "you greatly prefer theſe before all other things, "ſtriving earneſtly to obtain eternal ſalvation. "When therefore I travelled into the Eaſt, and "came into that Countrey where theſe things were "heretofore Preacht and done, I made an accu- "rate inquiry about the books of the Old Teſta- "ment, a Catalogue whereof I have herewith ſent "you. Their names are theſe: *The five books* "*of Moſes, to wit, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus,* "*Numbers, Deuteronomie: Joſhua, Judges, Ruth:* "the *four books of the Kings*, the two *books of* "*the Chronicles*: the *Pſalms of David*, the "*Proverbs of Solomon*, which is alſo called *the* "*book of Wiſdom, Eccleſiaſtes*, the *ſong of Solo-* "*mon, Job*, the prophecies of *Eſaiah*, and *Jere-* "*miah*: one book of the *twelve* [minor] *Pro-* "*phets, Daniel, Ezechiel, Eſdras*. Out of theſe "I have made ſome *ſhort Collections*, which I have "divided into ſix books. But thus much con- cerning the writings of *Melito*.

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[d] These words are to be underſtood of the Chriſtians; which appears from what follows. For *Melito* deſires of the Emperour, that he would firſt look into and examine the cauſe of the Chriſtians; and then determine, whether they deſerved to be puniſhed, or rather preſerved in ſafety. *Valeſ.*

[e] So he terms the *Jews*, amongſt whom the Chriſtian Religion firſt ſprang up. Upon this account *Porphyrius* (whoſe words *Euſebius* quotes book 6. chap. 19. of this work) termed the Chriſtian Religion [Καθ' ἑαυτὸν πάλαι μυθεῖται] i. e. *an audacious Sect that had its beginning amongſt Barbarians*. Valeſ.

[f] From this place it is evident, that *Melito* the Biſhop preſented his Apology to *M. Antoninus* after the death of *Aurelius Verus*. For, if *Verus* had been then living, when *Melito* wrote this Apology, he would doubtleſs have mentioned him here; and in ſtead of theſe words [*together with your ſon*] would certainly have ſaid [*together with your brother.*] For *L. Verus* was the adopted brother of *M. Aurelius*. Seeing therefore, *Melito* does here mention onely the ſon of *M. Antoninus* (*to wit, Commodus*) 'tis manifeſt, as I ſaid, that this Apology was preſented to *Marcus* after the death of *L. Verus*. And therefore *Euſebius* (in his *Chronicon*) places it on the 10th year of *M. Aurelius, to wit*, the year after *Verus*'s death. *Valeſ.*

[g] The ſame is aſſerted by *Tertullian* (*Apologet.* cap. 5.) whoſe words our *Euſebius* quotes, partly at chap. 25. B. 2. and partly at chap. 20. B. 3.

[h] The Reſcript of *Antoninus Pius* (who is here meant) in favour of the Chriſtians, is not now extant. 'Tis mentioned in the Reſcript of *M. Aurelius Antoninus* to the Cities of *Aſia*, which *Euſebius* has ſet down in chap. 13. of this book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Apollinaris, *Biſhop of the* Hierapolitane *Church.*

[a] ALthough ſeveral books written by *Apolli-* *naris* are extant among many men, yet theſe onely of his are come to our knowledge; *to wit, His Apology to the foreſaid Emperour*; *his five books againſt the Gentiles*; *his two books*

[a] In our M.SS. Maz. Med. and Fuk. there is in this place no beginning of a new chapter, but this 27 chapt. which treats concerning *Apollinaris*, and the following chapt. concerning *Muſanus*, are both annext to chap. 26. the title whereof in our ſaid M. SS. is this [concerning *Melito*, and what he has made mention of, *Apollinaris*, and *Muſanus*;] which diviſion *Robert Stephens* followed in the body of this fourth book. For in the Contents prefixt before this 4th book he follows the Kings M. S. and makes three chap. here, *to wit*, one of *Melito*, another concerning *Apollinaris*, and a third concerning *Muſanus*: but in the body of that book he follows the Med. M. S. (as he always does in this particular) and has put no diſtinction of a new chap. here; but hath made all the three chapters into one. We, following the autority of the Kings M. S. have divided them into three chap. and the ſame was done before, in the *Geneva* impreſſion of *Euſebius*'s Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

concerning

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concerning truth; and *his* [b] *two books against the Jews*. Also, those books he wrote afterwards *against the Heresie of the* [c] *Cataphrygians*; which not long after occasioned great disturbances; but at that time it began to make its first appearance; *Montanus* with his false Prophets then laying the foundation of his Errour. And this is what we had to say concerning *Apollinaris*.

[b] These words [*His two books against the Jews*] are not in the Maz. Med. nor Fuk. M.SS. nor in that copy *Rufinus* made use of, as appears from his Version: nor yet in *Jeroms* B. *de Eccles. Scriptor.* where he reckons up all *Apollinaris*'s books. But *Nicephorus* mentions them in his History. *Vales.*

[c] Mr *Tho. Lydyat* (in his *Emend. Tempor.*) says this Heresie began in the times of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*; the Authour whereof was *Montanus*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Musanus, *and his Writings.*

THere is extant of *Musanus*'s (whom we mentioned a little before) a most sharp piece written by him to some brethren, who turned to the Heresie of the *Encratitæ*; which then first sprang up, and introduced a new and most pernicious false opinion into the world. *Tatianus*, as report says, was the Authour of this Heresie.

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Tatianus *and his Heresie.*

VVE *mean that Tatianus*, whose words we quoted a little before, *treating* concerning the admirable *Justin*; who, we told you, was a disciple of that Martyr's. *Irenæus* evidences this in his *first book against Heresies*, where he writes thus concerning this *Tatianus* and his Heresie. "From [a] *Saturninus* and *Marcion* sprang "those Hereticks called *Encratitæ*, who taught "that marriage was unlawfull; rejecting that "Primitive institution of God, and tacitely accused "him; because he created Male and Female for the "propagation of Mankind. They were also tours "also of an abstinence from the eating those things, "that (as they termed them) had life; shewing "hereby their ingratitude towards God who "Created all things. They deny likewise that "the first man was saved. And this is a Tenet "lately invented amongst them, of which impious "assertion one *Tatianus* was the first broacher. "Who having been an Auditour of *Justin*, as long "as he converst with him, discloséd no such false "opinions: but after his Martyrdom, he revolted "from the Church, and being arrogant and puft up "with the conceit of his being "an [b] Ecclesiastical Doctour "(as if he were better then "any body else) he was the "composer of a new form of "Doctrine of his own ma- "king, inventing stories a- "bout invisible ages, in the "same manner as *Valentinus* "did: and asserting with "*Marcion* and *Saturninus*, "that Matrimony was no- "thing less than corruption "and whoredom; and fra- "ming some new arguments "to disprove the Salvation of *Adam*. Thus far *Irenæus* [*concerning the Heresie of the Encratitæ which* then *was broacht.*] But not long after, one whose name was [c] *Severus* did consolidate this *Severus* to be ancienter than *Tatianus*; which is a mistake, as 'tis evident from these words of *Eusebius*. *Irenæus* makes no mention of this *Severus*. *Theodoret* (in his first book *Hæret. fabul.*) has rightly placed *Severus* after *Tatianus*. Vales.

[a] The Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. and also *Nicephorus*, call him *Saturninus*. *Epiphanius* and *Theodoret* name him *Saturnilus*; and *Hegesippus* terms those Hereticks, which had their name from him, *Saturnilians*. See chap. 22. of this B. 4. *Vales.*

[b] *Jerom* (in his book *de Scriptor. Eccles.*) takes the word [διδάσκαλον] in such a sense as to signifie *a master of Eloquence*. Such an one *Tatianus* was before his conversion to the Christian Religion, as may be seen from chap. 16. of this 4th book. But I rather think, that by [διδάσκαλον] (which is the term in the original) should be meant [*an Ecclesiastical Doctour*] which sense of that term the following words of *Irenæus* doe confirm; for he says, *he was the composer of a new form of Doctrin of his own making*. Vales.

[c] *Epiphanius* makes

and strengthen the foresaid Heresie, and so was the occasion that the followers of that Sect were called, by reason of his name, *Severiani*. They approve indeed of the Law, the Prophets and the Gospels, expounding the sentences of holy Scripture according to a peculiar sense and meaning of their own; but they speak reproachfully of the Apostle *Paul*, and reject his Epistles; neither doe they admit of the *Acts of the Apostles*. But *Tatianus*, their first founder, put together a confused heap of collections extracted out of the four Gospels, which he entitled a [d] *Diatessarwn*, i. e. *a Gospel made up of the four Gospels*: which book is at this time extant in the hands of some men. They say also, that he was so audacious as to alter some sayings of the Apostle *Pauls*, and to express them in more elegant terms, undertaking to correct the composition and order of his phrase. He left a very great number of books; among which, his [e] book *against the Grecians* is look't upon to be an excellent piece, and is commended by most men: in which work, giving an account of the series of times in the former ages of the world, he has made it evident that *Moses* and the Prophets amongst the *Hebrews*, were much more antient, than all the famous men amongst the *Grecians*. Indeed that book of his seems to be the best and most usefull piece of all his writings. But thus far concerning these things.

[d] *Epiphanius* (in Hæres. 46.) says, this work of *Tatianus*'s is by some called *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*. But that Gospel is more ancient than *Tatianus*. For *Hegesippus*, who flouriiht some years before *Tatianus*, makes mention of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as *Eusebius* tells us, chap. 22. of this book: *Papias* also quotes a passage out of that Gospel, as *our Authour* asserts about the close of the 3d book. *Vales.*

[e] That is, his Oration gainst the *Grecians*, which is extant at the latter end of *Justin Martyrs* works. *Edit* par. 1636. At pag. 171. he begins the proof of this point, *viz. the Antiquity of Moses and the Prophets.*

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning Bardesanes *the* Syrian, *and those books of his that are extant.*

FUrther, in the Reign of the same Emperour, when Heresies were numerous in [a] *Mesopotamia*, one *Bardesanes* a most eloquent man in the *Syrian* tongue, and an excellent disputant, wrote some Dialogues against *Marcion* and several others, who were Authours and assertors of different Opinions, which he publisht in his own country language; as also many other works which his Scholars (for he had very many Auditours, and was a powerfull maintainer of our faith) translated out of the *Syriack* into the *Grecian* language. Amongst which is *his Dialogue concerning Fate*, written to [b] *Antoninus*, an incomparable piece. 'Tis said he wrote several other Tracts, upon occasion of the persecution at that time raised against us. This man was at first a follower of *Valentinus*'s; but having misliik't that Heresie, and confuted many of the fabulous Tenets of the founder thereof, he was satisfied in himself that he had turned to a truer opinion: but notwithstanding he did not wholly clear himself of the filth of his ancient Heresie. Moreover, at the same time *Soter* Bishop of the *Roman* Church departed this life.

[a] *Tatianus* who was the Founder of the Heresie of the *Encratitæ*, lived in *Mesopotamia*, and there publisht his Heresie, as *Epiphanius* attests. And the same may be concluded from what *Theodoret* writes, *to wit*, that he found above 200 copies of the Gospel made by *Tatianus* in the Churches of *Osdroëna*. Vales.

[b] It's doubtfull whether *Antoninus* the Emperour, or one of that name, who was a follower of *Tatianus*'s, be here meant. It is not likely that *Bardesanes* should dedicate his books to the *Roman* Emperour, which he wrote in the *Syriack* language. Besides *Eusebius* (in his 6 B. *de præparat.*) does declare that *Bardesanes* dedicated *his Dialogues* to his followers and friends. *Vales.*

The End of the Fourth Book of the ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

The PREFACE.

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[a] The persecution of the Christians in the Reign of *Marcus* raged not every where at the same time; nor was it ended in one years space. In *Asia* it began first in the seventh year of *M. Antoninus*; and that not by the Edict of the Emperour, but by a tumultuous insurrection of the populace against them: where it lasted to the end of that Emperours Reign, as 'tis evident from these words in *Melito's* Apology [*For from that time the power of the Roman Empire began to be eminently great, and was much augmented: of which Empire you by succession are the most acceptable inheritour that could be wisht for, and shall so continue together with your son,* &c. See chap. 26. B. 4. note (*f.*)] Now, *Commodus* was by his father received as his partner in the Empire, when *Melito* presented this Apology to the Emperour. His being made Colleague in the Empire, 'tis evident, happened about the latter end of *M. Antoninus's* Reign: wherefore the persecution of the Christians in *Asia* must necessarily have lasted till that time. But this persecution was more sharp and violent in *Asia*, in the *Gallias*, and in other Provinces, in the seventeenth year of the said *Antoninus*, as *Eusebius* does here say expresly. See *Baronius, ad annum Christi* 179. *Vales.*

MOreover, Soter *Bishop of the* Roman *Church having presided there eight years, ended his life. In whose place succeeded* Eleutherus, *the twelfth from the Apostles. It was then the* [a] *seventeenth year of the Emperour* Antoninus Verus; *at which time a more sharp persecution being in some parts of the world raised against us by a popular incursion throughout every City; how vast the number was of such persons as were dignified with Martyrdom over the whole world, may be conjectured from what happened in one Province. Which things were by accident put in writing and transmitted to posterity, as being truely worthy of an indelible remembrance. Now the Acts, which contain a most perfect and compleat account of these things, are set down entire in* that Collection we made of the Martyrs; *which comprehends not onely an Historical relation of what was done, but also Rules and Precepts of Piety and Holiness: But notwithstanding, we will from thence at present make a selection of such passages as are agreeable to the Subject we now have in hand, and here insert them. Other Historians indeed have wholly made it their business to record in their works Warlike Victories, and Trophies erected against their conquered Enemies; the valour of Generals, and brave exploits of Souldiers, besmeared with blood, and polluted with innumerable slaughters, in defence of their Children, Countrey, and Estates: But we, who set forth the History of a Divine society of men, will record upon immortal Monuments, inscribed with indelible Characters, the most pacate Wars, waged for the obtaining of Spiritual peace; and the valiant Acts of those persons who in such encounters contended more for the Truth than their Countrey, and for Religion rather than their dearest Relations: publishing for the perpetual remembrance of posterity, the continued earnestness of those Champions who fought for Piety, their fortitude in undergoing manifold torments, the Trophies erected against the Devils, the victorious conquests obtained over invisible Adversaries, and last of all, their Crowns.*

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CHAP. I.

How many, in the Reign of Verus, *underwent most sore Persecution in* France *for Religion; and after what manner* they suffered.

NOw *France* was the Countrey, wherein the place for performance of the forementioned Combats was appointed. The chief Mother-cities whereof, (and which be more eminently famous than the other Cities there,) are *Lyons* and *Vienna*; through both which the river *Rhone* passes, encompassing with a great and rapid stream that whole Region. The Churches therefore that were most eminent in those parts sent an account in writing concerning their Martyrs to the Churches throughout *Asia* and *Phrygia*; relating, after this manner, what was done amongst them: For I will insert their very words: "[a] The servants of Christ

[a] There arises here a double question; (1.) Why this Epistle was written joyntly by the two Churches, that of *Vienna*, and that of *Lyons*? (2.) Why the *French* wrote in Greek to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*? As to the first, I suppose it was for this reason done, because the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lyons* were joyned together, not onely by vicinity of place, but also by the bonds of mutual love. And seeing they had together been engaged in the same Persecution, they joyntly wrote an Epistle concerning their own Martyrs. Besides, both Provinces seem at that time to have been under the jurisdiction of one President; which may be conjectured from hence, because as well they of *Vienna*, as those of *Lyons*, are in this Epistle said to have been by the President apprehended, and condemned for the Faith of Christ. These therefore are the reasons why they wrote joyntly. For that which some have supposed, (*to wit*, that then there was but one Bishop of *Vienna* and *Lyons*) is easily confuted out of this Epistle, which says that *Pothinus* was Bishop of *Lyons*, but not of *Vienna*. Moreover, those of *Lyons* doe, out of respect, set the name of those of *Vienna* first, whenas notwithstanding they of *Lyons* wrote the Epistle concerning the things which were done at their own City. Which respect also may seem to be attributed to the antiquity, and nobility, of the Colonie at *Vienna*. As to the second query, we may understand from this Epistle, that there were many *Grecians* in the Church of *Lyons*, as was *Attalus*, and *Alexander* the *Phrygian*, and *Alcibiades*, who was by original extract a *Phrygian* also, as I think: also *Irenæus* was born in *Asia*, and when he was very young, had together with *Florinus*, been an auditour of *Polycarps* at *Smyrna*; as he himself evidences. The very name also of *Pothinus* the Bishop shews him to be originally a *Grecian*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that those who came out of *Asia* into the *Gallia's*, should write to their brethren that were in *Asia* concerning their affairs; from whom, as 'tis probable, they had before received that Epistle concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, and others. I suppose *Irenæus* to have been the Authour of this Epistle, who at that time was a Presbyter of the Church at *Lyons*. Vales.

"which

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"which inhabit *Vienna* and *Lyons* in *France*, to "the brethren throughout *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, "which have the ſame Faith and Hope of Redem- "ption with us; Peace, Grace, and Glory from "God the Father, and from Chriſt Jeſus our "Lord. Then, having after this by way of pre- face premiſed ſome words, they begin their re- lation with theſe: "Now the ſore affliction a- "mongſt us, the great rage of the heathens a- "gainſt the Saints, and what the bleſſed Martyrs "endured; we are neither able accurately to ex- "preſs, nor indeed can it be comprized in writing. "For the adverſary invaded us with his utmoſt vi- "gour, ſhewing forth even then his arrival a- "mongſt us, and ſome beginnings of his future "cruelty. For he left nothing unattempted, whilſt "by way of practiſe he prepared, and before hand "exerciſed his miniſters againſt the ſervants of "God. So that we were not onely prohibited to "come into [b] private houſes, "the Baths, and the [c] *Forum*, "but it was alſo by them in- "terdicted that no one of us "ſhould at all appear in any "place whatſoever. But the "Grace of God fought for "us againſt *the Devil*; which "both defended ſuch as were "weak, and alſo ſet in array "againſt him ſuch men as, "like pillars, were firm and "immovable, who by reaſon "of their patience in en- "during ſufferings, might "have been able to have "pulled on themſelves the "whole force of the De- "vil. Theſe perſons en- "gaged him hand to hand, "undergoing all manner of "reproach and puniſhment; "and, accounting the greateſt "ſufferings to be ſmall and "trivial, they haſtned unto "Chriſt; truly demonſtra- "ting, * *that the ſufferings of this preſent time "are not worthy to be compared with the glory "which ſhall be revealed in us.* Firſt therefore "they couragiouſly underwent whatſoever [a- "buſes] were cumulated on them by the whole "multitude, *to wit*, the ſhouts againſt them, the "ſtripes, the draggings up and down, the taking "away of their goods, the caſting of ſtones at "them, their being [d] ſhut up "within their own houſes; "and all things which an "exaſperated multitude doe "uſually undertake againſt "their enemies and adverſa- "ries: Then, being brought "into the *Forum* by the Tri- "bune of the Souldiers and "the [e] Magiſtrates of the "City, they were exami- "ned in the preſence of the "whole multitude; and, ha- "ving made their confeſſion, "were ſhut up in priſon un- "till the arrival of the [f] Pre- ſident. Afterwards, when they were brought be- "fore the Governour, (who exerciſed all manner "of cruelty againſt us) [g] *Vettius Epagathus*, one "of the brethren, who had arrived to an immenſe "degree of love to God and his neighbour; whoſe "courſe of life had been ſo exact and accurate, that "although he was a young man, yet he deſerved "the eloge of *Zachariah Seniour*; for he had "*walked in all the Commandments and Ordinances* "*of the Lord, blameleſs*, and was moſt ready to "perform all good Offices towards his neighbour, "being full of the zeal of God, and fervent in "Spirit: This perſon, *Iſay*, being ſuch an one, "was not able to bear thoſe ſo unjuſt procee- "dings againſt us, but was greatly moved with in- "dignation, and requeſted that he alſo might be "heard to make a defence in behalf of the bre- "thren, [and to manifeſt] that there was nothing "of impiety or irreligion amongſt us. But when "thoſe about the Tribunal cried out againſt him, "(for he was an eminent perſonage,) and when "the Governour refuſed the requeſt ſo juſtly pro- "poſed by him, and onely ask't him whether he "alſo were a Chriſtian; he confeſt it with a moſt "loud voice, and was received into the number of "the Martyrs, being termed *by the Governour* the "Advocate of the Chriſtians: But he had with- "in himſelf an Advocate, *to wit*, the holy [c] Spirit, "in a greater degree than [h] *Zacharias* had; which "he evidently manifeſted by his abundant love, in "that he was well contented to depoſite his own "life for the defence of the brethren. For he was, "and is, a genuine diſciple "of Chriſt, *following the* "*Lamb whitherſoever he go-* "*eth*. Then others [i] were "diligently proved and exa- "mined; and they were il- "luſtrious and ready proto- "Martyrs, who with all ala- "crity of mind accompliſhed "the ſolemn confeſſion of "Martyrdom. Moreover, "thoſe who were unpre- "pared, unexerciſed, as yet "weak, and unable to under- "goe the ſeverity of ſo great "a combat, were then ap- "parent: of whom about "ten in number fell away, "which was the occaſion of great grief and im- "meaſurable ſorrow to us, and diſturbed that alacri- "ty of mind in others who were not yet apprehen- "ded; who although they ſuffered all ſorts of mi- "ſery, yet were preſent with the Martyrs, and de- "parted not from them. At that time we were all "in a great conſternation of mind, becauſe we were "dubious about the [perſeverance of ſuch as "were to] confeſs [themſelves to be Chriſtians;] "not that we feared the torments that were to be "inflicted, but, revolving in our minds the iſſue of "affairs, we were fearfull leaſt any one ſhould fall "off

[b] The term in the original is [ἰδιωῶν] which ſignifies onely *private houſes*, from which the Chriſtians were then driven, that is, from the houſes of their friends, relations, &c. For I agree not with *Ruſinus*, who thought that the Chriſtians were prohibited to inhabit their own houſes. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἀγορᾶς is the term in the original; which ſignifies any *promiſcuous* or *popular aſſembly*; theſe (ſetting aſide the ſacred aſſemblies, which are otherwiſe expreſſed) are principally of two ſorts, either (1.) to *buy* and *ſell*, or (2.) *to reſort for juſtice*; and the word here uſed commonly ſignifies both, or either of theſe, (1.) a *fair* or *market*, (2.) *a place of judicature, an hall*, or *court of judgment*. The *Romans* termed this place *Forum*; which word they uſed in the ſame latitude that the *Grecians* did Ἀγορά. At this place, and hereafter, we have made uſe of the Latine term in our tranſlation; and we therefore put this note in here, that the Engliſh Reader might underſtand the meaning of it.

[d] Here in the firſt place is recounted the injurious uſage, which the Chriſtians ſuffered from the whole multitude; wherein impriſonment can have no place. For the Judges, and not the people, had power to impriſon thoſe that were guilty. *Ruſinus* therefore tranſlates [συγκλείσεις] *concludi*, i. e. *to be ſhut up*. For the heathens ſhut up the Chriſtians within their own houſes, and would not ſuffer them to come abroad. *Valeſ.*

[e] He means the municipal Magiſtrates, who were alſo called the *duumviri*. Although the term ἔξω τῶν (here uſed) is uſually meant of thoſe judges which have the power of the ſword; (See *Ulpian. in tit. de Juriſdict.*) yet it denotes the municipal Magiſtrates alſo, who, as the *Civilians* phraſe it, have *modicam coercitionem*. Valeſ.

[f] Ἡγεμών (the term that occurs here) has a general ſignification. For all Governours of Provinces are ſo called, be they *Procuratours*, *Proconſuls*, or *Deputies of Cæſar*. It may therefore be deſervedly queſtioned of which of theſe three ſorts the Governour of the Province of *Lyons* was. Indeed, I think he was the *Deputy of Cæſar*. Which I am induced to ſuppoſe (1.) becauſe there is mention here made of the *Tribune* of the Souldiers. For that agrees very well with the *Deputy of Cæſar*, who lookt after the Military affairs. (2.) In the old inſcription, which *Gruter* ſpeaks of, pag. 427, he is termed *Deputy of the Lugdunenſian* Province. See *Gruter. Inſcript.* p. 427. Laſtly, *Spartianus* (in *Severo*) atteſts, that the Province of *Lyons* was in the Reign of *M. Antoninus* governed by *Deputies of Cæſar*. And perhaps in this Epiſtle of thoſe of *Lyons*, *Severus* is meant: for he was *Deputy of the Lugdunenſian* Province under *Marcus*. *Junius Bleſus* alſo (whom *Tacitus* in the B. 1. of his Hiſtory calls Governour of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*) *was Deputy* of this Province; and ſo was *Vitraſius Pollio* in the times of *Adrian*. Valeſ.

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[g] This Martyrs name ſhould be written with a double *t*, as it is in the Mſs. and Fuk. M. SS. For *Vettius* is a *Roman* name, and occurs in *Cicero*, and *Juvenal*. Valeſ.

[h] They mean *Zachariah* the Prieſt, the father of *John* the *Baptiſt*, whom they call *Seniour*, comparing *Epagathus*, a young man, with him. *Valeſ.*

[i] Διεκελεύσθη is the term here uſed. It ſeems to be a Metaphor taken from Champions, who before they engaged in the combat, were wont to be examined and proved, whether they were free men, and of the age that Champions ſhould be. And thoſe that were admitted to the combat, were ſaid εἰσκείνεσθαι; ſuch as were repudiated ἐκκείνεσθαι: the examination it ſelf was called διάκρισις, as I collect from this place. Indeed this Epiſtle is very full of Athletical terms, as 'tis manifeſt from this place, and as we will ſhew more plainly hereafter. *Valeſ.*

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"off from the faith. Now there were daily taken "ſuch as were worthy to fill up their number; ſo "that thoſe, who were moſt eminent in [k] both the "Churches, and by whom eſpecially matters here "had been ſettled, were all pickt out and appre-"hended. Some Heathens alſo, our ſervants, "were ſeized upon; (for "the Preſident did in publick "give command that we "ſhould all be diligently "ſearch't out;) which per-"ſons, by reaſon of the "treachery of Satan, being "afraid of the torments which "they ſaw the Saints under-"go, the Souldiers inciting "them thereto, raiſed lyes "againſt us, *and reported* "*that we uſed* the ſuppers "of [l] *Thyeſtes*, and the ince-"ſtuous carnal copulation of "[m] *Oedipus*, and ſuch other "things as 'tis neither lawfull "for us to utter, nor to think "of, nor to believe, that any "ſuch fact was ever commit-"ted among men. Theſe "ſtories being ſpread a-"broad, all perſons were "enraged againſt us; in ſo much, that if there "were any who before had been moderate to-"wards us by reaſon of affinity or friendſhip; "even theſe were then greatly diſpleaſed with, "and mightily incenſed againſt, us. Thus was "fulfilled that which our Lord had ſaid, that the
* Joh. 16. 2. "time ſhall come wherein * *whoſoever killeth you,* "*will think that he doeth God good ſervice.* From "thenceforth therefore the holy Martyrs under-"went ſuch torments as are inexpreſſible and "above all declaration: Satan endeavouring with "much earneſtneſs that ſome ſlanderous and re-"proachfull words might be "uttered by [n] them alſo. But "the whole rage both of the "multitude, of the Preſident, "and of the Souldiers did in "a more violent manner fall "upon [o] *Sanctus*, of *Vienna*, "a Deacon, and upon *Ma-*"*turus*, a perſon indeed who "had been lately baptized, "but yet proved a coura-"gious Champion *of Chriſt*; "upon *Attalus* alſo, by coun-"trey a *Pergamenian*, who al-"ways was a pillar and prop "of the Churches here; and "*laſtly* upon *Blandina*; by "whom Chriſt demonſtra-"ted, that thoſe things which "among men ſeem vile, ob-"ſcure, and deſpicable, are by God accounted "worthy of great honour, by reaſon of the love "ſhown to him, which is actually and powerfully "manifeſted, and not in pretence and ſhew boaſted "of. For when we were all afraid, and ſhe that "was her miſtreſs after the fleſh (who alſo was "one of the Champions of the Martyrs) feared, "leaſt, by reaſon of the imbecillity of her body, ſhe "ſhould not be able with boldneſs and freeneſs to "make her confeſſion: *Blandina* was ſupplied with "ſo great ſtrength, that thoſe who by turns tortu-"red her all the time from morning till evening, be-"came feeble and weak; and confeſt themſelves "overcome, having nothing further to doe to "her; they admired alſo that ſhe yet continued to "breathe, her whole body having been mangled "and pierced through; and they atteſted, that one "ſort of torture was ſufficient to have bereaved "her of life, much more ſo many and ſo great tor-"ments. But this bleſſed woman, like a coura-"gious Champion, recovered freſh ſupplies of "ſtrength during her confeſſion: and it was a "refreſhment, and an eaſe to her, and abated the "pain of thoſe torments that were inflicted on "her, to pronounce *theſe words*, to wit, *I am a* "*Chriſtian, and there is nothing of wickedneſs* "*acted amongſt us.* But *Sanctus*, having in an "extraordinary, and more than humane, manner, "couragiouſly endured all the torments men could "invent, (the impious wretches hoping by rea-"ſon of the continuedneſs and exquiſiteneſs of his "torments to have heard ſome undecent expreſ-"ſions from him,) withſtood them with ſo great "a degree of courage, that he declared neither his "own name, nor that of his Countrey, nor of the "City where he was born, nor yet whether he "were a ſervant or a freeman: but to all the inter-"rogatories, he made anſwer in the *Roman* tongue, "*I am a Chriſtian:* this he declared time after "time ſucceſſively, inſtead of [acknowledging] "his name, his City, his kindred, or any thing "elſe: neither could the Heathens get any other "words out of him. Upon which account the rage "both of the Preſident and of the tormentours a-"gainſt him was exceeding great, and their en-"deavours to maſter him were obſtinate and "earneſt. Inſomuch that when they had nothing "further to torture him with, at laſt they clapt "plates of braſs that were red hot upon the moſt "tender members of his body; which parts of "his body were burnt indeed; but he ſtood up-"right without bending of himſelf at all, was in-"vincible, and continued ſtedfaſt and conſtant in "his confeſſions; being bedewed and ſtrengthened "with that celeſtial fountain of living water which "flowed out of the * belly of Chriſt. His body "was a ſufficient evidence of what had happened, "being all over full of wounds, and prints of "ſtripes, [p] bowed and drawn "together, and having loſt "the external form and ſhape "of a man: in which "Chriſt ſuffering accom-"pliſhed therein great glo-"ry, vanquiſhing the ad-"verſary and demonſtrating for the information "of others, that there is nothing formidable where "the love of the father is, nor any pain where "the glory of Chriſt *is preſent*. For when thoſe im-"pious wretches ſome few days after began again "to torture the Martyr, and ſuppoſed that if they "ſhould make uſe of the ſame torments whilſt his "body was ſwelled and the [q] wounds thereof in-"flamed, either they might maſter him, when he "could not indure to be touch't by hands, or that "he would die under his torments and ſo ſtrike a "terrour into others: not onely no ſuch thing "happened concerning him, but alſo, contrary to "the opinion of all men, his body became erect "and was repaired in theſe latter tortures; and "he recovered his former ſhape, and the uſe of his "limbs. So that his being tormented the ſecond "time was not a puniſhment to him, but by the "grace of Chriſt proved to be his remedy. More-"over, the devil cauſed one *Biblias* to be brought "forth to puniſhment, (being one of thoſe who "had renounced Chriſt,) whom he ſuppoſed to "be

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* See Joh. 7. 38.

[k] *To wit,* in the Church of *Vienna* and in that of *Lyons*. But theſe words are in an eſpecial manner to be taken notice of, becauſe from them it appears manifeſtly, that the Church of *Vienna*, as well as that of *Lyons*, had at that time its Biſhop. For by antient writers it is not called a Church unleſs it be a mother-Church, which we call a *Cathedral*. *Ado Viennenſis* (in his *Chronicon*) ſays *Juſtus* was Biſhop of *Vienna* at that time; who having been macerated with a long Exile, was at laſt Crowned with Martyrdom. *Valeſ.*

[l] The ſtory goes, that this *Thyeſtes* eat part of his own ſon; whom *Atreus* his brother (to be revenged of him for committing adultery with his wife) made ready, and ſet before him.

[m] He (not knowing her to be ſo) married his own mother *Jocaſta*, (having before out of ignorance ſlain his own father *Laius*,) of whom he begat four ſons.

[n] The ſervants of the Chriſtians (before mentioned) being afraid of the tortures they were threatned with, had confeſt that the Chriſtians killed infants, and committed inceſt: and here the devill endeavoured, that the Chriſtians themſelves, which were apprehended, ſhould after the ſame manner calumniate the Chriſtian Religion. Therefore the Judges tortured them all manner of ways, that they ſhould confeſs, that they eat children, and committed inceſt. Upon this account *Blandina* (as hereafter it follows) cried out amidſt her tortures—*I am a Chriſtian, and there is nothing of wickedneſs acted amongſt us.* Valeſ.

[o] This *Sanctus* was born at *Vienna*, but was a Deacon of the Church at *Lyons*. Valeſ.

[p] That is, by reaſon of the greatneſs of his tortures. For they who were tortured in the *Eculeus* (the deſcription of which Engine ſee in *Turnebus* his *Adverſ.* L. 4. c. 39.) were forced to bow their heads very much. *Valeſ.*

[q] Σωμάτων is the term in the original. *Ruffinus* (as by his Verſion appears) read τραυμάτων, i. e. *wounds*; which reading ſeems to be right. *Valeſ.*

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"be by him already devoured, but was fur her "desirous to have her condemned of blasphemy, "constraining her, being now weak and not coura- "gious, to utter some impious expressions con- "cerning us. But she came to her self again at "the time of her being tortured, and (as we may "so speak,) was awaked out of her profound "sleep, being by the present punishment reminded "of the eternal torments in hell; and she re- "turned a contradictory an- "swer to [r] those that slaun- "dred us, saying, how should "such persons eat little chil- "dren, for whom 'tis un- "lawfull to eat the bloud "even of irrational creatures. "From that instant she con- "fest her self to be a Chri- "stian, and was added to the "number of the Martyrs. "But when the punishments "of those tyrannous persons were rendred inef- "fectual by Christ, through the patient sufferance "of the blessed *Martyrs*, the devil invented other "subtil devices, *to wit*, the imprisonments of them "in darkness, and in the most noisome parts of the "prison, the stretching of their feet in the [s] stocks, "which were strained to the fifth hole, and such "other sorts of punishment as enraged ministers "(and therefore full of the devil) doe usually "provide for those that are shut up in prison. So "that many were suffocated in prison, whom "the Lord, manifesting his "own glory, was pleased "should after that manner "depart out of this life. "For some (who had been "so cruelly tortured, that in "all likelyhood they could "not possibly live any lon- "ger, although they should "have had all methods of "cure administred to them,) "continued in prison; des- "titute indeed of humane as- "sistance, but corroborated "by the Lord, and strengthen- "ed in body and mind, who "also encouraged and com- "forted the rest: But others "who were young, and newly apprehended, whose "bodies had not before been accustomed to en- "dure tortures, were not able to bear the bur- "then of confinement, but died in prison. Now "the blessed *Pothinus*, who was entrusted with "the administration of the Episcopal Office in "*Lyons*, being above the age of ninety years, and "very infirm of body, scarce able indeed to "draw his breath by reason of his present bodily "imbecillity, but corroborated with alacrity of "mind through an earnest desire of an approach- "ing Martyrdom; He, *I say*, was also haled to the "Tribunal: his body indeed was both by age "and also by his distemper decayed and spent, "but his life was preserved in him, that Christ "might triumph thereby. He, being carried to "the Tribunal by the Souldiers, the Magistrates "of the City accompanying him, and the whole "multitude raising shouts of all sorts against him, "(as if he had been Christ,) exhibited a good "testimony: but being asked by the President "who was the God of the Christians, he replied, "if you be worthy, you shall know. After this "answer, he was drag'd up and down after a most "inhumane manner, and suffered various sorts of "blows and stripes; both those who were neer, "exercised all manner of injurious usage to- "wards him with hands and feet, shewing no "reverentiall respect to his age; and such as "were at a distance cast at him whatever each "person had ready at hand: yea, they all accoun- "ted it to be a great offence and an impiety, "should any one have been deficient in his inso- "lent usage of him. For by this means they "thought they should revenge their gods. And "when there was scarce any breath left in him, "he was cast into prison, where after two days "he expired. But here there came to pass a sin- "gular dispensation of Gods providence, and the "immense mercy of Jesus was demonstrated; "[an instance whereof] has indeed rarely hap- "pened among the Brotherhood, but which was "not at all disagreeable to the skill, and dexterity "of Christ. For those who, upon their being "first apprehended, renounced the Faith, were "themselves also confined to prison, and partook "of the same miseries which the Martyrs under- "went: for their denial of the Faith was not in "any wise beneficiall to them at that juncture of "time. But those who confest themselves to be "what they really were, were imprisoned as Chri- "stians, no other crimination being laid to their "charge: but these were kept in custody, as "being, besides that, murderers and wicked per- "sons, and underwent double the punishment that "others did. For the joy of Martyrdom, the "hope of the Promises, the Love to Christ, and "the Spirit of the Father comforted those: but "their conscience did heavily torture these; in "so much that * in their passage from the prison "to the Tribunal their countenances might be ma- "nifestly known and distinguished from all the "rest. For those came forth chearfully, their "countenances being intermixt with very much "of majesty, and pleasantness: in so much that "their fetters encompassed them with a beautifull "comliness, like a bride bedeck't with fringes "of gold † wrought about with divers colours: "and moreover they yielded a scent of the sweet "savour of Christ; so that some thought they "were anointed with terrestrial oyntment. But "these had a dejected countenance, look't unplea- "santly and illfavoured, and were filled with all "manner of deformity: moreover they were re- "viled by the very Heathens, as being cowardous "and unmanly; having indeed procured them- "selves the crimination of murderers, but lost that "most honourable, glorious, and vivifick appel- "lation [of Christians.] Which things when the "rest beheld; they were made stedfast; and such "as were apprehended did without any thing of "dubiousness confess themselves to be Christians, "entertaining not the least thought of diabolical "consideration. To these, having interposed some words, they again add, saying,--- "Afterwards "therefore, their Martyrdoms were divided into "all sorts of death: for, having platted one Crown "of different colours, and of all sorts of flowers, "they offered it to the Father. It was indeed fit, that "those courageous Champions, who had under- "gone a various combat, and been egregious con- "querours, should receive the invaluable Crown of "incorruption. *Maturus* therefore, and *Sanctus*, [t] "and *Blandina*, and *Attalus* were brought before "the wild-beasts into the [t] *Amphitheatre*, and into

[r] Τοῖς βλασφήμοις; thus the reading of the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. And 'tis better than τοῖς βασανισταῖς, i.e. *the Tormentours*, as 'tis in *Robert Stephens Edit.* They are meant here, who calumniated the Christian Religion; or at least those, who, by reason of the sharpness of the tortures, renounc't it, and confest that the Christians killed infants, and committed incest. *Valef.*

[s] Ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ; i.e. *in the stocks*, see chap. 16. B. 4. and the note there, concerning this term. The fashion of this Engine for punishment, and the manner how persons were punished in it, seems to have been this. It was a piece of timber, wherein five paire of holes were made, at a certain distance one from the other: into these holes (as it were into boots) they put the feet of offenders, and fastned them therein with cords and fetters. The meaning of [*their feet being strained to the fifth hole*] is, they forced them to straddle so wide, as to put their feet into the last pair of holes; which posture, (those holes being at the greatest distance one from the other) was the sharpest degree of torture in this Engine. *Valef.*

* Κατὰ τὴν παρόδους is the phrase, i.e. *in their passage from th. ir confinement to the place of judicature.* Valef.

† Psal. 45. 10.

[t] Εἰς τὸ θηρίον. By this term the *Amphitheatre* seems to be understood. For it can't be referred to [θέατρα] because the preposition is repeated, thus, εἰς τὸ θηρίον, καὶ εἰς τὸ κοιτὸν, &c. This is the reading of the Maz. Med. Fuk. & Savil. M. SS. *Valef.*

the

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"the publick place, where the inhumanity of the "Heathens was exhibited; [a] "a day for fighting "with the wild beaſts being granted purpoſely "upon the account of thoſe "of our Religion. And *Ma-* "*turus*, and *Sanctus*, did a- "gain undergoe all ſorts of "torments in the *Amphithe-* "*atre*, as if they had before "ſuffered nothing at all: but "the rather, becauſe having "already ſubdued the adver- "ſary in many [x] encounters, "and being now to engage "in a Combat for the Crown "it ſelf, they again under- "went ſuch ſtripes in their "paſſage thither as are cuſto- "marily inflicted; the being "torn and drag'd up and "down by the wild-beaſts; "and whatever elſe the en- "raged people, ſome from "one place ſome from ano- "ther, called aloud for, and "commanded; and in fine, "the Iron chair, upon which "their bodies being broyled, "filled their noſes with the "offenſive ſmell of burnt "fleſh. Neither did they "make an end of their cruel- "ty thus, but were yet more "fiercely enraged, being de- "ſirous to overcome the pa- "tient ſufferance of the Mar- "tyrs: But they heard no o- "ther expreſſion from *San-* "*ctus*, ſave that which he "had uſually uttered all a- "long from the beginning "of his confeſſion. Theſe "two perſons therefore, af- "ter they had continued a- "live a long while under the "ſufferings of a mighty com- "bat, at laſt were ſlain; ha- "ving been made a ſpectacle "to the world throughout "that day, inſtead of all that "variety which is exhibi- "ted in the combats of the "Gladiatours. But *Blan-* "*dina*, being hung upon a "piece of wood fixt in the "ground, was propoſed as "food for the wild-beaſts to "prey upon; who alſo, (in "that ſhe ſeemed to hang in "the form of a Croſs,) by her "ſtrong and earneſt prayer, "implanted much alacrity "upon the minds of thoſe "that were combatants; when "they ſaw (whilſt they were "undergoing their ſuffer- "ings,) even with their out- "ward eyes, under the per- "ſon of their ſiſter, Him who "was therefore crucified for "them, that he might perſwade thoſe which be- "lieve in him, that whoſoever ſuffers for the "glory of Chriſt hath eternal communion with "the living God. Now when none of the wild- "beaſts would then touch her, ſhe was taken "from the ſtake, and caſt again into priſon, being "reſerved for another combat: that ſo, having "been [y] Conquerour in many incounters, ſhe "might render the condemnation of the crooked "Serpent inexcuſable; alſo ſhe encouraged the "brethren, and though ſhe "was a perſon of ſmall eſti- "mation, infirm, and deſpi- "cable, yet having clothed "herſelf with the ſtrength "of Chriſt that great and "invincible Champion, ſhe "vanquiſhed the adverſary in many encounters; "and, after a glorious combat, was encircled with "a Crown of incorruption. *Attalus* alſo was "by the multitude moſt earneſtly required to be "delivered up to puniſhment, for he was an emi- "nent perſon, and by reaſon of the clearneſs of his "conſcience proceeded forth like a Champion "prepared for the combat, in that he had been "perfectly and throughly exerciſed in the Chri- "ſtian diſcipline, and was always a witneſs of "the truth amongſt us: and after he had been "[z] lead round the Amphi- "theatre, (a table being car- "ried before him whereon "was written in the *Roman* "tongue, *This is Attalus* "*the Chriſtian*,) and the "people had vehemently "ſwell'd with rage and an- "ger againſt him; the Preſi- "dent having underſtood that "he was a *Roman*, comman- "ded he ſhould again be com- "mitted to cuſtody amongſt the reſt that were in "priſon. Concerning whom he wrote to *Cæſar*, "and expected an Edict from him. Now, this "interval of time was ſpent neither idly, nor un- "fruitfully by them, but by their patient ſufferance, "the immeaſurable mercy of Chriſt was made "apparent: for thoſe members of the Church that "were dead, were by the living revived; and the "Martyrs conferred * kindneſſes upon thoſe who "were no Martyrs; and there was a great joy "begotten in the Virgin Mother [*the Church*;] "ſhe having again received thoſe alive, whom "by abortion ſhe had caſt forth as dead. For "through the means *of the holy Martyrs* many "of thoſe who had renounced the faith, were "newly formed in the womb, born again, had "their vital heat rekindled in them, and learned "to confeſs themſelves to be Chriſtians. And ha- "ving now recovered life and ſtrength, they came "before the tribunal, (God, who deſireth not the "death of a ſinner but is indulgent and kindly in- "vites him to repentance, [a] infuſing a ſweetneſs in- "to them) that they might again be interrogated by "the Preſident. For *Cæſar* "had ſignified by his Re- "ſcript, that thoſe [*who* "*confeſt themſelves to be* "*Chriſtians*,] ſhould be "[b] tortured; but if any re- "nounced the Faith, they "ſhould

[a] The meaning of this place is, that the *Preſident*, or *Deputy*, of the Province of *Lyons* granted the people an extraordinary ſhew of fighting with the wild-beaſts; a day being appointed for that purpoſe, becauſe of the Chriſtians, who were condemned to the beaſts. For the *Romans* had ſet days for theſe Spectacles, which fell on the month of *December*, as may be ſeen in the *Calender* of *Heruuartius*. Except on theſe days, it was unlawfull for the beſtowers of theſe ſports, or for the *duumviri* (on whom the charge of theſe *ſhews* was impoſed) to exhibit theſe ſpectacles of fighting with wild-beaſts to the people. But thoſe judges, who had the power of the ſword and of condemning perſons to the beaſts, exhibited theſe ſhews as often as they pleaſed, that they might delight the people by deſtroying of offenders. *Valeſ.*

[x] We noted before, that many Athletical terms were made uſe of in this Epiſtle. Amongſt which is to be accounted the term [κλῆροι,] which occurs here. For the Champions, who were to contend in the games, were wont to be drawn forth by lot, which, after what manner it was done, *Lucian* (in *Hermotimo*) tells us. There was a little ſilver box, dedicated to the God that preſided over the Games, into which the Lots were caſt. Upon two the Letter *A* was written; upon other two the Letter *B*, and ſo on. Then the Champions drew theſe Lots out of the box. Thoſe two, who drew forth the Letter *A*, engaged one with the other, and fought in the firſt place: and this was the [πρῶτος κλῆρος.] In like manner, they that drew the Letter *B*, engaged one another in the ſecond place. So the Lot and the Urn aſſigned every one his Antagoniſt. He that vanquiſhed his adverſary, was not immediately Crowned, but engaged in another encounter with thoſe others who had conquered their adverſaries, untill there remained onely one Victour over all. Upon which account they drew Lots ſeveral times. Hence 'tis, that in the *Farneſian* inſcription (which *Gruter* ſpeaks of pag. 314.) one *Aſclepiades* is ſaid to have gotten the victory in many encounters, τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον καὶ πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον κλῆρον φέρων πολὺ ἀνταγωνιστάς; i. e. *after the firſt or ſecond caſting of Lots having vanquiſhed the Antagoniſt the ſecond, or third time.* For this was uſual for that reaſon I mentioned, as often as there were many couples of Champions. For the conquerours engaged one another, and there was a ſecond and third drawing of Lots amongſt them, untill the victory remained to one. And this is that which, in this Epiſtle, is called ὁλὸς πλόκων κλήρων. *Valeſ.*

[y] It ſhould be [ἐκβιασαμένη.] So 'tis in the Med. M. S. and in *Nicephorus*. See *Peter Faber*, in his *firſt book Agoniſtici*, chap. 24. Note, alſo, that *Blandina*, being a ſervant, was crucified; for that was the puniſhment of ſervants. *Valeſ. Robert Stephens* reads [νικήσασα.]

[z] The *Gladiatours* and the *Beſtiarii*, before they began the encounter, were wont to be led about in the preſence of the ſpectatours. See *Lucian*, in *Toxari*. This was uſually done not onely with thoſe who let themſelves out to play prizes, but alſo with thoſe offenders, which were condemned to the ſword, and to the wild-beaſts. So *Martial*, *Traducta eſt gyris, nec cepit arena nocentes.* Valeſ.

* That is, by making interceſſion for them, &c. *Valeſ.*

[a] The term in the original is [ἐγγλυκάνουσα,] which is uſed as well in an active as paſſive ſenſe. 'Tis a *Metaphor* taken from the wild-olive-tree, which being grafted, grows ſweet; of which S. *Paul* ſpeaks. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι. *Lexicographers* differ very much in their giving the ſignification of this term (which here occurs.) *Stephens* (in his *Theſaurus*,) renders it, *fuſtibus concidi*, i. e. *to be beaten with clubs*: *Varinus*, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι, i. e. *to be beheaded*: The *Etymologicon* (publiſht by *Sylbergius*) ſays it ſignifies, οὐκ ἁπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτανθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ, ὁ ἐστι ξύλον ὅπερ σκυτάλην καλοῦσι, *not barely to be put to death, but to be killed with the* Tympanum, *which is a piece of wood called a cudgell*: The Reader will find a large and learned account of this term, and of this engine of torture, in D. *Hammonds* note on Hebr. 11. 35. Where he makes it appear, that this ſort of puniſhment was very painfull, contumelious, and capital.

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"should be dismist from their imprisonment. "Now, the publick [c] Assembly here (which is "frequented by a numerous concourse of people of "all nations that meet together at it) being newly "begun, [the President] ordered the blessed "Martyrs to be brought before the Tribunal, ma- "king them a gazing-stock, "and, by way of ostenta- "tion, producing them as "a pompous shew to the "multitude. When there- "fore he had again interro- "gated them, as many as "were found to have the "priviledge of being free of "the City of *Rome*, he or- "dered should be beheaded; "the rest were cast to the "wild-beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified "through those who formerly had renounced the "Faith, but then (contrary to the expectation of "the Heathens) became to be Confessours: for "these persons were interrogated apart, as being, "in all probability, forthwith to be set at liberty; "but, having confess't themselves to be Chri- "stians, they were added to the [d] number of the "Martyrs. Now, they continued without, who "never had the least impression of Faith, nor "a sense of the Wedding garment, nor a thought "about the fear of God; but by their conversa- "tion defamed the way *of Truth*, that is, were the "sons of perdition: But all the rest were added to "the Church; during whose examination, one *A-* "*lexander*, by countrey a *Phrygian*, by profes- "sion a Physitian, a person who had dwelt many "years in the *Gallia's*, and was known almost to "all men by reason of his love to God, and "his boldness and fearlessness in Preaching his "word, (for he wanted not Apostolick grace;) "standing near to the Tribunal, and *by nods* en- "couraging them to a confession of the Faith, ap- "peared to those who stood round the Tribunal "as if he endured the * pangs of childbirth: now "the multitude being in a great fume, because "those, who had before renounc't the Faith, did "now again make confession of it, cried out against "*Alexander*, as if he were the occasion thereof: "and the President (having commanded him to be "[e] set before him, and asked "him who he was, and he "having said that he was a "Christian) being in a rage, "condemned him to be cast "to the wild-beasts. And "the day following he entred "*the Amphitheatre* together "with *Attalus*; (for the Pre- "sident, to gratifie the multitude, did again deliver "*Attalus* to the wild-beasts:) which two persons, "having undergone all the instruments of torment "in the Amphitheatre, that were invented to tor- "ture them with, and endured a great combat, "were at last [f] run through with a sword. *Alex-* "*ander* indeed did neither sigh, nor utter any ex- "pression at all; but in his heart spoke to God, "and continued praysing of, and praying to him: "but *Attalus*, when he was set in the Iron chair, "and scortched all over, (when the savour of his "burnt flesh ascended from his body,) said to the "multitude in the *Roman* tongue, *behold, this* "*that you doe, is to devour men; but we neither* "*devour men, nor practise any other thing that* "*is evill:* being asked also what name God had, "he answered, *God has not a name, as man* "*has.* In fine, after all these persons, on the [g] last "day of the Gladiatours combats, *Blandina* was "again brought forth, together with *Ponticus* a "youth about fifteen years "old; (who also were e- "very day led in, to see the "tortures of the rest) and "they constrained them to "swear by their Idols: but "because they continued firm "and constant, and contem- "ned their gods, the multi- "tude was so enraged against "them, that they neither had "compassion on the age of "the young man, nor shewed "any reverential respect towards the Sex of the "woman, but exposed them to all manner of "cruell tortures, and made them pass through the "whole circuit of torments, now and then com- "pelling them to swear, but were unable to effect "that. For *Ponticus*, being encouraged by his sister, "(insomuch that the Heathens perceived it was "she that encouraged and strengthened him) ha- "ving couragiously undergone all sorts of tor- "tures, gave up the ghost. But the blessed *Blan-* "*dina*, the last of all, having like a noble and va- "liant mother encouraged her children, and sent "them before as conquerors to the King; af- "ter she had measured over the same course of "Combats that her sons had passed through, "hastned to them, being glad, and rejoycing at "her exit, as if she had been invited to a nuptial "supper, and were not to be cast to the wild- "beasts. And after she had been scourged, ex- "posed to the fury of the wild-beasts, and set in "the [h] Iron-chair, at last she "was inclosed in a net, and "thrown before a [i] Bull: by "which beast after she had "been very much tossed, (ha- "ving been all along wholly "insensible of the tortures "she underwent, because of "her hope and her retaining "a firm assent to those things "she believed, and also by "reason of her familiar con- "verse in prayer with Christ,) "she also was run through "with a sword: and the very "Heathens themselves con- "fessed, that there never was any woman among "them, which suffered so many and so great tor- "tures. But their rage and cruelty towards the "saints was not thus satiated: for the Savage and "Barbarous Nations, having been stirred up by "that [k] fierce wild-beast, could not without great "difficulty be appeased; but their cruelty was "begun afresh, in a new and peculiar manner, a- "gainst the bodies *of the Saints*. For they were "so far from being ashamed that they had been "vanquished *by the Martyrs* (because they were "destitute of humane reason and consideration,) "that their rage was more enkindled; both the "President and also the people (like a fierce beast) "most unjustly demonstrating the same degree of "hatred against us: that the Scripture might be "fulfilled, [l] *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still,* [ὁ ἄδικος ἀδικησάτω ἔτι,] as the reading in the original is here; we now read [ὁ ἀδικῶν, ἀδικησάτω ἔτι, i. e. *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still*; See the original of the Text.

[a] In the Kings M.S. and, in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. the reading here is [ἀρχιμαρτύρων χορῶν.] But in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. it is [χαὶρων] i. e. *number*. See note (x) in this chap. *Vales.*

* Ὡσπερ ὠδῖνων is the phrase in the original; 'tis S. *Pauls* expression, *Galat.* 4. 19.

[b] Τήγανον is the Greek term; which *Rufinus* translates *craticulam*, i. e. a *Grid-iron*: it is the same, which before is called *the Iron-chair*, on which the Martyrs being set, were broyled, as it were on a Gridiron. Thus the Christians were used before they were cast to the wild-beasts. *Vales.*

[i] Amongst the sports of an *Amphitheatrical shew* this was one; a Bull was brought in; to whom (being first enraged) they cast offenders in closed in a net; whom, like balls, he tossed on high. *Martials* verse on this subject are well known, *Taurus ut impositas jactat ad astra pilas.* Vales.

[c] *Rufinus* translates this passage thus, *qui à Præside in medium statui Jussus*, i. e. *who being commanded by the President to be set before him.* Which translation pleases me best. For [ἐπιστήσαι,] which is the word here used, does properly signifie, *to set before the Judge*; in which sense also ἐφεστῶτα is used. *Vales.*

[f] Ἐνύβησε; *Rufinus* translates it, *jugulati sunt*, that is *their throats were cut*; I would rather have it thus rendred, *they were run through with a sword.* For it was the custom that the *Confector* should slay the *bestiarii*; as we noted before, in the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, B. 4. chap. 15. *Vales.*

[k] That is the devill; the Greek word [θηρ] signifies, a *wild-beast*; but [ὁ θηρ] is often taken for the devill. *Vales.*

[l] Rev. 22. 11. where instead of [ὁ ἀρυομενος ἀνομησάτω,]

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"*and he that is righteous, let him be righteous*
"*ſtill.* For thoſe who had been ſuffocated in pri-
"ſon, they caſt to the dogs; watching continually
"night and day, leaſt any of us ſhould interre them;
"then, having expoſed the pieces of the bodies,
"as well what were left undevoured by the wild-
"beaſts, as what remained unconſumed by the fire,
"partly torn, and partly burnt, alſo the heads of
"the reſt together with their trunks, they kept
"them likewiſe unburied with a guard of Soul-
"diers for the ſpace of many days. And ſome
"were full of indignation, and gnaſhed their teeth
"at the dead, being deſirous to take ſome further
"revenge of them. Others inſulted over and
"derided them, extolling their Idols, and attri-
"buting the puniſhment of the Martyrs to them.
"But thoſe that were more mild, and who ſeemed
"in ſome meaſure to ſympathize with us, up-
"braided us very much, ſaying, where is their
"God? and what emolument hath this Religion
"brought them, which they preferred before their
"own lives? And ſuch variety was there in the
"Heathens behaviour towards us; but we were
"affected with a great grief, becauſe we could not
"hide the bodies in the earth: for neither was the
"night aſſiſtant to us therein, [m] neither would
"money perſwade them, nor could our prayers
"induce them to grant our requeſt: but they
"watched the bodies with all imaginable care and
"diligence, as if they were to gain ſome great
"matter, if they ſhould not be buried. After
these words, having interpoſed ſome other expreſ-
ſions, they proceed, ſaying, "The Bodies there-
"fore of the Martyrs, having undergone all man-
"ner of ignominious uſage, and being expoſed in
"the open air for ſix days ſpace, were afterwards
"burnt; and being reduced to aſhes, were by thoſe
"impious wretches [n] ſwept into the River *Rhone*
"which runs hard by; that ſo no remains of them
"might be any longer viſible upon earth. And this
"they did, as if they were able to have vanquiſhed
"God, and deprive them of a reſurrection; that
"ſo (as they ſaid) they might have no hope of
"riſing again; of which being fully perſwaded,
"they introduce a ſtrange and new Religion a-
"mongſt us, and, contemning the moſt exquiſite
"torments, doe readily, and with alacrity of mind
"willingly undergoe death. Let us now ſee whether
"they ſhall riſe again, and whether their God is able
"to aſſiſt them, and deliver them out of our hands.

[m] These words [οὔτε ἀργύρια ἔπειθεν, i. e. *neither would money perſwade them*] are not in our three M.SS. Maz. Med. and Fuk. the Kings M.S. and *Robert Stephens Edit.* doe retain them. *Valeſ.*

[n] The Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil, M.SS. read it thus [κατεσπάρθη εἰς τὸν ῥοδανόν, i. e. *were ſwept into the River Rhone*: but the reading of the Kings M.S. of *Stephens Edit.* is [κατερράνθη, &c. i. e. *were ſtrewed*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

How the Martyrs beloved of God, kindly receiving ſuch as fell away in the perſecution, wrought a cure upon them.

SUch were the *Calamities* which befell the Churches of Chriſt, in the times of the foreſaid Emperour; from which may be conjectured what alſo was done in the other Provinces. It is worth our adjoyning hereto ſome other words out of the ſame Epiſtle, whereby the meekneſs and humanity of the forementioned Martyrs is deſcribed in theſe very words; "Who alſo were ſo far followers
"and imitatours of Chriſt, (**who being in the*
"*form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal*
"*with God,*) that although they were in ſuch an
"height of glory, and had ſuffered as Martyrs not
"once, nor twice, but often, and had been taken
"from the wild-beaſts and [a] committed again to
"priſon, although they had the marks of fire,
"the ſcars of ſtripes, and wounds all over their
"bodies; yet they neither declared themſelves to
"be Martyrs, nor would they ſuffer us to call them
"by that name. But if at any time any one of us,
"either by letter, or in diſcourſe, termed them
"Martyrs, they reproved us ſharply. For they
"readily allowed the appellation of Martyr to
"Chriſt, (who is the faithfull and true witneſs,
"and the firſt begotten of the dead, and the Prince
"of the life of God;) they commemorated alſo
"thoſe Martyrs who were already departed this
"life, and ſaid, thoſe are now Martyrs, whom
"Chriſt vouchſafed to aſſume whilſt they were
"making their confeſſion, he having ſealed their
"Martyrdom by their death: but we are mean
"and humble Confeſſours: and with tears they be-
"ſeeched the brethren, entreating them, that ear-
"neſt prayers might be made that they might be
"perfected: they alſo in reality demonſtrated the
"power and efficacy of Martyrdom, uſing much
"freedom of ſpeech in their anſwers before all the
"Heathens, and manifeſted their excellency by
"their patient ſufferance, fearleſneſs, and un-
"daunted courage: but they refuſed the appella-
"tion of Martyrs given them by the brethren,
"having been filled with the fear of God. Again,
after ſome few words, they ſay; "They humbled
"themſelves under the mighty hand, by which they
"are now highly exalted:
"then alſo [b] they excuſed
"themſelves to all men, but
"accuſed none; they looſed
"all men, and bound none;
"yea they prayed for thoſe
"who tortured them, as did
"*Stephen* that perfect Mar-
"tyr, [ſaying,] **Lord, lay not this ſin to their*
"*charge.* Now if he prayed for thoſe who ſtoned
"him, how much more [is it credible that he
"prayed] for the brethren? Again alſo, after
ſome other words, they ſay; "For this was the
"greateſt encounter they had with the devil, *to wit*,
"upon account of their genuine and ſincere cha-
"rity; becauſe the Serpent, being ſtrangled, vo-
"mited up thoſe alive, whom he ſuppoſed he had
"digeſted. They did not proudly triumph over
"thoſe that fell; but beſtowed, on ſuch as were in-
"digent, thoſe good things with which they aboun-
"ded, having motherly bowels of compaſſion, pou-
"ring forth many tears for them before [God]
"the father. They aſked life, and he gave it them;
"which alſo they imparted to their friends; being
"Victours [c] over all, they went to God: having
"always loved peace, and continually exhorted
"[us] to it, they departed in peace to God; lea-
"ving no grief to their mother, no faction nor
"diſſention amongſt the brethren, but joy, peace,
"concord, and love. Let thus much be here pro-
fitably placed, concerning the affection of theſe
bleſſed perſons towards thoſe of the brethren that
fell; upon account of the inhumane and mercileſs
diſpoſition of [d] thoſe, who afterwards behaved
themſelves moſt cruelly towards the members of
Chriſt.

[a] Sr *Henry Savil*, at the margin of his M. S. copy, has mended this place thus, καὶ τοῖς θείοις ἀθλοθετήσεσι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἀναληφθέντας, i. e. *and had been caſt to the wild-beaſts, and taken from them again*; Which emendation is put in the margin of the *Geneva Edit.* Indeed *Chriſtophorſon* read this place thus, as appears from his tranſlation; but 'tis uncertain whether he did it by conjecture, or from the authority of ſome old copies. Our M. SS. alter not the reading here. Moreover, ἀναληφθῆναι (which is the term in the original) ſignifies in this place, *to be caſt again into priſon*; in which ſenſe 'tis twice uſed in the foregoing chapter. *Valeſ.*

[b] Πᾶσι μὲν ἀπελογήσαντο. *Muſculus* tranſlates it trueſt, thus, *omnibus rationem fidei ſuæ reddebant*, i. e. *they gave all men an account of their faith*: it may be rendred thus, *they excuſed themſelves to all*: for that's the proper ſignification of Ἀπολογεῖσθαι. *Valeſ.*

[c] The Maz. Med. and Fuk. M.SS. read [κατὰ πάντων, i.e. *over all*. *Valeſ.*

[d] He means the *Novatians*, who afterwards excluded ſuch as fell in time of perſecution from all hope of abſolution. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. III.

What a Vision appeared to the Martyr Attalus *in his sleep.*

MOreover, the same Epistle of the forementioned Martyrs, contains also another relation worthy to be remembred; which, for the information of the Readers, we will very willingly insert: Thus it is: "For when *Alcibiades*, one of "*the Martyrs*, (who led an austere course of life, "and in the foregoing part of his life hitherto had "fed on nothing at all, but onely made use of bread "and water,) attempted to lead the same course "of life during his imprisonment; it was reveal- "led to *Attalus* (after the first combat which he "finished in the Amphitheatre) that *Alcibiades* "did not well, in his not making use of Gods "creatures, and leaving an example of scandall to "others. But *Alcibiades* submitted, fed on all "meats afterwards promiscuously, and gave God "thanks: For they were not destitute of the grace "of God, but the holy Spirit was their directour. These things were after this manner. Now, when *Montanus*, [a] *Alcibiades*, and *Theodotus*, began, then first of all, to be looked upon in the opinion of most men as Prophets; (for very many miracles of divine grace, at that time wrought in many Churches, made most men believe, that they also were Prophets;) and when there arose a dissention concerning these foresaid persons; The brethren that were in *Gallia* did again subjoyn their private opinion also concerning these men, (which was Religious and most Orthodox,) and annexed several Epistles of those Martyrs that had ended their lives amongst them, which, being yet in bonds, they wrote to the brethren in *Asia* and *Phrygia*, and also to [b] *Eleutherus* then the Bishop of *Rome*, being [c] Embassadours for the peace of the Church.

[a] This *Alcibiades* must be distinguished from *Alcibiades* mentioned a little before in this chapter. He, that is first named in this place, was a companion of the B. Martyrs of *Lyons*. This person here was (together with *Montanus* and *Theodotus*,) a ring-leader of the Sect of the *Cataphrygians*. Concerning whom see chap. 16, & 17 of this book. *Vales.*

[b] *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Rome*, was first deceived by the *Montanists*, who craftily hid their errour under the pretence of a feigned piety. Moreover, being moved thereto by the letters and exhortations of the Martyrs of *Lyons*, he wrote an Epistle to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, concerning the receiving of the *Montanists* into the Church. But being soon after admonished by one *Praxeas* of *Asia*, he revoked his pacifick letters which he had sent; and, following the authority of his predecessour *Anicetus*, refused to admit of a new Prophecy. So *Tertullian*, in his book, against *Praxeas*. Vales.

[c] That is, the brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, as well as *Eleutherus*, were Embassadours for the peace of the Church. See B. 3. chap. 24. note (*a.*)

CHAP. IV.

How the Martyrs, by their Epistle, recommended Irenæus.

BUt the same [a] Martyrs recommended [b] *Irenæus* (who at that time was a Presbyter of the Church at *Lyons*) to the forementioned Bishop of *Rome*, giving the man a very good testimony, as their own words doe manifest, which are these; "We pray that you may in all things "and always rejoyce in God, Father [c] *Eleutherus*; "we have entreated *Irenæus* our brother and com- "panion to bring you these letters, and we beseech "you that you would have him recommended, "being a follower of the testament or covenant of "Christ. For if we knew that place would pro- "cure any man righteousness, we would chiefly "have recommended him as being Presbyter of "the Church, which *degree* he is of. What need we recount the Catalogue of the Martyrs in the foresaid Epistle; some whereof were perfected by being beheaded, others were cast for food to the wild beasts, and others again dyed in prison? *Or what need we reckon up* the number of the confessours which till that time survived? For he that is desirous, may easily and fully know all these things by taking into his hands that Epistle, which, as I said, is inserted entire into our collection of the Martyrs. And such were the things that happened in *Antoninus*'s time.

[a] *Blondell* (in his *Apology*, chap. 8. p. 26.) denies that the Martyrs of *Lyons* wrote to *Eleutherus*. For he affirms that the Martyrdom of *Pothinus*, and the *Lugdunenſians*, happened on the seventh year of *Marcus* the Emperour, on the year of Christ 167; at which time *Soter* was Bishop of *Rome*. The Martyrs of *Lyons* therefore could not write to *Eleutherus* who then had not succeeded *Soter*. But our *Eusebius* does refute *Blondell*, saying plainly, That *the same Martyrs recommended*, &c. *Vales.*

[b] *Valesius*, in his note here, will not allow that *Irenæus* did actually goe this journey to *Rome*; the Martyrs indeed, says he, had desired him, and he had promised to undertake it; but the heat of the persecution coming on, and he being fixt in the presidency over that Church, could not be spared personally to undergoe it. But since *Eusebius* clearly intimates, and S[t] *Jerom* (*in Catalogo*) and *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 179) doe expresly affirm that the Martyrs sent him upon this errand, 'tis safest to grant his journey thither, though it must be while he was yet *Presbyter*, for so they particularly say he was in their Epistle to the Bishop of *Rome*, part of which our *Eusebius* has here inserted. See the learned D[r] *Cave*'s *Apostolici*; in the life of S. *Irenæus*; pag. 165. *Edit. London*, 1677.

[c] The Kings, Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. read *Eleuterus*; as doe also *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus*. But there are some who call him *Eleutherius*. Vales.

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CHAP. V.

How God, having from heaven heard the prayers of some of our Religion, sent rain to Marcus Aurelius Cæsar.

REport says, that when [a] *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, [b] brother to this *Emperour*, had drawn up his men in Battalia, in order to a fight against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, his army was brought into so great a streight by reason of thirst, that he knew not what course to take: and that the Souldiers of the Legion of [b] *Melitina*, (so it was called, *which *Legion*, upon account of their faith, has continued from that time hitherto,) kneeling down upon the ground (whilst the Army was setting in aray against the enemy) according to our usual custom in prayer, betook themselves to the making supplications to God. Which sight seeming very strange to their Adversaries, report says, that there soon after followed another thing much more wonderfull; *to wit*, both a terrible Lightning, which put the Enemy to flight and destroyed them; and also a great shower of rain, which fell upon that Army who had prayed to God, and refreshed it, when all the men in it were just ready to perish with thirst. Which story is related both by those Writers, (who are wholly estranged from our Religion,) whose care it was to commit to writing matters done in those times; and 'tis also set forth by our own writers. But the [c] Heathen Historians, because they are ali-

[a] *Eusebius* is here much mistaken, who says, that *M. Aurelius* was brother to *Antoninus* the Emperour, whenas *M. Aurelius Antoninus* was one and the same person. His Adoptive brother was not named *Marcus*, but *Lucius Ælius Verus*, as all men know. But he, who fought against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians* (to whom God granted a sudden shower to allay his Souldiers thirst,) was not *L. Ælius Verus*, but *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, as all Historians do attest; which our *Eusebius* does confirm also in his *Chronicon*, where he says this was done in the 14[th] year of *Antoninus*, that is, four or five years after the death of *L. Ælius Verus*. Vales.

[b] *Melitina* is a Countrey of *Cappadocia*, scituate between *Commagenes* and *Cataonia*, sayes *Strabo* in his 12 Book; who also relates, that that Country had no Cities. But afterwards *Melitina* became a famous City, which, upon a new division made of the Provinces, was attributed to *Armenia the less*; so says *Amm. Marcelinus*, who always calls it *Melitina*. Vales.

* That is, the name of that *Legion*; he means not the very persons, which then were in it.

[c] Some of the Heathen writers, who have mentioned this thing, say the Rain was procured by the inchantments of Magicians: others assert it to have been done by the prayers of *Marcus* the Emperour. So *Capitolinus* in the life of *Marcus*, and *Claudian* in the sixth Consulate of *Honorius*. Moreover, they have set down the very words of the prayer, that *Marcus* used; which are these, *Hanc dextram ad te, Jupiter, tendo, quæ nullius unquam sanguinem fudit*; i. e. *I stretch forth this right hand to thee, O Jupiter, which never shed the bloud of any man.* Vales.

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enated from the Faith, have mentioned the wonder indeed, but confeſs not that it was done by the prayers of thoſe of our Religion. But our men, in that they are lovers of Truth, have delivered what was done in a plain and ingenuous manner. Amongſt which number is *Apollinaris*; who ſays, from that time that Legion, which by prayer had wrought that miracle, had a name given it by the Emperour accommodate to what was done, being called in the Roman tongue [d]*Fulminea*. *Tertullian* alſo is a witneſs of this matter worthy to be credited, who dedicated to the *Roman* Senate an Apologie for our faith, (which we have before made mention of;) wherein he confirms this ſtory by a greater and more manifeſt demonſtration. Thus therefore he writes, ſaying, [e] that the Letters of the moſt intelligent Emperour *Marcus* were extant in his time, wherein he atteſts, that his Army in *Germany*, being ready to periſh for want of water, was preſerved by the Chriſtians prayers. He ſays moreover, that this Emperour threatned thoſe with death, who attempted to accuſe them of our Religion. To which the forementioned Writer adds theſe words alſo. "[f] What manner "of Laws therefore are theſe, which the impious, "unjuſt, and cruel perſons bring againſt us? ſuch "Laws as *Veſpaſian* did not obſerve, although he "had conquered the Jews; which *Trajan* in part "diſanulled, forbidding that the Chriſtians "ſhould be ſought for; which neither *Adrian*, "(although an inquiſitive ſearcher into all things "that were curious,) nor he who was ſurnamed "*Pius*, did make authentick. But let every one determine concerning theſe things according to his own pleaſure; we will proceed upon the Series of the ſubſequent parts of our Hiſtory. *Pothinus* therefore having finiſhed his life, (together with thoſe that ſuffered Martyrdom in *Gallia*,) when he was ninety years old compleat, [g] *Irenæus* ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of *Lyons*, which See *Pothinus* preſided over. This *Irenæus* was, we underſtand, an auditour of *Polycarps* in his younger years. This perſon ſetting down (*in his third book againſt Hereſies*) the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, cloſes his Catalogue with *Eleutherus*, (whoſe times and actions we now make our reſearches into) becauſe in his time he compiled that elaborate work; he writes thus.

[d] That is, the *Lightning Legion*. *Scaliger* has long ſince remark't, (in his *Animad. Euſeb.*) that the Legion was not named *Fulminea* upon account of this miracle, for it was ſo called long before *Antoninus's* time. *Dio Caſſius* makes this evident, in his 55 B. where he reckons up all the Legions. Alſo the old inſcription, produced by *Scaliger*, confirms this. Wherefore, as to the miracle of the rain obtained by the prayers of the Chriſtian ſouldiers, we doe readily give credit to the atteſtation of *Apollinaris* and *Tertullian*; but *Apollinaris* has not yet perſwaded me to believe, that the Legion *Melitina* was named the *Lightning Legion* upon that account. Some may object, that there was indeed a Legion, called the *Lightning Legion*, before *Antoninus's* time, but that he gave the Legion *Melitina* that name alſo, becauſe of the benefit he received by their means. But, if it were ſo, it ought to be called *the ſecond Lightning Legion*: and yet *Dio* makes no mention of any ſuch Legion, although he reckons up exactly all the Legions enrolled by the former Emperours. Moreover, *Dio* ſays, that the *Lightning Legion* had its ſtation in *Cappadocia*, which agrees very well with the Legion *Melitina*. In the book called *Notitia Imperii Romani*, the prefecture of the 12 Legion, termed *Fulminea*, at *Melitina*, is reckoned under the diſpoſition of the Duke of *Armenia*. Whence tis collected that *Melitina* was not the name of the Legion, but of the Town, wherein the 12 Legion, called *Fulminea*, abode. But 'twas not uſual to give the Legions their denomination from the places where they were in Gariſon, but from the Countreys wherein they were inrolled. Therefore, what *Euſebius* ſays concerning the Legion *Melitina*, ſeems to me ſcarce probable. Beſides, *Ruſinus* purpoſely omitted this name of the Legion, as I ſuppoſe, becauſe he knew that *Melitina* was the name of a Town in *Armenia the leſs*, wherein the 12 Legion, called *Fulminea*, kept guard in his time. But (that I may freely ſay what I think) it ſeems not very probable to me, that a whole Legion of *Roman* Souldiers ſhould at that time be Chriſtians; which yet *Euſebius* ſeems to affirm: who errs in this alſo, becauſe he has not produced the place of *Apollinaris*, nor ſhown the book wherein he wrote theſe things. But the words, with which *Euſebius* cloſes this whole ſtory, doe ſufficiently ſhew, that he himſelf doubted of the truth of this matter: for thus he ſays, in this chap. *Let every one determine concerning theſe things according to his own pleaſure.* Valeſ.

[e] *Tertullians* words are theſe; *At nos è contrario edimus protectorem; ſi literæ Marci Aurelii graviſſimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam ſitim Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbriodis cuſſam conteſtatur.* *Tertul. Apol. pag. 6. Edit. Regal. Paris* 1634.

[f] *Quales ergo leges iſtæ, quas adverſus nos ſoli exequuntur impii, injuſti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas* Trajanus *ex parte fruſtratus eſt, vetando inquiri Chriſtianos: quas nullus* Hadrianus, *quanquam curioſitatum omnium explorator; nullus* Veſpaſianus, *quanquam Judæorum debellator; nullus* Pius; *nullus* Verus *impreſſit.* *Tertul. Apol.* pag. 6, and 7. Edit. as before. We have added theſe words of *Tertullian* here, that the learned Reader may ſee how different the tranſlation, *Euſebius* here quotes, is from the original copies of *Tertullian*, which we now have.

[g] *Baronius* has placed the election of *Irenæus* to the See of *Lyons* on the year of Chriſt 180. For after the death of *Pothinus*, which happened in the year 179, he ſays that See was vacant till the heat of the perſecution was over. *Valeſ.* Dr *Cave, in his Chronological Table*, ſays *Pothinus* died in the year of Chriſt 177, to whom ſucceeded *Irenæus* the year following.

CHAP. VI.

A Catalogue of thoſe who were Biſhops of Rome.

"THe bleſſed Apoſtles therefore, having foun-
"ded and built the Church, delivered the
"Epiſcopal Office to *Linus*; of whom *Paul* has
"made mention in his Epiſtles to * *Timotheus*. *A-*
"*nencletus* ſucceeded him; after whom, in the third
"place from the Apoſtles, *Clemens* had the Biſhop-
"rick allotted to him; who had ſeen the bleſſed
"Apoſtles, and was converſant with them; and
"as yet he had the preaching of the Apoſtles
"ſounding in his ears, and their tradition before
"his eyes: and not he alone; for at that time there
"were many yet remaining alive, who had been
"taught by the Apoſtles. In the times of this *Clemens*, when no ſmall diſſenſion roſe among the brethren at *Corinth*, the Church of *Rome* ſent a moſt compleat and agreeable Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, joyning them together in peace, and renewing their faith, and the tradition they had lately received from the Apoſtles. And after ſome few words he ſays, "*Evareſtus* ſucceeded this *Clemens*,
"and *Alexander Evareſtus*; then *Xyſtus* was
"conſtituted the ſixth from the Apoſtles: after
"him *Teleſphorus*, who ſuffered a glorious Mar-
"tyrdom; after him *Hyginus*; then *Pius*; after
"*Pius Anicetus*: *Soter* having ſucceeded *Ani-*
"*cetus*, *Eleutherus* is now in poſſeſſion of the
"Epiſcopal Office, in the twelfth place from the
"Apoſtles. In this ſame order and [a] ſucceſſion,
"both the tradition of the Apoſtles in the Church,
"and alſo the promulgation of the truth, is de-
"ſcended unto us.

* 2 Tim. 4. 21.

[a] Our M. SS. copies read [διδαχῆ] *doctrine*; I would rather read [διαδοχῇ] *ſucceſſion*; as *Chriſtophorſon*, St *Hen. Savil*, and the old Tranſlatour of *Irenæus* read it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

That, even to thoſe times, miracles were wrought by the faithfull.

ALl this, being agreeable to what we have delivered in the foregoing Books of our Hiſtory, *Irenæus* has given his aſſent to in thoſe five books of his, which he entitled *The Confutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falſly ſo called*; in the ſecond book of which Subject he does in theſe words manifeſt, that even in his days there remained in ſome Churches examples of the divine and wonderfull power of God in working miracles, ſaying; "So far are they from raiſing
"the dead, as the Lord and the Apoſtles did by
"prayer. And frequently amongſt the brother-
"hood, (the whole Church of one place having
"with much faſting and [a] prayer requeſted) the

[a] The Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill M. SS. read λιτανείας, *prayer*; the Kings M. S. and *Robert Stephens*, ἁγνείας *purity*. Valeſ.

"ſoul

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"soul of the defunct has returned into his body, "and the man has had the benefit of life conferred "upon him by the prayers of the Saints. And again, after the interposition of some words, he says; "But if they say, that the Lord wrought such miracles as these in appearance only, not really, we "will bring them to the oracles of the Prophets, "and from thence demonstrate that all things were "thus predicted concerning him, and most undoubtedly done *by him*, and that he onely is the "Son of God. Therefore they which are his "true disciples, receiving grace from him, doe in "his name perform *all things* for the benefit of "the rest of mankind, according as every one of "them hath received the gift from him. For some "of them do certainly and truely cast out devils, in "so much that those very persons, who were cleansed from evil spirits, frequently become believers, "and continue in the Church. Others have the "fore-knowledge of things future, and visions, and "*utter* prophetick predictions. Others by the "imposition of their hands heal the sick, and restore them to their former soundness: and moreover, as we said, the dead also have been raised, "who continued with us many years after. What "shall we say more? We cannot declare the number of the gifts, which the Church throughout the "whole world having received from God, in the "name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under "*Pontius Pilate*, does daily perform for the benefit "of the Nations; She uses no deceit towards any "person, neither does she sell *her gifts*: for as she "has freely received them from God, so she freely "ministers them *to others*. And in another place the same Authour writes thus; "In like manner as "we have heard many brethren in the Church who "had prophetick gifts, and by the Spirit spoke all "sorts of languages; who also revealed the secrets of men, in such cases as 'twas profitable "and necessary, and explained the mysteries of "God. And thus much [concerning this matter, *to wit*] that diversities of gifts continued "with such as were worthy, untill those times before manifested.

CHAP. VIII.

After what manner Irenæus *makes mention of the divine Scriptures.*

But because in the beginning of this work of ours, we promised, that we would produce in due place the words of the ancient Ecclesiastick Presbyters and Writers, wherein they have delivered in writing the traditions concerning the books of the *Old* and *New Testament* which came to their hands, ([a] of which number *Irenæus* was one;) Come on, we will here adjoyn his words; and first what he has said of the sacred Gospels, after this manner; "*Matthew* published "his Gospel among the Hebrews, written in their "own Language, whilest *Peter and Paul* were "Preaching the Gospel at *Rome*, and founding the "Church. [b] After their death, *Mark* the disciple "and interpreter of *Peter*, delivered to us in writing what *Peter* had Preached. *Luke* also, the "follower of *Paul*, compiled in a book the Gospel Preach't by him. Afterwards *John* the "disciple of the Lord, he that leaned on his breast, "publisht a Gospel, when he lived at *Ephesus* "[a City] of *Asia*. Thus much the forementioned Authour has said in the third book of the foresaid work: And in his fifth book he discourses thus concerning the *Revelation of John*, and the number of Antichrist's name, "These things be"ing thus, and this number being extant in all ac"curate and antient copies, and those very per"sons who saw *John* face to face, attesting the "truth of these things, even reason doth teach us, "that the number of the beasts name according to "the computation of the *Grecians*, is made appa"rent by the letters contained in it. And after some other passages, he speaks thus concerning the same *John*, "We therefore will not run the ha"zard of affirming any thing too positively con"cerning the name of Antichrist; for if his name "were to have been openly declared in this age, "it would have been expres't by him who saw the "Revelation. For it was not seen long since, "but almost in our age, about the end of *Domi*"*tian*'s Reign. Thus much is related by the foresaid Authour concerning *the Revelation*: He mentions also the *first Epistle of John*, and produces many authorites out of it; as also out of *the second Epistle of Peter*. He not onely knew, but also approved of the book, called *Pastor*, saying, "Truly therefore hath that book said, which con"tains this, Before all things believe that there is "one God, who created and set in order all things, "and so forth. He quotes some words out of the [c] *Wisedom of Solomon*, saying in a manner thus; "The "vision of God procures in"corruption, and *incorrupti*"*on makes us neer unto God*. He makes mention also of the [d] sayings of an Apostolick Presbyter, (whose name he has concealed,) and annexes his expositions of the divine Scriptures. Moreover, he makes mention of *Justin Martyr* and *Ignatius*, quoting also authorities out of their writings. The same person has promised to confute *Marcion*, in a separate Volume, by arguments pickt out of his own writings. And concerning the translation of the divinely inspired Scriptures, hear what he writes word for word; "God there"fore was made man, and the Lord himself saved "us, having given the sign of the Virgin. But not "as some say who are so audacious as to traduce "the Scripture *thus*, Behold, a young woman "shall conceive, and bring forth a Son; as "[e] *Theodotion* the *Ephesian* "has translated it, and *A*"*quila* of *Pontus*, both "Jewish proselytes. Whom "the *Ebionites* having fol"lowed, say that Christ was "begotten by *Joseph*. Hereunto, after a few words, he adds, saying; "For before the "*Romans* had firmly com"pleated their Empire, (the

[a] These words [τῶν δὲ καὶ εἰρηναῖος ἓν, i. e. *of which number Irenæus was one*] seem to be superfluous, and written in the margin onely, by some Scholiast. But they are in the Maz. Med. Fus. and Savil. M. SS. *Vales.*

[b] *Irenæus*, in that he affirms here that *The Gospel according to Mark* was written after the death of *Paul* and *Peter*, does contradict what *Eusebius* related before, at the 15th chap. of the second book: where he says *Mark*'s Gospel was publish't at *Rome*, whilest *Peter* was alive, and approved of by that Apostle. But 'tis no wonder that the antient fathers disagree amongst themselves in this matter: seeing we have almost nothing of certainty about the writing of the sacred Gospels, save that they are four, and written by four several Authours. But when, or for what reason they were written, and whether the Gospel of S. *Matthew* were first penned in Hebrew, its not very evident. *Vales.*

[c] All the ancient Ecclesiastick Writers (as before was noted) call that book *the Wisedom of Solomon*, which we now call *the Proverbs*. But that B. entitled now *the Wisedom of Solomon*, is Apocryphal. *Vales.*

[d] Ἀπομνημονεύματα (the term here in the original) does properly signifie, *the sayings of wise men, which are repeated by heart*. Vales.

[e] *Irenæus* is the ancienteſt writer that makes mention of *Theodotion*. Wherefore we will see, if from hence we can make out the time when *Theodotion* lived. *Epiphanius* (in his book *de ponderib.*) says *Theodotion* flourished under *Commodus*, and then put forth his translation. The *Chronicon* of *Alexandria* follows *Epiphanius*'s opinion, and says he publisht that work in the fifth year of the Emperour *Commodus*. I Judge *Theodotion* to be somewhat ancienter. For, seeing *Irenæus* has mentioned him in his books against Heresies, (which books, tis manifest, he wrote when *Eleutherus* was Bishop of *Rome*, for he says so in the 3d B. of that work,) we must necessarily grant that *Theodotion* flourisht before *Eleutherus* was made Bishop of *Rome*. Vales.

M. AURELIUS & L. VERUS.

" *Macedonians* as yet poſſeſſing the Government " of *Aſia*,) [f] *Ptolemæus* the ſon of *Lagus*, endea- " vouring with much care and induſtry to adorn " the Library he had prepared at *Alexandria*, " with the writings of all men, which were ac- " curately compiled, requeſted thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, " that he might have [g] their " Scriptures tranſlated into " the Greek Language. They " (for till that time they " were ſubject to the *Ma-* " *cedonians*) ſent to *Ptole-* " *mæus* the Seventy Seni- " ours, which were the moſt " skilfull perſons among " them in the Scriptures, " and moſt expert in both " the Languages ; [h] ſatiſ- " fying the Kings deſire " herein. [*Ptolemy*] de- " ſirous to make tryal of " every one of them, and " being fearfull leaſt by com- " pact they ſhould agree to " conceal the truth of the " Scriptures by their tran- " ſlation, [i] ſeparated them " one from another, and " commanded every one of " them to write a tranſla- " tion : and this he did " throughout all the books. " When they were come " all together into the ſame " place in the preſence of " *Ptolemy*, and had com- " pared together the ver- " ſion of every particular " perſon amongſt them, God " was both glorified, and " the Scriptures acknowledged to be truely di- " vine : *For* they all from the beginning to the " end, ſet down the ſame things in the ſame words " and in the ſame expreſſions ; in ſo much that the " Gentiles which were preſent, acknowledged the " Scriptures were tranſlated by the inſpiration of " God. Neither need it ſeem marvellous that " God ſhould doe this ; ſeeing that in the capti- " vity of the people under *Nebuchodonoſor*, (the " Scriptures being then corrupted,) when after " Seventy years the Jews returned into their own " Country, afterwards in the times of *Artaxerxes* " King of the *Perſians*, He inſpired *Eſdras* the " Prieſt of the tribe of *Levi* to recompoſe all the " books of the former Prophets, and reſtore to " the people the Law delivered by *Moſes*. Thus far *Ireneus*.

[f] Some of the Ancients doe declare that the Greek tranſlation of the holy Scriptures was performed under *Ptolemæus* the ſon of *Lagus* ; others mention it to have been done under *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*. Which latter opinion, in that 'tis confirmed by the authority of the greater number of writers, has at laſt prevailed. *Anatolius* ſays the tranſlation of the 72 was made both in the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and alſo in that of his ſucceſſour *Philadelphus* : which to me ſeems very probable. For, ſeeing *Ariſtobulus*, *Joſephus*, and *Tertullian* doe ſay in expreſs words, that *Demetrius Phalereus* put *Ptolomy* upon this buſineſs ; and it being manifeſt that the ſaid *Demetrius* was in great favour with, and authority under, *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagus*, and died ſoon after him, we muſt neceſſarily ſay that this tranſlation (if it were done by the procurement of *Demetrius*) was begun in the Reign of *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagus*. And, ſeeing that *Philadelphus* reigned about two years together with his father, being made his Colleague in the Kingdom, therefore perhaps 'tis related that this tranſlation was made under both the Princes. *Valeſ.* The Learned *Petavius* is of the ſame opinion with *Valeſius*, in this matter ; as may be ſeen from his Annotations on *Epiphanius*'s Book *de ponderib.* pag. 379. *Edit. Paris.* 1622.

[g] *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays the 72 Seniours tranſlated all the books (as well thoſe of the Law, as thoſe of the Prophets) of the Scripture into Greek. To whom agrees *Theodoret, in his Preface to his comments on the Pſalms*, &c. *Iympiodorus*, and almoſt all other writers. But *Ariſtobulus* and *Joſephus*, both *Jewiſh* writers, doe intimate that the Law onely was by them turned into Greek. *Ariſtobulus*'s words may be ſeen B. 13. of *Euſebius de præparat.* and *Joſephus's in his Preface to his Antiquities*. But to this it may be anſwered, that the Jews, under the name of the Law, doe ſometimes comprehend the *Prophets* alſo. See *Maſius*'s Preface to the Greek Edition of *Joſhua*. Valeſ.

[h] *Valeſius* reads this paſſage thus [ποιήσας τῷθ' ὅπερ ἐβούλετο, i. e. *Jatisfying the Kings deſire herein.*] He ſays *Chriſtophorſon* read this place ſo, and S[r] *Hen. Savill* in his M.S. But the Kings, the Maz.Med. and Fuk.M. SS. (as he ſays) and *Robert Stephens*, in his Edit. read it thus [ποιήσας τῷ θεῷ ὅπερ ἐβούλετο, i. e. *God having done according to his own will.* We follow *Valeſius* ; but leave the Reader to his liberty.

[i] *Juſtin* the *Martyr* (*in his παραίνεσις to the Gentiles*) ſays the 72. Seniours were by *Ptolomy* put into ſo many cells ; the ruines of which he ſaw at *Alexandria*: *Epiphanius* (in his book *de ponderib.*) ſays the King placed them two and two in a cell. Theſe words of *Irenæus* agree beſt with *Juſtin*'s account of this matter. Others there are, who deride this whole ſtory about the cell ; becauſe neither *Joſephus*, nor *Ariſteas*, nor *Philo* make any mention of them. See *Petavius*'s *Annotat.* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 378. *Edit Paris* ; and M[r] *Gregorie*'s diſcourſe (of *Oxford*) concerning the 70 Interpreters.

CHAP. IX.

Who were Biſhops in the Reign of Commodus.

COMMODUS

MOreover, *Antoninus* having held the Empire nineteen years, *Commodus* aſſumed the Government. In whoſe firſt year *Julianus* undertook the Prefecture of the Churches at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* having compleated the twelfth year of his Preſidency.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Pantænus *the Philoſopher.*

AT that time there was a man, Governour of the School of the Faithfull * there, who upon account of his learning was moſt eminent, his name was *Pantænus* ; *for* from a very ancient cuſtom there had been an Eccleſiaſtical School among them, which alſo continued to our days ; and we have been informed that 'tis furniſhed with men who are very able Scholars, and induſtrious about divine matters : but *Fame* ſays that the forementioned *Pantænus* was at that time the moſt eminent perſon among them, becauſe he was bred up in the precepts and inſtitutions of that Philoſophical Sect called *Stoicks*. Moreover, 'tis ſaid, he ſhewed ſo great a willingneſs of mind and ardency of affection towards the [publication of the] divine Word, that he was declared the Preacher of Chriſts Goſpel to the Nations of the Eaſt, and jorneyed as far as *India*. For there were many Evangelical Preachers of the Word even at that time, who inflamed with a divine zeal, in imitation of the Apoſtles, contributed their aſſiſtance to the enlargement of the divine Word, and the building men up in the faith. Of which number *Pantænus* was one, and is reported to have gone to the *Indians*. Where, as 'tis famed, he found the Goſpel according to *Matthew*, amongſt ſome that had the knowledge of Chriſt there, before his arrival. To whom *Bartholomew* one of the Apoſtles had Preacht, and [a] left them the Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew* written in Hebrew ; which was preſerved to the foreſaid times. Moreover, this *Pantænus*, after many excellent performances, was at laſt made Governour of the School at *Alexandria* ; where by his Diſcourſes and Writings he ſet forth to publick view the Treaſures of the divine points.

* At *Alexandria*.

[a] *Ruſinus*, and *Jerome* (*in catalogo*) doe ſay, that *Pantænus*, returning from *India* to *Alexandria*, brought with him that Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew* in Hebrew. But *Euſebius* does not ſay ſo. For by that which he adds, [ἦν καὶ σωζόμενος εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον] he meanes onely thus much, *viz.* that *that Copy of Bartholomew's was preſerved untill Pantænus came into India.* So *Nicephorus* expounds *Euſebius*'s words B. 4. chap. 32 ; but I aſſent not to *Nicephorus*, in that which he ſays further, *to wit*, that that Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew*, which *Pantænus* found in *India*, was dictated there by *Bartholomew*. I rather believe that Copy was brought thither by *Bartholomew*, out of *Judea*. Further, *Jerom* (*in catalog.*) ſays, the Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew*, written in Hebrew, was preſerved in the Library of *Cæſarea* (collected by *Pamphilus* the *Martyr*) even in his time. But I doubt 'twas *the Goſpel according to the Hebrews*, which the *Nazareans* uſed. For ſome thought, that this Goſpel of the Hebrews was the original Copy of S[t] *Matthews* Goſpel ; but that's a miſtake. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

AT the ſame time flouriſht *Clemens* at *Alexandria*, (being laborious together with *Pantænus* in the ſtudies of the divine Scriptures,) who had the ſame name with that ancient Prelate of the *Roman* Church, that was a diſciple of the Apoſtles.

COMMODUS.

Apostles. He (in his book [a] *of Institutions*) makes expres's mention of *Pantænus*, as having been his Master. To me he seems to mean the same person also, in the first book of his *Stromateon*, where recording * the most eminent succes-sours of the Apostolick doctrine by whom he had been instructed, he says thus; "Now this work "of mine I have not composed for ostentation, "but these *memoires* I have treasured up, as a re-"medie against the forgetfulnes of mine old age; "that they may be a true representation and adum-"bration of those lively and powerfull discourses, "which I have had the happiness to hear from bles-"sed and truely worthy and memorable persons. Of "which one was *Ionicus*, [whom I heard] in *Greece*; "another in † *Magna Græcia*; the first of them "was a *Cælo-Syrian*, the other an *Egyptian*. Others "of them lived in the East: of which one was an "[b] *Assyrian*; the other in *Palestine*, by original "extract an [c] Hebrew. The last [Master] I met with, (who yet was the first and chiefest in power and virtue, whom I inquisitively sought out and found lying hid in *Egypt*,) I did fully acquiesce in, and searched no further. These therefore preser-ving the sincere tradition of the blessed doctrine, which they had immediately received from the holy Apostles *Peter*, *James*, *John*, and *Paul*, (like children from the hands of their Parents, al-though few children be like their Parents) are by Gods blessing come down to our time, sowing those Primitive and Apostolic seeds [of Truth.]

[a] These books of *Clemens*'s contained a short and compendi-ous exposi-tion of both Te-staments, says *Pho-tius*, in his *Bibliotheca*. But, be-cause of the errours with which they a-bounded, they were disregar-ded, and at length lost. Neither is there any other rea-son, in my opinion, why the books of *Papias*, *He-gesippus*, and others of the An-cients, are lost. Yet the *Excer-pta* out of *Theodotus*, which are extant after his *Stromateon*, seem to be taken out of *his Institutions*; which I wonder no body has taken no-tice of before. This I conclude to be true, both because in those *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus* there are the same things said of Christ, which *Photius* attests he read in *Clemens*'s books of *Institutions*; and also because the Authour of those *Excerpta* does, about the end of them, call *Pantænus* Master. Now *Pantænus* was *Clemens*'s Master, as *Eusebius* says in this chapter; whom *Clemens* in *his Institutions*, does often quote, as *Photius* relates. *Vales.*

* Or, *the most eminent persons of the Apostolick succession.*

† It was that part of *Italy*, which since is called *Calabria.*

[b] *Valesius* thinks this person was *Tatianus*, *Justin* the Martyrs Scholar; *Baronius* says 'twas *Bardesanes*, of whom see B. 4. chap. the last; but he was no *Assyrian*; for he was of *Edessa*, the chief City of *Osdroëna.*

[c] *Baronius* says, this was *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*; but I ra-ther think him to have been *Theodotus*; which I conjecture from hence, because the Epitome of *Clemens*'s *institutions* is entitled, [ἐκ τῆς Θεοδότου ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας, i. e. *the Epitome of Theodotus his Oriental Doctrine.*] For *Clemens* calls that the *Oriental Doctrine*, which he learned from his masters in the East. I have two argu-ments to perswade me, that *Clemens* does not here mean *Theophilus* of *Cæsarea*; (1) *Theophilus* was contemporary with *Clemens*, for he flourisht in the times of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, as we are informed by our *Eusebius*. (2) None of the antients ever said that *Theophilus* was an *Hebrew*, or, which is all one, a *Jew*. Vales.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Bishops of Jerusalem.

AT that time *Narcissus*, Bishop of the Church at *Jerusalem*, flourished, a man very fa-mous amongst many even at this time: he was the fifteenth in succession from the siege of the Jews un-der *Adrian*. From which time we have before manifested, that the Church of the Gentiles was first constituted there, after those of the circumci-sion; and also that *Mark* was the first Bishop of the Gentiles that Presided over them. After whom the [a] successions of the [Bishops] there doe shew that *Cassianus* had the Episcopal Chair: after him *Publius*; then *Maximus*; and after these *Julianus*; then *Cains*; to whom succeeded *Symmachus*; then another *Caius*, and again *Julianus* the second; more-over *Capito*, [b] *Valens*, and *Dolichianus*; last of all this *Narcissus*, who in a continued series of succession was the thirtieth from the Apostles.

COMMODUS.

[b] Before this *Valens*, the names of two Bi-shops are wanting, *to wit*, *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*, which were omitted by the negligence of the Transcribers. For, seeing *Eusebius* affirmed *Narcissus* to have been the fifteenth Bishop of *Jerusalem* from *Mark*, and the thirtieth from the Apostles; that can't be unless you add two Bishops here. *Eusebius* indeed, in his *Chronicon*, after *Capito* the twenty sixth from the Apostles, reckons *Maximus*, and *An-toninus*; after these *Valens*, and *Dolichianus*; and then *Narcissus*. *Georg. Syncellus* and *Nicephorus* doe agree with *Eusebius*; onely be-tween *Julianus* and *Capito* they insert one *Helias*, whom *Eusebius* does not admit of. *Vales.*

[a] The most famous Churches, especially those which were foun-ded by the Apostles, did with great care keep the successions of their Bishops laid up amongst their *Archives*, recording their names, and the day of their deaths, in a pair of Writing-tables. These our *Eusebius* had diligently examined, as appears from this place; and he has digested the Bishops of the principal Sees from the authority of these tables onely. Wherefore, the successions of Bishops which are recounted in the *History* and *Chronicles* of *Eusebius*, are highly to be prized, as being the ancientest, and most certain. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Rhodon, *and the dissention of the* Marcionites, *which he has made mention of.*

ABout the same time also *Rhodon*, born in *Asia*, (who, as himself relates, had been instructed at *Rome* by *Tatianus*, whom we men-tioned before,) wrote many books, and together with others ingaged against the Heresie of *Mar-cion*. Which, he relates, was in his time divided into several opinions. He has recorded the Au-thours of this dissention, and with exquisite dili-gence confuted the lies invented by every one of them. Hear therefore what he has written in these words. "Wherefore also they disagree amongst "themselves, because they are assertours of an opi-"nion which is ill put together. For *Apelles*, "one of their gang, ([a] who boasts of his age and "pretends to lead a more abstemious and strict "course of life,) confesses there is but one prin-"ciple; but says the Oracles of the Prophets pro-"ceed from an opposite spirit, being induced to be-"lieve this by the responses of a Virgin, possessed "with a devil, by name *Philumena*. But others "of them, (in like manner as does *Marcion* "himself, the [b] Mariner) assert there are two "Principles; of which number are [c] *Potitus*, and "*Basilicus*; and these followers of that * Wolfe "of *Pontus*, being unable to find out the distinction "of things, (which neither could he doe,) have "given themselves over to rashness, and have "simply and without any thing of demonstration "affirmed there are two Principles. Others a-"gain [differing] from these, and running them-"selves into worse [assertions,] suppose there "are not onely two, but also three natures. Of "which sort *Syneros* was the ringleader and first "founder, as the defenders of his doctrine doe say. The same Authour writes that he discours't with *A-pelles*; he says thus; "For the old man *Apelles*, ha-"ving had a conference with us, was convinc't that "he

[a] *Rufinus* does well translate this pas-sage thus, *qui absti-nentiæ & senectutis prærogati-va usus*, &c. *who making an advan-tage of his abstinence and old age*, &c. For [πολιτεία] does usual-ly signifie *abstinence and a more strict course of life.* But I understand not how *A-pelles* could boast of his continen-cy; who was reject-ed by *Marcion*, because he was a fornicatour, and afterwards retreated to *Alexandria*, as *Tertullian* affirms in his book *de præscription.* Wherefore let us see whether the word [πολιτεία] does not signifie something else here; it sometimes denotes the Office of a *Decurio*, or, *Captain over ten horsemen*; for these Commanders are by the *Græcians* called πολίδλαι, or πολιδόμφοι, as I have observed in my notes on *Amm. Marcellinus.* Also, a man may conjecture, that this place should be written thus, τῇ πολιᾷ σιμνῇ καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ, i. e. *his venerable hoary hairs and old age.* For *Apelles* was commonly cal-led *old man*; and so *Rhodon* terms him in this chapter. *Eusebius* fa-vours our conjecture, B. 6. chap. 39. where speaking of *Alexander* the Bishop, he uses this very phrase. *Vales.*

[b] The Kings M. S. and *Stephens* Edition doe here insert these two words [ὁ ναύτης, *the mariner*] but they are wanting in the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. Indeed *Tertullian*, in his book *de præscription.* does testifie that *Marcion* was at first a Mariner. *Ubi tunc*, says he, *Marcion Ponticus nauclerus, Stoicæ studiosus?* Vales.

[c] The Kings M. S. and *Robert Stephens* Edition call this man's name *Potimus*; the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill M. SS. term him *Potitus*; so does *Rufinus*, in his Version; and *Theodoret* B. 1. *Hæret. Fab.* Vales.

* He means *Marcion*; see B. 4. chap. 11.

"he maintained many things that were falſe; upon "which account he ſaid faith ſhould in no wiſe be "too ſeverely inquired into, but, that every one "ſhould perſiſt in what he had believed. For he "aſſerted that thoſe who hoped in [Chriſt] cru-"cified ſhould be ſaved, provided they be found "doing of good works. He concluded the [que-"ſtion] concerning God, to be to him (as we "ſaid before) the moſt obſcure thing of all. For "he affirmed there was but one principle, as our "religion [aſſerts.] Then, having ſet forth his whole opinion, he ſubjoyns theſe words; "But "when I ſaid to him, whence have you this demon-"ſtration, or for what reaſon can you affirm there "is but one principle, tell us? He anſwered, that "the prophecies confuted themſelves, becauſe they "uttered nothing that was true: For they diſ-"agree, and are falſe, and oppoſite to them-"ſelves; but, how there was but one principle, he "profes't he knew not, but was induced onely to "think ſo. After this, when I conjured him to "ſpeak the truth, he ſwore he ſpoke what was "true, *to wit*, that he knew not how there could "be one unbegotten God, but he believed it. I "laughed, and reprehended him, becauſe he ſtiled "himſelf a Doctour, and knew not how to make "good what he taught. But, in the ſame book which he dedicated to *Calliſtion*, the ſaid *Rhodon* doth confeſs that he himſelf was inſtructed at *Rome* by *Tatianus*. Moreover he ſays, *Tatianus* compiled a book *of Queſtions*; wherein *Tatianus* having promiſed to explain the dark and obſcure paſſages of the ſacred Scriptures, this *Rhodon* profeſſes he would ſet forth the ſolutions to his Queſtions. There is alſo extant of this Perſons, a Comment upon *the ſix days Work of the Creation*. Indeed, this *Apelles* uttered many impious expreſſions againſt the Law of *Moſes*, in many books ſpeaking irreligiouſly of the divine Scriptures, and uſing his utmoſt diligence to confute, and (as he thought) to overthrow them. But thus much concerning theſe things.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Falſe Prophets of the Cataphrygians.

MOreover, that adverſary of Gods Church, (who hates goodneſs, and makes miſchief his chiefeſt delight,) omitting in no wiſe any ways or methods of Treachery towards men, cauſed new Hereſies again to grow up againſt the Church: the followers whereof crawl'd, like venemous Serpents, all over *Aſia* and *Phrygia*; and boaſted that *Montanus* was the **Paraclete*, and that the two women *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, his companions, were his propheteſſes.

* That is, *the holy Ghoſt*; whom S[t] *John*, in his Goſpel, does, ſeveral times call παράκλητον, *comforter*. See *Jo.* 14. 6.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Schiſm of Blaſtus *raiſed at* Rome.

OThers alſo ſprang up at *Rome*, whom *Florinus*, degraded from being a Presbyter of the Church, headed. *Blaſtus* was in like manner intangled in the ſame [a] errour. Which two perſons drew away many from the Church, and inticed them to imbrace their opinion; each of them ſeverally endeavouring to introduce innovations againſt the Truth.

[a] *Rufinus*, and *Criſtophorſon* ſuppoſed the term [πάθωμα] to ſignifie *errour*: *Nicephorus* takes it in ſuch a ſenſe as to ſignifie, *a diſcharging*; and thought that *Blaſtus*, as well as *Florinus*, was degraded from being a Presbyter. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

What has been committed to memory concerning Montanus, *and his Falſe Prophets.*

MOreover, That power, which is the defender of the Truth, raiſed up *Apollinaris* [Biſhop] of *Hierapolis*, (whom we made mention of before,) and together with him many others, who at that time were eloquent and learned men, *as it were* a ſtrong and inexpugnable defence againſt the ſaid Hereſie of the *Cataphrygians*. By which perſons we have a copious ſubject left us for this our Hiſtory. [a] One of the ſaid perſons therefore, in the preface to his work againſt the *Cataphrygians*, does in the firſt place ſhew that he aſſaulted them with unwritten arguments. For he begins after this manner: "Having "a ſufficient while ſince been "enjoyned by thee, Beloved "[b] *Avircius Marcellus*, to "write a book againſt the "Hereſie of [c] *Miltiades*, till "now I have in a manner "continued doubtfull and un-"reſolved; not that I wan-"ted ability both to confute "falſehood, and alſo to give "evidence to the truth; but "I was fearfull and cautious, "leſt to ſome I ſhould ſeem "by writing to add to, or "make a further determina-"tion about, the doctrine of "the new covenant of the "Goſpel: to which nothing "muſt be added, nor any "thing taken away from it, "by him that reſolves to lead "a life agreeable to the Go-"ſpel it ſelf. But, being lately "at *Ancyra* [a City] of *Gala-"tia*, and finding the Church "[d] then [e] filled with the "noiſe of this New (not, as "they call it, Prophecy, but, "as it ſhall be demonſtra-"ted,) Falſe Prophecy; as "well as I was able, (God "aſſiſting me,) I diſcourſt "[f] frequently in the Church "many Days both concer-"ning theſe very things, and "alſo about other [points] "propoſed by them: inſo-"much that the church did "greatly rejoyce, and was "confirmed in the Truth; "but the adverſaries were at "that time confuted, and "[g] the enemies of God made New Prophecy, inaſmuch as, by reaſon of the ſtrangeneſs of this great matter, all men talk't of it. Hence it appears, that the gift of Prophecy was in thoſe times rare and unuſual in the Church; ſeeing that the Prophecy of *Montanus*, which then aroſe, ſtirred up at that time ſuch commotions in the Church. Which certainly had not happened, had the gift of Prophecy been then common in the Church. *Valeſ.*

[a] The opinions of Writers are various and different, concerning this perſon, whoſe authority *Euſebius* quotes in this chapter. *Rufinus*, *Nicephorus* B. 4. chap. 23. and *Baronius* thought it was *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, whom *Euſebius* mentioned a little before. *Ferom* (in his book *de Scriptor. Eccleſ.*) ſuppoſed him to be *Apollonius*, and afterwards thinks 'twas *Rhodon*. *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis* was not the Authour of this book, 'tis from hence manifeſt, becauſe he wrote againſt the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie when it newly aroſe, as *Euſebius* atteſts at the end of B. 4. But this unknown authour compiled his books after the death of *Montanus*, *Maximilla*, and *Theodotus*, as appears by the fragments of them quoted in this chapter. See *Halloixius* in his notes on the life of *Apollinaris*, chap. 3. *Valeſ.*

[b] In the *Greek Menology* at the 22 of *October*, mention is made of *the holy Avercius*, (ſo *Nicephorus* calls him B. 4.) *Biſhop of Hierapolis, a worker of Miracles*. *Halloixius* put forth this perſons life in Greek, Tome 2. *concerning the famous Writers of the Eaſtern Church*. Valeſ.

[c] Why this Authour without a name calls the Hereſie of the *Cataphrygians*, the Sect of *Miltiades*, rather than of *Montanus*, 'tis hard to be determined. For he means not here that *Miltiades*, of whom *Euſebius* ſpeaks in the following chapter. For he wrote for the Catholick Truth againſt the *Cataphrygians*. The Learned *Langus*, who tranſlated *Nicephorus*, at this place put in *Alcibiades* in ſtead of *Miltiades*. Indeed *Alcibiades* is by *Euſebius* (B. 5. cha. 3.) named amongſt the principal Abettours of the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie. Therefore we muſt either read *Alcibiades* here, or *Miltiades* there. *Valeſ.*

[d] The Kings M. S. and *Nicephorus* (B. 4. chap. 23.) in ſtead of [κατὰ πόντον, i. e. *throughout Pontus*] reads it [τὴν κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαν, i. e. *the Church of the place*,] to wit, *Ancyra*. Valeſ.

[e] Διαπεθορυβημένην. that is, *filled with the noiſe of*, &c. For the whole Church of that place ſounded with the rumour of this

[f] S[r] *Hen. Savill* (in the margin of his Copy) made it ἐκ συνεχοῦς, i. e. *continually, daily*: ſo *Chriſtophorſon* read it. *Valeſ.*

[g] The reading of the Fuk. and Savill M. SS. is [ἀντιθέους, i. e. *the enemies of God*. So he calls the *Montaniſts*, becauſe they were the introducers of a new *Paraclete*, or *holy Ghoſt*. Valeſ.

"ſorrowfull.

COMMODUS. "sorrowfull. When therefore the Presbyters of "that place requested me to leave some written "Record of what had been spoken against those "adversaries to the Word of Truth; [h] (*Zoticus* "*Otrenus* our fellow Presbyter being then present "also;) I did not indeed doe that; but promised, "that, (by the assistance of "the Lord,) I would write "here, and send it quickly "and carefully unto them. Having said these words and some others after these in the Preface of his book, he proceeds, and sets forth the Authour of the foresaid Heresie after this manner. "This their stub-"born contention therefore against the Church, "and this New Heretical separation [from it] "had this original. There is said to be a certain "Village in that [i] *Mysia* [which borders upon] "*Phrygia*, called by the name of *Ardaba*. There "they say, one of those who had newly embraced "the Faith, by name *Montanus*, (when *Gratus* "was *Proconsul* of *Asia*,) by "reason of his immoderate "desire after, and love for, "the chief place, gave the "adversary an entrance in-"to himself, and was filled "with the devil; and being "on a suddain possest with "a furious and frantick tem-"per of mind, became per-"fectly mad, and began to "utter strange and barba-"rous expressions, foretel-"ling what was to come; "[a thing which is] con-"trary to the order and in-"stitution of the Church received from antient "tradition, and [propagated] by a continued "succession. Now, of those who at that time "were at the hearing of his counterfeited expres-"sions, some with indignation rebuked him, as "being moved by, and possest with, a devil and a "spirit of errour, and as being a disturber of the "multitude; they prohibited him also to speak; "[for] they were mindfull of the Lords * pre-"monition and his menaces, [whereby we are com-"manded] with vigilancy to beware of the coming "of false Prophets. But others, as if they had been "inspired by the Holy Ghost and with the gift of "Prophecy, conceiving also very high thoughts of "themselves, and being unmindfull of the † Lords "premonition, provoked that infatuating, flattering, "and seducing spirit [to speak;] and being en-"ticed and deceived by it, forbad it should any "more be silenc't. By this art, or rather by this "method of subtilty and mischief, the devil plot-"ted destruction against those who were disobe-"dient to [the Lords premonition;] and, being "undeservedly honoured by them, he excited and "enkindled their minds, "which had [k] forsaken the "true Faith. For he stir-"red up two other women, "and filled them with a "counterfeit spirit: so that "they (like the fore-men-"tioned person) uttered ex-"travagant, foolish and strange expressions; and "those who delighted in and boasted of that mat-"ter, that spirit pronounced blessed, and puft them "up with the greatness of the promises. Sometimes "also, making use of conjecturall and credible ar-"guments, he condemned them publickly, that so "he might also seem a [l] reproving [Spirit.] Those "few, who were deceived, were *Phrygians*. But "this insolent spirit taught them to revile the "whole Church under heaven, because this spirit "of false Prophecy received neither honour from, "nor found any way of entrance into it. For when "the faithfull throughout *Asia* had met often and "in many places of *Asia* upon this account, and "had inquired into this new doctrine, and deter-"mined it to be prophane, and rejected this He-"resie, they were expelled out of the Church, and "interdicted communion [with the Faithfull.] Having related thus much in the beginning [of his work] and subjoyned, throughout that whole book, a confutation of their errour; in his se-cond book he says these words concerning the death of the forementioned persons. "Whereas "therefore they have termed us the Murderers of "the Prophets, because we have not admitted of "their prattling and lying Prophets, (for these, "they say, are those whom the Lord promised to "send his people,) let them answer us for God's "sake, is there any one of those, (most excellent!) "who even from *Montanus* and his women began "to speak, that hath been persecuted by the Jews; "or slain by the impious? not one: Is there any "one of them who has been apprehended and "crucified for the name [of Christ?] None at "all. Neither hath any of their women been "scourged in the Synagogues of the Jews, or "stoned: [not one of them] any where or in "any wise: yea, *Montanus* and *Maximilla* are "said to have dyed another manner of death. "For, tis famed, both these persons, incited there-"to by that furious spirit, hanged themselves; "not together, but each of them at the time of "their death, as tis strongly reported. And so "they dyed and put an end to their lives after the "same manner that the traitour *Judas* did. In "like manner also common fame says, that that "admirable [fellow] *Theodotus*, who was as it "were the first [m] Procura-"tour of that they stiled "their Prophecie, was pos-"sest with a [n] false ecstasie "of mind, as if at some time "or other he should be lifted "up, and assumed into hea-"ven; and that having gi-"ven himself wholly up in-"to [the power of] that "spirit of errour, he was "thrown into the air [by "him,] and dyed miserа-"bly. 'Tis said indeed, that "this thing was thus done; "but in as much as we saw "it not, we doe not suppose "(O *Macarius!*) that we "certainly know any thing "hereof. For peradventure "*Montanus*, *Theodotus*, and "the foresaid woman dyed "after this manner, perhaps "they did not so die. A-gain, in the same book he says the holy Bishops of that time did attempt to confute the spirit which was in *Maximilla*; but were pro-hibited by others, *to wit*, those that were favourers of that spirit: He writes thus; "And let not the spirit in *Maximilla* say "[to

[h] This *Zoticus Otrenus* must be distinguished from *Zoticus* of *Comanes* the Bishop, whom this Authour mentions hereafter in this chapter. For he of *Comanes* was the antienter of the two. *Vales.*

[i] There were heretofore two *Mysia's*, (as also two *Phrygia's*,) says *Strabo*, B. 12. The one called *the Greater*, which *Strabo* calls *Olympene*; the other *the less*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Hellespontia*. Both of them bordered on *Phrygia*. Whence arose the Greek proverb [χωρὶς τὰ μυσῶν] concerning which see *Erasm. Adag.* p. 171. *Edit. Wechelian.* There was also another *Mysia* in *Europe*, which the *Latines* call *Masia*, but the *Greeks* always *Mysia*. To difference this *Mysia* therefore from the other, 'tis stiled here [ἡ πρὸς φρυγίαν μυσία, i. e. *that Mysia which borders on Phrygia*; or *Mysia* in *Asia*. In the Maz. M. S. this Town is called *Ardabab*. Vales.

* Or, *distinction*, for the term in the original is διαστολὴ.

† See Mat. 24. 11.

[k] Ἀποκεκοιμημένην. 'Tis a *Metaphor* taken from women, who leaving their husbands bed, go by stealth to that of the Adulterer. For [κοιμᾶσθαι] *to sleep*, is often used for these adulteries, as it occurs frequently in sacred Writt. *Vales.*

COMMODUS. [l] *Montanus*, or rather the devil who spoke through the mouth of *Montanus*, knew, that 'twas predicted by the Lord, that the spirit of God, at his coming should reprove the world of sin. Therefore, the devil, that he might make his Auditours believe he was the true Spirit of God, did sometimes reprove, and rebuke them. *Vales.*

[m] Amongst the *Montanists* there was a certian Chest, into which those of their party put money, which was for the maintenance of the Prophets. *Theodotus* was the first that lookt after this Chest; whom this Authour does therefore call *the procuratour of their Prophecy*. *Montanus* with his Propheteses was otherways a great cozener, who under a pretence of offerings, scraped much money together. He usually gave salaries to the Preachers of his doctrine. 'Twas necessary therefore he should have his Treasury, and one to oversee and look after it, who also might deliver out the stipends to such as *Montanus* ordered should be paid. *Vales.*

[n] Παρεκστῆναι signifies, *to be seized with a false extasie or trance*. For there are true extasies; such was *Peter's* Act. 10; and *Pauls*, when he was caught up to the third heaven. There are also false extasies amongst hereticks, which this Authour does elegantly call παρεκστάσεις. These false extasies differ little from madness, because the devil is the procurer of them: but those which proceed from the divine spirit doe not at all disturb the state of the mind, but are calm and pleasant, as *Epiphanius* says (*in Heres. Cataphryg.*) Vales.

COMMODUS.

"[to me,] (° as 'tis related in the same book of "*Asterius Urbanus*,) I am driven as a wolf from "the sheep. I am not a wolf. I am the Word, the "Spirit, and the Power: but let him evidently "manifest and prove that Power in the Spirit; "and let him by that Spirit compell those that "were then present to con- "fess that they tried and "conferred with that bab- "ling spirit; [I mean] those "approved men and Bishops, "*Zoticus* of the Town *Co-* "*manes*, and *Julianus* of "*Apamea*: whose mouths "P*Themison* and those of "his party having stopped, "would not suffer that ly- "ing spirit to be reproved by "them. Again, in the same book, (having interposed some words to confute the false Prophecies of *Maximilla*,) he evidences both the time when he wrote these things, and also mentions her predictions, wherein she had foretold there should be Wars and Commotions; the falsehood of which [predictions] he reprehends in these words, "And has not this lie been already made "apparently manifest? For to this day 'tis more "than thirteen years, since this woman died; and "yet there has not been either a particular, or an "universal war in the world. Yea rather, by the "mercy of God, the Christians have had a firm "and lasting peace. And thus much out of his second book. Out of the third I will also add some few words, where he says thus to those who boasted, that many even of their [party] had suffered as Martyrs. "When therefore they can "return no answer, having been confuted in all "passages we have mentioned, they endeavour to "flee to the Martyrs; saying they have many "Martyrs, and that is a certain and undoubted evi- "dence of that power by them called the Pro- "phetick spirit. But this, in my judgment, is "much more untrue. For some [followers] of "other Heresies [doe boast] they have many "Martyrs, and yet we shall not, I think, upon this "account embrace their opinion, nor confess they "have the truth amongst them. Those also "who first followed the Heresie of *Marcion*, "called *Marcionists*, say they have very many "Martyrs of Christ, and yet they doe not in truth "acknowledge Christ himself: And after some few words, he subjoyns hereunto, saying, "Where- "fore also, as often as those of the Church, being "called to [undergoe] Martyrdom for the true "Faith, have by accident happened into company "with some of those of the *Phrygian* Heresie, who "are called Martyrs, they dissent from them, and, "having avoided all communion with them, are "perfected by a glorious Martyrdom; for they "are unwilling to give their assent to the spirit of "*Montanus* and his women: and that this is true, "'tis manifest from what has been done in our "times in [the City] *Apamea*, scituate on [the "River] *Meander*, by *Caius* and *Alexander* of "*Eumenia*, who suffered Martyrdom.

° These words within this parenthesis seem to me to be a *Scholion*, which some old *Scholiast*, or *Eusebius* himself put in the margin of his book at this place. Besides, from hence it may be collected that *Asterius Urbanus* was the Authour of these three books against the *Cataphrygians*, and not *Apollinaris*, as *Rufinus* and *Christophorson* supposed. *Vales.*

P This was a great man amongst the *Montanists*, who boasted himself to be a *Confessour*, and a Martyr; and was so audacious, as, like an Apostle, to write a general Epistle to the Churches, in recommendation of this New Prophecy. *Apollonius* speaks much concerning this man in the following chapter. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Miltiades, *and the books he compiled.*

IN the same book he makes mention of one *Miltiades*, a writer, who also wrote a book against the foresaid Heresie: having therefore cited some words of those [Hereticks,] he proceeds, saying; "Having found all this in a certain "book which they wrote in answer to a book of "our brother [a] *Alcibiades's*, wherein he proves, "*that a Prophet ought not to speak in an extasie of* "*mind*, I epitomized them. A little after this, in the same book, he enumerates the Prophets of the *New Testament*; amongst whom he recounts one *Ammias*, and *Quadratus*, he says thus, "[b] but a false Prophet in a "false extasie, (whose con- "comitants are licentious- "ness and audaciousness,) "takes his beginning indeed "from a voluntary igno- "rance, but ends, as I have "said in an involuntary mad- "ness of mind: they shall "not be able to show any "of the Prophets, either un- "der the *Old*, or *New Te-* "*stament*, who was inspired "after this manner [by such "a spirit.] They shall not "boast of *Agabus*, nor of "*Judas*, nor of *Silas*, nor "of the daughters of *Philip*, "nor of *Ammias* in *Phila-* "*delphia*, nor of *Quadra-* "*tus*, nor of many others "which do not at all belong "to them. Again, after some few words, he says thus, "For if, as they say, "*Montanus's* women suc- "ceeded in the gift of Pro- "phecy after *Quadratus* "and *Ammias* in *Philadel-* "*phia*, let them show us, "who among them have been "the successours of *Monta-* "*nus* and his women. For "the Apostle is of opinion that the gift of Pro- "phecy ought to continue in every Church untill "the last Advent [of our Lord.] But they are "unable to shew [any Prophet,] although this "is now the fourteenth year since the death of "*Maximilla*. Thus far he. Now that *Miltiades*, whom he mentions, has left us other monuments of his diligence about the divine Scriptures, both in the books he composed against the Gentiles, and also in those against the Jews; having prosecuted each subject particularly in two Volumes. Moreover also, he made an Apology for the [*Christian*] Philosophy, which he profest, [and dedicated it] to the [c] Presidents of the Provinces in that Age.

COMMODUS.

[a] In the foregoing chapter we observed that the name [*Miltiades*] was put for [*Alcibiades.*] On the contrary, here [*Alcibiades*] is crept into the Text of *Eusebius*, instead of [*Miltiades.*] In *Nicephorus* tis [*Miltiades*;] but neither he, nor *Christophorson*, understood this place. *Vales.*

[b] *Rufinus*, and *Baronius*, were mistaken, in that they supposed these following words were taken out of *Miltiades's* book. For this nameless Authour quotes nothing out of *Miltiades's* book, but onely out of the *Cataphrygians* answer to *Miltiades's* book: which thing translatours understood not. Now the meaning of this place is this; there is a great difference between the true Prophets, and the false. For the true Prophets, who were filled with the spirit of God, did foretell things future in a quiet and serene temper of mind. But the false Prophets, as was *Montanus*, uttered what they said in a raging and mad temper of mind. Indeed this was the chief objection of the *Ecclesiasticks* against the *Montanists*, who boasted they were inspired with a Prophetick spirit, because they Prophecied in an extasie. But we read that no Prophet either under the *Old* or *New Testament* did ever Prophecy in an extasie. Therefore *Miltiades* wrote a book against them, which was thus entitled [περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν, i.e. *a Prophet ought not to speak in an extasie of mind.* See *Epiphanius*, *adverss. Hæres. Montanist.* chap. 2, & 4; and *Chrysostom. Homil.* 29. on the 1 *Epist. Corinth.* Vales.

[c] *Jerom*, *Rufinus*, and other Translatours thought *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology to the *Roman* Emperours, called here [κοσμικὰς ἀρχοντας.] But because at that time there was onely one *Roman* Emperour, (to wit, *Commodus*,) I judge *the Governours of Provinces* are here rather meant. For the term [ἄρχοντες] does commonly signifie *the Presidents of Provinces.* To these therefore *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology, as did *Tertullian* afterwards; who calls this *Miltiades*, *the Rhetorician of the Churches.* Vales.

CHAP XVIII.

How Apollonius *also confuted the* Cataphrygians, *and whom he has made mention of.*

APollonius also, an Ecclesiastick writer, imploying himself about a confutation of that called the *Cataphrygian* Heresie, which in his time

was

COMMODUS. was prevalent in *Phrygia*, composed a peculiar Volume against them; *wherein* he does both word by word disprove the false Prophecies vented by them, and also laies open the life and manners of the Founders of that Heresie, [shewing] how they behaved themselves. Hear what he says, in these very words, concerning *Montanus*. "But "who is this new Doctor? His works and do- "ctrine doe demonstrate: this is he who has "taught a dissolution of marriages: who has im- "posed [a] Laws of fasting; "who has named *Pepuza* "and *Tymium* (little Cities "of *Phrygia*) *Jerusalem*; "being desirous to gather "together their men from "all parts; who has con- "stituted exactours of mo- "ney; who, under the name "of oblations, has subtilly "mask't his taking of gifts; "who gives stipends to "those that Preach up his "doctrine, that so by stuffing "of the paunch the doctrine "he professes may thrive and "prevail. Thus much [he says] concerning *Montanus*. Concerning his Prophetesses, a little after these words he writes thus; "We have de- "monstrated therefore, that these principal Pro- "phetesses, for the time they were filled with the "Spirit, forsook their husbands: how falsly then "doe they speak, who term [b] *Prisca* a virgin? Then "he goes on, saying: Does not the whole Scripture "seem to you to prohibit a Prophet to receive gifts "& money? When therefore "I see a Prophetess receive "Gold, and silver, and rich "garments, how can I choose "but abhor her? Again, af- ter some words, he says this concerning one of those whom they call Confessours. "Moreover, "*Themison*, who has covered himself with a "[c] specious pretext of ava- "rice, (he who would not "bear the [d] sign of confes- "sion, but rid himself of his "bonds by a great sum of "money, when as upon that "account he should in future "have behaved himself sub- "missively,) does [not- "withstanding] boast him- "self to be a Martyr, and "has been so audacious, as, "in imitation of the Apostle, to write a general "Epistle, for the instruction of those who have "behaved themselves more like true believers than "he, but does [therein] defend the Tenets of his "own vain Doctrine, and speaks impiously of the "Lord, his Apostles, and holy Church. Again, he writes thus concerning others, who amongst them have been honoured as Martyrs; "But that "we may speak of no more, let the Prophetess "answer us concerning *Alexander*, who terms "himself a Martyr, with whom she feasts, whom "many of them pay a reverence to. Whose rob- "beries, and his other audacious facts (for which "he has been punished) we need not speak of "since they may be seen in that place where the "publick [e] Registers are kept. Which therefore "of these two forgives the others sins? Does the "Prophet [pardon] the Martyrs robberies, or "does the Martyr [forgive] the Prophets ava- "rice? For when as the Lord has said, * *Provide* "*neither gold, nor silver, neither two coats*, these "persons, wholly on the contrary, have commit- "ted heinous sins in possessing themselves of things "that are forbidden. For we will evidence, that "those which they call Prophets, and Martyrs, "have extorted money not onely from the rich, "but also from the indigent, from Orphans, and "Widdows. And if they are confident [of their "innocency] herein, let them stay, and decide "the matter with us concerning these things, that "so, if they shall be convinced, for the future they "may leave their viciousness. For the fruits "[that is, the deeds] of a Prophet must be ap- "proved. For a tree is known by its fruit. That "therefore those who are desirous may know the "truth concerning *Alexander*, judgment was past "upon him at *Ephesus* by *Æmilius Frontinus* the "*Proconsul* [of *Asia*] not for the name [of "Christ,] but the robberies he had audaciously "committed, being at that time an [f] Apostate "from Christ. Then, after he had counterfeited "[a profession of] the name of the Lord, and "deceived the faithfull [brethren] there, he was "dismist; but his own Church, where he was "born, admitted him not, because he was a thief. "Those who are desirous to know all matters con- "cerning him, may have recourse to the publick "Register of *Asia* [where they will find them.] "And yet the * Prophet does pretend himself ig- "norant of this man, whom he has converst with "for many years. Having evidently shown what "this man is, we have also by him declared the im- "posture of the prophet. We are able to de- "monstrate the like in many other things. But "if they have any confidence in themselves, let "them undergoe the test. Again, in another place of the same work, he adds these words con- cerning those Prophets they boast of: "If they "deny that their Prophets have received gifts, let "them confess this, [*to wit*] if they be con- "vinced that they have taken gifts, they are not "Prophets: And then we will produce infinite "demonstrations hereof. 'Tis necessary that all "the fruits of a Prophet should be approved of: "tell me, does a Prophet "[g] colour [his hair?] does "a Prophet paint his eye- "brows with * *Stibium*? "does a Prophet make it his "business to deck and adorn "himself? does a Prophet "play at tables, and at dice? "does a Prophet put money "to usury? Let them con- "fess ingenuously whether these things are lawfull "or no? But I will demonstrate they are done "amongst them. The same *Apollonius* does relate in the same work, that at that time of his writing that book, it was [h] fourty years since *Montanus* undertook [to vent] his forged Prophesie. And

[a] *Montanus* instituted three Lents every year, and besides them, two weeks of abstinence, wherein nothing but dry meats were to be eaten. So *Tertullian*, in his book, *de jejuniis*, and *Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Mercella*. *Apollonius* objects here against *Montanus*, his instituting fasts by a Law; not that 'tis a fault to observe fasts; or as if 'twere not lawfull for some in the Church to proclaim fasts: for the Apostle St *John* appointed a three days fast at *Ephesus*, before he betook himself to the writing his Gospel. But *Montanus* had no power to proclaim a fast, being an Heretick, an excommunicated person, and no Presbyter. *Apollonius* therefore does deservedly blame him, because of his own head, not by Apostolick tradition, he instituted fasts. *Vales.*

[b] In the Maz. Med. Fuk. M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*, this woman is called *Prisca*: which is confirmed by *Rufinus*, *Tertullian*, and *Firmilianus*, *Robert Stephens* calls her *Priscilla*. Vales.

[c] The *Montanists* covered their avarice under the pretext of Religion, and specious term of *Oblations*, as *Apollonius* says a little before in this chapter. *Vales.*

[d] *Christophorson* thought the *Cross* was meant here: but doubtless *Apollonius* means *bonds*, which *Themison* could not endure for Christs sake. For that which he calls [*the sign of confession*] here, in the next words he terms [τὸ δεσμὸ] *bonds*. Vales.

[e] Ὁμοδ- δμ© is the term in the original. At *Athens* there was an house so called, behind the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, wherein the publick treasury was laid. So says *Harpocration*, on that word. In all the Temples there was such a place, as *Varro* asserts, B. 4. But here this term must mean *the publick Registry*, where the publick Records are kept. *Vales.*

COMMODUS.

* Mat. 10, 9, 10.

[f] Παραβάτης is the term, which *Rufinus* translates [*an Apostate.*] *Vales.*

* He means *Montanus*.

[g] The *Greeks* call that ἐλαφὴν τὴν θρίξ, which the *Latines* term, *crines tingere seu rutilare, to die, or make the hair red.* To doe which they made use of ashes which had been put into lye, as *Varro* says. See *Hesychius* in the word ξανθίζειν. *Vales.*

* That is, a kind of colouring stuff, which is used to make the eye-brows black.

[h] I perceive now why *Eusebius* places *Apollonius* after the Authour without a name, of whom he spake in the foregoing Chapter. For because that anonymous authour says he wrote his books fourteen years after the death of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*; and in regard *Apollonius* does here say *Montanus* broacht his new Prophecy 40 years before he wrote; therefore *Eusebius* supposed *Apollonius* to be a later writer than that anonymous Authour: In which, as I judge, he is much out. For *Apollonius* wrote his book whilest

whileſt *Montanus*, and his mad Propheteſſes *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, were yet alive, which appears from theſe paſſages [*Let the Propheteſs anſwer us concerning Alexander, who terms himſelf a Martyr, with whom ſhe feaſts*, &c] and again [*And yet the Prophet does pretend himſelf ignorant of this man whom he has converſt with for many years*] *Euſebius* quotes in this Chapter. *Apollonius* therefore does not ſay, 40 years were paſt from the death of *Montanus*, when he wrote this book; but onely, that *Montanus* had ſet a broach his falſe Prophecy 40 years before he went about to write this book againſt him. Let us ſuppoſe therefore *Montanus* to be thirty years old when he ſet up to be a Prophet; he could not be above 70 years old when *Apollonius* wrote his book againſt him. Neither had he *Maximilla* and *Priſcilla* for his companions, as ſoon as ever he began his hereſie; but, as I judge, they were enſnared by him a long while after. *Valeſ.*

COMMODUS. again, he ſays, that *Zoticus* (whom the former Writer made mention of) reſolved to oppoſe *Maximilla*, who then feigned her ſelf to Propheſie at *Pepuza*, and attempted to reprove the Spirit ſhe was moved by; but that he was forbidden by thoſe that were her favourers. He makes mention alſo of one *Thraſeas*, who at that time was a Martyr. Moreover he ſays, as from tradition, that our Saviour commanded his Apoſtles, they ſhould not for the ſpace of twelve years depart from *Jeruſalem*: he quotes authorities alſo out of *the Revelation of John*: and relates that *John*, by the divine power raiſed a dead man to life at *Epheſus*. And he ſays many other things, whereby he ſufficiently and fully ſets forth the deceit of the foreſaid pernicious hereſie. Thus much *Apollonius*.

CHAP. XIX.

Serapion's [*Opinion*] *concerning the Hereſie of the* Cataphrygians.

BUt *Serapion*, (who, as report ſays, was about this time Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch* after *Maximinus*,) makes mention of the writings of *Apollinaris* againſt the foreſaid hereſie: he mentions him in that Epiſtle he wrote to [a] *Caricus* and *Ponticus*; wherein, refuting the ſame hereſie, he ſubjoyns theſe words; "And "that you may ſee, that the operation of that diſ-"ſembling party called the [b] New-propheſie is abo-"minated [c] by all the Brotherhood in the world, I "have ſent you alſo the Letters of *Claudius Apolli-"naris* of moſt bleſſed memory, who was Biſhop "of *Hierapolis* in *Aſia*. In that ſame Epiſtle of *Serapion's*, are contained the ſubſcriptions of ſeveral Biſhops. One of whom has ſubſcribed thus, *I Aurelius Cyrenius Martyr wiſh You health*: another, after this manner, *Ælius Publius Julius Biſhop of* [d] *Develtum a Colony of Thracia*: *As God liveth who is in heaven*, Sotas *of bleſſed memory, who* [e] *was at* Anchialus, *would have caſt out* Priſcilla's *devil, but the Hypocrites would not ſuffer him.* In the ſaid Letters are extant the ſubſcriptions of many other Biſhops, written with their own hands, who were of the ſame opinion with theſe. And of this ſort were the matters appertaining to the ſaid [Hereticks.]

[a] *Euſebius* (in his 6th B. cha. 12.) calls theſe men [*Pontius* and *Caricus*.] *Ferom* (in *Catalogo*) calls them *Carinus*, and *Pontius*. Valeſ.

[b] So the Ancients termed the propheſie of *Montanus* and his aſſociates; as may be ſeen from *Tertullian, de Jejuniis*; *Ferom, in Catalogo*; *Firmilian, in his Epiſtle to Cyprian*; and the *old Authour* quoted by our *Euſebius*, chap. 16. of this B. *Valeſ.*

[c] The reading of the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill M. SS. agrees with our tranſlation, *to wit*, [*by all the Brotherhood in the world.*] The Kings M. S. and *Robert Stephens* read it thus [*by all the Brotherhood in Chriſt, over the whole world.*] Valeſ.

[d] *Debeltum*, or *Develtum*, a Colony in *Thracia*, is mentioned by Geographers, and in the old Coyns, which *John Triſtan* put forth. *Anchialus* alſo, hereafter named, is a City of *Thracia*, ſufficiently known. But why ſhould the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops of *Thracia* be put to the Epiſtle of *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch*? If I may make a conjecture, I ſuppoſe the Biſhops of *Thracia* had written an Epiſtle to the Churches of *Aſia* and *Phrygia* againſt *Montanus's* Prophecy; wherein they gave their opinion thereof, after the ſame manner that thoſe of *Vienna* and *Lyons* did, as our *Euſebius* related before. That theſe ſubſcriptions were put to the bottom of ſome Epiſtle, 'tis apparent from *Cyrenus's* ſubſcription here mentioned. But 'tis no way likely that thoſe Biſhops did ſubſcribe *Serapions* Epiſtle; (1) becauſe *Euſebius* does not ſay ſo, but onely that the ſubſcriptions of many Biſhops were contained in *Serapions* Letter, as was alſo *Apollinaris's* Epiſtle to the ſaid *Serapion*. For *Serapion* did this with good adviſement, that he might confute the hereſie of *Montanus* by the authority of many Biſhops. (2) How could the Biſhops of *Thracia* ſubſcribe the letter of a Biſhop of *Antioch*? 'Tis moſt probable therefore, as I ſaid, that the Biſhops of *Thracia* had with a joynt conſent written to the Churches of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*. Valeſ.

COMMODUS.

[e] That is, Biſhop of *Anchialus*, a City of *Thracia*, as we ſaid before. This *Sotas* the Biſhop, hearing of this new Prophecy, ſailed out of *Thracia* into *Phrygia*, where having ſeen *Priſcilla*, not filled with the holy Spirit, but actuated by the devill, he undertook to caſt him out of her by Exorciſm. Not onely *Sotas*, but alſo many other Biſhops went at that time into *Phrygia*, to examine that new Prophecy, ſays the Anonymous authour, chapt. 16. of this B. Moreover, we may obſerve, that *Sotas* was dead, when *Ælius Julius* wrote this; which is ſhown by the word [μακαρίτου] a term which the Greeks uſe when they ſpeak of a dead perſon: had *Sotas* been alive, he would doubtleſs have confirmed this thing by his ſubſcription. The ſame term *Serapion* uſes, when he ſpeaks of *Apollinaris*, who alſo was then dead. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

What Irenæus *wrote againſt the Schiſmaticks at* Rome.

[a] *Irenæus* compoſed ſeveral Epiſtles againſt thoſe at *Rome* who adulterated the ſound law of the Church: He wrote one to *Blaſtus concerning Schiſme*; another to *Florinus concerning* [b] *Monarchy*, or, *that God is not the maker of Evil.* For *Florinus* ſeemed to be a maintainer of that opinion: upon whoſe account, (being afterwards lead into the errour of *Valentinus*,) *Irenæus* compiled that work of his, [entitled,] [c] *concerning the number eight.* In which piece he intimates himſelf to have lived in the firſt ſucceſſion after the Apoſtles: there alſo at the cloſe of that work, we found a moſt profitable [d] note of his, which we judged uſefull to be inſerted into this our Hiſtory; it is thus; "I adjure thee (who ſhall tranſcribe this book) by our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by "his glorious coming to "judge the quick and dead, "that you compare what "you ſhall tranſcribe, and "correct it diligently ac-"cording to that copie "whence you ſhall tran-"ſcribe it; and that in like "manner you tranſcribe this "adjuration, and annex it to "[thy] copy. And let thus much have been profitably ſaid by him, and related by us, that we may always have [before our eyes] thoſe antient and truely holy men, as the beſt pattern of a moſt accurate care and diligence. Moreover, in that Epiſtle (we ſpake of) which *Irenæus* wrote to *Florinus*, he makes mention of his being converſant with *Polycarp*, ſaying; "Theſe opinions, "(O *Florinus*!) that I may ſpeak ſparingly, doe "not appertain to ſound doctrine; theſe opinions are diſſonant from the Church, and drive thoſe who

[a] Here we began the 20 chapter; following therein *Rufinus*, *Muſculus*, and *Chriſtophorſon*. The Kings, the Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. begin the chapter from theſe words [*And of this ſort were the matters*, &c.] which are the cloſe of the foregoing chapter. *Valeſ.*

[b] The antient Chriſtians did frequently uſe this term; as often, as they diſputed againſt the Gentiles, under which title they put forth many books, to ſhew that there was one God, the maker and King of all things, which term [to wit, *Monarchy*] they aſcribed to God the father; but [οἰκονομίαν, i. e. *the diſpenſation, and adminiſtration*] they aſſigned to the Son and holy Ghoſt; ſo *Tertullian*, (in his book againſt *Praxeas*,) and *Tatianus*, (*adverſus Græcos*.) There is a book of *Juſtin* the *Martyrs*, now extant, which has this title. Moreover, from this title of *Irenæus's* book we may conclude, that *Florinus* aſſerted two principles, and embraced the opinions of *Cerdo* and *Marcion*, affirming one to be the Authour of Good, the other of evil. *Valeſ.*

[c] See *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius*, concerning a work of *Valentinus's*, which bears this title. *Valeſ.*

[d] Σημείωσιν is the term in the original. Thoſe notes which were ſet at the margin of M. SS. that the reader might underſtand ſomething remarkable occurred there, were properly ſo called. Therefore we tranſlate it [*adnotationem*, i. e. *a note.*] This note is now to be found in many Greek M. SS. expreſt onely by the two firſt letters, thus [ση.] which doe ſignifie [σημείωσαι, i. e. *note.*] This adjuration of *Irenæus's* did ſo well pleaſe *Euſebius*, that he put it at the beginning of his *Chronicon*. Valeſ.

COMMODUS.

"who give their assent to them into the greatest "impiety; these Sentiments even the Hereticks, "who are without the Church, have not dared to "publish at any time; these opinions the Presby- "ters, who lived before our times, who also were "the disciples of the Apostles, did in no wise de- "liver unto thee. For I saw thee (when being "yet a child I was in the *Lower Asia*, with *Poly-* "*carp*,) behaving thy self very well in the Pa- "lace, and endeavouring to get thy self well "esteemed of by him. For I remember the things "then done, better than what has happened of late. "For what we learnt being children, increases "together with the mind it self, and is closely "united to it. In so much that I am able to tell "even the place where the Blessed *Polycarp* sate "and discourst; also his [c] goings out and comings "in; his manner of life; the shape of his body; "the discourses he made to the populace; the "familiar converse, which, he said, he had with "*John*, and with the rest who had seen the "Lord; and how he rehearsed their sayings, and "what they were, which he had heard from them "concerning the Lord; concerning his miracles, "and his doctrine, according as *Polycarp* re- "ceived them from those, who with their own "eyes beheld the Word of life, so he related "them, agreeing in all things with the Scriptures. "These things, by the mercy of God bestowed "upon me, I then heard diligently, and copied "them out, not in paper, but in my heart; and by "the grace of God I doe continually and sincerely "ruminate upon them. And I am able to protest "in the presence of God, that if that blessed "and Apostolick Presbyter should have heard any "such thing, he would presently have cried out, "and [f] stopped his ears, and according to his "usual custom would have said; *Good God! For* "*what times hast thou reserved me, that I should* "*suffer such things!* and he would have run out "of the place, where he was either sitting or "standing, should he have heard such words as "these. And this may be manifested from those "Epistles of his, which he wrote either to the "neighbouring Churches to confirm them, or to "some brethren to admonish and exhort them. "Thus far *Irenæus*.

[c] All our M. SS. and *Nicephorus*, doe read [ἐξοδους, i. e. *his goings out*] and so we translate it. *Vales.*

[f] It was the custom of the primitive Christians, (when they heard any impious expression in a familiar discourse, which was disagreeable to the rule of the Catholick faith,) forthwith to stop their ears, and run away. See *Irenæus* (B. 3. *Against Heresies*, chap. 4;) and *Ferom*, B. 1. against *Rufinus*. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXI.

How Apollonius *suffered Martyrdom at* Rome.

AT the same time of *Commodus*'s Empire, our affairs were converted into a quiet and sedate posture; peace, by the divine grace, encompassing the Churches throughout the whole world. In which interim the saving Word [of God] allured * very many of all sorts of men to the religious worship of the universal God. So that now many of those at *Rome*, who were very eminent both for riches and descent, did, together with their whole households and families, betake themselves to [the attaining of] salvation. But this could not be born with by the envious devil, that hater of good, being by nature malicious. Therefore he [a] arms himself again, inventing various Stratagems against us. At the City *Rome* therefore, he brings before the judgement seat [b] *Apollonius*, a man who was at that time one of the faithfull, and very eminent for his Learning and Philosophy; having stirred up [c] one of * his ministers, who was fit for such a [wicked enterprize] to accuse this person. Now this wretch, having undertaken this accusation in an unseasonable time, (for, according to the [d] Imperial Edict, the informers against those that were [Christians] were to be put to death;) had his legs forthwith broken, and was put to death, *Perennis* the Judge having pronounc't this sentence against him: but the Martyr, most beloved by God, (after the Judge had [e] earnestly beseeched him by many entreaties, and requested him to render an account [of his Faith] [f] before the Senate,) having made a most [g] elegant defence before them all for the faith he profest, [h] was, as it were by a decree of the Senate, condemn'd to undergoe a capital punishment. For by an ancient [i] Law 'twas established amongst them, that those [Christians] who were once accused before the judgment-seat, should in no wise be dismist, unless they receded from their opinion. Moreover, he that is desirous to know *Apollonius*'s speeches before the Judge, and the answers he made to the interrogatories of *Perennis*, the oration also which he spoke before the Senate in defence of our faith, may see them in *our collection of the sufferings of the antient Martyrs*.

COMMODUS.

[b] This *Apollonius* was not the same person with him, mentioned chap. 16. of this book. *Ferom* (*in Catalogo*) calls him a *Roman* Senatour. *Eusebius* does not say he was one of the Senate, in this place. But more of this hereafter. *Vales.*

[c] *Ferom* (in his book *de Scriptor. Eccles.*) Supposes the person here spoken of to be *Apollonius*'s servant; and calls his name *Severus*. Vales.

* That is, *the devil having stirred up one of his own instruments*, or, *ministers*, &c.

[d] He means *the Rescript* of *Marcus*, mentioned chap. 13. B. 4. See that place, and the notes upon it. *Rufinus* thought the Edict of *Trajan*, (which *Eusebius* mentions B. 3. chap. 33,) or the Rescript of *Adrian*, (see chap. 9. B. 4.) to *Minucius Fundanus*, was here meant. *Vales.*

[e] The judges, who interrogated the Christians that were brought before them, were wont to perswade and entreat them to have a regard for their own safety, by embraciug the worship of the heathen Gods. There are infinite Examples hereof in *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, &c. *Vales.*

[f] From this passage I am induced to think that *Apollonius* was of the *Senatorian* order, as *Ferom* has said. Who upon the information of some desperate fellow (whose name is unknown) was brought before *Perennis*, the *Prefect* of the *prætorium*, (i. e. *the officer to whom the oversight of the Souldiers was committed*) as being a Christian; being ask't by the Judge what order he was of, and making answer that he was of the *Senatorian* order, *Perennis* commanded him to give an account of his faith before the Senate. Which when *Apollonius* had with much eloquence done, by the sentence of the Senate he was put to death. Why may we not therefore believe *Ferom*, who (in his book *de Ecclesiast. Scriptor.* and in his Epistle to *Magnus*) has said in expres terms, that *Apollonius* was a Senatour? And although *Eusebius* does not expresly say so here; yet from this relation of his thus much may be collected. Besides, *Ferom* might have read the *Acts* of *Apollonius*'s suffering, to which *Eusebius* does here refer us. In which *Acts*, tis probable, *Apollonius* was called a *Roman* Senatour, and was said to have been betrayed by his servant. These *Acts* were written at *Rome* in Greek, by men that were *Grecians*, after the same manner as the *Acts* of the *Lugdunensian* Martyrs were written in Greek. *Vales.*

[g] *Ferom* (in his book *de Scriptor. Eccles.*) misunderstanding this place of *Eusebius*, has accounted *Apollonius*, amongst the Ecclesiastick Writers. But *Eusebius* onely says, that *Apollonius* made a most elegant oration before the Judges in defence of the faith he profest, not that he wrote an Apology. *Scaliger* takes notice of this mistake of *Ferom*'s in his *Animadvers. Eusebian.* p. 208. But he has there altered the reading of part of this place in *Eusebius*, thus [*But the Martyr, most beloved of God, after he had beseech't the Judge by many intreaties, that he might have leave to give an account of his faith before* the Senate.] Which emendation is contradicted by all our M. S. copies, and by reason it self. *Vales.*

[h] All Translatours have rendred this place without taking any notice of the particle [ὡς] in their Versions; supposing it to be useless. Which as I judge, is not true: first because the Senatours were not Judges, neither had they Jurisdiction. [2] *Perennis*, who was the Judge in this cause, had remitted *Apollonius* to the Senate, not that the Senate should give judgment upon him, but that *Apollonius* should give them an account of his religion: He honoured the Senate so far, that he would not condemn a Senatour, before the Senate had

* Or, *every soul of all sorts of men.* For that's the import of the Greek, if it be exactly rendred. *Valesius* translates it [*ex omni genere hominum quàm plurimos*, i. e. *very many of all sorts of men.*

[a] Ἀπενδύσο; i. e. he *unclothed* himself; 'tis a metaphor taken from champions, who, being to engage, strip't themselves, and studied by various arts and subtilties to vanquish their Adversaries. *Vales.*

had cognizance of his crime. When therefore the Senate had heard *Apollonius*, their anſwer was, that the man ſhould be judged according to the Law. After this *Apollonius* was puniſhed with death, by the ſentence indeed of *Perennis* himſelf, but by the decree of the Senate, becauſe the Senate had heard him, and given their conſent that he ſhould be condemned. *Valeſ.*

[i] He means the Reſcript of *Trajan*, which *Euſebius* mentions B. 3. chap. 33, at the latter end. See the place and the note upon it. *Valeſ.*

COMMODUS.

CHAP. XXII.

What Biſhops flouriſht at that time.

MOreover, in the tenth year of *Commodus*'s Reign, *Eleutherus*, having executed the Epiſcopal office [a] thirteen years, was ſucceeded by *Victor*. In the ſame year alſo, *Julianus* having compleated his tenth year, *Demetrius* undertook the Government of the Churches at *Alexandria*. At the ſame time likewiſe *Serapion*, (whom we ſpake of a little before,) flouriſht, being the eighth Biſhop from the Apoſtles of the *Antiochian* Church. At *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* preſided *Theophilus*; and in like manner *Narciſſus* (whom we made mention of before) at that time had the publick charge over the Church at *Jeruſalem*. At *Corinth* in *Achaia*, [b] *Bacchyllus* was then the Biſhop, and at the Church of *Epheſus*, *Polycrates*. Many others, 'tis likely, beſides theſe were eminent at that time; but we, at it was meet, have onely recounted their names, by whoſe writings the doctrine of the true faith has been derived down to us.

[a] In his *Chronicon Euſebius* aſſigns fifteen years to *Eleutherus*, and continues his Preſidency to the laſt year of *Commodus*. Between which two accounts of his there is a great diſagreement. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Nicephorus* calls him *Bacchylus*. But ſometimes diminutive terms, ſuch as this is, are written with a double L. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Queſtion then moved about Eaſter.

AT the ſame time no ſmall controverſie being raiſed, becauſe the Churches of all [a] *Aſia* ſuppoſed, as from a more antient tradition, that the * fourteenth day of the Moon ought to be obſerved as the ſalutary feaſt of Eaſter, [*to wit*] the ſame day whereon the Jews were commanded to kill the Lamb, and that they ought always [b] on that day, (whatever day of the week it ſhould happen to be,) to put an end to their faſtings: when as [notwithſtanding] 'twas not the uſage of the [c] Churches over the reſt of the world to doe after this manner; which uſage, being received from Apoſtolick tradition, and ſtill prevalent, they obſerved, [*to wit*] that they ought not to [d] put an end to their faſtings on any other day, ſave that of the reſurrection of our Saviour: upon this account Synods and aſſemblies of Biſhops were convened. And all of them with one conſent did by their letters inform the [Brethren] every where of the Eccleſiaſtick decree, [*to wit*] that the Myſtery of our Lords reſurrection ſhould never be celebrated on any other day but Sunday, and that on that day onely we ſhould obſerve to conclude the Faſts before Eaſter. There is at this time extant the Epiſtle of thoſe who then were aſſembled in *Paleſtine*, over whom [e] *Theophilus* Biſhop of the Church in *Cæſarea*, and *Narciſſus* [Biſhop] of *Jeruſalem*, preſided. In like manner, another [Epiſtle] of thoſe [Aſſembled] at *Rome* concerning the ſame queſtion, having *Victor* the Biſhops name prefixt to it: alſo [another] of thoſe Biſhops in *Pontus*, over whom [f] *Palmas*, as being the moſt antient, preſided. Alſo [an Epiſtle] of the Churches in *Gallia*, which *Irenæus* had the overſight of. Moreover, of thoſe in *Oſdroëna* and the Cities there; and [g] a private Letter of *Bacchyllus*'s Biſhop of the *Corinthian* Church; of many others alſo; all which having uttered one and the ſame opinion and ſentiment, propoſed the ſame judgment; and this we have mentioned, was their onely definitive determination.

COMMODUS.

[a] The reading of the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill M.SS. is [*the Churches of all Aſia,*] as we have tranſlated it. *Aſia* maybe taken in a threefold ſenſe; ſometimes 'tis taken for the third part of the world; ſometimes for a Province, divided into nine Juriſdictions, which was governed by a *Roman* Proconſul; at other times 'tis more ſtrictly taken for that region which lies by the River *Meander*. In theſe words of *Euſebius*, 'tis, in my judgment, to be taken in the ſecond ſenſe, *to wit*, for a Province which a proconſul governed. *Valeſ.*

* That is, the fourteenth day after the appearance of the new Moon: for the religious part of the Jewiſh Calendar was concerned in theſe appearances of the new Moon, the reports whereof were made by the country people. See the whole manner hereof deſcribed particularly, by the Learned Doctor *Cudworth*, *in his excellent diſcourſe concerning the true Notion of the Lords Supper*, pag. 67. See alſo Mr *Jo. Gregory of Oxford*, *in his diſcourſe concerning upper-rooms*. p. 14, &c.

[b] The Learned *Arch-Biſhop Uſher*, in his diſſertation prefixt before *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, chap. 9. ſays, that the *Aſiatics*, who celebrated Eaſter, with the Jews, on the firſt day of unleavened bread, paſſed over that day with mourning and faſting; after which day was ended, they concluded their Lent-faſt. Which opinion *Euſebius* does here contradict, in that he affirms expreſly, that the *Aſiatics* did put an end to their faſtings on the 14th day of the firſt month, although it were not Sunday. *Valeſ.*

[c] Here *Euſebius* does plainly declare that the *Aſiatics* onely did at that time celebrate Eaſter with the *Jews*; but that all the other Churches obſerved that feſtival on another day. Wherefore I diſſent from *Halloixius*, *Arch-Biſhop Uſher*, and others, who ſuppoſe that the *Syrians*, *Meſopotamians*, and *Cilicians*, did then keep Eaſter at the ſame time with the *Aſiatics*. 'Tis evident that the *Syrians* and *Meſopotamians*, were then right in their ſentiments about this matter, which appears from their councills here mentioned by *Euſebius*. For *Oſdroena* is a part of *Meſopotamia*: But afterwards they fell to the Jewiſh obſervation of this Feſtival, and that before the *Nicene* Councill, as *Athanaſius* aſſerts. On the contrary, the *Aſiatics* forſaking their former errour, embraced the ſounder opinion in their obſervation of Eaſter; which they did before the *Nicene*-Councill, as appears from *Conſtantines* Epiſtle, which *Euſebius* relates B. 3. chap. 18, and 19. of *Conſtantines* life. *Valeſ.*

[d] It was queſtioned amongſt the Antients, at what hour the Faſt before Eaſter was to be concluded; ſome were of opinion, that it was to be continued to the dawning of Eaſter day, after the Cock-crowing, as may be ſeen in *Epiphanius*, and *Clemens*: others thought it was to be finiſhed on the Saturday-evening before Eaſter-day; So *Cyrill*, in *Homil. Paſchal.* *Valeſ.*

[e] The Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, (before the *Nicene-Council*, and a long-time after,) had the dignity and honour of a Metropolitan, and preſided in all the Councils of *Paleſtine*, as being Biſhop of the chief See. Nevertheleſs, the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* had a reſpect ſhown them; theirs being the Apoſtolick Church, which firſt had a Biſhop. Therefore the Biſhops of that See were not under the Biſhops of *Cæſarea*, but were αὐτοκέφαλοι, i. e. *were, as to their priviledges, independent of the See of Cæſarea.* See the ſeventh Canon of the *Nicene-Council*. *Valeſ.*

[f] He was Biſhop of *Amaſtris* in *Pontus*, of whom *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* makes mention, in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Amaſtris*, which Epiſtle our *Euſebius* ſpeaks of B. 4. chap. 23. There was one, which bore the ſame name, (to wit, *Palmas*) of the conſular order, whom *Adrian* commanded to be killed; ſo ſays *Spartianus*. Moreover, *Euſebius* ſays, this *Palmas* preſided, as being the moſt antient Biſhop, not that he was a Metropolitan. For *Heraclea* not *Amaſtris*, was Metropolis of the Cities of *Pontus*. But in the Eccleſiaſtick Councils the precedency was different, according to the diverſity of times and places. The plaineſt and moſt reaſonable cauſe of precedency was, that the antienteſt Biſhop ſhould take place of the reſt. Afterwards the Biſhops of the Metropolitan Churches had that honour given them. *Valeſ.*

[g] *Jerom* (in his book *de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.*) expounds this place ſo, as if *Bacchylus* had convened a Council in *Achaia*, apart by himſelf: for in this ſenſe he takes the term [ἰδίως] here uſed by *Euſebius*: But there may another ſenſe be given hereof, *to wit*, that *Bacchylus* wrote *a private Epiſtle* in his own name concerning Eaſter, not a *Synodicall Letter*, as the reſt did. *Euſebius* (Book 6. chap. 11.) calls *a private Letter*, ἰδίαν ὁπιστολήν. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the diſagreement [*of the Churches*] *throughout* Aſia.

OVer thoſe Biſhops in *Aſia*, who ſtifly maintained they ought to obſerve the antient uſage heretofore delivered to them, preſided *Polycrates*: Who, in the Epiſtle he wrote to *Victor*, and the *Roman* Church, declares the tradition derived down to his own times in theſe words:

"We

COMMODUS. "We therefore observe the true and genuine
* He means Easter-day. † *Eusebius* quotes part of this Epistle at the 31 chap. of his 3d B. The Learned Reader, upon comparing of the original Greek, here, and at the said 31 chapter, will find some small difference: upon which account our Version of the two places differs; for we translated them as we found them.

"* day; having neither added any thing to,
"nor taken any thing from, [the uninterrupted
"usage delivered to us.] † For in *Asia* the great
"lights are dead, who shall be raised again in the
"day of the Lords Advent, wherein he shall come
"with glory from heaven, and
"raise up all his Saints, [I
"mean] *Philip*, one of the 12
"Apostles, who died at *Hie-*
"*rapolis*, and his two daugh-
"ters, who continued Virgins
"to the end of their lives; also
"his other daughter, having
"whilest she lived been inspired by the holy Ghost,
"died at *Ephesus*. And moreover, *John*, who leaned
"on the Lords breast, and was a Priest, wearing
[a] See B. 3. Chap. 31. note (d.) But the Jewish use of *this plate of Gold* can't be meant here; for *John* was neither High-priest amongst the Jews, nor yet of the sacerdotal race. *Polycrates* mentions 3 things of *John*; 1. That he was a Priest, 2, a Martyr; 3, a Dr, or Evangelist. Now as he was a Doctor of Christ, and a Martyr for him; so also must he be understood to be a Priest of Christ. 'Tis probable those first Christian Priests, in imitation of the Jewish High-priests, did wear a plate of Gold, as a badge of honour. *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Nazaræor.*) says, *James* the brother of our Lord, who was ordained the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, wore such a plate of Gold on his forehead. The same is said of *Mark* the *Evangelist*, in a M. S. *concerning his suffering*. Vales.

"a [a] plate of Gold, and was a Martyr, and a
"Doctor: this [*John* I say]
"died at *Ephesus*. More-
"over also, *Polycarp* Bishop
"at *Smyrna* and Martyr, and
"[b] *Thraseas* of *Eumema*,
"Bishop and Martyr, who
"died at *Smyrna*. What need
"we mention [c] *Sagaris* Bi-
"shop and Martyr, who died
"at *Laodicea*? And more-
"over [d] *Papirius* of Blessed
"memory, and [e] *Melito* the
"Eunuch, who in all things
"was directed by the sug-
"gestion of the holy Spirit,
"who lies at *Sardis*, ex-
"pecting the [Lords co-
"ming to] visit him from
"heaven, when he shall be
"raised from the dead? All
"these kept the day of Ea-
"ster on the fourteenth day
"of the Moon, according to
"the Gospel: in no wise
"violating, but exactly fol-
"lowing the rule of faith.
"And moreover, I *Polycra-*
"*tes*, the meanest of you all,
"according to the tradition
"of my kinsmen, some of
"whom also I have fol-
"lowed: for [f] seven of my
"relations were Bishops, and
"I am the eighth; all which
"kinsmen of mine did al-
"waies celebrate the day
"[of Easter] when the
"people [of the Jews]
"[g] removed the Leaven. I
"therefore, brethren, who
"am Sixty five years old in
"the Lord, and have been
"conversant with the bre-
"thren dispersed over the
"world, and have read the
"whole Scripture through,
"am not at all terrified at
"what I am threatned with.

[b] This is *Thraseas* the Martyr, whom *Apollonius* mentions in his Book against the *Cataphrygians*; whose words our *Eusebius* quotes chap. 18. of this book; *Rufinus* says he suffered Martyrdom at *Smyrna*. Vales.

[c] *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis* makes mention of this Martyr, in his Book *concerning Easter*; in those words which our *Eusebius* quotes B. 4. chap. 26. This *Sagaris* was Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Asia*; in whose times the Question concerning Easter was raised at *Laodicea*. *Vales.*

[d] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. this mans name is thus written, [παπίριον, *Papirius.*] Tis a *Roman* name. *Polycrates* does not say where this *Papirius* was Bishop. But I find in *Simeon Metaphrastes*, (in the Life of *Polycarp*) that this *Papirius* was successour to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*. Vales.

[e] *Polycrates* does here stile *Melito*, an *Eunuch*, that is, in our Saviours explication, one of those, *who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of heavens sake*; who are content to deny themselves, and to renounce the lawfull pleasures and comforts of the world, for the service of Religion. *Jerom* (*de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*) attests that this *Melito* was by many accounted a Prophet. *Vales.*

[f] *Rufinus* thought that seven of *Polycrates*'s Ancestours, or Relations, were Bishops of *Ephesus*. But *Polycrates* does not say they were all Bishops of *Ephesus*; we may suppose they were Bishops in several Cities of *Asia*. Vales.

[g] In the Kings, and Maz. M. SS. this place is plainly written thus [ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤνυε τὴν ζύμην, i. e. *when the people removed the Leaven.* So *Rufinus* read this place, as appears by his Version; viz. *Qui omnes ita observarunt hunc diem ut convenirent cum illo quo fermentum Judæorum populus auferr*; i. e. *All which so observed this day, that it might agree with that wherein the people of the Jews removed their Leaven.* I wonder why *Robert Stephens* read it [ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρξω, *when the people prepared*, &c?] For on the 14th day of the first month, the people did not prepare, but cast away their Leaven. See Exod. 12. 18. *Vales.*

"For those, who were greater than I, have said, COMMODUS.
"* *We ought to obey God rather than men.* To * Acts 5. 29.
these words, speaking of all the Bishops who were present with him when he wrote, and were of the same opinion with him, he adjoyns thus much, saying, "I could make mention of the Bishops "who are present with me, whom you [h] requested "me to convene, and I "have called them together: "whose names should I an-"nex [to this Epistle,] "they would be very nu-"merous; all which persons "having visited me, (who "am a mean man) did by "their consent approve of "this Epistle; well knowing that I have not born "these hoary hairs in vain, but have alwaies lead "my life agreeable to the precepts of the Lord "Jesus. After this, *Victor* the Bishop of *Rome*, did immediately attempt to cut off from the common unity the Churches of all *Asia*, together with the adjoyning Churches, as having given their assent to heterodox opinions; and [i] by his letters he publickly declares, and pronounces all the brethren there to be wholly excommunicate: but this pleased not all the Bishops: therefore they perswade him to the contrary, [advising him] to entertain thoughts of Peace, of Unity and love of Christians among one another. Moreover their Epistles are now extant, wherein they have sharply reproved *Victor*. Among whom *Irenæus*, having written a Letter in [k] the name of those brethren in *Gallia*, whom he presided over, does indeed maintain, that the mystery of our Lords Resurrection ought to be celebrated onely on a Sunday; but does in many other words seasonably advise him not to cut off whole Churches of God for observing an antient custom derived down to them by tradition: to which words he adjoyns thus much; "For the controversie is "not onely concerning the "day; but also concerning

[h] Hence 'tis apparent that *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* had written to *Polycrates* to convene the Bishops of *Asia*; and threatned to excommunicate him, unless he obeyed his determination about Easter. As to his menaces, *Polycrates* answers *I am not at all terrified at what I am threatned with.* Vales.

[i] *Valesius* (in his note at this place) is of opinion that *Victor* did not excommunicate the Churches of *Asia*; but onely endeavoured, and threatned, to doe it. The reasons he brings for this are these: (1) *Eusebius* says expressly [ἀποπέμψειν πειρᾶται, i. e. *he endeavoured to cut off from the communion*, &c.] (2) The Epistles written to *Victor* by *Irenæus* and other Bishops doe shew that the sentence of excommunication was not then pronounc't by *Victor*; for thus *Eusebius* writes concerning *Irenæus*'s Letters [*But does in many other words seasonably advise* Victor *not to cut off whole Churches*, &c.] (3) *Photius* (in *Biblioth.* chap. 120.) writes that *Irenæus* wrote many letters to *Victor*, perswading him not to excommunicate any one for their dissent about the observation of Easter; therefore, before *Irenæus* wrote, *Victor* had excommunicated no body: now, it cannot be supposed that *Victor* did it after receipt of *Irenæus*'s Letters; for then *Eusebius* would have made mention of it; but he *intimates* the contrary to all this, calling *Irenæus* [εἰρηνοποιὸν,] i. e. *Peacemaker*, because his Letters restored Peace to the Church. These are *Valesius*'s reasons. On the contrary *Socrates*, (B. 5. chap. 22.) *Halloixius* in his life of *Irenæus*, pag. 668; and Dr *Cave* in the Life of *Irenæus* pag. 168; are of opinion, that this sentence of excommunication was actually pronounc't by *Victor*. Their main argument for this, is grounded on these words of *Eusebius*, which here follow [καὶ συνιλλύει γε διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀκοινωνήτους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς] which we have thus rendred [*And by his Letters he*, i.e. Victor, *publickly declares, and pronounces all the brethren there to be wholly excommunicate.*] Which, whether it does not outweigh all that *Valesius* has said to the contrary, is left to the determination of the Learned Reader.

[k] This Epistle therefore of *Irenæus*'s was a Synodical Epistle; because 'twas written in the name of the Churches of *France*, the chief City whereof then was *Lyons*. This Epistle is mentioned by *Eusebius*, in the foregoing chapter: for I judge it to be one and the same Epistle, because 'tis unlikely there should be two Synods convened in so short a time, to determine of one and the same matter. *Vales.*

COMMODUS. "the very [l] form of the [m] Fast: for some sup-
"pose they ought to [n] Fast [o] one day, others [p] two,
[l] *Irenæus* says, that at "others more; [q] others computing forty [con-
that time "tinued] hours of the day and night make [that
there was a twofold dissention in the Church; the first concerning Easter day; the second about the form of the Fast; *i. e.* how many days were to be kept as a Fast; for so he explains himself in the following words. For all, as well those who celebrated Easter on the Sunday, as those who, with the Jews, kept that festival on the fourteenth day of the Moons appearance, did agree in this, *to wit*, that they Fasted before Easter. Which Fast, as well as the Feast of Easter, they had received from Apostolick Tradition: See *Eusebius*, book 2. chap. 17. And the notes there. *Vales.*

[m] Amongst the antient Christians there were three kinds of Fasts: the first was the Fast on *Wednesdays*, and *Frydays*, which ended at the 9th hour of the day, (i.e. at three a clock in the afternoon,) after the end of the *Station*, or Holy communion. The second sort was the Lent-fast, which ended about the evening. The third sort was the strictest of all, and lasted to the cock-crowing; which was therefore by the Greeks called [ὑφέσεις,] in *Latine Superpositio*. *Epiphanius* (in his *Expositio fidei Catholic.* at the end of his books, *against Heresies*) does plainly distinguish these 3 sorts of Fasts. So does *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in his Epistle to *Basilides*. But now, it may be demanded, which of these 3 sorts of Fasts *Irenæus* does here speak of? 'Tis manifest, he means not the first sort; for he evidently speaks of a whole days Fast, *some suppose*, says he, *they ought to fast one day*, &c. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and *Epiphanius*, (in the places before mentioned) seem to be of opinion, that *Irenæus* means the 3d sort of Fast. *Vales.*

[n] These words of *Irenæus* are variously understood. *Bellarmine* thinks he speaks of Lent. *Cardinal Perron* supposes he speaks of the week that precedes Easter: which opinion is confirmed by *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and *Epiphanius*, in the places before cited. *Vales.*

[o] Without doubt *Irenæus* means, the Friday of the *Great week*; (i. e. *the week before Easter*;) on which day was kept a publick Fast, says *Tertullian*, in his book *De Orat.* and in that *De Jejunio*. *Vales.*

[p] *To wit*, on the *Preparation day*, (which we call *Good-Friday*,) and on the *Great Sabbath* (i. e. the Saturday before Easter.) For on these two days all persons, except the sick, were wont to Fast, says *Tertullian*, in his book *De Jejunio*. *Vales.*

[q] The Kings, Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. doe read and point this place thus [οἱ δὲ τεσσεράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετρῶσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν.] And *Musculus* has faithfully translated it thus [*alii quadraginta horas diurnas & nocturnas computantes, diem suum statuunt.*] whom we follow in our Version of this place; having rendred it thus [*others computing forty continued*] *hours of the day and night make that* [space] *their day* [of Fasting.] This reading is doubtless the truest: For *Irenæus* having said that *some Fast one day, others two, others more*; what need is there of his adding this [*others Fast fourty days*] when as in those words of his [*others Fast more days*] fourty days are comprehended? Besides, if the stop be put at [τεσσεράκοντα. fourty.] (as 'tis in the Savil. M. S. and in *Rufinus* and *Christophorsons* translations) to what shall the following words [ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε, &c.] be referred? If they be referred to those that Fast fourty days, (as 'tis certain they must) then 'twill necessarily follow, that those who Fast fourty days during that time doe eat nothing at all, seeing that they account their Fast must be continued all the hours of the night, as well as of the day. Having made out the true reading of this place, we come to explain the meaning of it. *Irenæus* therefore says, that some Fasted fourty continued hours of the day and night. Some think this Fast of fourty hours was kept by them in memory of that space of time which was between the Death of Christ and his Resurrection: which space of time contained about fourty hours; *to wit*, from the 6th hour of the preparation day (that is, between 12 and 3 a clock on *Good-Friday*) to the dawning of *Easter-day*: But I suppose 'twas kept in honour and memory of Christs fourty days Fast in the wilderness. Three things may be collected from these words of *Irenæus*. (1) That the Fast before Easter was usually observed in the Church from the very times of the Apostles. (2) This Fast was celebrated in honour and memory of Christ's Fast: (3) That the space of time, allotted for this Fast, was various and different. But we ought always to remember that *Irenæus* does here speak of the Fast of *Superposition*, (See note (*m*) in this chap.) which the Christians usually observed throughout the *Great-week*; (*i. e.* the *Passion-week*:) the Fast in which week being once admitted, the Fast of *Lent* must also be admitted: for the week before Easter is part of *Lent*. Sometimes indeed we see the Fast of this week is distinguisht from the Lent Fast; (as in *Epiphanius*'s *Expositio fidei*, &c.) but 'tis not so distinguisht, as if it did not really belong to Lent; but 'tis distinguished from it, as the part is from the whole. The reason of this distinction is twofold; (1) it was kept with a more strict Fast, *to wit*, the Fast of *Superposition*, as we shewed before, (note *m*.) (2) this week does properly belong to Easter. For the *Feriæ* (or Days) of it have their denomination from the following Sunday, as shall hereafter be manifested. Hence 'tis called *the Great-week*; the reasons of which term *Chrysostom* does give *in his* 30 *Homily on Genesis*. This Week began from the second *Feria*, (i. e. *Monday*,) says *Cyrill* in *Homil. Paschal.* and *Epiphanius* in *Arianis*. Vales.

"space] their [r] day [of Fasting:] and this COMMODUS.
"variety in observing [the Fast] has not been [r] In the o-
"begun in our age, but a long while since, in the riginal 'tis
"times of our Ancestours: [s] who being (as 'tis [τὴν ἡμέ-
"probable) not so diligent ἐαν αὐτῶν,
"in their Presidencies, pro- i. e. *their Day* [of Fasting.] But
"posed that as a custom to *Irenæus* did doubtless write [τὴν
"their successours, which ὑπεσίαν αὐτῶν, i. e. *their Fast.*]
"was introduced by sim- [s] *Irenæus* would shew here
"plicity and unskilfulness. whence so great a diversity about
"And yet nevertheless all the Fast before Easter arose. He
"these maintained mutual says therefore, that it proceeded
"peace towards one another, not from any law given by the A-
"which also we retain. Thus postles or Christ; but did by de-
"the variety of the Fast com- grees grow in use; and afterwards
"mends the consent of the some Bishops, being too remiss in
"faith. Hereto he adjoins a those things belonging to disci-
relation, which I will suta- pline, made that a custom, which
bly insert in this place; it was introduced by simplicity and
is thus: "And the Presby- singularity, and left it to be ob-
"ters, who, before *Soter*, served by their successours. In this
"Presided over that Church which You now go- sense *Socrates* took *Irenæus*'s words
"vern, I mean *Anicetus*, and *Pius*, *Hyginus*, here, as appears from what he says
"*Telesphorus*, and *Xystus*, these persons [I say] B. 5. chap. 22. *Vales.*
"neither observed it themselves, nor did they per-
"mit those [t] with them [to observe it.] Never- [t] In *Turne-*
"theless, although they themselves observed it not, *bus* and
"yet they maintained peace *Moreus's*
"with those that came to book, at the margin 'tis mended
"them from those Churches thus [μεθ' αὐτῶν,] i. e. *with them*. So *Rufinus* reads this place,
"wherein it was obser- as appears by his Version. *Vales.*
"ved. But the [u] observation [u] The sense of this place is
"of it, amongst those who this; Although the observing,
"kept it not, seemed to have and not observing of any custom
"much more of contrariety are in themselves contrary; yet
"in it. Neither were any as often as he that observes the
"persons ever excommuni- custom is conversant among those
"cated upon account of this who observe it not, this diversity
"form [of the Fast:] but will be much more apparent.
"the Presbyters, your pre- *Vales.*
"decessours, who observed
"it not, † sent the Eucharist † The Bishops were wont, in
"to the [Presbyters] of the time of the Festivity of Easter,
"those Churches which ob- to send the Eucharist to other
"served it not: and when Bishops, in the name of a bene-
"[x] *Polycarp* of blessed me- diction. This custom was at length
"mory came to *Rome* in forbidden in the Council of *Laodi-*
"the times of *Anicetus*, and *cea*, chap. 14. *Vales.*
"there had been a small [x] Though the exact time of
"controversie between them *Polycarps* coming to *Rome* cannot
"concerning some other precisely be defined, yet will it in
"things, they did straight- a great measure depend upon *A-*
"way mutually embrace each *nicetus*'s succession to that See, in
"other; having not desired whose time he came thither. Now
"to be contentious with one 'tis evident, that almost all the
"another about this [y] head: antient Catalogues place him be-
"For neither could *Anicetus* fore *Soter*, and next to *Pius*,
"perswade *Polycarp* not to whom he succeeded. This suc-
"observe it, because he had cession *Eusebius* (*in his Chronicon*)
"always kept it with *John* places on the year of Christ 154;
"the disciple of our Lord, (a computation doubtless much
"and the other Apostles with truer than that of *Baronius*, who
"whom he had been conver- places it on the year 167;) and
"sant: nor did *Polycarp* in- agreeable to this the *Chronicle* of
"duce *Anicetus* to observe *Alexandria* places *Polycarp*'s co-
"it, who said he ought to ming to *Rome*, in the year 158;
"retain the usage of the in the 21 of *Antoninus* the Empe-
"Presbyters that were his rour. See Dr *Cave*'s life of St *Po-*
"predecessours. These things *lycarp*. pag. 115.
"being thus, they received [y] *Valesius* (in his note on this
"the communion together. place) denies that *Polycarp* came
to *Rome* concerning the difference
about the *Paschal* solemnity; for
it was, he says, some other contro-
versies, that brought him thi-
ther. But *Irenæus*'s expres words
are (if our *Eusebius* has rightly
represented them, in B. 4. chap.
14.) *that Polycarp* came *to Rome*
and *discourst Anicetus* [διὰ τὴν ζήτησιν εἶναι τοῦ πράγματος ἡμέρας,]
i.e. *upon account of a certain contro-*
versie concerning the day whereon Easter was to be kept. 'Tis true, *Irenæus*
says (in this chapter) there was a difference between them [περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, i.e. *concerning some other things*;] but this does not hinder, but that
the other was his main errand to *Rome*.

"And

COMMODUS.

"And *Anicetus* permitted *Polycarp*, (*to wit*, out "of an honourable respect to him) to [2] consecrate the Sacrament in his own Church; and "they parted peaceably one from another; as "well those who observed it, as those who observed it not, retaining the Peace and Communion "of the whole Church. Indeed, *Irenæus*, being truly answerable to his own name, was after this manner a Peace-maker, and advised and asserted these things upon the account of the Peace of the Churches: The same person Wrote not onely to *Victor*, but sent Letters also, agreeable hereunto, to several other Governours of Churches, concerning the said controversie which was then raised.

[2] That is, *Anicetus* had so great a respect for the venerable *Polycarp*, that he permitted him, in his own presence to consecrate the Sacrament in his own Church. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXV.

How all with one consent unanimously agreed about Easter.

MOreover, those [Bishops] of *Palestine*, (whom we mentioned a little before) *to wit*, *Narcissus* and *Theophilus*, and with them *Cassius* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Clarus* [Bishop] of that at *Ptolemais*, together with those assembled with them, having treated at large concerning the tradition about Easter, derived down to them by succession from the Apostles, at the end of their Epistle they adjoyn thus much, in these very words: "Make it your business to "send Copies of this our Epistle throughout the "whole Church, that so we may not be blamed by "those, who do easily seduce their own souls: we "also declare to you, that they celebrate [Easter] "at *Alexandria* on the same day that we doe: "[a] for Letters are conveyed from us to them, and "from them to us; so that we observe the holy "day with one consent and together.

[a] The Maz. Fuk. and Savil. M.SS. read [πας' ἡμῶν γαρ, &c. *For Letters*, &c.] The Letters about Easter are meant here. The Acts of this Synod of *Cæsarea* are extant in *Bede*, in his book *concerning the vernal Equinox*; which some look upon to be Spurious; but I think they are in no wise to be despised. *Baronius* accounted them to be genuine. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How many [*Monuments*] *of* Irenæus's *Polite Ingenie have come to our hands.*

SEVERUS.

[a] BUt, besides the fore-mentioned works and Epistles of *Irenæus*'s, there is extant a most concise and most necessary book of his against the Gentiles, entituled *concerning Knowledge*. And another, (which he dedicated to a brother, by name *Marcianus*,) [containing] *a* [b] *Demonstration of the Apostolick Preaching*. And a Book of *Various* [c] *Tracts*, wherein he makes mention of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and that called *The wisdom of Solomon*, and quotes some sentences out of them: And thus many are the [writings] of *Irenæus*, which came to our knowledge. But *Commodus* having ended his Government after he had reigned thirteen years, *Severus* obtained the Empire, *Pertinax* having not Governed full out six months after the death of *Commodus*.

[a] The chapters of this fifth book, were, even in our M.S. Copies, very much disordered; but we have put them into due order, from the authority of *Rufinus*; with whom agrees the Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. For those copies begin the chapter at these words, with this Title [*How many* [*Monuments*] &c.] but they call it chap. 28. when as 'tis truly the 26; as appears from the Index of the chapters prefixt before the Book. The cause of the mistake was, that the Titles of the former chapters were set down twice in the foresaid Copies, through the negligence of the Transcribers. *Vales.*

[b] The reading in the original is, εἰς ἀπόδειξιν. *Valesius* thinks it should be [εἰς ἀπόδειξιν, *a Demonstration.*]

[c] *Rufinus* translates it [*dialogos*, *dialogues*] *Ferom* renders it [*Tractatus*, *Tracts.*] It may be taken to signifie *Sermons* or *Discourses to the people*: for in that sense our *Eusebius* takes the word διαλέξεως, in his 6 B. chap. 19. and in the 35 chap. of that book he calls *Origens homilies* [διαλέξεις.] *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVII.

How many also of [*the works of others*] *who then flourished,* [*are come to our knowledge.*]

SEVERUS.

INdeed, very many Monuments of the virtuous and laudable diligence of those antient and Ecclesiastick men which then [flourisht] are to this day preserved amongst many: But [the works] of those, whom we our selves could [a] discern to be such, are, *Heraclitus*'s [*Comments*] *upon the Apostle*, and the [Book] of [b] *Maximus* concerning that question so much talk't of amongst Hereticks, *whence evill proceeds*: and concerning this *that matter is made*. Also *Candidus*'s piece, *on the six days work*; and that of *Apion* upon the same Subject. In like manner, *Sextus*'s book *Concerning the Resurrection*; and another piece of *Arabianus*'s; and of very many more; whose times wherein they lived, because we want assistances from the proof thereof, we can neither commit to writing, nor yet [c] declare any memorable passages [of their's, in this our History.] There are also come to our hands the books of many others, whose very names we are unable to recite: all which were indeed Orthodox and Ecclesiastick [persons] as the interpretations of the Sacred Scripture [produced] by every one of them doth demonstrate; but yet they are unknown to us, because what they have written has not their name prefixt to it.

[a] Διαγνῶναι (which is the term here) does properly signifie, *internoscere*, ac *distinguere*, i. e. *to discern*, or *distinguish*: The import of *Eusebius*'s words is, *that those Writers which by some certain mark he was able to distinguish from heretical authours, were Heraclitus, Maximus, &c. Rufinus* and *Ferom*, instead of *Heraclitus*, read *Heraclius*. Our Historian does here relate, first the Ecclesiastick Writers of that time, whose names he knew: afterwards he mentions those, whose books were still extant; but their names were unknown. *Vales.*

[b] The Title of *Maximus*'s Book was, περὶ τῆς ὕλης, *concerning matter*: it was composed by way of Dialogue. *Eusebius* quotes a most excellent piece of it in his last chap. of his 7 B. *Preparat. Evang.* where he gives the Authour this Elogue: Μαξίμῳ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς διαλεκτικῆς ἀνδρὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀφανεῖ, καὶ λόγου οἰκείου συγγεγραφέναι ὁ περὶ τῆς ὕλης· i.e. *Maximus, a person in no wise obscure for his Christian life and conversation, Wrote a seasonable piece entitled*, concerning matter. *Vales.*

[c] *Eusebius* does usually quote some passages out of those Authours works which he mentions: So he did, as we see, out of *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Hegesippus*, *Papias*, and others; whenever he knew the time of the Authours Writing. But in these Writers, whom he mentions in this chapter, *Eusebius* says he could not perform this, because he could not certainly know the times they lived in, but was in want of arguments and proofs thereof. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning those, who from the beginning were defenders of Artemon's *Heresie; what manner of persons they were as to their moralls, and how that they were so audacious as to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.*

IN an Elaborate piece of one of those Authours, composed against the Heresie of *Artemon*, (which Heresie *Paulus Samosatensis* has again attempted to revive in our age,) there is extant a certain Relation very accommodate to the History we now have in hand. For the [a] Book now cited, evincing that the foresaid Heresie, which asserts our Saviour to be a meer man, was an innovation of a late date; (because the indroducers of it had boasted it was very ancient,) after many [arguments] brought to confute their blasphemous lie, has this Relation word for word; "For they "affirm that all the Ancients and the very Apostles "received and taught the same things which they

[a] *Nicephorus* (B. 4. chap. 21.) says, the name of this book (the Authour whereof is unknown) was *The Little Labyrinth*: *Photius* (in *Biblioth.* chap. 48.) relates that *Caius* was the Authour of this book; and makes it not the same book with *the Little Labyrinth*: But *Theodoret* (B. 2. *Heret. Fabul.*) confirms *Nicephorus*'s opinion, and mentions this very story of *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, and *Natalis* the Bishop, attesting he had taken it out of the book called *The Little Labyrinth*. Vales.

SEVERUS. "now aſſert; and that the Preaching of the truth "was preſerved till the times of *Victor*, who from "*Peter* was the thirteenth Biſhop of *Rome*; but "from the times of his ſucceſſour *Zephyrinus* the "truth has been adulterated. Peradventure this "ſaying of theirs might ſeem probable, did not "in the firſt place the Sacred Scriptures con-"tradict them, and then the writings of ſome bre-"thren antienter than the times of *Victor*, which "books they wrote in defence of the truth, againſt "the Gentiles, and againſt the Hereſies of their "own times. I mean the [writings of] *Juſtin*, "*Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, and *Clemens*, and of "many others: in all which books the Divinity of "Chriſt is maintained. For who is he that is "ignorant of the books of *Irenæus*, *Melito*, and "the reſt, which declare Chriſt to be God and "man? The [b] Pſalms alſo "and Hymns of the brethren, "written at the beginning "by the faithfull, doe ſet "forth the praiſes of Chriſt "the Word of God, and "attribute Divinity to him "Seeing therefore this Eccle-"ſiaſtical opinion has been manifeſtly declared for "ſo many years ſince, how can it be that the [An-"tients] ſhould have preacht that doctrine, "which theſe men aſſert, untill the times of "*Victor*? How can they chooſe but be aſhamed "of framing ſuch lies of *Victor*; when as they "know for certain that *Victor* excommunicated "*Theodotus* the *Tanner*, the Founder and Father "of this Apoſtacy which denies God, who firſt "aſſerted Chriſt to be a meer man? For if *Victor* "were (as they ſay) of the ſame opinion with "that, which their blaſphemie does maintain, why "did he proſcribe *Theodotus* the Inventour of this "Hereſie? And ſuch was the face of affairs in "the times of *Victor*: to whom, having preſided "in his publick charge ten years, *Zephyrinus* was "made ſucceſſour about the ninth year of *Severus*'s "Empire. [Further,] the Perſon that compiled "the foreſaid book concerning the Authour of the "now-mentioned Hereſie, relates another thing "which was done in the times of *Zephyrinus*, in "theſe very words; I will therefore advertize ma-"ny of the brethren of a thing done in our Age; "which, had it happened in *Sodom*, would, I ſup-"poſe, have put thoſe inhabitants in mind of [Re-"pentance.] "There was one "[c] *Natalis*, a confeſſour, "who lived not a long time "a goe, but even in our "times; this man had been "ſeduced by *Aſclepiodotus*, "and another *Theodotus*, a "Banker; both which Per-"ſons were diſciples of *Theo-*"*dotus* the *Tanner*, who before had been excom-"municated, as I ſaid, by *Victor* then Biſhop, for "this doctrine or rather madneſs: *Natalis* was "perſwaded by them to be [d] Elected a Biſhop of "this Hereſie, upon the conſideration of a Salary, "whereby he was to receive of them monthly an "hundred and fifty pence. Being therefore be-"come one of their aſſociates, he was by viſions "[in his ſleep] frequently admoniſhed by the "Lord: For our compaſſionate God and Lord "Jeſus Chriſt was unwilling that he, [who had "been] a witneſs of his own ſufferings, ſhould "periſh whileſt he was under excommunication. "But after he was regardleſs of the viſions [in "his ſleep,] being beguiled with the bait of pri-"macy among thoſe [of that Sect,] and of "filthy lucre, (which is the deſtruction of many "men,) at laſt he was ſcourged by the holy An-"gels, and ſorely beaten all night long. In ſo "much that he aroſe very early, and having put on "ſackcloth, and beſprinkled himſelf with aſhes, "in great haſt, and with tears in his eyes, he caſt "himſelf down before *Zephyrinus* the Biſhop, "falling down not onely before the feet of the "Clergy, but of the Laity alſo; and with his "tears moved the compaſſionate Church of the "Mercifull Chriſt: and after he had uſed much "intreaty, and ſhown the "[e] prints of the ſtripes he "had received, with much "difficulty he was admitted "into the communion [of "the Church.] Hereunto we will alſo annex ſome other words of the ſame Writers concerning theſe [Hereticks;] they are theſe: "They have impudently a-"dulterated the Sacred Scriptures; they have re-"jected the Canon of the Primitive faith; and "have been ignorant of Chriſt: they are not in-"quiſitive after that which the holy Scriptures ſay, "but beſtow much labour and induſtry in finding "out ſuch a Scheme of a Syllogiſm, as may confirm "the Syſtem of their impiety: And if any one "propoſes to them a Text of the divine Scriptures, "they examine whether a "[f] *connex*, or *disjunctive* "form of a Syllogiſm may "be made of it: leaving the "holy Scriptures of God, "they ſtudie Geometry; "being of the earth they "ſpeak of things terreſtrial, and are ignorant of "him who [g] comes from above: therefore a-"mongſt ſome of them *Euclids Geometry* is "with great diligence ſtu-"died; *Ariſtotle* and *Theo-*"*phraſtus* are admired; "and in like manner [h] *Galen* "is by others of them even "adored: what need I ſay, "that theſe perſons, (who "make uſe of the Arts of "Infidels for the confirma-"tion of their Heretical o-"pinion, and by the craft of "Atheiſts adulterate the ſin-"cere authority of the divine "Scriptures,) are moſt re-"mote from the faith? Hence "'tis that they have impudently laid their hands "upon the divine Scriptures, ſaying they ought "to be corrected; he that is deſirous may be in-"formed that I ſpeak not this falſely of them. "For would any one examine the Copies, which "they have gotten together, and compare them "one with another, he would find that they diſa-"greed very much. For the Copies of [i] *Aſcle-*"*piadotus* agree not with thoſe of *Theodotus*. "Many ſuch Copies as theſe may be procured, "becauſe their diſciples have with much labour "and curioſity written the corrections (as they "call them, that is, the corruptions) of every one "of their [Maſters.] Again, the Copies of "*Hermophilus* agree not with theſe now men-"tioned; and thoſe of *Apollonides* differ one "from

SEVERUS.

[b] Hence it appears, that 'twas an antient cuſtom in the Church to compoſe Pſalms and Hymns in honour of Chriſt. *Pliny* (in his Epiſtle to *Trajan*) mentions this uſage amongſt the Chriſtians; as we have already obſerved, at B. 2. chap. 17.

[c] Perhaps this perſon was that *Cæcilius Natalis*, who by a diſpute of *Octavius Januarius*'s before *Minucius Fælix* at *Rome* was converted to the Chriſtian Faith; as *Minucius Fælix* relates, *in his dialogue*. Indeed, the name, the time, and the profeſſion of this Perſon doe all agree to make this probable. *Valeſ.*

[d] The Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill M.SS. read [χληρω-θῆναι, i. e. *to be elected.*] The Kings M. S. and *Rob. Stephens* read [χληθῆναι, i. e. *to be called.*] Valeſ.

[e] *Valeſius* ſays thoſe ſtripes are meant here, which *Natalis* had undergone *for the confeſſion of Chriſt*; *Quas*, ſays he, *pro Chriſti confeſſione perſuleràt*: Indeed *Natalis* is called ὁμολογητὴς, *a confeſſour*, at the beginning of this ſtory; and afterwards μάρτυς, a *Martyr* or *Witneſs*: but perhaps the Authour might mean here the ſtripes, which the ſtory ſays he received from the holy Angels.

[f] Theſe are Logical terms: συνημμένον is properly ſuch a propoſition, as this [*if it be day, there is light.*] διεζευγμένον is ſuch an one as this [*either it is day, or it is night.*] See *Diogen. Laert.* in *Zenone*. Valeſ.

[g] He ſpeaks of the laſt advent of our Saviour; which the Antient fathers uſually ſpeak of not as future, but preſent. *Valeſ.*

[h] *Galen* wrote books concerning the forms of Syllogiſms, and concerning the whole ſyſteme of Philoſophy, as appears from the catalogue of his works. From this place 'tis evident that *Galen* is a very antient Authour, which may be collected not onely from the Teſtimony of this Writer, but from many others, who have made him contemporary with *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, and *Plato*. See *Alexander Aphrodiſ.* B. 8. *Topic.* at the beginning. *Valeſ.*

[i] Some call him *Aſclepiades*; but *Nicephorus* and *Ruffinus* term him *Aſclepiadotus*. A little after this inſtead of [*Apollonius*] we read [*Apollonides*] as did *Ruffinus*, and *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

SEVERUS.

"from another. For he that shall compare them "will find that those Copies first put forth [k] by "him doe very much disagree from his other "[Copies] which he did afterwards again wrest "and deform. How much of audaciousness there is "in this wicked fact, 'tis probable they themselves "are not ignorant: for either they doe not believe "the divine Scriptures to have "been dictated by the holy "Spirit, and then they are "Infidels: or else they ac-"count themselves wiser then "the holy Ghost; and what "are they then but mad-"men? For they cannot deny this audacious fact "to have been done by their own selves, because "[the Copies] have been written out by their "own hands: [l] Neither did they receive such "Copies as these from those who were their in-"structours; nor yet can they shew the Copies "out of which they transcribed these things. But "some of them have not indeed vouchsafed to "adulterate the Scriptures, but having wholly "rejected both the Law, and the Prophets, [m] by a "Lawless and Atheistical doctrine under a pretext "of Grace, they are fallen into the deepest pit of "destruction. And let thus much be after this manner related, concerning these things.

SEVERUS.

[l] The following words [*Neither did they receive such Copies as these from those who were their instructours; nor yet can they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things*] are wanting in the Kings M. S. I think them not very necessary: but they are in the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. and in *Rufinus*'s version. *Vales.*

[k] *St Henry Savill* in the margin of his M. S. had made it [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *by him.*] Our other M. SS. read it [ὑπ' αὐτῶν, *by them.*] But the former reading is the best: for the Authour speaks onely of *Apollonides* here; affirming that he put forth two Editions of the sacred Scriptures, the latter of which differ'd very much from the former. *Vales.*

[m] Ἔνεκα, or διὰ, i. e. *by*, or, *by reason of*, is here to be understood. These Hereticks, under a pretence of the Grace given by the Gospel, rejected both the Law, and the Prophets: upon which account he calls their doctrine Lawless and Atheistical. *Vales.*

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Persecution under Severus.

MOreover, when *Severus* stirr'd up Persecution against the Churches in every place throughout all the Churches; noble Martyrdoms were perform'd by the Champions of Religion; but [the number of the Martyrs] at *Alexandria* far exceeded the rest, the [a] choicest of the Champions having been conveyed thither out of all *Egypt*, and *Thebaïs*, as to the noblest *stadium* of God; who in reward of their most patient suffering divers sorts of Torments, and several ways of death, were encircled with crowns from God: amongst whom *Leonides*, said to be the father of [b] *Origen*, was beheaded, and left his son very young. And here 'twill not be unseasonable briefly to relate what zeal and affection he bore to the [c] Gospel from this time of his childhood, and for this reason especially, because his fame is much celebrated by all men.

[a] ἀειστίνην, *lectissimi*, i. e. *the choicest*, 'tis the neareſt signification of the word, but does not fully explain it, for the word imports something more. See *Viger. Idiot.* pag. 195.

[b] 'Tis a critical dispute whether the Greek word be ὠριγένης, or ὠριγένης with an *Aspirate*, or a *Tenuis*: some say 'tis ὠριγένης because 'tis derived from ὠρὴ *maturè* and γενηθεὶς *natus*, i. e. born in a fit season: and for this reason the Med. Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. always write it with an *Aspirate*. Vales.

[c] Θεῖος λόγος *Eusebius* always uses both for the *Gospel*, and the Christian Religion, as in Chap. 3, and 5. of this Book, and this *Rufinus* renders *divinæ legis studia: Christoph. Sacrarum literarum studium*; and *Musculus* translates it *divinam doctrinam*. Vales.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Origens *virtuous course of life from a Child.*

NOw should any one undertake accurately and at his leisure to commit to writing this man's life, he must say much, and a strict collection of all passages concerning him, would require even a particular Subject; but our aim at present is to abbreviate most things, and in short, and as well as we can we will give an account of some few passages concerning him; relating what things have been manifested by some Epistles, or by the discourse of those his Scholars, who were alive till our times. The passages concerning *Origen* (as one would say) even from his Cradle seem to me worth remembrance. *Severus* therefore being in the tenth year of his Reign, and *Latus* being Governour of *Alexandria* and the rest of *Ægypt*; *Demetrius* also having lately taken upon him the Episcopal Office over the Churches there, after *Julianus*; when the flame of Persecution now raged grievously, and many thousands were Crown'd with Martyrdom, such a desire of Martyrdom possess'd the soul of *Origen* being yet very young, that he would expose himself to dangers, and was very ready, and willing to rush forward, and leap into the combate: so that now he was not far from death, had not the Divine and Celestial providence, for the good of many, hindred and restrained his willingness to die, by

SEVERUS. his mothers meanes. Firſt therefore ſhe intreated him like a Suppliant, and beſeech't him to take pitty of her motherly love: but when ſhe ſaw him more intent upon his purpoſe, and when he underſtood his father was apprehended and impriſon'd, he was wholly poſſeſs'd with a deſire of Martyrdom: wherefore ſhe hid all his cloathes, and by this meanes neceſſitated him to abide at home: but he, ſeeing he had no way left, (the alacrity of his mind ſurmounting the ripeneſs of his years,) could not be at reſt, but compos'd a moſt perſwaſive Epiſtle concerning Martyrdom, and ſends it to his father, in which he thus exhorts him word for word, ſaying, [*Father,*] *take heed: let not your care for us make you change your reſolution.* Let this be noted as the firſt token of *Origen*'s acuteneſs of wit from his childhood, and of his moſt ſincere zeal for Religion. For he had already got no ſmall ſtock of knowledge in the doctrine of the faith, continuing whilſt he was yet a child, to exerciſe himſelf in ſearching the holy Scriptures; about which he was not a little laborious; his father having taken great care, both in inſtructing him in the Liberal [a] Sciences, and alſo in theſe not ſlightly: wherefore he always perſwaded him to exerciſe himſelf in the ſtudy of holy things, rather than in the Learning of the Greeks, enjoyning it him as a daily task to learn ſomething by heart out of Scripture and repeat it: nor was the child unwilling, or ſlack in the performance, but moſt cheerfully laboured in theſe things, ſo that the ſimple, and common readings of the ſacred Scriptures could not ſatisfie him, but he would ſearch after ſomething more, and even from that time buſily enquired into the more profound meanings thereof: Inſomuch that he troubled his father by asking him, what was the true meaning of ſuch a ſentence of Scripture inſpir'd by God. He ſeemingly before his face reprov'd him, admoniſhing him not to ſearch into any thing above the capacity of his years, nor [to enquire] any further then the plain meaning [of Scripture.] But he privately with himſelf rejoyc'd exceedingly, and gave the greateſt thanks to God the Authour of all good, that he vouchſaf'd to make him the father of ſuch a child: and 'tis reported, he has often ſtood by the child as he ſlept, and laying his breaſt bare, would kiſs it with reverence, as if the ſacred Spirit of God had been inſhrin'd in it, and accounted himſelf bleſſed for his happy off-ſpring. Theſe, and ſuch like, they record, were the paſſages concerning *Origen* in his childhood: But when his father was now crowned with Martyrdom, he is left deſolate (together with his mother and younger brothers, ſix in number,) being no more then ſeventeen years of age: Moreover his father's eſtate having been confiſcate, he was brought into extream want of neceſſary ſubſiſtance, together with his relations, but God thought him worthy of his providence. And he obtains entertainment and reſt from a woman who was very rich in reſpect of her eſtate, and very eminent otherways. Moreover; (who carefully miniſtred to a very famous man, one of that Heretical Sect then at *Alexandria*, but by birth an *Antiochian.*) Him the foreſaid woman having adopted for her ſon, kept him with her and ſhew'd kindneſs to him in a moſt eſpecial manner. But *Origen*, though forc'd to converſe with the ſaid [Heretick] yet from that time ſhew'd powerfull proofs of his ſound Opinion concerning the Faith. For when great multitudes of people, not onely Hereticks, but alſo them of our Religion, flock'd to *Paul* (for this was the mans name) becauſe he ſeem'd to be a perſon of great eloquence; [*Origen*] could never be induced to aſſiſt him in prayer: always from a child obſerving the Cannon of the Church, and abominating the doctrines of Hereſies, (as he himſelf in expreſs words ſomewhere ſays:) and having been educated in the Greek learning by his father at firſt, after his death he devoted himſelf wholly and more earneſtly to the ſtudy of the Liberal Sciences; ſo that he was furniſhed with an [b] indifferent skill in the Art of Grammar; and having profeſt this Art ſoon after his father's death, he got plenty of neceſſaries, conſidering the age he was then of.

SEVERUS.

[a] Τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείας, are the words in the Original: the *Greeks*, call ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα, *the Liberal Arts* which children learn'd; but Philoſophy, by the teſtimonies of ſeveral Authours is not included in that phraſe, as *Diogenes Laertius, Clemens Alexan.* and *Euſebius* himſelf in chap. 18. B. 6. do aſſert; hence is that *Ariſton Ceus*, a noble Philoſopher, ſays, they who place all their ſtudie, in ἐγκυκλίοις παιδεύμασι, are like *Penelopes* Woers, who when they were repuls'd by the Miſtreſs, courted the Maid. Orators alſo exclude *Rhetorick* out of this number; but ſome include both, who miſtake; for the word ἐγκύκλιον ſignifies *aliquid in triviis poſitum, vulgare*, i.e. *what is trivial and vulgar*; now *Philoſophy* and *Rhetorick* are more noble Sciences: hence *Demoſthenes* uſes ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι for *mean* and *baſe Offices.* Valeſ.

[b] The Med. Maz. Fuk. and Sayill M. SS. read [ἐ μάθειαν] Valeſ.

i. e. *no indifferent skill.*

CHAP. III.

How Origen *being very young Preach't the word of Chriſt.*

[a] WHileſt he yet applied himſelf to his School, (as he in his Writings recordeth,) no one reſiding at *Alexandria* [b] to teach the Principles of Chriſtianity, but all being driven away by the threatning perſecution: ſome of the Heathens reſorted to him, to hear the word of God. Of which number he notes *Plutarchus* to have been the firſt; who when he [c] had lived a virtuous ſecular life, was crown'd with divine Martyrdom. The ſecond was *Heraclas Plutarchus*'s brother, who having under him ſhew'd many inſtances of a Philoſophical and ſevere courſe of life, was honour'd with the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria* after *Demetrius.* He was now in the eighteenth year of his age when he was maſter of the Catechetical School; in which he made great proficiency in the perſecutions during the time of *Aquila*'s Prefecture over *Alexandria.* At which time he purchas'd to himſelf a famous name amongſt all them who were well affected towards the Faith, for the ſingular friendſhip and alacrity which he ſhew'd to all the holy Martyrs known, and unknown. For he convers'd not onely with ſuch as were in bonds, nor with them who liv'd a pious ſecular life being a man. *Valeſ.*

[a] Some diſpute there is concerning the beginning of this chapter: *Valeſius* (whom we follow) follows the diviſion of *Rufinus*, but *Chriſtophorſon* begins it at theſe words [*when* Origen *was* 17 *years old,*] the Kings M. S. ſomething lower then *Valeſius*, [when he was 18 years old.] Fuk. M. S. at theſe words, [*his father's eſtate being confiſcate.*]

[b] This word κατηχέω ſignifies originally, *inſono, to ſound*: this prepoſition [κατ] makes it, being a verb *Neuter*, to have an *Active* ſignification, and he is properly ſaid κατηχεῖν *who tells us any thing which he would teach us by way of inſtruction*: hence it ſignifies to teach the rudiments, or firſt grounds of an Art, but peculiarly to teach the principles of Chriſtian Religion which we call *Catechiſing* in Engliſh, fitly made out of the Greek. Some ſay Heathen Authours knew not this uſe of this word, but they miſtake, for *Lucian* uſes it in this ſence, to teach the Rudiments of any Art. *Stephan. Lexicon.*

[c] Μετὰ τὸ βιῶναι, i.e. *after he had lead a pious ſecular life*: this word βιῶν is by Chriſtians uſed to ſignifie *ſecularem, vitam agere.* For βίος is *ſeculum*, as *Chryſoſtom* uſes it in his 23d Homily on the *Epiſtle to the Romans*, where he calls βιωτικὰς them whom we call *Laicks*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Clergy, in theſe words; δείκνυς ὅτι ταῦτα διατάττεται καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ μοναχοῖς, ἐχὶ πᾶσι βιωτικοῖς μόνον. In this ſence muſt the word here be underſtood; one of *Origen*'s diſciples a Laick, the other was a Clergyman.

had

SEVERUS. h'd been examined untill their last sentence, but with those blessed Martyrs also who, after that was pronounc't, were led to Execution; making use of great boldness he went to meet dangers: so that the furious multitude of the Heathens standing round, were frequently not far from stoning of him, when he boldly came forth, and with great freeness of speech communed with the Martyrs, and kissed them, had not he once miraculously escap'd, having the Right-hand of God for his assistance. The same divine and heavenly Grace at other times again and again (so that tis impossible to say how often,) preserv'd him from them who then lay'd wait for him, because of his exceeding cheerfulness and confidence in Preaching the doctrine of Christ: Indeed, so great was the hostility of the Infidells against him, (because such multitudes were instructed by him in the things which appertain to the holy faith,) that having made a [d] concourse, they set Souldiers to watch about the house in which he abode. And the Persecution against him waxed so hot daily, that all the whole City of *Alexandria* could no longer secure him; he removes indeed from house to house, but is driven from all places, because of the multitude which through him were made Proselytes to the Divine Doctrine. For his common actions contain'd the most admirable Rules of the truest Philosophy: indeed, (as the common saying is) such as his doctrine was, such was his manner of life, and such as his manner of life was, such he demonstrated his doctrine to be: by this means especially, together with the Divine power assisting him, he induced many to a zealous imitation of him. But when he saw many Scholars now flocking to him, (the exercise of Catechising being committed solely to him by *Demetrius*, who was Bishop of the Church,) supposing the teaching of *Grammar* disagreeable to his studies in divine Learning, he forthwith breaks off his *Grammar School*, as unprofitable and contrary to the Sacred learning. Then entring into a prudent consideration with himself, how he might not stand in need of assistance from others, he sold all the Volumes he had of [e] Antient Heathen Writers, which were most elaborately compil'd, and was content with four * *oboli* a day that were brought him by the buyer. For many years he persevered in this Philosophical course of life, depriving himself of all [f] matter [which might nourish] youthfull lusts; both undergoing no small labour of severe exercise in the daytime, and also assigning to himself the greater part of the night for his study in the holy Scriptures, patiently persevering in the most Philosophical life imaginable. Sometimes he inur'd himself to the exercises of fasting; at other times to houres measur'd out for his repose; which he would by no means enjoy upon a bed, but made it his business to take it on the bare ground, for he thought those Evangelical Words of our Saviour ought most especially to be observ'd, which exhort us not to [g] *have two coats nor to wear shoes, nor to be sollicitous about the cares of the time to come.* Moreover, with a courage far greater then his age, he patiently endur'd both cold and nakedness, and came to that height and extremity of want, that he made those of his acquaintance admire exceedingly. And he caus'd grief in many, who entreated him that they might communicate of their estates to him, because they saw him bring such labours on himself for the Gospel's sake, but he remitted nothing of his patience. 'Tis reported he walk'd upon the ground barefoot many years, in no wise wearing any shoes. And also for many years he abstained from the use of wine, and from all other things, except necessary sustenance, so that now he fell into a great danger of spoiling and turning his [h] stomach. He deservedly excited most of his Scholars to imitate him, shewing them, who look'd upon him, such examples of a Philosophical life; Insomuch that now, not onely the [i] vulgar unbelieving Heathens, but also they who were learned Philosophers, were [k] through him brought to submit themselves to his doctrine. And it came to pass that they who receiv'd by him in the bottom of their hearts sincerely the faith of the Gospel, were famous in the time of the then Persecution: so that some of them after apprehension, finished their lives by Martyrdom.

SEVERUS.

[d] Συσεφὰς ποιησαμένους, i. e. *having made a concourse*: συσεφὴ signifies an Assembly or Tumultuous crowd met together to Plot mischief or raise Sedition. *Rufinus* and *Christophorson* will have these words to be referr'd to στρατώτας, *the Souldiers*, which is improper and improbable; we must without doubt understand ἀπίστους, *the Infidells*, as best agreeing with the propriety of the Greek, and sence of the place: but *Nicephorus*, worst of all, explains the place thus, as if *Origens* disciples, fearing the outrages of the *tumultuous populace*, should get a guard of Soldiers for their own safety. *Vales.*

[e] Λόγων ἀρχαίων συγγράμματα, *Rufinus translates, his Library of Heathen Writers*; better then *Christophorson*, who takes this phrase of *Eusebius*'s to signifie onely *the books of old Oratours*: as if the word λόγοι were never us'd for *Grammar* and Philosophy, but for Orations onely; or as if *Origen* parted with his old Oratours onely, and not with his Grammarians, and Philosophick books also. *Musculus* says they were notes upon Authours gather'd by *Origen* and compos'd into Volumes; but *Rufinus*'s Version is most natural. *Vales.*

* Or, *five pence.*

[f] This word ὕλη primarily signifies *any matter of which a thing is made*; but amongst Divines it peculiarly signifies *the filth and dregs of this world*, out of which proceed unlawfull lusts, desires, and contempt of God.

[g] The word ἔχειν, *to have*, is left out in the Greek; but must necessarily be added.

[h] Ὁρμῆς here signifies *the stomach*; and Ῥόμβου & ἀναστροφὴ, in *Galen* and *Dioscorides*, is us'd as here, for *the spoyling, or turning of the stomach, to wit*, when it loaths any thing; in Latine 'tis termed *subversio stomachi.* Vales.

[i] Οἱ πολλοὶ, *the vulgar*; πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, *homines ex trivio.*

[k] The Med. M.S. leaves out [διὰ αὐτοῦ,] i.e. *by his meanes*; and reads onely τῇ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ, *by his doctrine*; which is the better reading: for the place seems to be corrupted, this [διὰ αὐτοῦ] creeping out of the Margin into the Text; or out of the line following into this place. The Kings, and the Maz. M. SS. alter nothing here, but the Fuk. M. S. reads τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

How many of those who had been instructed by him, became Martyrs.

THe first of them was the aforementioned *Plutarchus*, whom (when he was led to Execution) *he of whom the discourse is, accompanied to the last hour of his life, and again wanted little of being kill'd by the men of his own City, as seeming the cause of *Plutarchus*'s death. But then also the providence of God preserv'd him. Next to *Plutarch* the second of *Origen*'s disciples, that was a Martyr, was *Serenus*. Who by fire gave a triall of the faith which he had receiv'd. *Heraclides* was made the third Martyr of the same School. The fourth after him was [a] *Heron.* Both which persons were beheaded, the former of them while he was yet learning the Principles of Christianity, the latter when he was newly [b] Baptiz'd. Besides these, another *Serenus*, different from the former, is declared the fifth Champion of *Piety* [who came out] of this School. Who, 'tis reported, was punish'd with the loss of his head, after a most patient sufferance of many Torments. And of women, *Herais*

* That is *Origen.*

[a] *Christophorson* calls him *Heronex.*

[b] Νεοφώτιστος, i. e. *newly Baptized.* φωτίζω in *Gregory* and *Chrysostom*, and many other divines is peculiarly us'd in this sence, *to Baptize*, and rendred by the Translatours *Baptizare.*

SEVERUS. [c] I long ſince conjectured it ſhould be [Ἡραΐς] in one word, not [ἡ ῥαΐς,] two words; which conjecture I found confirmed by the Kings, and Fuk. M. SS. *Rufinus* agrees hereto, who tranſlates this place thus, *Sed & mulieres plurimæ, in quibus Hera quædam Catechumena.* 'Tis a proper name derived from *Juno*, who is called in Greek Ἥρα: whence comes Ἡραΐσκος, *Heraiſcus*, the name of an *Egyptian* Philoſopher, concerning whom ſee *Suidas*. The *Greeks* celebrate the memory of this *Heraïs* on the fourth, or rather the fifth day of *March*, as 'tis in the *Menologie* ſet forth by *Caniſius*. I am not certain whether this perſon be the ſame with *Irais* the *Alexandrian* Virgin, who in the *Roman* Martyrologie is ſaid to have ſuffered Martyrdom (together with ſome others) at the City *Aminoe* on *September* 22. In Cardinal *Sirletus*'s Menologie, at the fifth of *September* theſe words occur; *Natalis* B. *Martyris* Rhaïdis, *quæ igne conſumpta eſt*; i. e. *the birth-day of the B. Martyr* Rhaïs, *who was burnt.* This is the ſame whom *Euſebius* mentions here. Therefore there were three *Heraïs*'s; the firſt is ſhe mentioned in the *Menæum*, at the fifth day of *March*: the ſecond *Heraïs* is the *Catechumen*, of whom mention is made in the *Menologie*, on the fifth of *September*: the third *Heraïs* the *Egyptian* Virgin, born at a place called *Tamma*; whoſe fathers name was *Peter*, a Presbyter: ſhe ſuffered Martyrdom when ſhe was twelve years old, as 'tis in the *Menæum*, at the 23[d] of *September*: where ſhe is called *Hieraïs*: in the *Roman Martyrologie* ſhe is termed, *Irais.* Valeſ.

[c] *Heraïs*, who as yet was learning the Principles of Chriſtianity, did, as he himſelf ſomewhere ſays, depart this life, having received Baptiſm by fire.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Potamiæna.

LEt *Baſilides* be reckoned the ſeventh among theſe, who lead the moſt renown'd *Potamiæna* to Execution, concerning which woman, even yet there is a famous report amongſt the inhabitants of thoſe Countries, for that ſhe combated many times with her lovers, in defence of the chaſtity and virginity of her body; for which ſhe was famous: (for beſides the vigour of her mind, there flouriſht in her a comlineſs of body:) who, having ſuffer'd many things for her faith in Chriſt, at laſt after grievous Torments and horrible to be related, was together with her mother *Marcella* conſumed by fire. Moreover they ſay that the Judge, (whoſe name was [a] *Aquila*,) after he had inflicted grievous ſtripes upon every part of her body, threatned at laſt he would deliver her to the [b] Gladiatours to abuſe her body. But ſhe (having conſidered of the matter ſome ſhort time,) being asked what her determination was, return'd [they ſay] ſuch an anſwer, as thereby ſhe ſeem'd to ſpeak ſome thing which was accounted impious amongſt them. Forthwith therefore ſhe receiv'd the definitive ſentence [of the Judge,] and *Baſilides* one of the Military Apparitors, took and lead her to Execution: but when the multitude endeavour'd to moleſt and reproach her with obſcene words, he prohibited them, [c] thruſting away them who reproach'd her, ſhewing much commiſeration, and humanity towards her. She taking in good part the mans commiſeration ſhown towards her, exhorts him to be of good courage, for when ſhe was gone hence ſhe would entreat her Lord for him, and within a little while ſhe would make him a requital for what he had done for her. When ſhe had ſpoken theſe things, they ſay ſhe valiantly underwent death, hot ſcalding pitch being leiſurely, and by little and little poured upon all the ſeveral members of her body, from the ſole of the foot, to the crown of the head; ſuch was the combat fought by this famous virgin. But not long after, *Baſilides* upon ſome occaſion being deſir'd by his fellow-ſoldiers to ſwear, avouch'd twas not lawfull for him to ſwear at all; for he was a Chriſtian, and he openly confeſs'd it: at firſt they thought he onely ſpake in jeſt; but when he conſtantly maintain'd it, he is brought before the Judge, and after he had made profeſſion of his ſtedfaſtneſs before him, he was put into bonds: And when ſome of the brethren in the Lord came to him, asking him what was the cauſe of this ſudden, and unexpected change, he is reported to have ſaid, that *Potamiæna*, three days after her Martyrdom, ſtood by him in the night, put a crown about his head, and ſaid, ſhe had entreated the Lord for him, and had obtain'd her requeſt: And within a little while the Lord would take him up to himſelf. After theſe things the brethren imparted to him the [d] Seal of the Lord, and the day after, being famous for his teſtimony of the Lord, he was beheaded; they relate, that many more throughout *Alexandria* came thick at that time to the doctrine of Chriſt; *to wit*, ſuch as *Potamiæna* had appear'd to in their ſleep, and [e] invited them to be converted to the Goſpel: But for theſe things let thus much ſuffice.

SEVERUS.

[a] This *Aquila* was Governour of *Ægypt*, as *Euſebius* before relates in the 3[d] Chapter: at which time *Origen* was in the eighteenth year of his age. *Valeſ.*

[b] The *Gladiators* were commonly noted to be laſcivious wicked men; therefore *Aquila* threatned to deliver her to them, thinking ſhe, who had ſuch ſpecial care of her chaſtity, would rather revolt from her faith, then hazard the purity of her body, by being put into their power.

[c] Ἀποσβέω, properly ſignifies *to fright birds away*, but here, as alſo in *Demoſthenes*, it ſignifies to *thruſt aſide out of the way*, ἀποσβῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν. *Demoſt.*

[d] Σφραγῖδα, *Euſebius* means *Baptiſm.*

[e] *Rufinus* tranſlates this place ſo as to make *Potamiæna Origen*'s ſcholar; neither dare we contradict him in that. For although *Euſebius* does not mention it particularly, yet we may gather ſo much from this his narration; for, reckoning up the Martyrs which were of *Origen*'s School, he adds to them *Baſilides* and *Potamiæna*; whence 'tis collected theſe two alſo were his diſciples; and though we cannot for certain ſay *Baſilides* was, yet 'tis probable *Potamiæna* might be one of them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

[a] CLemens, who ſucceeded *Pantænus*, was Maſter of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria*, till this time. So that *Origen* when he was a boy was one of his Scholars: Moreover, this *Clemens*, committing to writing the ſubject of that work of his entitled *Stromateis*, in his firſt Volume explains the ſeries of times, and determines his computation at the death of *Commodus*. So that it is plain thoſe books were elaborated by him in the Reign of *Severus*, the Hiſtory of whoſe times this book of ours contains.

[a] There is little connexion betwixt this and what he ſaid before. *Clemens* was not then the *Catechiſt* at *Alexandria*; but *Origen*, *Clemens*'s, Scholar. Moreover concerning *Clemens*, and his books, *Euſebius* writes in the foregoing book. And *Caius* in *his little Labyrinth.* reckons him among the Eccleſiaſtick Writers which writ in the time of *Victor*; the words of *Caius* are at the end of the 5[th] Book: therefore *Rufinus* rightly places this and the following chapter in the 3[d] Chapter of this book where he ſpeaks of *Demetrius* the Biſhops committing the office of Catechizing to *Origen.* *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Judas *the Writer.*

AT this time alſo liv'd *Judas* another Writer, who commented upon the Seventy Weeks in *Daniel*, and puts an end to his computation of the times at the tenth year of *Severus*'s Reign. His Opinion was that even at that time the coming of Antichriſt, which was ſo much talk'd of, drew nigh. So great a diſturbance did the raiſing of the Perſecution then againſt us cauſe in many mens minds.

CHAP.

SEVERUS.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the bold Act of Origen.

AT this time while *Origen* perform'd the Office of Chatechizing at *Alexandria*, an act of an unripe and youthfull mind was committed by him, but which withall contain'd a most manifest token of Continence, and true faith; for he taking these words [*some* * *Eunuchs there are which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake*] in the more simple meaning, unadvisedly like one of his juvenile years, thinking it both his duty to fulfill our Saviours words, and also [considering] that during his youthfull years he was to converse not onely with men, but women about the things which appertain to God: that he might exclude the Infidels from all suspition of obscene slanders, his mind was full bent to perform really our Saviour's words, taking great care that it might escape the knowledge of many of his familiars: but 'twas impossible for him although he was desirous, to conceal such a fact. But when *Demetrius* understood it, as being then Governour of the Church there, he both greatly admires him for his boldness, and also, (having commended his alacrity of mind, and sincerity of faith,) forthwith encourages, and excites him to a more diligent imployment about the duty of Catechizing: for such at this time was [*Demetrius's*] opinion of this act: but no long time after, when he saw *Origen* doe well, and that he was famous, and well reported of by all men; being affected with the frailties of Mankind, he endeavoured by letters, sent to all the Bishops in the world, to describe what was done as a most absurd action. [a] For the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*, the most approved and most famous of all the Prelates in *Palestine*, judging *Origen* worthy of dignity and the highest pitch of honours, had by imposition of hands ordain'd him Presbyter. Therefore when he had ascended to great honour, and had purchas'd a name amongst all men in all places, and no small fame for his virtue, and wisdom; *Demetrius*, being furnisht with no other accusation, made a great and malicious complaint against that act which he had done in his youth. Daring also to involve the Bishops in his accusations who had promoted him to the Office of a Presbyter. These things were done a little after. But then *Origen* [b] freely and without any impediment perform'd his Office of teaching the divine doctrine to all that came to him by day or by night: laboriously spending all his time either in divine learning, or upon them who came to him. [c] After *Severus* had held the Empire eighteen years, his son *Antoninus* succeeds him. At this time there [lived] one [d] *Alexander*, one of their number who had behav'd themselves manfully in the Persecution, and also by the providence of God had been preserv'd after their combats during their confessions; him we before manifested to have been Bishop of the Church in *Jerusalem*. Now because he was famous for his confession of Christ in the time of the Persecution, he is promoted to the afore-mentioned Bishoprick, whilest *Narcissus*, his predecessour was yet alive.

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[c] *Rufinus's* old book which was in the Church at *Paris* begins a new Chapter here, and so does *Christophorson*. Vales.

[d] Concerning this *Alexander*, *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicle*, in the 12 year of *Severus's* Reign, which was the second year of this Persecution, writes thus. *Alexander was accounted famous for his confession of the Name of the Lord.* Vales.

* Matth. Chap. 19. v. 12.

[a] *Eusebius* here laies open the the reason why *Demetrius* who was formerly so much *Origen's* friend, should now so persecute him by his letters; which was, because the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem* had ordain'd him Priest. In which thing no small injury was done to *Demetrius*, both by the Bishops, and *Origen*; by *Origen* because he had yielded to be ordain'd by forreign Bishops; and by the Bishops, because by doing this they had translated the Catechist of *Alexandria* into their Church. Moreover, there arises a difficulty not to be pass'd by, *viz.* why two Bishops together should ordain *Origen*? By this means he had power to sit in two Churches, and to communicate with other Priests. See the 23. and 27. chapters following; where this conjecture is confirm'd. 'Twas the order when either Deacons or Priests were ordain'd, some Bishops should be present, that the ordination might be more solemn, (saies *Innocentius* in his Epistle to *Marcianus* the Bishop.) *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* Chap. 118. says that *Theoctistus* solemniz'd the ordination, but *Alexander* gave his approbation. *Christophorson* also says these were the names of the Bishops; *Theoctistus* was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*. Vales.

[b] Ἀφυλάκτως (the word here) has several significations; *Rufinus* explains it thus, *when a man has free power to do a thing all impediments being remov'd*; which explanation seems best; for, before *Origen* made himself an Eunuch, for fear of a scandalous report he had reason to be cautious of conversing with women, and teaching them; but when he had unman'd himself, as he did, he might do it freely without suspicion. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Miracles of Narcissus.

THE Inhabitants of this Dioceſs report many Miracles of this *Narcissus*, by tradition derived from a continued succession of the Brethren: Amongst which they relate such a like Miracle as this done by him; 'tis reported that on the great vigils of *Easter* the Ministers oil fail'd them, for which great pensiveness of mind having seized the whole multitude, *Narcissus* gave command to them who took care of the Lights that they should draw water out of the well which was nearest at hand, and bring it to him, which being forthwith done, he prayed over the water, and commanded them to pour the water into the Lamps with a sincere faith in the Lord. When they had done this also, contrary to all reason and expectation, by a miraculous and divine power, the nature of water was changed into the [a] fatness of oil. Some small specimen of this miracle then done, has been preserv'd amongst many of the brethren for a long time, even from that to our age. They also relate several other things worth remembrance cencerning this mans life. Amongst which there is such a [story] as this: Some vile fellows who could not endure this persons vigour, and his perseverance in leading of a pious life, fearing least when they were caught they should suffer punishment, because they were conscious to themselves of many evil actions, they [resolve to] prevent him by patching up a plot against him, and utter a grievous calumny against him. Then, that they might perswade the hearers to credit them, they confirm'd their accusations with oaths: one of them swore it was true which he said, or he wish'd he might be consum'd by fire; another, if 'twas not true, that his body might be wasted by some terrible unhappy [b] disease; and the third,

[a] Εἰς ἐλαίου ποιότητα, *into the nature or quality of oil*; we should rather read it πότητα *the fatness of oil*. *Rufinus* translates it thus, *aquæ naturâ in olei pinguedinem versâ*, and in *Moræus's* book 'tis so corrected in the margin; the Fuk.M.S. also reads πότητα. *Vales.*

[b] Σκωλῷ νόσῳ *Rufinus* renders thus, *Regio morbo*: But *Langus* calls it *morbus sonticus, the falling sickness*. *Christophorson*, *morbus scevus & fœdus, an unfortunate, or cruel and filthy disease*; which comes nearest to *Rufinus's* Version: for by this *morbus Regius* he means *the Leprosie*, as appears by what follows. For in the 10 Book and 25 chapter he speaks thus of *Eunomius*; *vir corpore & anima Leprosus, & interiùs, exteriùsque morbo Regio corruptus. Gregorius Nyssenus* also in his first Book against *Eunomius* certainly affirms he was a Leper. pag. 307. Ὁ εἰσδύων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτόκλητος & δὲ τὴν ἀνδίαν ὁρῶν τῶν πάθων τὴν κατ' ἑαυτὸν διαγωγὴν παρεστέλλων, οὐδὲ τὴν φυσικὴν τῶν ὑγιαινόντων πρὸς τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀποστροφὴν λογιζόμενος. *He who goes into another mans house not invited, and keeps not the filthiness under his own Roof, considers not what natural abhorrence they who are sound have towards those who are infected.* *Hieronymus* in the Life of *Hilario* speaks thus, of his Scholar *Adrianus*, *post aliquantum temporis computruit morbo Regio.* Vales.

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third, that he might be depriv'd of his ſight: but none of the faithful gave heed to them although they ſwore thus, becauſe *Narciſſus*'s continency was alwaies reſplendent amongſt all men, and his courſe of life moſt eminently virtuous and pious; but he being in-no-wiſe able to endure the wickedneſs of what had been ſaid againſt him; and, beſides this, for a long time being deſirous to embrace a Philoſophical life; retired from the whole Congregation of his Church, and liv'd many years lying hid in ſolitudes and in obſcure fields. But the great Eye of juſtice could not quietly wink at what was done: But was quickly revenged upon theſe wicked men by thoſe curſes with which they had bound themſelves, being [c] forſworn againſt themſelves. The firſt therefore was burnt together with his whole family, the houſe in which he liv'd being burnt in the night by [d] the fall of a little ſpark of fire upon it, which upon no occaſion given came out of it. The ſecond perſon's body was totally infected from the bottom of his feet to his head with the diſeaſe he had puniſh'd himſelf with. But the third, ſeeing the end of the two former and fearing the unavoidable vengeance of the all-ſeeing God, [e] publickly confeſs'd to all what they had plotted together in common amongſt themſelves, and he pin'd away with ſo great complaints, repenting of what he had done, and never ceas'd weeping ſo long, till he loſt both his eyes. And theſe ſuffer'd ſuch puniſhments for their lying accuſation.

[c] Καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιορκήσαντες. The interpreters ſeem not to have rightly underſtood this place. *Euſebius*'s meaning is this, thoſe perjur'd men did not forſwear themſelves againſt *Narciſſus*, but againſt themſelves, alluding without doubt to that of the Pſalmiſt, *he ly'd miſchief to himſelf*; For craft often falls upon the Author's own head, though he intends it for another. *Valeſ.*

[d] Διαπεσόντος; *Nicephorus* thinks 'twas *the ſnuff or ſpark which fell from a candle. Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* render the place, as if fire had fell from heaven upon this perjur'd man's houſe, but *Euſebius* confutes that, ſaying it came ἐφ' ἧς κατέμενεν οἰκίας. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν τὰ κοινῇ, *makes a publick confeſſion.* So the Kings M. S. reads, but the Med. and Fuk. M. SS. read ὡμολόγει which tenſe the following word κατεύχετο confirms. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Biſhops of Jeruſalem.

WHen *Narciſſus* was retired, it being altogether unknown where he was, 'twas the opinion of the Biſhops of the bordering Churches that they ſhould proceed to the Ordination of another Biſhop. This mans name was *Dius*. To him having preſided no long time *Germanio* was ſucceſſour. *Gordius* ſucceeds him, in his time from ſome place or other *Narciſſus* again appear'd, as riſen from death to life, and is immediately invited by the Brethren to his Biſhoprick; all men admiring him much more both for his retreat, and alſo for his Philoſophick [courſe of life:] But above all for the revenge which was vouchſaft him from God [upon his Accuſers.]

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Alexander.

Narciſſus being no longer able to officiate by reaſon of his very great Age, the providence of God by Revelation made known to him in a viſion by night, call'd the fore-mention'd *Alexander* Biſhop of another Church to be coadjutour in the diſcharge of his Office. By this Revelation therefore, as if he had been warned by ſome Oracle from God, *Alexander* made a journey to *Jeruſalem* from *Cappadocia* (where he had before been honour'd with a Biſhoprick,) upon account both of praying there, and alſo of ſeeing the places: The Brethren there receiv'd him moſt kindly; and would not permit him to return home, becauſe of another Revelation, made known alſo to them by night, and a [a] voice moſt plainly utter'd to ſome who were the moſt eminent for piety amongſt them. For it told them if they went out of their gates, they ſhould meet him who was predetermin'd by God to be their Biſhop. When they had done this with the Common [b] conſent of the Biſhops who Govern'd the Churches round about, they forc'd him of neceſſity to continue there. Indeed, *Alexander* himſelf, in his own Epiſtles to the *Antinoites* which are preſerv'd amongſt us till this time, makes mention of *Narciſſus*'s preſidency together with him, writing thus word for word, at the end of that Epiſtle: "*Narciſſus* ſalutes you "who before me govern'd "this Epiſcopal See, and he "now is my [c] Aſſociate in "prayer, being an hundred "and ſixteen years old, and "exhorts you to be of the "ſame mind with me. Theſe things were thus done. Now when *Serapion* was dead, *Aſclepiades* ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of the Church of *Antiochia*. And he alſo was famous for his confeſſions in the time of Perſecution. *Alexander* alſo makes mention of his conſecration, writing thus to the *Antiochians*: "*Alexander* the "ſervant and priſoner of Je-"ſus Chriſt, ſendeth greeting in the Lord to "the Bleſſed Church of the *Antiochians*. The "Lord made my bonds eaſie and light in the "time of my [d] impriſonment, when I heard that "by divine providence *Aſclepiades* (a man moſt "fit by reaſon of the worthineſs of his faith) was "intruſted with the care over the holy Church "of the *Antiochians*: he ſignifies that he ſent this Epiſtle by *Clemens*, writing on this manner, at the End. "I have ſent theſe letters to you, "(my Lords and Brethren) by [e] *Clemens* a bleſ-"ſed Presbyter a virtuous and approved perſon; "whom ye have known, and ſhall know better: "who, while he was here, by the providence, and "care of God confirmed and increas'd the Church "of the Lord.

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[a] Μιᾷ τε φωνῇ. *Chriſtophorſon*, and *Muſculus* alter the reading thus μιᾷ τε φωνῇ σαφεστάτῃ; which alſo *Nicephorus* follows: but the reading ought not to be alter'd. *Ruſinus* very well corrects this ſtory of *Euſebius*'s (which he makes ſomething obſcure) thus. He ſaies that that *Revelation* concerning *Alexander* was ſent by God to *Narciſſus* and other holy men; but the voice was heard by all men; here *Ruſinus*, like a good interpreter, lightly corrects what the Authour ſaies amiſs. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Nicephorus and Hieronymus* write that *Narciſſus* alſo conſented; which without doubt he did. Here are two things contrary to the Canon of the Church committed in the Election of *Alexander*, firſt his tranſlation from one Biſhoprick to another, ſecondly that he was joyn'd as an aſſiſtant to another Biſhop while he was yet alive which was afterwards forbid in the Council of *Sardis*. *Valeſ.*

[c] Συνεξεταζόμενος μοι διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς. *Ruſinus* and *Chriſtophorſon* doe not tranſlate this place well; but *Hieronymus* renders it truly according to the ſenſe, though not word for word, he tranſlates it thus: *Narciſſus ſalutes you who before me govern'd this Biſhoprick, and now governs the ſame in prayers with me. Alexander*'s meaning was undoubtedly this; that, *Narciſſus* onely aſſiſted him in prayers, but in no other part of the Office of Biſhop. Which makes him adde that he was an hundred and ſixteen years old, ſignifying thereby that he perform'd the Office, and *Narciſſus* being very old had onely the Title, and name of Biſhop. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Alexander* wrote this Epiſtle in the heat of Perſecution while he was in priſon, before he was elected to the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*, as appears by theſe words, calling himſelf the priſoner of Chriſt. Hence *Euſebius* does not well by reckoning, in his *Chronicon*, *Aſclepiades*'s Conſecration in the firſt year of *Antoninus Caracalla*: for *Aſclepiades* was Conſecrated when *Alexander* was in Priſon; which *Euſebius* in his Chronicle ſaies, happen'd in *Severus*'s Reign. *Valeſ.*

[e] *Hieronymus* (in *Catalogo*) conjectures this to be *Clemens Alexandrinus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* certainly liv'd till the times of *Severus*, and travelled into theſe Countreys, as he witneſſes in the firſt book of his *Stromateon*, he was alſo a familiar friend of *Alexander* the Biſhop, for to him he dedicates his work concerning the Canon of the Church, as *Euſebius* writes in the 13 Chapter of this book. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. XII.

Concerning Serapion, *and his Books that are extant.*

'TIs likely that other monuments of [a] *Serapion*'s studiousness and learning are preserv'd amongst other men; but those [writings] onely came to our hands which he wrote to one *Domninus*, a man who in the time of Persecution fell from the faith in Christ to the Jewish superstition. And what he wrote to *Pontius*, and *Caricus* Ecclesiastical men; and other Epistles to other persons. Another book also was compos'd by him, concerning that Book Intituled *The Gospel according to Peter*; which Book he wrote to confute the Errours in that, for some mens sakes in the Church of [b] *Rhosse*, who, taking an occasion from the foresaid Gospel, inclin'd to Heterodox doctrines. Out of which Book 'twill not be unfit to set down some few words, in which he sets forth the opinion he had concerning that Book, writing thus; "For we, my brethren, doe "admit of *Peter* and the other Apostles, as of "Christ himself; but, like wise men we reject "those writings which are forg'd in their "[c] names, knowing that we have receiv'd no "such [Books.] For I, when I came to you, "thought all of you had adhered to the Right "faith. And when I read "not the Gospel which was "offer'd me, that bears *Peters* "name, I said, if this be "the onely thing which seems "to breed this dejected spirit "in you, let it be read. But "now understanding, from "what has been told me, that their minds were "covered with some Heresie, I will make haste to "come to you again; wherefore, brethren, ex-"pect me suddenly: But we, Brethren, have "found out what heresie *Marcianus* was of, for he "contradicted himself, not understanding what he "said, which you shall understand by some things "which have been written to you. For we have "been able to [d] borrow this very Gospel of some "who have been continually exercised in it, (that "is of some of their successours who preceded "*Marcianus*, whom we call *Doceti*, for many of "[*Marcianus*'s] Tenets are derived from their "doctrines,) and read it; and we find indeed "many things agreeable to the true doctrine of "Christ: but some things that are particularly "to be excepted against and avoided, which also "we have here subjoyned upon your account. And thus much concerning *Serapion*'s Books.

[a] The *Greeks* write this name *Serapion* with an *α*, thus, Σαραπίων; but the *Latines* with an *e*. So the *Greeks* write Σάραπν, but the *Latines Serapin*. This name is always writ thus in the Med. Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. *Vales.*

[b] This *Rhosse* is a City of *Cilicia*; it lyes upon the right hand to them who sail into the Gulf of *Issus*. Some write this Cities name with a single *s*, So *Stephanus* in his tract *De Urbibus*, and *Theodoret* in his *Religious History*, Chap. 10, and 11. The name of this place in *Plutark* is corrupted; for he calls it Ὀρσοῦς, *Orossus*. Vales.

[c] The Maz. Med Fuk. and Savill's M.SS. read πῷ ὀνόματι, i. e. *in his name*. So *Rufinus* seems to have read it. *Serapion*, also a little lower saies προφερώνου ὀνόματα αὐτῷ εὐαγγέλιον. *Origen* in his Commentaries upon the 13th Chapter of *Matthew* makes mention of this Gospel of *Peter*. *Vales.*

[d] Here *Serapion* saies he borrow'd this Gospel from the successours of some of those Hereticks who were call'd Δοκηταὶ, *Doceti*, of which Hereticks *Marcianus* was one; the Translatours take no notice in this place of that Hereticall Sect called the *Doceti*. They held that Christ was not really incarnate, nor did truely suffer, but in opinion onely: *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his 7th book *Stromat.* and also *Theodoret* in his book *Divinorum Decretorum* mentions them. The Ring-leader of this Sect was one *Julius Cassianus*, as *Clemens* tells us in his third book. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the writings of Clemens.

CLemens his [a] *Stromata's*, which are in all eight books, are extant amongst us, which books he thus intituled, *The variegated contexture of* [b] *discourses of* Titus Flavius Clemens *concerning all things which appertain to the knowledge of the true Philosophy:* of the same number with these are his books intitul'd *Institutions:* in which he by name mentions *Pantænus*, as being his Master, and he writes down his [c] opinions he had receiv'd concerning the scope of Scripture, and explains his traditions: he has also an *Hortatory* discourse to the Gentiles. And three books Intitl'd the *Tutor*. And another book of his with this title, *What Rich man can be sav'd?* And a book concerning Easter. *Disputations also concerning the Fasting. And concerning detraction. And an exhortation to patience to those who were newly baptiz'd.* And a book intitl'd the *Ecclesiastick Canon, or against those who Judaized*, which book he dedicated to *Alexander* the fore-mention'd Bishop. Moreover, in his *Stromata* he does not onely compose miscellaneous discourses out of the holy Writings, but he also mentions some things out of the Gentile Writers, if any thing seems profitable which was spoken by them: he also explains various opinions [which occur] in several books both of the *Greeks*, and *Barbarians*. He moreover confutes the false opinions of the Arch-hereticks. He laies open much of History, affording us large subject-matter of several sorts of learning. Amongst all these he intermixes the Philosophers Opinions. Hence he fitly made the Title *Stromata*, answerable to the subject of the book. In the same book he produces authorities out of those Scriptures which are not allow'd of [as Canonical;] out of that which is call'd *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and out of the book of *Jesus the son of Sirac*. And out of *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. And out of the [Epistles] of *Barnabas*, *Clemens*, and *Jude*. He also makes mention of *Tatianus*'s book *against the Grecians*, and of *Cassianus*, [d] who also made a *Chronographie*. Moreover, he mentions *Philo*, [e] *Aristobulus*, *Josephus*, *Demetrius*, and *Eupolemus*, Jewish Writers; who all have prov'd by their writings, that *Rufinus* believe, that the preceding person *Tatianus* wrote a *Chronographie* as well as *Cassianus*: but we must in no-wise think that true. *Vales.*

[a] *Rufinus* very well translates this Title στρωματεῖς thus, *Opus varie contextum*. *Plutark* calls some books of his, which are part History, and part Poetry, στρωματεῖς. *Eusebius* takes the books to be so call'd from the divers sorts of matter which they treat of, and so says *Baronius* in his *Annals*, and *Suidas* in his History: στρώματα, in Greek signifies *Carpets* or *Hangings* which were woven of divers colours: hence these books are metaphorically entitl'd στρωματεῖς, *from the mixture of things they treat of*: for he intermixes *Grecian*, *Barbarian*, and *Latine Opinions*, confutes Hereticks, and composes a kind of a various History. *Photius Biblioth.*

[b] Ὑπομνήματα (which is the term here,) are such writings as contain onely the heads, and some particulars of some special things, or as *Cicero* in *Verrem* says, *sunt scripta quæ domi continentur, nec in vulgus efferuntur*; but now the word has got a larger signification.

[c] *Langus* renders this word ἐκδοχὰς *Dictates*, *Masculus* verbally, *Excerptions*, *Rufinus*, *expositions*, and *Christophorson Commentaries upon the Scriptures*, but none of them sufficiently explain the propriety of the word: ἐκδοχαὶ, are the *sence and meanings of Scripture*. So *Origen uses it in his* 4th book *de principiis* Chap. 2. speaking of the double sence of Scripture, that is the literal, and the spiritual sence, and so also does *Methodius*, *Epiphanius* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* use the term. *Vales.*

[d] These words ὡς καὶ αὐτῶ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου, made

[e] Some Copies read, ἀριστόβουλος, but in all our M. SS. and in *Nicephorus* 'tis ἀριστόβουλος. This *Aristobulus* here is that same *Aristobulus* the *Peripatetick* who wrote books *of the Explications of the Mosaical* Law to *Ptolomy Philometor*, as *Eusebius* records in his *Chronicle*, and he produces a fragment of these books, in his 8th book *Præparationis*. *Origen* also mentions something of these books in his 4th book against *Celsus*, pag. 204. *Vales.*

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MOSES, and the Originals of the Jewiſh Nation are ancienter then any thing of antiquity amongſt the Grecians. And this mans books afore-mention'd are ſtuff'd with very much excellent learning, of ſeveral kinds. In the firſt of theſe books he ſaies concerning himſelf, that he was born next to the firſt ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles. He promiſes alſo in them that he would write Commentaries upon *Geneſis*. And in his book *concerning Eaſter*, he confeſſes he was conſtrained by his friends to commit to writing [for the benefit of] poſterity thoſe traditions which he had heard from his Anceſtours. In that ſame book alſo is mention'd *Melito*, *Irenæus*, and ſome others, whoſe explications he ſets down.

CHAP. XIV.

What Writings Clemens *has mentioned.*

THat I may ſpeak briefly, in his [a] *Inſtitutions* he makes [b] ſhort explications of all the [c] written word of God, not omitting thoſe Scriptures whoſe authority is [d] queſtioned by ſome: I mean the Epiſtle of *Jude*, and the other [e] Catholick Epiſtles, and that of *Barnabas*, and that which is ſaid to be the *Revelation of Peter*: And *The Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, which he affirms to be *Paul's*, but was written to the *Hebrews* in the Hebrew tongue; which when *Luke* had with much care and pains tranſlated, he publiſht it for the [uſe of the] *Grecians*. Wherefore we may find the ſtile of the tranſlation of this Epiſtle, and *Of the Acts of the Apoſtles* to be the ſame. "[f] But 'twas for a very good [g] reaſon, that this "Title [*Paul the Apoſtle*] was not ſet before "it, for he (ſaies he) writing to the *Hebrews* "who were poſſeſt with a prejudice againſt, and "a ſuſpicion of him, very wiſely did not prefix "his name at the beginning, leaſt he ſhould cauſe "an averſion in them to his Epiſtle. But a little "after, he continues, ſaying; Now, as a bleſſed "Presbyter ſaid, becauſe the Lord, being the "Apoſtle of the Almighty, was ſent to the "*Hebrews*, *Paul* through modeſty, in that he was "ſent to the Gentiles, does not entitle himſelf the "Apoſtle of the *Hebrews*, both in reverence to "the Lord, and alſo becauſe 'twas over and above "his duty that he writ to the *Hebrews*, being the "Preacher and Apoſtle of the Gentiles. Again *Clemens* in the ſame books writes a tradition concerning the order of the Goſpels which he receiv'd from the Elders before him, and it is this: "Thoſe Goſpels, he ſaid, which contain the "Genealogies were written firſt. And this "was the occaſion of writing *Marks Goſpel*: "when *Peter* Preach'd the word publickly in "*Rome*, and declared the Goſpel by the Spirit, "many who were there preſent entreated *Mark*, "(who had been his follower [h] a long time, and "remembred what he had ſaid,) that he would "write down the things which had been ſpoken. "When he had compos'd the Goſpel, he imparted "it to thoſe who had intreated it of him. *Peter* "having underſtood this, [i] uſed no perſwaſives "either to hinder him, or to incite him to it. But "*John*, being the laſt of all, when he ſaw how thoſe "things which appertain'd to Chriſts humanity "were already manifeſted in the Goſpels, was "mov'd [to the enterpriſe] by his [k] acquaintance, "and being inſpir'd by the Spirit, he wrote a Go-"ſpel concerning Chriſt's Divinity. Thus much "*Clemens*. But again, the ſaid *Alexander* in an Epiſtle of his to *Origen*, mentions *Clemens*, and *Pantænus* alſo, as men who were his familiars: he writes thus. "For this, as you know was the "will of God, that the friendſhip, which was be-"gun betwixt us from our Anceſtours, ſhould not "onely remain inviolable, but alſo become more "fervent and firm. For we know thoſe bleſſed "Fathers who went before us, with whom we, "after a ſhort time ſhall be joyn'd, I mean the "truely bleſſed *Pantænus* my Maſter, and the "holy *Clemens* my Maſter, who alſo profited me "much; and if there be any others like them, by "whom I came to the knowledge of you, my moſt "excellent Lord and Brother: And after this manner were theſe things. Moreover, *Adamantius* (for that alſo was *Origen's* name,) in theſe times, when *Zephyrinus* Preſided over the Church of *Rome*, [l] travell'd to *Rome*, (as he himſelf ſome where ſays) having a deſire to ſee the moſt antient Church of the *Romans*: where he made no long ſtay, but return'd to *Alexandria*. And with all diligence there perform'd his cuſtomary duty of Catechiſt, *Demetrius* the then Biſhop of thoſe Churches exciting him to it, and little leſs then beſeeching him to labour earneſtly for the utility of the Brethren.

ANTONINUS.

[a] For the explication of the title of this book; See the note (*a*) upon the 11th chap. of the 5th book, where 'tis prov'd by ſeveral quotations, that the true rendring of this title is *Inſtitutions*, or, *Informations*.

[b] This phraſe ὁπτελεμιβώδεις ὑπογήσεις, *Langus* tranſlates *compendioſam enumerationem*, *Muſculus*, *contractas explicationes*. And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* alſo: but *Rufinus* calls them *compendioſas diſſertiones*. Ὑπογήσεις therefore is the ſame as ἐξηγήσεις, or διεξηγήσεις; which words *Photius* uſes in that ſence, that is *explications*, *interpretations*; though ὑπήγησις ſignifies narrations onely. *Valeſ.*

[c] Λόγῳ ἐνδιάθετῳ, according to *Heſychius's* interpretation, is rendered *the written word*; *aliquid Scripto conſtans*. Heſych.

[d] Γεγραφὰς ἀντιλεγομένας are Scriptures, whoſe authority is queſtion'd, diſputed of, and by ſome contradicted, we muſt not therefore call them *Apocrypha*, as *Rufinus* does, for *Apocrypha* are thoſe which are certainly falſe and compos'd by Hereticks; but ἀντιλεγόμενα are thoſe which ſome approve of, others not: of which here *Euſebius* gives us a Catalogue, ſome of which in St *Hieromes* Catalogue are accounted Apocryphal, as the *Revelation* of *Peter*, which is concluded to be undoubtedly falſe. *Valeſ.*

[e] *Catholick Epiſtles* are thoſe which were not written to certain perſons, particular Cities, or Provinces, but to whole Nations, and the Univerſal Church. Thus *Themiſon*, one of *Montanus's* diſciples, impudently wrote a Catholick Epiſtle, like an Apoſtle, to the Univerſal Church, as *Apollonius* teſtifies book 5. chap. 16. *Euſebius* alſo mentions *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth's* Epiſtles to 4 Cities; which he calls Catholick. *The Revelation of Peter* which *Euſebius* mentions here, is quoted in *Theodotus's excerptions* which is printed at the end of *Clemens's Stromata*: hence 'tis plain that theſe Collections of *Theodotus* are nothing elſe, but fragments of *Clemens's Hypotypoſeon*. *Valeſ.*

[f] This quotation *Clemens* has out of *Macarius*.

[g] This reaſon alſo St *Hierome* confirms upon the firſt chapter of the *Epiſtle of Paul to the Galatians*, where he ſays that St *Paul* does not after his accuſtomed way prefix his name before this Epiſtle, becauſe he was about to ſpeak of Chriſt, and thought it not fit to call himſelf an Apoſtle where Chriſt alſo muſt be ſtil'd an Apoſtle. *Valeſ.*

[h] Though this word [πόρρωθεν] ſignifies *a far off*; yet here it muſt be rendred as ἐκ πολλοῦ *for a long time*; which word *Niceph. Cal.* uſes in this place, inſtead of [πόρρωθεν.] *Valeſ.*

[i] All Copies read μετατρεπτικῶς μᾶλλον κωλύσας; and ſo alſo does *Niceph.* but *Chriſtophorſon* boldly alter'd the reading, ſaying, that this paſſage impugned the authority of the Goſpel. *Euſebius* relates this ſtory in the 2d book at the 14th chapt. otherwiſe; ſaying, that *Peter* was *mightily pleas'd* with the Goſpel which was written by *Mark* and confirm'd it, appointing it ſhould be read in the Churches. But if we weigh the words of *Euſebius* and *Clemens* carefully, theſe places will appear not in the leaſt contradictory, as *Chriſtophorſon* ſays they are: for although St *Peter*, as *Clemens* ſays, did neither openly prohibit nor further him; yet he may be ſaid to have tacitly approv'd of what he had done. *Rufinus* has very well tranſlated the place, whom we ought to imitate, becauſe by his tranſlation he explains it very well, rendring it thus, *licet fieri ipſum non juſſerit tamen factum non prohibuit*: by which 'tis very plain that he did not diſallow of it. *Valeſ.*

[k] This *Hieronymus* atteſts, ſpeaking of *John*, in his Preface to his *Commentaries* upon St *Matthew*. *Valeſ.*

[l] *Baronius* places *Origen's* coming to *Rome*, on the year of Chriſt 220; which was the firſt year of the Reign of *Elagabalus* the Emperour: but we muſt in no-wiſe yield to this, ſeeing that *Euſebius* ſays he came to *Rome* in *Antoninus Caracalla's* Reign. *Baronius* alſo affirms that he came again to *Rome* in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperour, that is in the year of Chriſt 248: but we muſt not believe *Baronius* in this; for *Euſebius*, who carefully and truely wrote the Hiſtory of *Origen*, makes no mention of *Origen's* ſecond coming to *Rome*: but rather ſeems to confute this of *Baronius*, ſaying thus, that *Origen* ſent Letters concerning the profeſſion of his faith to *Fabianus*, who was Biſhop of *Rome*, therefore *Origen* went not to *Rome*, as *Baronius* ſays, onely ſent Letters to *Fabianus* the Biſhop of *Rome*. But hence ariſes *Baronius's* miſtake; he follows *Porphyrius*, who, *in his life of Plotinus*, mentions one *Origen*, who was *Plotinus's* and *Herennius's* School-fellow; but this is not that *Origen Adamantius* which we mean here; but another *Origen*, therefore we muſt carefully make a diſtinction betwixt theſe two *Origens*; which we will ſhew hereafter. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

ANTONINUS.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Heraclas.

BUt when he perceived himself not supplied with sufficient strength both for the more profound study of Divinity, for his researches into, and interpretation of the holy Scriptures, and moreover for the Catechizing of them who came to him; (having scarce time to breathe, so many flocking together to him; One company after another coming from morning to evening to his School;) he divided the multitudes, and electing *Heraclas*, one of his familiars; made him his assistant in Catechizing; a man who was very studious in Divinity, most eminently skilfull in other Learning; and one who was not unexperienced in Philosophy. He commits the instruction of the New-beginners to him, but reserves to himself the hearing of those who had made some proficiency.

CHAP. XVI.

What Pains and Study Origen *bestowed about the Holy Scriptures.*

ORigen now intended to make such accurate researches into the Holy Scriptures, that he learn't the Hebrew tongue. And bought the [a] Authentick Scriptures written in Hebrew letters, which were extant among the Jews. And he search'd after other Editions of Translatours of the Sacred Scriptures besides the *Seventy*. And he sought out some other Versions besides those [b] Common ones of *Aquilas*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, different from them, which he, having search out, first brought to light, from I know not whence, nor out of what Corners, having been forgotten for a long time: concerning which, because he was uncertain who were the Authours of them, by reason of their obscurity, he onely Noted this, that one of them was by him found at [c] *Nicopolis* near *Actium*; and another, at some other place. Moreover in his *Hexapla of the Psalms*, after those four excellent Editions, he adds [d] not onely a fifth, and sixth, but also a seventh Version; and upon one of them again he has Noted, that it was found at *Jericho* in an Hogs-head, in the times of *Antoninus* the son of *Severus*. When he had thus Collected all these Versions into one body, and divided them into [e] Verses, [f] having placed them directly one against the other, together with the [g] Hebrew Text, he left us those Copies which are call'd [h] *Hexapla*. He [i] afterwards prepared apart by themselves, *Aquila's*, *Symmachus's* and *Theodotion's* Edition, together with the *Septuagint* [and put them out] in his *Tetrapla*.

ANTONINUS.

[a] Πρωτοτύπους *Budæus* calls *exemplaria*, *Copies*, by which we doe any thing or make any thing. *Valesius* translates this Phrase [πρωτοτύπους γραφὰς] *the Authentick Scriptures*; because, says he, *Eusebius's* meaning is plainly the same, for he implies thus much, that these were not the very first Copies which were writ by *Esdras*; but *Authentick* in respect of the *Septuagint*, and other Translatours; and he says this word πρωτοτύπους is commonly rendred in Latine *Authenticas*: but *Christophorson* translates it *the old copies*.

[b] Καταμαξέων signifies properly *curru tero*, hence ὁδὸς καταμαξδομένη *via curru trita*, the highway καθ' ἣν αἱ ἅμαξαι διέρχονται, hence Metaphorically (as the Latine word *tritum* does to which it exactly answers) it signifies *aliquid vulgare*, that which is trite, or common; 'tis sometimes written καταμαξεύω, as here in *Eusebius*.

[c] In the Med. Maz. Fuk. M. SS. we find πρὸς ἀκτίοις, but 'tis not so well as πρὸς ἀκτίῳ; for ἄκτια signifies *Ludi Actiaci*, but *Nicopolis* had not it's name from those Games; but from the *Promontory* near which it was scituate, 'twas called *Nicopolis* near *Actium*. Vales.

[d] Instead of [ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην, *a sixth and seventh*] I read [ὃ μόνον πέμπτῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ, *not onely a fifth and sixth, but also a seventh*;] and judge this emendation to be altogether necessary. For *Eusebius*, having before spoken of a fifth and sixth Edition found by *Origen*, here adds this further, that *Origen* put a seventh into the Copies of his *Hexapla* of the *Psalms*. Therefore his Edition of the *Psalms* was seven-fold. But because this seventh Edition had onely the *Psalms*, *Origen* altered not the Title of his Edition, to wit, *Hexapla*. This amendment and exposition of ours is evidently confirmed by *Johannes Zonaras*, *in his History of the Emperour Severus*. See the Authour's words. But that which *Zonaras* there adds, *to wit*, that the seventh Edition was found at *Jericho*, is not expressly said by *Eusebius* here. *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De ponderib.*) and *Athanasius* (in *Synopsi*,) affirm that the fifth Edition was found at *Jericho* in an Hogs-head: But *Nicephorus* thought that both the sixth and seventh were found there. Although the particular Authours of this fifth and sixth Edition are unknown; yet 'tis manifest they were *Jews*: which is asserted by *Hierom*, in his B. 2. *Advers. Rufinum*. Vales.

[e] Κῶλα (the term here) signifies *verses*, or *such parts of the Text as contain an entire sense*. *Hierom* was the first amongst the *Latins*, who divided his translation into verses: See his Preface to *Isaiah*. This he did in imitation of *Origen*, who had done the same in his *Hexapla*. *Origen* herein had a regard to the profit of the Readers. For what is thus distinguisht by verses, is both more easily understood, and also more readily gotten by heart. Besides, this distinction was altogether necessary in order to a comparing of the *Greek* Editions. *Origen's* example was afterwards followed by many; who did the same in the *New-Testament*, which *Origen* had done in the old. *Vales.*

[f] This was another of *Origen's* inventions, *to wit*, the placing of the translations one against the other; that so, if one differed from another, it might be presently discerned by one view. See *Hierom*, in his Preface to *Chromatius*, upon the *Chronicles*. Vales. See a Scheme of *Origen's* contrivance herein in Dr *Cave's* life of *Origen*, pag. 228.

[g] Σημείωσις (the term which occurs here) signifies properly *Annotation*; See B. 5. Chap. 20. note *(d.)* but *Eusebius* does here call the *Hebrew Text*, σημείωσιν, because 'twas prefixt before the six Greek Translations; in like manner as in Comments the words of the Authour are prefixt before the exposition: this term [σημείωσις] signifies not onely the exposition, but the text, at which the exposition is set. *Vales.*

[h] From this place 'tis evident, that this work of *Origen's* was called *Hexapla*, because there were six *Greek* translations contained in it, besides the *Hebrew Text*, which was written in two columns two manner of ways, in the one in *Hebrew*, in the other in *Greek* Letters. See *Epiphan. Hæres. Originist.* cap. 3. And the reason why this work was thus termed, is plain; for, as the *Tetrapla* were so called, because they contained four *Greek* translations collected into one body; so the *Hexapla* were thus termed, because they comprehended six *Greek* Versions, *to wit*, that of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, *the seventy two*, *Theodotion*, and lastly the *fifth* and *sixth* transl tion. But the *Hebrew Text* must not be reckoned amongst the Versions; that being the original. *Zonaras* (in his *History of the Emperour Severus*) is of the same opinion with us, and explains this place of *Eusebius* (though he mentions not his name) as we doe. *Vales.*

[i] The Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. have it written [ἐπιχαλασκευάσας;] which is all one as if *Eusebius* should have said [ἐπὶ τὰ ἥδη ἑξαπλῶν ἐκδόσει καλασκευάσας, i. e. *after the Edition of his Hexapla, having prepared*, &c.] For when *Origen* perceived that his *Hexapla* required too much cost and labour, he composed his *Tetrapla*, (which were more ready and useful,) having taken away the two Editions of the *Hebrew Text*, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh translation. Hitherto it has been the opinion of the Learned, that *Origen* made his *Tetrapla* before his *Hexapla*: *Usher* (in *Syntag. de Sept. Interpret.* cap. 5.) and *Salmasius* (in his book *De Linguâ Hellenist.*) are of this opinion. But this passage in *Eusebius*, (as it is corrected by the Authority of our M. SS. Copies) does wholly confute it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Symmachus *the Translatour.*

MOreover, We must understand that this *Symmachus*, one of the Translatours, was an *Ebionite*. For there is an Heresie called the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, who say that *Christ* was born of *Joseph*, and *Mary*, and suppose him to have been meer Man, who also stiffly affirm that the Law ought to be strictly observ'd according as the Jews kept it, as we have before made known somewhere in our *History*. *Symmachus's* Commentaries are even yet extant; in which he seems to confirm the foresaid Heresie,

ANTONINUS. [a] The *Ebionites* admitted onely S[t] *Matthew's Goſpel* to be genuine:

[a] diſputing ſtrongly againſt *Matthew's Goſpel*: *Origen* tells us that he receiv'd theſe together with other interpretations of *Symmachus*'s of the Scriptures, from one *Juliana*, upon whom, he ſaies theſe books of *Symmachus*'s devolved by right of ſucceſſion.

but that Goſpel of the *Ebionites* was not the ſame Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew* which we now have, but a forged one, and which wanted the Genealogie of Chriſt, as *Epiphanius* declares (*in Hereſ. Ebion.*) For the Goſpel *according to the Hebrews*, which they made uſe of, (as *Euſebius* ſaies B. 3. chap. 25. where ſee note (*c.*) they called the Authentick Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew*. Theſe words therefore [πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μᾶλλον ἀποτεινόμενον εὐαγγέλιον] we have rendred thus [*diſputing ſtrongly againſt Matthews Goſpel,*] *to wit*, ours, and the true Goſpel of S[t] *Matthew*. From this *Symmachus* the *Ebionites* were afterwards termed *Symmachians*, becauſe he ſtrongly aſſerted their opinions. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Ambroſius.

[a] Τὰ πνὸς φερειν is elegantly us'd for *alicujus partibus favere*, to be a favourer of ſuch a mans party: So *Euripides* in *Hecuba*, when *Polyxena* ſpeaks to her mother ſaying, Ἀγαμέμνων τὰ ἡμῶν φερνεῖ, *Agamemnon is on our ſide*: thus much for the Phraſe. Now that *Ambroſius* was of *Valentinus*'s Sect, or at leaſt favour'd that opinion, *Origen* teſtifies in the *Proœmium* of his fifth Tome of *Explications* on S[t] *John*'s Goſpel, where he commends *Ambroſius* for relinquiſhing thoſe dangerous principles. But ſome will have *Ambroſius* not to have been a *Valentinian*, but a *Marcioniſt*, and *Epiphanius* is of that opinion. *Valeſ.*

AT this time *Ambroſius* ([a] who favour'd the *Valentinian* Hereſie) being convinc'd by the truth Preach'd by *Origen*, and having his mind cleared as it were with light, aſſents to the doctrine of the Orthodox faith of the Church. And (*Origen*'s fame being noiſ'd abroad every where) ſeveral men of great learning flock'd to him, intending to make tryal of this man's ſufficiency in the Scriptures. Alſo infinite multitudes of Hereticks, and not a few Philoſophers, and them moſt famous, gave [b] diligent attention to him, almoſt like Schollars learning from him beſides Divinity, thoſe things which appertain to * External Philoſophy: For he initiated [c] thoſe, whom he perceived to have acute parts into Philoſophical Learning: Teaching them *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*, and the other previous Sciences. Alſo guiding them into the knowledge of the various Sects among Philoſophers: explaining the writings that are amongſt them, and Commenting on and ſearching into all things. So that even amongſt the *Gentiles* this man was openly declared to be a great Philoſopher. He alſo incited many of meaner capacities to the ſtudy of the Liberal Sciences: telling them that from hence would accrue to them no ſmall fitneſs and preparation for the Contemplation of the divine Scriptures: for which reaſon he eſteem'd the ſtudy of Secular and Philoſophical literature moſt neceſſary for himſelf.

[b] Περσέχειν here ſignifies *to give attention to any one, ſo as to learn ſomething from him*, or *to come often to any one, to learn as Scholars*; and therefore he adds μονονυχὶ παιδευόμενοι, *almoſt like Scholars*. Valeſ.

* That is, *Grecian* Philoſophy. [c] That is, who were his Scholars. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIX.

What things have been recorded concerning Origen, [*by the Gentiles.*]

THE Heathen Philoſophers who flouriſh'd in his Age are witneſſes of his great proficiency in theſe ſtudies: in whoſe writings we have found frequent mention of this man; [ſome of them] both dedicating their books to him, and alſo delivering up their private labours to his Cenſure, as to a Maſter. But I need not ſpeak of theſe things, when as [a] *Porphyrius*, (who liv'd in *Sicilie* [almoſt] till our Age, having written ſome books againſt us, and in them endeavoured to cavill at the holy Scriptures, when he had mentioned thoſe men who made explications upon them) was unable in any wiſe to caſt any baſe aſperſion upon their Opinions, and through want of Arguments betakes himſelf to railing, and reviles the Commentators. Of whom he attempts chiefly to reproach *Origen*, ſaying, that when he was young, he knew him; but he unawares commends the man; partly by ſpeaking the truth in ſome things where he could not do otherwayes; and partly by lying, wherein he thought he ſhould eſcape being detected. Sometimes he accuſes him as being a Chriſtian; by and by, he admires, and deſcribes the acceſſion he made to Philoſophick Literature. Hear therefore what he ſays word for word: "Some men, deſirous to find out not a de-"fection from the pravity "of the Jewiſh Scriptures, "but an explication [of the "obſcuritie in them] have "betaken themſelves to ex-"poſitions, which have no "agreement nor coherence "with thoſe Scriptures, and "which contain the Authour's approbation and "praiſe, rather than a defence of thoſe ſtrange "Sectaries. For, having boaſted that what things "were plainly ſpoken by *Moſes* were obſcure "Riddles, allowing them the Authority, and "quoting them as divine Oracles full of hidden "Myſteries; And having "[b] bewitched the judge-"ments and minds of men, "with their pride, they af-"terwards put forth their "Expoſitions. Then after ſome few words he ſaies; "Let an example of this ab-"ſurdity be taken from a "man whom I ſaw, when I "was [c] very young, being a "perſon then of great repute, "and yet eminently renowned "upon account of his writings "which he left behind him, "I mean *Origen*, whoſe re-"nown is very much ſpread a-"broad amongſt the teachers "of thoſe Doctrines. For this "Man, having been an [d] hearer

ANTONINUS. [a] *Eunapius*, in his *vitâ Philoſophorum*, ſaies this *Porphyrius* was a *Tyrian* by birth, and was firſt call'd *Malchus*, which in *Syriack* ſignifies *a King*: but afterwards, by his Maſter *Longinus* a *Platonick*, whom he was an Auditour of at *Athens*, he was call'd *Porphyrius*, which ſignifies *one cloath'd in purple, a king*; becauſe Kings onely wore the true πορφύρα. S[t] *Hierom* ſaies he was *a Few*, born in the City of *Batanæa*; thence he calls him *Batanæotes* or *Batanætes*: *Socrates* atteſts that this man was once a Chriſtian, but could not endure the reproofs of thoſe Chriſtians who reprov'd him, and therefore turn'd an Apoſtate. *Lactantius*, who liv'd in his time, ſaies he wrote his books againſt the Chriſtians in the ſame year the Emperour pull'd down the Churches; but S[t] *Hierom* affirms he left his Maſter *Plotinus*, and *Rome*, and went to *Sicily* for his healths ſake, and dwelt at *Lilybæum*; where he wrote thoſe books: but we ought rather to believe *Lactantius*, who liv'd in his time. S[t] *Auguſtine* ſays there were two *Porphyrius*'s; one who liv'd in *Sicily* a famous man; and another who wrote againſt the Chriſtians: but all agree that 'twas one and the ſame *Porphyrius* the Platonick who liv'd in *Sicily* and wrote againſt the Chriſtians. *Baronius*'s *Annals.*

[b] Κρίσιν τῆς ψυχῆς; *their own judgment, and underſtanding being bewitched or miſleaden by their pride.* So *Langus*, *Rufinus* and *Chriſtophorſon* underſtand theſe words: but *Valeſius* otherwiſe. He ſaies *Porphyrius*'s meaning was this, that the Authours of theſe expoſitions through the loftineſs of their words bewitch'd or inchanted the minds and judgements *of their hearers*, and then impos'd upon them with their expoſitions. *Valeſ.*

[c] 'Tis probable *Origen* was ſeen by *Porphyrius* in his younger daies, in the City of *Tyre*, where *Origen*, having left *Alexandria*, ſtaid ſome time. For *Porphyrius* was a *Tyrian*; and he was a young man at the ſame time when *Origen* made his abode at *Tyre*. But *Porphyrius* could by no means ſee *Origen* at *Alexandria* when he was an old man; becauſe when *Origen* left *Alexandria* he was not compleat fifty years old. *Valeſ.*

[d] We muſt believe *Porphyrius*, whenas he ſo expreſly affirms here, that *Origen Adamantius* (ſo he was called) was an Auditour of *Ammonius Alexandrinus*. But amongſt the Auditours of *Ammonius* there was at that time another *Origen*, School-fellow to *Herennius* and *Plotinus*; mentioned by *Porphyrius* (*in vitâ Plotini,*) by *Longinus* (*in his book de fine,*) by *Eunapius*, and *Hierocles* (*in his book De Providentia.*) *Baronius* (*in his Annals,*) and *Lucas Holſtenius* (*in 2 and 6 cap. De vitâ Scriptiſque Porphyrii,*) ſuppoſed this *Origen* to have been the ſame perſon with *Origen Adamantius*. But I diſſent from them, for theſe two reaſons eſpecially. (1.) *Longinus* the Philoſopher

sopher (in his book *De fine*) reckons *Ammonius* and *Origen*, (*Platonick Philosophers*) among those, who would not commit to writing their Opinions for the benefit of posterity, but thought it sufficient to deliver them by word of mouth to their Auditours. *If any thing be written by any of them*, (these are the words of *Longinus*,) *as indeed Origen did write one book De Dæmonibus, it is very little: for they seemed not to have made it their business to write books.* These words cannot be supposed to have been spoken of *Origen Adamantius*, who, 'tis manifest, was a *Voluminous Writer*, as the Catalogue of his works recorded by *Eusebius* does manifest: Moreover, *Porphyrius* (in these words of his here quoted by *Eusebius*) saies *Origen was eminently renowned upon account of his writings which he left behind him.* (2.) *Porphyrius* (in his life of *Plotinus*, not far from the beginning,) has these words: *But when Herennius, Origen, and Plotinus, had agreed amongst themselves, that they would not publish the Opinions of Ammonius, which having heard from him they approved of as most especially pure and refined; Plotinus was as good as his word: but Herennius first broke the compact; and afterwards Origen followed him: But Origen wrote nothing besides a book concerning Dæmons, and a piece in* Gallienus's *time, wherein he proved that the King was the onely Poet.* This last book *Origen* wrote in praise of *Gallienus* the Emperour, to commend his Poetical faculty. For *Gallienus* was given to Poetry; and there are some nuptial verses of his extant amongst the fragments of *Petronius Arbiter*. Now, if it be true, that this *Origen*, School-fellow to *Plotinus*, wrote this book under *Gallienus* the Emperour, doubtless he must necessarily be distinguished from *Origen Adamantius*. For *Origen Adamantius* survived not the times of *Gallienus*, but died when *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were Emperours, in the year of Christ 252, having compleated the sixty ninth year of his age. *Vales.*

ANTONINUS. "of that *Ammonius*, who in our Age made a "great proficiency in Philosophy; as for his "knowledge in Philosophick Literature he pro- "fited much by this Master. But as concerning "a right course of life, he undertook a way quite "contrary to him: for *Ammonius*, having been "educated a Christian by Christian Parents, "when he arriv'd to understanding, and, [the "knowledge of] Philosophy, quickly betook "himself to a course of life which was agreeable "to the Laws. But *Origen* being a Gentile and "brought up in the Learning of the Grecians, "diverted to the [e] Impu- "dence of the *Barbarians*. "Being devoted to this [Re- "ligion] he [f] corrupted "both himself, and also that "proficiency he had made "in Philosophick Learning: "as to his manner of life he "liv'd like a Christian, and "contrary to the Laws: but "in respect of his Opinions "concerning things, and "concerning God, he imi- "tated the *Grecians*, [g] sub- "stituting the sayings of the "Heathens in the room of "those strange fables. For "he was continually con- "versant in *Plato's* [works,] "and in those of [h] *Numenius* "and *Cronius*, and he revol- "ved the works of [i] *Apollo-* "*phanes* and [k] *Longinus*, and "[l] *Moderatus*, and *Nicomachus*, and the works of "all the famous men amongst the *Pythagoreans*, [l] This *Mo-* "he also made use of the works of [m] *Chæremon*, *deratus* was "the *Stoick*, and of [n] *Cornutus's* books, when he born at "had learn'd from them the *Gades* now "*Allegorical* mode of ex- call'd *Cales*, an Island on the "plaining the *Grecian* My- South side of *Spain* without the "steries, he appli'd it to the *Straits* of *Gibraltar*: he wrote "Jewish Scriptures. These eleven books ἀγλῶν πυθαγορείων. "are *Porphyrius's* words in his Concerning *Nicomachus*; See third book of that piece he *Photius*, and *Suidas*. Vales. wrote against the Christians; [m] *Chæremon* was a *Stoick Phi-* who has said the truth con- *losopher*: *Origen*, in his books cerning the mans hard study against *Celsus* quotes *Chæremon's* and great learning; but here- book *De Cometis*: he taught Philo- in he has plainly lied, (for sophy at *Alexandria*, and *Diony-* what would not he say who *sius Alexandrinus* succeeded him wrote against the Christians?) in his School. See *Suidas* in *Dio-* in that he saies, that [*Origen*] *nysio*. Vales. Of this *Chæ-* was converted from a *remon*, see *Martials Epig.* book 11. Heathen to a Christian, and Epig. 57. that *Ammonius* fell from a [n] This *Cornutus Afer Leptita-* pious course of life to the *nus* taught Philosophy at *Rome* Heathenish way of living. in the Reign of *Claudius Nero*: For, (as our History has be- he wrote many things concerning fore manifested) *Origen* kept Philosophy, and Eloquence: *Per-* the Christian Doctrine re- *sius* dedicates his fifth *Satyr* to ceiv'd from his Ancestours: him, as to his Master: he wrote a And the precepts of the divine Philosophy re- book *De Græcorum Theologia*, which main'd uncorrupted, and unshaken in *Ammonius* is cited by the *Etymologist* in the even till his death; as his works even to this pre- word ζεύς. But the name is cor- sent doe testifie; he being famous amongst most rupted by *Aldus Manutius* and men for his books which he left behind him: as for call'd *Phornutus*. Vales. example, that book which is thus Intitl'd *concerning the concord of Moses, and Jesus*, and those other books of his, whatsoever sort they be of, which are found amongst lovers of learning. Let what we have said therefore be an Evidence both of the detraction of this lying Accuser, and also of *Origens* great knowledge in the *Grecian* learning. Concerning which, *Origen* (in an Epistle of his, wherein he makes an Apologie for himself, to some who blam'd him for his too great studiousness about this sort of learning) writes these words: "When I imploy'd my self wholly in the Scri- "pture, the fame of my progress in Learning "spreading it self every where, there resorting to "me sometimes Hereticks, at othertimes those "who studied the Grecian Learning, and especially "such as were skilled in Philosophy, I thought it "convenient to make researches into Hereticks "Opinions, and into whatsoever things are re- "ported to be said by Philosophers concerning "the truth: this we did, both in imitation of *Pan-* "*tænus*, who profited many before us, (who was "furnished with no small stock of provisions of "this sort:) And also of *Heraclas*, who at this "time sits among the Presbyters of *Alexandria*; "[o] whom I found with a "Philosophy Master, under "whom he studied diligently "five years before I began to "be an Auditour of his do- "ctrine. And for this rea- "son, he wearing a common "habit before, put it off, and "put on a [p] Philosophical "habit, which he [q] retains

[e] The Heathens call'd the Christians and Jews Religion barbarous, as *Justin*, *Tatianus* and others affirm: So they termed every thing which was not *Grecian*. *Porphyrius* calls this *barbarous Impudence*, to despise the *Roman* Gods, and the Emperour's Edicts, to be forc'd by no Torments or Persecutions to sacrifice to those Heathen Gods. *Vales.*

[f] Καπηλεύειν *Cauponari, to sell Wine or to keep a Victualling-house.* Now because these *Cauponæ* us'd to cheat the buyers by mixing and dashing their Wines, and so enrich themselves; this word is us'd to *adulterate* or *corrupt*; as here, and likewise in holy Writ, in the 2d *Epistle to the Corinthians* Chap. 2. 17. we find, οὐ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον *not corrupting the Word of God.* Vales.

[g] Ὑποβάλλομαι; *Porphyrius* takes this Metaphor from *Huckfters*, who, by counterfeiting false wares for true, circumvent the buyers: for [ὑποβάλλειν] signifies *to suborn, to lay one thing for another*: hence ὑποβολιμαῖον, *a Changling a false child left in the place of one taken away.* Thus *Porphyrius* saies *Origen* plaies the Huckster. *Vales.*

[h] *Origen* quotes this *Numenius* in his books against *Celsus*: he was a famous *Pythagorean*, born at *Apamea* in *Syria*. *Longinus*, in his book *De Fine*, mentions these Philosophers, *Numenius*, *Cronius* and *Moderatus*; who, he saies, connected *Pythagoras's* and *Plato's* Opinions together. *Cronius's* book περὶ παλιγγενεσίας is quoted by *Nemesius* in his book *De Naturâ Hominis* Cap. 2. *Vales.*

[i] *Apollophanes* is call'd by *Stobæus*, in his ἐκλογαὶ, the son of *Ægimius*. Vales.

[k] This was *Cassius Longinus* who has onely one book extant at this day, entitl'd *De sublimi Genere dicendi*; most men think he was a *Grammarian*: but he profess'd Philosophy as *Suidas* and others testifie: he was *Porphyrius's* Master in Platonick Philosophy at *Athens*. He liv'd in *Origen's* time, and was younger then him, and died a long time after him, 'tis a wonder therefore that *Porphyrius* should reckon him amongst the antient Philosophers. *Vales.*

[o] We may from these words gather that *Heraclas* and *Origen* had the same Philosophy Master, which *Porphyrius* affirms was *Ammonius* the most famous Philosopher of that Age. *Vales.*

[p] The *Philosophick* habit was the *Pallium*, or *Cloak*; which was the usual Badge of the *Greek* Philosophers, different from that which was worn by the ordinary Greeks; which those Christians still kept to, who before their conversion had been professed Philosophers: this our *Eusebius* affirms of *Justin* the Martyr (B. 4. Chap. 11.) ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι προσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, *one that in a Philosophick habit was an assertour of the divine Word.*

[q] Hence we may conjecture that the Clergie had at that time no peculiar habit; seeing that *Heraclas*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria* and afterwards Bishop, always retain'd his *Philosophick* habit. *Vales.*

ANTONINUS. "to this day, neither does he deſiſt from a ſtudious "reading of the books of the Learned Grecians. This he ſaid in defence of the ſtudious diligence he uſed about the Grecian [Learning.] At this time while he made his abode at *Alexandria* there came a Souldier who deliver'd Letters to *Demetrius*, the Biſhop of that Church, and to the then Prefect of *Ægypt*, from the Governour of *Arabia*, that they ſhould ſend *Origen* to him with all ſpeed that he might impart to him his doctrine. He was therefore ſent by them, and came to *Arabia*. But in a little time, having finiſht thoſe things which were the cauſe of his coming, he again return'd to *Alexandria*. Within ſome interval of time, there being kindled in *Alexandria* no ſmall war, he withdrew out of *Alexandria*, and judging there was no ſafe dwelling for him in *Ægypt*, he went to *Paleſtine*, and made his abode in *Cæſarea*; where the Biſhops of thoſe parts intreated him, although he was not yet Ordain'd Prieſt, to diſcourſe and to expound the holy Scriptures [r] publickly in the Church. This will be evidenc't by what *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* wrote concerning him to *Demetrius*, who thus excuſe him. "[Your [s] Holineſs] has "added in your Letters that "this thing was never heard "of nor done till this time, "[*to wit*,] that *Laicks* "ſhould Preach in the pre- "ſence of Biſhops. I [t] know "not how you came ſo ap- "parently to miſrepreſent "the truth: For they are in- "vited to Preach to the peo- "ple, (when they are found "fit to profit the brethren) "by the holy Biſhops. For "example, *Euelpis* [was in- "vited to Preach] by *Neon* "at *Laranda*: and ſo was *Paulinus* by *Celſus* at [u] "*Iconium*. And *Theodorus* by *Atticus* at [u] *Syn-* "*nada*, who were our bleſſed Brethren. And "'tis not incredible that the like was done in "other places, though we never knew it. On this manner was the above nam'd *Origen* honour'd, though he was yet [x] young, not onely by his familiars, but alſo by forreign Biſhops. But *Demetrius* again recalling him by Letters, and urging his return to *Alexandria* by perſons that were Deacons of that Church, he return'd thither, and there executed his accuſtomed Office.

[r] Hence 'tis conjectur'd, that *Origen* Catechiz'd at *Alexandria* in a private Auditory, and not publickly in the Church; for had he before taught in the Church, *Demetrius* could not have brought this as an objection againſt *Alexander*, and *Theoctiſtus*. Wherefore *Ruſinus* miſtakes, who ſaies *Demetrius* permitted him to Catechize publickly in the Church. *Valeſ.*

[s] He writes to *Demetrius* the Biſhop in the third perſon; underſtanding Ἡ σὴ ἁγιότης *Your Holineſs*. And without doubt had we the whole Epiſtle we ſhould find theſe words to precede. *Valeſ.*

[t] *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was a very eloquent man, and without doubt wrote this Epiſtle himſelf, which makes him uſe the firſt perſon here: but the letter was writ both in his name, and in the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*'s. *Valeſ.*

[u] This *Synnada* is a very noted City of *Phrygia*, and as *Stephanus*, in his book *De Urbibus* writes, it ought to be written with a double (*n*,) though ſome write it with a ſingle one, it is deriv'd from συνναίω, *cohabito, to dwell together*, becauſe many flock'd from *Macedonia* to dwell together there, from whence it was firſt call'd Συννάδα, but was corrupted by the interpoſition of (ν.) There is alſo ſome old pieces of *Caracalla*'s Coin with this inſcription CYNNAΔEΩN, ΔΩPIEΩN IΩNΩN. Hence it appeares theſe *Synnadenſes* were *Doricks* mix'd with *Ionians*, for they were originally *Macedonians*, and therefore *Doricks*, though they liv'd in the midſt of *Ionia*. *Valeſ.*

[x] *Origen* was about 30 years old when he came into *Paleſtine*: for according to our *Euſebius*'s account in this place, he went thither about the end of *Antoninus Caracalla*'s Reign. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

What Books are now extant of ſuch as Wrote in theſe times.

AT this time flouriſh'd many Learned Eccleſiaſtick perſons, whoſe Epiſtles, which they wrote to one another 'tis an eaſie thing to meet with, being preſerv'd till this preſent. For they have been kept even in our Age in the Library of the City *Ælia*, which was built by *Alexander*, who preſided over the Church which is there: Out of this Library we our ſelves have gather'd together matter for this ſubject now in hand. *Beryllus*, Biſhop of *Boſtra* in *Arabia*, being one of them, left, together with his Epiſtles and Commentaries, [a] Several other monuments of his *Polite Ingenie*. In like manner did [b] *Hippollitus*, who preſided over another Church ſomewhere; there came alſo to our hands a diſputation attempted by one [c] *Caius*, a moſt eloquent man, at *Rome* in the times of *Zephyrinus*, againſt *Proclus* who was a defender of the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie. In which diſpute, he ſilencing the adverſaries raſhneſs and boldneſs in compoſing new Scriptures, mentions onely thirteen Epiſtles of the divine Apoſtle [*Paul*,] not accounting that to the *Hebrews* amongſt the reſt: Indeed even till this preſent 'tis thought by ſome of the *Romans* that that Epiſtle was not written by this Apoſtle. ANTONINUS.

[a] *Chriſtopherſon* tranſlates this phraſe Διαφόρους φιλοκαλίας, *libellos ex variis Scriptoribus excerptos, tanquam floſculos* i. e. *books like flowers, ſelected out of divers Authours.*

[b] Tis true, the Antients call'd φιλοκαλίας, *things ſelected*, or *excerptions out of any Authour*, ſuch are *Origen*'s *Philocaliæ*: Such alſo are *Apulcius*'s *libri floridorum*. But this ſignification does not well agree with this place; becauſe *Euſebius* does not mention that *Beryllus* ſelected them out of any books. And likewiſe he adds Διαφόρους *Several*. And 'tis not likely that *Beryllus* ſhould compoſe ſeveral books upon ſo ſlight an Argument: therefore 'tis better to tranſlate it (as we have done) *elegantis ingenii monumenta*, i. e. *monuments of his Polite Ingenie*. He ſeems to mean Hymns and Poems. And in this ſenſe, *Phrynicus* uſes this word in his Epiſtle to *Menodorus*. Valeſ.

[c] *Georgius Syncellus*, *Nicephorus* and others affirm that this *Hippolytus* was Biſhop of *Portua*: *Theodoret* who quotes him much, terms him a Martyr, and a Biſhop, but does not mention where: *Gelaſius*, in his book, *De Duabus Naturis* ſtiles him a Martyr, and calls him Biſhop of the *Metropolis* of Arabia. *Valeſ.*

[d] This Sect of the *Cataphrygæ* was divided into two parts; the leader of one part of them was *Proclus*, and over the other parties *Æſchines* was their chief, as *Tertullian* atteſts. Thoſe which adher'd to *Proclus* were call'd οἱ κατὰ Πρόκλον, or *Proclus's men*; as *Tertullian* again witneſſes. Hence we may ſafely conclude, that *Proclus* was a *Grecian*. Beſides, *Caius* wrote againſt this *Proclus* in Greek: wherefore we muſt not aſſent to *Baronius*, who ſays that this *Proclus* and *Proculus* the *African*, who as *Tertullian* ſaies wrote againſt the *Valentinians*, were one and the ſame perſon. Now if theſe were one and the ſame, why ſhould *Tertulliam* call one of them *Proculus* a Latine name, and the other Πρόκλος in Greek: concerning *Caius*'s book againſt *Proclus*, ſee *Photius*'s *Biblioth.* But *Theodoret* inſtead of Πρόκλος writes Πάτροκλος, this book of *Proclus* was a Dialogue in which *Proclus* was brought in defending *Montanus*'s Prophecie. See the 3d book of this *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, Chap. 31. *Valeſ.*

[e] *Euſebius* before in the 3d book, and 3d Chapter diſputing about *Pauls* Epiſtles, ſays that ſome rejected *the Epiſtle to the Hebrews* as falſe, averring that the Church of *Rome* queſtion'd the Authority of that Epiſtle. Amongſt the *Roman* Authors, who doubted the Authority of this Epiſtle, *Hippolytus* the afore nam'd Biſhop of *Portua* may be reckoned; for he in his book *againſt Hereſies*, has affirm'd that *the Epiſtle to the Hebrews* is not *Paul*'s the Apoſtles. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

What Biſhops were eminent in thoſe times.

BUt now *Macrinus* ſucceeded *Antoninus* after he had Reign'd ſeven years and ſix moneths, who having continued [Emperour] about a year, another *Antoninus* again aſſumes the *Roman Empire*. In the firſt year of his Reign *Zephyrinus* Biſhop of *Rome* departed this life, having held that [Epiſcopal] charge eighteen years compleat. After him *Calliſtus* preſides in the Biſhoprick. He having ſurvived five years, leaves the [care of the] Church to *Urbanus*. After this *Alexander* the Emperour ſucceeds in the *Roman* Empire, *Antoninus* having Reigned onely four years. At this time *Philetus* ſucceeded *Aſclepiades*, in the Church of *Antioch*: Now [*Alexander*] the Emperour's mother whoſe name was *Mamæa*, being a moſt pious *woman*, and Religious ALEXANDER

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ligious in her conversation, (*Origen*'s fame being now every where so spread abroad, that it came even to her eares,) was mightily desirous to see the man, and to make tryal of his knowledge in Divine matters, which was so admir'd by all men: She therefore making her abode at *Antioch*, sends a military guard for him: when he had spent some time with her, and had demonstrated to her most things which tend to the glory of God, and the power of the divine Doctrine, he hastned to his wonted charge.

CHAP. XXII.

How many of Hippolytus*'s works are come to our hands.*

AT this time also *Hippolytus*, amongst many other works of his, compil'd a book also [a] *concerning Easter*. In which having explain'd the Series of Times, and set forth a Canon of sixteen years, concerning *Easter*, he determines his computation at the first year of *Alexander* the Emperour. Now the rest of his works, which came to our hands are these: *Upon the six daies Work. Upon those things* [b] *which followed upon the six daies Work. Against Marcion.* [c] *Upon the Canticles. Upon some Chapters of Ezekiel. Concerning Easter.* [d] *Against all Heresies.* And many more which you may find preserv'd amongst many men.

[a] *Hippolytus*'s *Canon Paschalis* is extant till this day, which *Joseph Scaliger* has inserted into his book *De Emendatione Temporum*. And *Ægidius Bucherius* translated it into Latine, but neither of them takes notice that this *Canon* is onely a part of the book which he wrote *Concerning Easter*. And through his inadvertency *Scaliger* blames this place of *Eusebius*, and saies that *Hippolytus*'s *Canon* does not end at the first year of *Alexander*'s Reign, but begins there: which is really true: but *Eusebius* does not speak concerning the *Canon* which *Hippolytus* annex'd to his books, but concerning the book it self, which ends at the first year of *Alexander* the Emperours Reign. *Vales.*

[b] He means the second Chapter of *Genesis*, as *Scaliger* notes. Where also he reproves *Hieronymus* as if he had been ignorant of it, but undeservedly: for when *Hieronymus* says he wrote upon *Genesis*, he means as well his books on the *Hexameron*, as those on the *Post-Hexameron*. Vales.

[c] *Theodoret* in his book call'd *Eranistes* quotes this book of *Hippolytus*. Vales.

[d] Concerning this book of *Hippolytus*'s, See *Photii Biblioth*, Chap. 121. This book was written against 32 Heresies; the first of which was the *Dosithean*, the last the *Noetian* Heresie. Which Heresies *Irenæus* having confuted in his Sermons, *Hippolytus* his Schollar wrote an Epitome thereof. *Stephanus Gobarus* has often quoted this piece of *Hippolytus*'s, as appears from his 7, 10, and 13. chap. B. 2. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Origen*'s Studiousness, and how he was honour'd with the dignity of Priesthood.*

[a] Here the Maz. M.S. and that most excellent Copie of *Rufinus* which we have often quoted, begin this chap. 23. But *Rufinus*'s book instead of chap. 23. calls it the 20. *Hieronymus* takes these words [ὃς ἐκεῖνος] in a bad sence, as if *Origen* had set himself to write in emulation of *Hippolytus*; and referrs ὃς ἐκεῖνος to *Hippolytus*: which is not so, for we must understand χρόνος which thing is common, and so the sence is plain, *to wit, from this time.* Vales.

ABout this time was the beginning of *Origen*'s writing *Commentaries* upon the *holy Scriptures*: *Ambrosius* chiefly inciting him to it by innumerable instigations, not with supplications and bare words onely, but also with most plentifull supplies of all things necessary: For there were alwaies by him when he dictated, more in number then seven Notaries, which at set times chang'd courses with one another. Neither was there a less number of them which wrote books fair, together with Girls who had been instructed to write neatly and handsomely. To all these *Ambrosius* liberally afforded a sufficient supply of all things necessary. And indeed he conveigh'd into *Origen* an unspeakable alacrity, in his study and labour about the divine Oracles. By which means chiefly he induced him to write Commentaries: whilest these things were in this posture, *Pontianus* succeeds *Urbanus* who had been Bishop of *Rome* eight years: And *Zebinus* [succeeds] *Philetus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. At which time, (the necessitie of the [b] Churches Affaires constraining him) *Origen* made a journey through *Palestine* into *Greece*; And received the Order of Priesthood at *Cæsarea*, by the imposition of the hands of the Bishops there. But what combustions were hereupon rais'd concerning him, and what [c] Decrees were made by the Prelates of the Churches upon these commotions: And what ever else he, continuing to be of great esteem, contributed to the Preaching of the divine Word: [these things] requiring a distinct Volume, we have in some measure declared *in the second book of our Apologie*, which we wrote in defence of him.

[b] *Rufinus*'s Version may here well serve instead of a Comment upon this place, who has rendred it thus, *he was intreated by the Churches of Achaia to come thither to convince Hereticks, who grew strong in those parts.* So also says *Hieronymus* in *his Catalogue*. Vales.

[c] *Eusebius* ought here to have recited the decrees of the Bishops against *Origen*, as being matter most accommodate to an Ecclesiastick History; and might better have omitted other things concerning him, and have inserted these, as most pertinent: but we ought not to blame *Eusebius* for this omission here, because it had been superfluous, having before declared them in his second book *De Defensione Origenis*: which books some men, through their immoderate hatred to *Origen*, envied us the use of. There is nothing of *Eusebius*, and *Pamphilus* the *Martyrs Apologia Origenis* extant, except some fragments which *Photius* preserv'd as it were from shipwrack. He, *in his Biblioth*, chap. 118. says that there were two *Synods* summon'd against *Origen*; the first decreed that *Origen* should be banisht out of the Church of *Alexandria*, but did not divest him of his Priesthood: the second, which was assembled by *Demetrius*, consisting of *Ægyptian* Bishops, degraded *Origen* from the Office of a Priest, to which Decree almost all the Bishops of the world subscrib'd, as *Hieronymus* says, whose words *Rufinus* relates in 2 *Apolog. Hironymus* also adds that he was not onely depos'd but also excommunicated by *Demetrius*. But this Decree of *Demetrius*'s was ineffectual, for two reasons, first, because he issu'd it out against him, in his absence, without any legal citation; and secondly, because this sentence was not confirm'd by the Authority of many Bishops, particularly not by the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherefore *Origen* still retain'd his Priests-Office, and continued Preaching in the Church, as *Eusebius* witnesses in this book, and *Pamphilus* in his first book *Apologiæ Originis*. Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Expositions he made at Alexandria.

BUt 'twas necessary for us to have annex'd these [a] to the things afore-mention'd; for in his sixth book of his Expositions upon *John*'s [*Gospel*] he declares he compos'd those five first books while he yet liv'd at *Alexandria*. But onely [b] twenty two books of his works upon that Gospel are come to our hands. In his ninth book also upon *Genesis* (for there are twelve in all) he manifests that he did not onely write those first eight books at *Alexandria*, but also those Comments upon the twenty five first *Psalms*: And moreover those Comments upon the *Lamentations*, five books of which came to our hands. In which books there is some mention of his

[a] He means, he ought to have adjoyned these things to what he has said *in his second book of his Apology*. Vales.

[b] There were thirty four books of *Origen*'s Expositions upon *John*, as *Hieronymus* says; but onely nine are now remaining, which are still divided into thirty-four. *Vales.*

ALEXANDER books upon the [e] *Reſurrection*: thoſe alſo are two Volumes. Indeed he alſo wrote his books *De Principiis*, before his removal from *Alexandria*. He alſo compos'd thoſe books intitl'd [d] *Stromata*, which are ten in Number, in that City in the Reign of *Alexander*, as his [e] *Annotations* written with his own hand, and prefixt before thoſe books do manifeſt.

[c] *Hieronymus* in his *Apology* makes this ſhort Catalogue of *Origen's* Works: 13 books upon *Geneſis*, *two books of Myſtical Homilies*: *Excerptions upon Exodus*: *Excerptions upon Leviticus*: Alſo *Monobiblia*: *four books De Principiis*: two books concerning *the Reſurrection*; and two *other Dialogues* concerning *the Reſurrection*. *Methodius* the Biſhop wrote an excellent book of the *Reſurrection*, againſt *Origen's* books upon the ſame ſubject, as *Hieronymus* in his book *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, and *Maximus in his Scholia* upon *Dionyſius's Eccleſiaſtick Hierarchy*, do teſtifie: there are excellent fragments of this *Methodius's* book *of the Reſurrection*, in *Epiphanius* againſt the *Origeniſts*, and in *Photius's Biblioth.* And I think 'tis for no other reaſon, that *Euſebius* never mentions this *Methodius*, (whereas he mentions ſeveral Eccleſiaſtick Writers far inferiour to him,) but this, that he wrote againſt *Origen*: *Euſebius*, being a very great favourer of *Origen*, could not endure this man's name in his Hiſtory, becauſe he was not his friend. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Hieronymus* in his Epiſtle to *Magnus* the *Roman Orator*, ſays *Origen* wrote theſe ten books in imitation of *Clemens*; for the Argument of theſe books and *Clemens's* afore-mention'd are alike. *Hierom* alſo cites a piece of theſe books in his *Apology* againſt *Ruſinus* not far from the beginning. *Valeſ.*

[e] Tranſlatours did not underſtand what theſe ὁλόγραφοι ὑπομνήσεις were: ὁλόγραφοι in this place is the ſame as ἰδιόγραφοι, *written with his own hand*. The Lawyers call a Will ὁλόγραφον which is *written with the Teſtatour's own hand, and not onely confirm'd by his ſubſcription*. So *Euſebius* here calls thoſe notes ὁλόγραφοι *which were written with* Origen's *own hand*, and either prefix'd or annexed to every Tome. For 'twas uſuall for Authours to note ſomething with their own hands either at the beginning, or end of their books. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

After what manner Origen *has mentioned the Books of the Old and New Teſtament.*

BUt in his Explication *of the firſt Pſalm*, he has exhibited a Catalogue of the holy Scriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, writing on this manner word for word. "[a] We muſt underſtand that, as the Hebrew Traditions ſay, there "are [b] twenty two bookes of "the *Old Teſtament*; juſt ſo "many in number as they "have letters. A little after he adds, ſaying; "Theſe are "the twenty two books according to the *Hebrews*. "That which we give the "Title of *Geneſis* to, is by "the *Hebrews*, from the beginning of the book entitl'd *Breſith*, that is, *in the "beginning*. *Exodus*, *Velleſmoth*, that is, *theſe are the "names*. *Leviticus*, *Vaicra*, "that is, *and he hath called*. "*Numbers* the *Hebrews* call "[c] *Hammiſphecodim*. *Deuteronomie*, *Helle-haddabarim*, that is, *theſe are the "words*. *Jeſus the Son of "Nave*, [in Hebrew] *Jehoſue Ben Nun*. *Judges*, "*Ruth*, are by them comprehended in one book, and "call'd *Sophetim*. *The firſt "and ſecond of Kings*, among them one book, "termed *Samuel*, that is, *called of God*. The "third and fourth of *Kings*, amongſt the *Hebrews* "one book, call'd *Vammelech David*, that is, *the "Kingdom of David*. The firſt and ſecond "book of *Coronicles*, in one Volume, call'd *Dibre "Hajamim*, that is, *The words of Days*. *Eſdras* "the firſt and ſecond book, by them made one "book call'd, *Eſra*, that is, *A helper*. The *book "of Pſalms*, *Sepher Tehillim* [in Hebrew.] *Solomon's Proverbs*, in Hebrew, *Miſloth*. *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Coheleth*. [d] *The "Song of Songs*, *Sir-Haſirim*. [e] *Eſaias*, *Ieſaia*, *Hierimas* with his *Lamentations*, and his Epiſtle, all in "one book, call'd *Jermia*. "*Daniel*, [The Hebrews "alſo call] *Daniel*. *Ezechiel*, *Jeezchel*, *Job*, *Job*; "*Eſter*, *Eſter* alſo among the "*Hebrews*. Beſides theſe "there are (but not of their "number) the *Maccabees*, "which are intitl'd *Sarbet "Surbane-el*. Theſe *Origen* has ſet forth in the aforeſaid work. But in the firſt book *of his Comments upon Matthew's* Goſpel, obſerving the Canon of the Church, he atteſts there are onely four Goſpels, in theſe words: "As I [f] have underſtood by Tradition, "there are four Goſpels, "which, and onely which "are to be allow'd without contradiction by the "Church of God under heaven. As for the firſt, "'twas written by one *Matthew* formerly a Publican, "but afterwards an Apoſtle "of *Jeſus Chriſt*, he publiſht "it, being written in Hebrew, for the ſake of thoſe "Jews who believ'd. The "ſecond is *Mark's Goſpel*; "*who wrote it as Peter* expounded to him; whom "alſo he confeſſes to be his "Son, in his Catholick Epiſtle, and in theſe words, [g] *The Church which "is at Babylon elected together with you ſaluteth "you*, *and ſo doth Marcus my Son*. And the "third is the Goſpel according to *Luke*, which "is commended by *Paul*, he wrote it for the ſake "of the Heathens. Laſtly S[t] *John's Goſpel*. And "the ſame Writer in the "[h] fifth book of his Expoſitions upon *John* has theſe "words concerning the Apoſtle's Epiſtles. *Paul* being made a fit Miniſter of "the *New Teſtament*, not in "the Letter, but in the Spirit, "he who [i] *fully Preacht the "Goſpel from Jeruſalem round "about to Illyricum*, wrote "not to all thoſe Churches "which he taught; But to "thoſe to whom he wrote "he ſent [*Epiſtles that contained*] but a few verſes. "But *Peter* [k] on whom the

[a] This whole quotation is to be ſeen in *Origen's Philocalia*; chap. 3. but that place of the *Philocalia* muſt be corrected by this, for there εἴκοσιν inſtead of εἴκοσι is read. And this is the common miſtake of all Editions that they writ εἴκοσιν when the word following begins with a vowel. But in all good Copies εἴκοσι is written, although a vowel follow. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Victorinus* upon the *Apocalyps* ſays, there are twenty four books of the *Old Teſtament*; twenty two you may find in *Theodotus his Excerptions*. Some reckon'd twenty two, ſome twenty four books of the *Old Teſtament*: hence aroſe this different account ſaith *Hieronymus*, becauſe ſome reckon'd the book of *Ruth*, and that of the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* in the Catalogue of Scriptures apart by themſelves. Others, *as Hilarius* ſays, added *Tobias*, and *Judith* to make 24 books of the *Old Teſtament*; *Epiphanius* ſays, that ſome reckon'd up twenty ſeven books of the *Old Teſtament*. *Valeſ.*

[c] I know not what Copy *Robert Stephens* follows, who here reads it ἀμμιπαειμ ὅ πεκδλμ. for in the Kings, the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M.SS. ἀμμισφεκωδείμ, is the reading. *Valeſ.*

[d] Some books adde this clauſe, ἃ δὲ ὡς ἁπολαμβάνοι τινὲς ἆσμα ἀσμάτων, *not as ſome think the Song of Songs*. This we have omitted in our Edition, but 'tis in the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. and alſo in the *King's Copy*, and in *Ruſinus's* Tranſlation of this place. *Valeſ.*

[e] In this Catalogue the book of the twelve minor Prophets is left out. Hence it comes to paſs that although *Origen* promiſes to reckon up twenty two books, we can find but one and twenty. In *Ruſinus's* Verſion this book is reckon'd immediately after the *Canticles*. So alſo *Hilarius* and *Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem* doe reckon them. The books of the holy Scripture are recounted here in a different order to *Epiphanius*, *Hieronymus*, and *Melito's* reckoning of them: but *Hilarius in his Prologue to his Commentaries upon the Pſalmes*, agrees all along with *Origen*; and no wonder, for that Prologue is almoſt all of it a Tranſlation of *Origen's Comments* upon the *Pſalms*. Valeſ.

[f] Theſe are *Origen's* own words, and ſo *Ruſinus*, *Langus* and *Muſculus* Tranſlated them: onely *Chriſtophorſon* thought they are *Euſebius's* own words: to whom we cannot conſent, although in the Maz. and Med. M. SS. after the word [μαθὼν] there is a final diſtinction; but in the King's Copy the whole clauſe is continued without any diſtinction. Moreover, beſides this place quoted by *Euſebius*, *Origen* alſo in another place (that is, in the beginning of his *Comments upon Luke*) ſays there were four Goſpels onely which were allowed by the Catholick Church. *Valeſ.*

[g] 1 Pet. 5. 13.

[h] This place of *Origen*, which *Euſebius* here quotes, is in the Preface to *the fifth book of his Expoſitions upon John*; the greateſt part of this Preface is extant in the fifth Chapter of his *Philocalia*. Therefore this place here quoted by *Euſebius* muſt be joyn'd to that fragment. In that Preface *Origen* raiſes this diſpute, whether many books are to be written concerning Sacred things? And he proves it from *Eccleſiaſtes* 11. 12. Alſo he brings for proof the examples of holy men, Prophets and Apoſtles, who wrote very little. But theſe examples the *Collector* of the *Philocaliæ* on ſet purpoſe omitted, as he himſelf confeſſes. *Valeſ.* [i] Rom. 15. 19.

[k] *Matthew* the 16 Chap. and ver. the 18. See D[r] *Hammond* upon the place.

Church

ALEXANDER

"Church of Christ was builded, against which the "gates of hell shall not prevail, left but one E- "pistle which is acknowledg'd to be his. But "let us grant that the second is his too, for it is "question'd whether it be his or not. But what "must we say of *John*, [1] he who lay in Christ's "bosome? He left behind him but one Gospel, "[though] he professes he could have written "[m] so many books, as the world could not have "contain'd. He also wrote *the Revelation:* be- "ing commanded to be silent, [n] and not to write "the voices of the Seven Thunders. He also left "to posterity a very short Epistle. But let us "grant that the second and third were his: for "all men do not allow them to be genuine: "both of them doe not contain above an hundred "verses. Besides, he discourses thus concerning the Epistle to the *Hebrews* in his *Homilies upon that Epistle*. "For the stile of that Writing en- "titled *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, has nothing of "that plain homelineſs of the Apostle [*Paul*,] "who confesses himself to be unlearn'd in his "speech, that is, in his manner of Expression. But "this Epistle as to the composition of the stile "savours much of the *Grecian* eloquence, this "every one will confess who knowes how to "judge of Stiles, which are different. Again, the "sentences of this Epistle are admirable, and no- "thing inferiour to those books which are acknow- "leg'd to be Apostolick. And this every one "will assent to as true, who gives attention to the "reading of the Apostles writings. After the interposition of some words, *Origen* addes these, saying: [o] "This is my Opinion that the sen- "tences, are the sentences of an Apostle: but the "Phrase and Composition is some ones else, who "committed to writing the words of the Apostle, "and as it were illustrated with Explications the "words of his Master. If any Church therefore "accounts this to be *Paul*'s Epistle, let it be com- "mended even for so doing: for the Antients did "not inconsiderately declare it to be *Paul*'s E- "pistle. But God alone truely knows who wrote "this Epistle. But of those written records which "are come to our hands, some ascribe the writing "of this Epistle to *Clemens* who was Bishop of "*Rome*; others to *Luke* who wrote the *Gospel, and* "*the Acts*. But thus far concerning this.

1 St *John*'s Gospel c. 13. v. 23, and 25.

m *John* 21. 25.

n See *Apocalyp.* 10. 4.

o Απομνημονεύειν, signifies *to remember, to repeat a thing by heart*, as Schollars do who repeat their Master's Dictates, ὑπομνηματογραφεῖν, signifies *to illustrate*, or *make a thing plain by short Scholia's*, or *Explications*; that is to explain obscure words, by other words more common and known. The Translatours, and especially *Christophorson*, seem by their Versions not to have understood this passage. *Origen* says, that the sentences of *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, are the Apostles own; but the words and composition of the whole Epistle are some bodies else, who recorded the sayings of the Apostle, and, like a *Scholiast*, explained them more elegantly. See Chap. 18. B. 4 note (*b*.) *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How Heraclas *succeeded in the Bishoprick of* Alexandria.

[p] In the Maz. Med. Fuk. & Savil. M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*, instead of [Δέκατον, *the Tenth*] it is [Δωδέκατον, *the Twelfth*.] In *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon* this remove of *Origen* from *Alexandria* to *Cæsarea* is (in some Copies) placed on the 12 year of *Alexander*, as *Pontacus* attests. *Eusebius* does strangely disagree from himself, who in his *Chronicon* Records this removal of *Origen* a year, or two years after the death of *Demetrius*. But here he says *Origen* removed from *Alexandria* a little before *Demetrius* dyed. This last account I suppose to be truest. For after *Demetrius*'s death, *Origen* had no reason to leave *Alexandria*: especially when *Heraclas*, one of *Origen*'s Schollars succeeded *Demetrius*. Besides, *Eusebius* relates in this Chapter, that when *Origen* departed from *Alexandria*, he left his Catechetick Office to *Heraclas*. Whence it appears, that *Origen* departed from *Alexandria* a little before *Demetrius* pronounc't the sentence of Excommunication against him. For after that sentence he could not hold his Office of *Catechist* in the Church of *Alexandria*. *Baronius* therefore has done well in amending *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, in placing *Origen*'s departure from *Alexandria* on the Tenth year of *Alexander*'s Reign, and the death of *Demetrius* on the year following. But he mistakes in saying *Demetrius* pronounc't the sentence of Excommunication against *Origen* a year before he left *Alexandria*; which we have evidently refuted. For since *Origen* kept his Office of *Catechist* till such time as he resigned it to *Heraclas* at his departure, 'tis plain he departed before the sentence of Excommunication was pronounc't against him. Moreover, when *Origen* understood he was Excommunicated by *Demetrius* in the Synod of the Bishops, he wrote a letter to his friends at *Alexandria*, in which he inveighs against *Demetrius* and the rest of the Bishops. *Jerom* (in B. 2. *Adverſ. Rufin.*) quotes part of this Letter. Further, *Origen* had once before retired to *Cæsarea*, in the times of *Antoninus Caracalla*; but was in a short time honourably recalled by *Demetrius* to *Alexandria*, as was before related. But afterwards, when he went into *Achaia*, passing through *Cæsarea-Palestine*, he was there ordained *Presbyter*. Vales.

sarea, and left the care of his Catechetick School to [b] *Heraclas*: and not long after dy'd *Demetrius*, the Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, having continu'd in that Office fourty three years compleat. *Heraclas* succeeded him. At this time *Firmilianus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* was very famous.

b *Heraclas*, as 'tis before related. Chap. 15. was *Origen*'s Assistant onely: but after his departure, he was *Catechist*. Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

How the Bishops had him in admiration.

[*] HE had so great an esteem for *Origen*, that he both invited him into the Countries of his Province for the good of the Churches; and also at another time went into *Judæa* to visit him, and to stay some time with him, to improve himself in the knowledge of Divine matters. Besides, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, at all times (as one may say,) were attentive to him, as if he had been their Master, and permitted onely him to expound the holy Scriptures, and to perform all other things appertaining to Eccleſiastick doctrine.

* Firmilianus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Persecution under Maximinus

MAXIMINUS.

MOreover, *Maximinus Cæsar* succeeded *Alexander* the *Roman* Emperour, after he had Reign'd thirteen years. He, because of his hatred to *Alexander*'s family, which consisted of many believers, rais'd a Persecution, and gave command that onely the Prelates of the Churches should be slain, as the Authours of the Preaching of the Gospel. And at that time *Origen* compos'd his book *concerning Martyrdom*, which he Dedicated to *Ambrosius*, and *Protoctetus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæsarea*. Because no trivial peril and afflictions seized on them both during the times of this Persecution. Fame Records the illustrious eminency of these men for their confession [*of the Christian faith*,] [a] when *Maximinus* had not Reign'd above three years. *Origen* remarkes the time of this Persecution, *both in the twenty second book of his Expositions upon John*, and in several of his Epistles.

a *Christophorson* did not at all understand the meaning of this place, for he thinks that *Ambrosius*, and *Protoctetus* were afflicted for the Name of Christ about the end of *Maximinus*'s Reign: but *Eusebius* does not say so; he onely means thus much, that the Persecution continu'd all *Maximinus*'s Reign, but that his days were shortned, as the Scripture

pture ſays of *Antichriſt*. Moreover, this Perſecution begun when *Maximin* was Emperour, (after a long continu'd Peace in the Church,) becauſe of frequent, and moſt dreadfull Earthquakes, which the Heathens, as they uſually did, imputed to the Chriſtians. *Firmilianus* in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian* atteſts this: See *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt, 237. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Fabian, *how unexpectedly he was Elected by God Biſhop of* Rome.

GORDIANUS. *Gordianus* having ſucceeded *Maximinus* in the *Roman* Empire, *Anteros* ſucceeds *Pontianus*, who had been Biſhop of the Church of *Rome* ſix years. And *Fabian* ſucceeds him after he had perform'd the Office for a month. They report that after the death of *Anteros*, *Fabian*, together with ſome others of his acquaintance, came out of the Countrey to *Rome* to ſojourn there: where he unexpectedly came to be elected Biſhop, through the Divine and Celeſtial Grace. For when all the Brethren were aſſembled together in the Church, in order to the Election of one who ſhould ſucceed in the Biſhoprick, and many of them had intentions of [Electing] ſeveral eminent and worthy men, *Fabian* being there preſent, no one ſo much as thought of him. But on a ſudden, as they report, a Dove came flying from above, and ſate upon his head, which ſeem'd to be a repreſentation of the Deſcent of the holy Ghoſt upon our Saviour in the ſhape of a Dove: upon which all the people, being at the ſame time moved as it were by the divine Spirit, cry'd out with all imaginable alacrity and one common conſent, [a] He is worthy: And without any delay they took him, and ſet him in the Biſhops Chaire. At that time alſo *Zebinus* the Biſhop of *Antioch* dying, *Babylas* ſucceeded in the preſidency. *Heraclas* alſo takes upon him the [Epiſcopal] charge of the Church at *Alexandria*, after *Demetrius* [b] had executed that Office for fourty three years. And *Dionyſius* ſucceeds in the Catechetick School there, who alſo was one of *Origen*'s Scholars.

[a] This was the common acclamation at the Election of Biſhops, of which we have many examples in *Philoſtorgius*, in his tenth chapter of the 9th book. And in the relation of what things were done at *Eradius*'s Election, (recorded in *Auguſtine*'s *Epiſtles*) theſe acclamations are read, which were then us'd: they cry'd out twenty times, *Dignus, & juſtus eſt, he is worthy and juſt*; and five times, *bene meritus, bene dignus eſt, he is very deſerving, he is very worthy.* Valeſ.

[b] The Med. Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. adde theſe words, *had executed that Office for fourty three years*: but the Kings M. S. and *Rufinus* own them not. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXX.

Who were Origen's *Schollars.*

WHileſt *Origen* executed his accuſtomed duty at *Cæſarea*, many, not onely Natives of that Countrey, but alſo infinite others, from places moſt remote, forſaking their own Countries, reſorted to him to be his diſciples. The moſt eminent of them, we underſtand, were *Theodorus*, (who was alſo call'd *Gregorius*, one of the moſt famous Biſhops in our Age,) and his brother *Athenodorus*. He by perſwaſion induc'd them (being too much addicted to the love of the [a] *Roman* and *Greek* Learning, having infus'd into them a love of Philoſophy,) to exchange their former ſtudies, for the ſtudy of Divinity: when they had convers'd with him five years compleat, they made ſo great an improvement [of their knowledge] in the divine Scriptures, that while they were both as yet young, they were judg'd worthy of the Government of the Churches in *Pontus*.

[a] *Euſebius* means by the *Roman Learning*, the *Civil Law*, which *Gregory* learn't at the City *Berytus*, at that time when *Origen* perſwaded him to nobler ſtudies, as he, in *his Oration to Origen* teſtifies: The ſame thing alſo *Origen* atteſts in his Epiſtle to *Gregory*, Chap 13. of his *Philocal.* Valeſ.

GORDIANUS.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning Africanus.

AT this time *Africanus*, [a] the Authour of the books entitled *Ceſti* was very famous; there is exſtant an Epiſtle of his written to *Origen*, in which he ſuſpects the Hiſtory of *Suſanna* in *Daniel*, to be ſpurious, and fictitious. *Origen* very fully anſwers this Epiſtle. There alſo came to our hands five books of this ſame *Africanus*'s *Annalls*, written with great care and accuracy. In which books he ſays he took a journey to *Alexandria*, becauſe of the great fame of *Heraclas*; who, as we before ſignifi'd, was intruſted with the care of the Church there for his eminent knowledge in Philoſophie, and other Heathen Learning. There is alſo exſtant another Epiſtle of this ſame *Africanus*'s to *Ariſtides*, concerning the diſagreement which is thought to be betwixt *Matthew* and *Luke*, in the Relation of Chriſt's Genealogy. In which he manifeſtly demonſtrates the conſent of the Evangeliſts, out of an Hiſtory which came to his hands; which [Epiſtle] we alſo took, and placed it in the firſt * book of this work in hand, being its proper place.

[a] I ſuppoſe that theſe words, (*viz.*) *the Authour of the books entitl'd Ceſti*, ought to be raz'd out, for the clauſe is neither in *Rufinus*'s Verſion, nor in *Hieronymus*. Beſides, it ſeems ridiculous when he here ſpeaks of an Eccleſiaſtick Writer, to mention thoſe books firſt, which contain'd nothing elſe, but certain Medicines made up of Herbs, Metals, Magick figures, Charms, and the like: for, as *Suidas* witneſſes, theſe *Ceſti* contain nothing elſe, and have their Title from *Venus*'s *Ceſtus*, or *Girdle*, becauſe they treat of love affaires. Beſides, this *Africanus*, the Authour of theſe *Ceſti*; ſeems to be a diſtinct perſon from *Africanus* the Chronologer, whom *Euſebius* mentions, for as *Suidas* ſays, this Authour of the *Ceſti* was a *Libyan* by birth, and was call'd Σέξ]Θ. But *Scaliger* in his *Animadverſions* upon *Euſebius* calls him *Sextus Africanus*. But perhaps that Σέξ]Θ in *Suidas* ought to be made ΚέσΘ. And ſo he may be call'd *Africanus Ceſtus* from the title of his books, even as *Clemens* was call'd *Stromateus*. But this *Africanus* the Chronologer was born in *Paleſtine* ſays *Euſebius*'s *Chronicle*; and in a town call'd *Emmaus*, and his name was *Julius Africanus*, this *Africanus* was a Chriſtian, but the other was a Heathen, as appears by his books. There was alſo another *Julius Africanus* who wrote a book *De Apparatu Bellico*, which book in the M. S. Copy of the King's Library has the title of ΚέσΤΟΣ, and under that title it is quoted by *Politianus* in his *Miſcellanies*. The *Grecians* indeed were proud in prefixing titles before their books, they ſeem therefore to call thoſe books *Ceſti* which were fill'd with knowledge of divers kinds, like the *Ceſtus*, which amongſt the *Grecians* ſignifies a Girdle wrought of divers colours: for that ſame reaſon were *Clemens*'s books call'd *Stromata*. *Valeſ.* * Book 1. Chap. 7.

CHAP. XXXII.

What Expoſitions Origen *wrote at* Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine.

ABout this time *Origen* wrote his [Comments] upon *Eſaias*, and thoſe upon *Ezekiel* at the ſame time, of which books, there came to our hands thirty five Volumes upon the third part of *Eſaias*, *unto the Viſion of the four footed beaſts in the wilderneſs*: And twenty five Volumes upon *Ezekiel*, which were all he wrote upon the whole Prophet: making his abode at that time at *Athens*, he finiſh'd his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*: He alſo begun his Comments upon the *Canticles*, and there proceeded in them to the fifth book: but

GORDIANUS. but he afterwards return'd to *Cæsarea*, and there finish'd them, being ten books in number. But what necessity is there at present to write an exact Catalogue of this mans works, which requires a work it self; which we have also written in our [a] *History of Pamphilus's Life*, the blessed [b] Martyr of our times. In which, endeavouring to prove how great *Pamphilus's* care and love towards sacred Learning was, we have publish'd the Catalogues of *Origen's* works, and of several other Ecclesiastick Writers which he Collected. From whence, he that is desirous, may have a full information concerning all the Monuments of *Origen's* labours which came to our hands. But now we must proceed to the subsequent series of our History.

[a] *Eusebius* wrote three most elegant books concerning *Pamphilus* the Martyr's Life, as *Hieronymus* witnesseth in his 1. *Apology* against *Rufinus*; where he also quotes a piece of that work, out of the third book; he also mentions those books in his Epistle to *Marcella*; 'twas in *Eusebius's* third book *De Vitâ Pamphili*, wherein he wrote a Catalogue of *Origen's* works. *Vales.*

[b] The Med. and Fuk. M. SS. read it ἱερομάρτυρ, all in one word, not ἱερὸς μάρτυρ. The Greeks call those ἱερομάρτυρες who were both Martyrs, and Priests: therfore *Pamphilus* being a Presbyter, and a Martyr, may well be stil'd ἱερομάρτυς. The Greeks in their *Menologies* have three sorts of Martyrs, some they call μεγαλομάρτυρες, i.e. *great Martyrs*: some ὁσιομάρτυρες, i.e. *holy Martyrs*, others ἱερομάρτυρες that is the Bishops, or sometimes Presbyters who suffer'd Martyrdome: all the rest they call μάρτυρες, barely Martyrs: there is also another title yet, namely, πρωτομάρτυρες; but this is onely proper to *Stephen*, and *Thecla* he being the first of men, and she the first of women which were crown'd with Martyrdom. Here we may see what decency the *Greeks* use in comparison of the *Latines*; they give Epithets to their Saints, with which, as with titles they are honour'd, distinguished from other men. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Errour of Beryllus.

Beryllus, who was mention'd a little before, Bishop of *Bostra* in *Arabia*, subverting the Ecclesiastick Canon, endeavour'd to induce some new Doctrines alienating from the Faith; *daring to affirm that our Lord and Saviour, before his* * *coming amongst men* [a] *had no proper different subsistence: Neither any Godhead of his own, but onely the Deity of the Father residing in him.* Many disputes and conferences having been held by the Bishops against this man about that point, amongst the rest *Origen* was call'd; at first he enters into a friendly discourse with the man, that he might discover what his Opinion was, which when he understood by his discourse, he reprehended him being not Orthodox; and having convinc'd him by Arguments and Demonstrations, he took him as it were [b] by the hand, and set him into the way of the true Doctrine, and reinstated him in his former sound opinion. There are also written monuments extant to this day both of *Beryllus*, and also of the Synod which was convened upon his account, which contain *Origen's* questions proposed against him, and the disputes holden in his

* That is, before his incarnation.

[a] This Phrase ἴδιαν ὑφεστῶσαν, is nothing else but *difference of subsistence*, which may appear by the words of *Gregorius Nyssenus* in his book *De Differentiâ Substantiæ, & Essentiæ*. *Beryllus* seems to take ἰδία to signifie a *person*, after the manner of his times, which confounded these two terms, ὑπόστασις, and ἰδία: concerning the true signification of them, see *Socrates's Ecclesiastick History*, book 3 chap. 7. where these terms are largely discus'd. *Beryllus* erred in that he believed Christ had no proper personality before his incarnation; but he was orthodox in that he holds Christ had not a Godhead proper to himself, onely the Godhead of the Father residing in him; *for the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal*; otherwise there would be three Gods, not one God: therefore if this were *Beryllus's* opinion he may be excused: but he erred in that he asserted the Son by himself is not properly God, but has onely a derivative divinity from the Father. For if he asserted that the Son subsisted not personally before his incarnation, it follows that he deprived him of his Divinity. *Vales.*

[b] Ἀναλαμβάνειν here may be best explain'd by the words of *Nicephorus*, who says, he regain'd him gently, and calmly. *Vales.*

Church, and all that was done at that time. Infinite other *Memoirs* the Antients of our times have deliver'd to Posterity concerning *Origen*: which I intend to omit, as not pertinent to this present subject; but what things concerning him, are necessary to be known, may be read at large in that [c] *Apology* for him which was written by me, and *Pamphilus* the holy Martyr of our times: which we, fellow-labourers, carefully and joyntly compos'd upon the account of some of his quarrelsome Accusers. GORDIANUS.

[c] *Hieronymus* in his *Catalogue*, and also in his first *Apology* against *Rufinus* says, *Eusebius* wrote six books *in defence of Origen*. *Rufinus* translated the first of these books, and put it out under the name of *Pamphilus the Martyr*; for which he is most severely reprov'd by *Hieronymus*, for that he set forth a book of *Eusebius's*, (whom *Jerome* always calls an *Heretick*) under the name of *Pamphilus* the Martyr. But *Rufinus* may make answer for himself from these words of *Eusebius*, who says that that Apology was written by both of them. Which also *Photius* confirms with his Testimony; *Photius's Biblioth.* Chap. 120. From this book, as well as from *Eusebius's* own words, we may gather, that *Origen* had many Enemies and opposers, because of the newness of his opinions. The chiefest of them was *Methodius*; concerning whom, and the reason why he is not mentioned by *Eusebius* in his History, see B. 6. Chap. 24. note (c.) *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning Philip *the Emperour.*

WHen *Gordianus* had held the *Roman* Empire six complete years, *Philip*, together with his son *Philip*, succeeded him. The report is, that he, being a Christian, upon the day which is the last of the *Vigils of Easter*, was desirous to be a partaker, together with the congregation, of the prayers of the Church: but could in no wise be permitted to enter into the Church by him who was then Bishop, before he had made a general confession of his sins, and recounted himself amongst their number, who were [a] reckon'd *the Lapsed*, and stood in the place of penitents: for had he not done this he would not have been admitted by the Bishop, because of his many offences: and 'tis reported that he willingly [b] obey'd, and demonstrated in his deeds, the sincerity and devoutness of his affection towards the fear of God. PHILIPPUS.

[a] Ἐξομολόγησις here signifies *an numeror, I am reckon'd amongst*. Vales.

[b] This story concerning *Philip* the Emperour, whom *Babylas* would not admit into the Church, being then Bishop, is told by the Authour of *Chron. Alexand.* and also by *Chrysostom* in his Oration concerning holy *Babylas*; but he does not name the Emperour. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

How Dionysius *succeeded* Heraclas *in his Bishoprick.*

IT was the third of *Philip's* Reign in which *Heraclas* dyed, after he had Govern'd the Church sixteen years, and *Dionysius* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

What other books were written by Origen.

AT this time therefore, the faith (as it was meet) daily encreasing, and our doctrine being boldly preach'd amongst all men, *Origen* ('tis said) was now above sixty years old: and because he had now gotten a most excellent habit of speaking through long use and exercise, he permitted the Notaries to [a] write his discourses which he delivered in publick, but never before this time would he suffer that to be done. About this time he

[a] *Pamphilus the Martyr in his first book of his Apology* attests this of him. *Vales.*

PHILIP.

he wrote eight books againſt a book of [b] *Celſus* the *Epicurean*, intitled *The word of Truth.* He alſo wrote twenty five Volumes upon *Matthew*'s *Goſpel:* and thoſe upon the *Twelve Prophets*, of which books we have found onely twenty five. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle of his to *Philip* the Emperour, another to his wife *Severa:* and ſeveral others to divers other perſons: which being ſcattered here and there, in ſeveral mens hands, as many of them as we could find preſerved, being above an hundred in number, we have collected and digeſted into proper books by themſelves, that they may not hereafter be again diſpers'd. He wrote alſo to [c] *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, and to ſeveral other Prelates of Churches concerning his own Orthodoxie: you have alſo the declarations of theſe things in the *ſixth book of the Apology we wrote in defence of him.*

[b] There were two *Celſus*'s, both *Epicurean Philoſophers*, one of them lived in the Reign of *Nero*; the other about the times of *Antoninus*, as *Origen* writes in *his firſt book againſt Celſus:* it was againſt this latter *Celſus* that *Origen* wrote *eight moſt elegant books*, which are ſtill extant. This is the ſame *Celſus*, to whom *Lucian* Dedicates his book called, *Alexander*, or, *the falſe Prophet*; being intreated by him to write the Life of that Impoſtor. In the end of that book, *Lucian* ſpeaking to him, plainly demonſtrates him to be an *Epicurean.* In the ſame place alſo he ſeems to mention *Celſus*'s book intitled, *The True Diſcourſe.* *Valeſ.*

[c] *Hieronymus* in *his* 65th *Epiſtle* mentions this Epiſtle of *Origen*'s to *Fabian.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the diſſention of the Arabians.

AGain, about the ſame time there ſprang up in *Arabia* Introducers of another Opinion alienating from the Truth. Theſe affirm'd that mens ſouls even in this preſent life expired together with their bodies, and were turn'd to corruption together with them: but that they ſhould again revive together with the bodies at the time of the Reſurrection. No ſmall Synod being call'd together upon this account, *Origen* is [a] again ſent for thither, and having diſputed publickly concerning this queſtion, he managed the cauſe ſo well, that thoſe who before were fallen into errour, changed their ſentiments.

[a] 'Twas ſaid before, Chap. 33. that *Origen* was ſent for into *Arabia* by the Biſhops, to diſpute againſt *Beryllus:* wherefore this was the ſecond time that *Origen* was called thither to diſpute. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Hereſie of the Helceſaïts.

AT that time alſo ſprang up another perverſe Errour, call'd the Hereſie of the *Helceſaïts*, which was ſtifled in its birth. *Origen* mentions it in [a] his Homily to the people upon the *eighty ſecond Pſalm*, in theſe words. "Lately there came "one, highly conceited of himſelf for his ability, "to defend that Atheiſtical and moſt wicked "Opinion, call'd the Opinion of the [b] *Helceſaïts*, which lately was raiſed in oppoſition to

[a] *Origen* wrote three ſorts of books upon the Scripture, *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies.* His *Comments* he wrote for the ſake of the Learned, and his *Scholia* alſo: but upon thoſe books which did not require long and tedious Comments he made *Homilies*, adapted to the Peoples capacity. And this is that which *Sedulius* aims at in his preface to his *Opus Paſchale.* See *Hieronymus* in his Prefaces to *Iſaiah*, and *Matthew*, and alſo in his Preface to his Comments upon *The Epiſtle to the Galatians:* where he mentions this threefold work of *Origen*'s; onely inſtead of the word *Homilia* he uſes *Tractatus*, i. e. *diſcourſes*, which is all one: for *Tractatus* in *Latine* is the ſame as Ὁμιλίαι in *Greek.* Concerning this threefold work of *Origen*, *Rufinus* ſpeaks in his Epiſtle to *Urſacius*, which he prefixes before his tranſlation of *Origen*'s book *upon Numbers.* Valeſ.

[b] *Theodoret* in his ſecond book *Fabularum Hæreticarum*, Chap. 7. calls theſe men Ἐλκεσαΐους, and ſays they were ſo call'd from one *Elceſaï*. *Epiphanius* names him *Elxæus*, a falſe Prophet, who joyn'd himſelf to the *Ebionites*, and was Authour of a ſtrange, uncertain, and an unfix'd Opinion concerning Chriſt: which he relates, and which little differs from *Theodoret*'s ſtory in the place quoted. Hence it appears that this *Elxæus*, and *Elceſaï* are one and the ſame man. *Epiphanius*, in his *Hareſi Oſſenorum*, calls him *Elxai*, and ſays he lived in *Trajan*'s time. At firſt, he ſays, he put forth a book full of Divine wiſdom, and a Propheſying ſpirit: But afterwards he affirmed 'twas no ſin for a man to ſacrifice to Idols, in the time of Perſecution, if ſo be he do it not with his whole heart. The ſame alſo *Origen* here relates of theſe *Elceſaits:* but *Epiphanius* more plainly demonſtrates this in his *Hareſi Sampſæorum*, where he ſays that theſe *Elceſæi* (which we prov'd were the ſame as *Elceſaits.*) had one *Elxæus*, or *Elxai* Authour of their ſect. Wherefore *Scaliger* in his *Elenchus* Chap. 27. err's, where he ſays that this Ἠλξαΐ is the ſame perſon with *Eſſæus*; and that theſe *Elceſæi* or *Elceſaits* are the ſame as *Eſſæi*: then which nothing is more abſurd *Valeſ.*

"the Church. I will explain to you what evil "things that Opinion aſſerts, that ye be not "drawn away by it. It reject's ſomethings of "every part of the Scripture, but makes uſe of "ſome Texts both out of the Old, and alſo out "of the Evangelical Scripture: it rejects the A-"poſtle [*Paul*] wholly. It ſays 'tis an indif-"ferrent thing to deny [the Faith.] It holds "alſo that upon neceſſity [c] a wiſe man would "deny [Chriſtianity] with his mouth, but not "with his heart alſo at the ſame time. They alſo "carry about with them a book, which they ſay, "fell down from heaven; and every one that "hears it, and believes it, ſhall obtain Remiſſion "of ſins: a Remiſſion different from that which "Jeſus Chriſt beſtowed. But let thus much ſuf-fice concerning theſe things.

[c] The Tranſlatours, *Rufinus*, *Langus*, and *Chriſtophorſon* knew not the uſe and propriety of this Phraſe [ὁ νοήσας,] and ſo miſinterpreted it: the word ſignifies no more then, *qui ſapit*, or *ſapiens*, *a wiſe man*: See that old verſe of *Heſiod.* Αἶνον τοι βασιλεῦσ' ἐρέων νόεσι καὶ αὐτοῖς, *and to wiſe men.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning what happened in the times of Decius.

DECIUS.

BUt in the mean while *Decius* ſucceeds *Philip*, after he had Reigned ſeven years; who becauſe of his hatred towards *Philip*, rais'd a Perſecution againſt the Churches. In which *Fabian* being Martyr'd at *Rome*, *Cornelius* ſucceeds in that Biſhoprick. And *Alexander* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in *Paleſtine*, is again brought before the Governour's Tribunal for Chriſt's ſake. And was very famous for his ſecond confeſſion at *Caſarea*, where he was impriſoned: being now adorned with a venerable old Age, and reverend gray haires. After his noble and famous teſtimony before the Governour's Tribunal, he expired in Priſon, and *Mazabanes* was pronounced his ſucceſſour in the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem.* Alſo *Babylas* Biſhop of *Antiochia* died (in like manner as did *Alexander*) in priſon after his confeſſion, and *Fabius* is preferred to be Biſhop of that Church. Moreover how many, and how great [afflictions] happened to *Origen* in this Perſecution, and what was the end of theſe things, (the Devil with all his forces enviouſly ſetting himſelf in oppoſition to this man, and fighting againſt him with all ſubtilty and power, aſſailing him particularly above all thoſe who were ſet upon at that time:) how many, and how great things he alſo ſuffered for the Doctrine of Chriſt, as bonds, and bodily torments, the puniſhment of the Iron Chain in the inmoſt receſſes of the Priſon: how he was put upon the [a] Rack, his feet for

[a] Ξύλον ſignifies (as we before noted) the ſame as *nervus*, *a paire of ſtocks*, wherein the feet are put: but in this place 'tis uſed for *Eculeus*, *a Rack*: for, *Euſebius* in this place means, that *Origen*, being put upon the rack, patiently ſuſtain'd the threats of fire, and other torments. Ξύλον therefore in this place ſignifies the ſame as the Latine word *Eculaeus*, which the word added, (*viz.*) Κολαστήριον ſufficiently ſheweth, for as often as this term ſignifies *Stocks*, or *Shackles*, we read ξύλον onely; but when it ſignifies *the Rack*, κολαστήριον or, βασανιστήριον is commonly added, as here we find it to be. *Valeſ.*

ſeveral

DECIUS.

several days being stretch'd so wide as to the distance of four holes: how valiantly he sustain'd the menaces of fire, and all other [Tortures] inflicted by his Enemies: what also was the exit of these things: (the Judge with his utmost power earnestly endeavouring * that he might not be slain.) Lastly, what expressions he left behind him, and how comfortable to the [b] comfortless: [All these particulars] many of his Epistles do both truly and accurately comprehend.

* That is, the Judge was desirous to prolong his life, that so he might undergo the more Tortures.

[b] Ἀναλήψεως δεόμενα are *the comfortless*, or *helpless*; which some Translatours did not understand; this transposition in *Eusebius* is common. *Eusebius* here says nothing of the *Æthiopian*, who was suborn'd against *Origen*; or concerning his denial of the Faith: *Baronius* with good reason thought these things were fabulous; But *Nemesius*, in his book *De Naturâ Hominis*, Chap. 30. confirms that Narration of *Epiphanius*'s. Vales.

CHAP. XL.

Concerning what things happened to Dionysius.

I Will also Record some things concerning *Dionysius*, out of his Epistle to *Germanus*. Where speaking concerning himself, he makes this relation: "I speak in the presence of God, and he knows "that I lie not. I never made my escape "[a] of my self, nor without "the Divine appointment. "But before, *to wit*, at the "same time when the [b] Decree for the Persecution "came out from *Decius*, *Sabinus* sent out his [c] Deputy to "make inquisition for me; and "I stay'd at home four days, "expecting the arrival of "the Deputy: But he went "about searching all places; "both high-ways, Rivers, and "fields, where he thought I "might be conceal'd, or "where he conjectur'd I "might have gone: but he "was so blinded, that he "found not my house. Neither could he imagine that I should stay at home "when there was inquisition made for me. And "at length after the fourth day, (when God "had commanded me to depart thence, and had "miraculously opened a way for me) I, and my "[d] servants, and many of the Brethren, went out "together. Now that that was a special act of "God's Providence the sequel declar'd, in which "peradventure I was profitable to some. Again, after the interposition of some words, he relates what happened to him after his flight, in these words: "I my self, (and my companions) being much about the time of Sun-setting apprehended by some Souldiers, was brought to *Taposiris*. But *Timotheus*, according to the providence of God, was not with us, neither was he "taken: But when he at last came, he found the "house empty, and Souldiers keeping Guard about "it, and us reduced to slavery. After some other words he saith thus. "What now was the order "and manner of this miraculous act of providence? (I will tell nothing but truth.) A certain [e] country man met *Timothy* as he was "flying, and thus disturb'd in mind; and he inquired of him the reason of this great haste; he "told him the real truth. When the man had "heard his relation, (he was then a going to "a marriage feast, and 'tis customary amongst "them to tarry all night at such meetings,) he went "his way, and coming into the house, told the "story to those that were set at the table: All "of them with an unanimous earnestness (as if "it had been by a compact amongst them) rose "up together, set a running, and with great "clamours came speedily upon us. The Souldiers "who guarded us being by them forthwith put "to flight, they came upon us as we were, and "[found] us lying upon "[f] Couches without any furniture on them; I (God "knows) at first supposing "them to be thieves, who "came thither for prey and "pillage, continued lying "on the Couch, naked as I "was, excepting onely a linnen garment which I had "on; and offered to them "my other cloathes, which "lay by me: But they bid "me arise, and come out "immediately. Then understanding what was the cause "of their coming thither, I cry'd out, intreating "and beseeching them to depart and let us alone. "But if their intent was to do me a kindness, I "begg'd of them to behead me, and by that means "to prevent those who brought me prisoner thither. While I thus cry'd out (as my companions and fellow-sufferers in all my troubles "doe know) they compell'd me to rise up: I "threw my self on my back upon the ground; but "they took me by the hands and feet, and dragg'd "me out: There follow'd me those who are my "witnesses of these things, *Caius*, *Faustus*, *Peter*, "*Paul*; [g] who took me together with that Couch "upon their shoulders, and convey'd me out of "the village; and having set me upon an Ass unsaddled, they carried me away. These things *Dionysius* relates concerning himself.

[a] Ἐπ ἐμαυτῷ βαλλόμενος, (i.e.) *Not by my own counsel, not on my own accord.* But the Fuk. M. S. and *Georgius Syncellus*'s *Chronicle* read ἐπ ἐμαυτοῦ. Maz. and Med. M.SS. ἐπ ἐμαυτόν. The Med. M.S. begins this Epistle where we have begun it. *Vales.*

[b] Διωγμὸς is here taken *for the Decree of the Persecution*: and accordingly we have translated the place. *Vales.*

[c] *Frumentarii milites* were Souldiers sent to seek after offenders, and to pick up all rumours and news. *Constantine* put down this sort of Officers; they were also *Deputies under Governours of Provinces*, such an one was this *Frumentarius*, whom *Dionysius* here mentions. *Vales.*

[d] Οἱ παῖδες, *Musculus* and *Christoph.* translate *Liberi*, *Children*, which interpretation I doe not approve of. *Vales.*

[e] *Christophor.* translates χωρίτης *indigena, one born and bred in that Countrey*, the Translatour of *Georg. Syncell.* calls it *incola*; neither of them rendring it well: for χωρεῖς are *Country men*, *Rustick*. So in the *Greek Councils* we find, οἱ κατὰ χωρεῖς πρεσβύτεροι, instead of οἱ κατὰ χωρεῖς πρεσβύτεροι, *The Country Presbyters*. The Maz. Med. and Fuk M.SS. instead of χωρεῖς read χωρικῶν, so also does *Alexandrinus* use χωρικοὶ for *Rustick*. Vales.

[f] *Scimpodia* are *low beds* such as are used in great houses to this day, onely to sit in; call'd Couches. So *Libanius* in his own Life uses the word: where he saith, pag. 47. *that at home he us'd to lye upon a bed, but in the School he lean'd* ὅπῃ τῷ σκίμποδι, *upon a Couch.* Hence 'tis plain those *Couches* were made for the ease of sick people, ἄστρωτος signifies *unmade*, without any furniture upon it. So *Martial* in his *Apophoretis*, speaking of *sheets*,

Nudo stramina nè toro paterent,
Functæ nos tibi venimus sorores.
Vales.

[g] We must refer this word ὑποληφθέντες, *who took me up*, to *Caius*, and the rest of the Presbyters, and not to the *Riotous Countrey men*, as *Christophor.* does. φορείδιον signifies *together with the Bed or Couch on which he lay.* *Dionysius* says nothing here of what hapned to him after the Rusticks forc'd him to leave *Taposiris*, having beaten the Guard: but in his Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, which is in the 7th book, and 11th Chapter, he saith, that he and *Peter*, and *Caius* were separated from the rest of their Company, and abode in a desert and dry place of *Libya*. *Dionysius* liv'd an Exile till the death of *Decius* the Emperour, and from that desert place he wrote Letters to *Domitius* and *Didymus*. Vales.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning those who suffer'd Martyrdom at Alexandria.

THe same man in an Epistle of his to [a] *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives this account of the combats of those Martyrs who suffer'd at *Alexandria* in the times of *Decius*. "The Persecution "amongst us did not begin at the time when the "Imperial Edict was issued out, but preceded it "one whole year. For a Soothsayer, and [b] a Poet this Bishop of *Antioch*. Vales.

[a] The Med. Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. call this man *Fabianus*, not *Fabius*: so also *Rufinus* names

[b] I have tanslated [ποιητὴς] *a Poet*: first, because there is great familiarity betwixt *Poets*, and *Prophets*, for the Diviners or Soothsayers us'd to deliver their Oracles in verse. Besides, the *Ægyptians* were chiefly delighted with Poetry, which *Eunapius* takes notice of. Moreover, no people were more malicious towards the Christians then these Soothsayers, moving the People to Persecute them, and encouraging them by their Oracles. *Vales.*

DECIUS. "(whoever he was who ſo endamag'd this City,) "had ſtirr'd up, and encouraged the tumults of "the Heathens againſt us, exciting them to their "Countrey Superſtition. They being prick't "forward by him, and having obtained free "power of acting all miſchief, thought it the "moſt acceptable ſervice *and worſhip of their "Gods to ſlaughter us. Firſt of all therefore "they lay hands upon an old man named *Metra*, "and bid him pronounce ſome Atheiſtical words, "and becauſe he obey'd them not, they beat him "with clubs, and prick'd him in the face and eyes "with ſharp Reeds, and when they had led him "into the Suburbs, they ſton'd him to death. Af- "terwards they dragg'd a believing woman call'd "*Quinta*, to the Temple of their Idol, and com- "pell'd her to fall down and worſhip: but ſhe "turning away her face, and abominating it, they "bound her feet, and dragg'd her through the City, "which is pav'd with ſharp ſtones, and having "daſh'd her againſt Millſtones, and ſcourg'd her, "they led her to the ſame place without the City, "and ſton'd her. Afterwards all with one ac- "cord violently broke into the houſes of pious "men, and every one of them ran to their Neigh- "bours, whom they knew, and plunder'd and "rob'd them; their goods which were of greater "value they [c] purloin'd, but the lumber, and what "was made of wood they caſt forth, and burnt in "the ſtreets: ſo that the City ſeem'd as if it had "been taken by an enemy: but the Brethren "withdrew themſelves thence and privately fled; "and (like thoſe S[t] *Paul* ſpeaks of) *took joy- "fully the ſpoyling of their goods*. And not one of "them that I know of, except one who ſomewhere "fell into their hand, renounc'd the Lord till this "time. Moreover, at that time they took a moſt "admirable Virgin who was antient, call'd *Apol- "lonia*, and buffeting her on the cheeks, they "daſh'd out all her teeth. And when they had "built a pile of wood before the City, they threat- "ned to burn her alive, except ſhe would repeat "together with them ſome [d] profane words. But ſhe, "having begged a little re- "ſpite, being let looſe, forth- "with leapt into the fire, "and was conſum'd to Aſhes. "They alſo apprehended *Se- "rapion* as he was in [e] his "houſe, and having tortur'd "him with grievous tor- "ments, and broken all his "joints, they caſt him down "headlong out of an upper "room. There was now "no way for us, not the "common highway, not ſo "much as any narrow ſtreet, "through which we could "ſecurely paſs either by day, "or by night: Every body "proclaiming at all times, "and in all places, that who- "ſoever would not repeat "thoſe blaſphemous words, he ſhould be dragg'd "away, and burn't immediately. After this man- "ner theſe things continu'd for a great while: "Afterwards followed Sedition, and a Civil "war, which [ſeized] theſe wretches, and re- "turned the cruelty they us'd towards us upon "themſelves. And we had a little breathing "time, their fury towards us being ſome- "thing appeas'd. But preſently news came of "the [f] tranſlation of that Empire, which had "been more favourable to us: and much fear of "a threatning ſtorm appear'd. And now arrived "the [Imperial] Edict, almoſt like that fore- "told by our Lord, [g] re- "preſenting thoſe moſt ter- "rible [times] in ſo much "that even the Elect, if "it were poſſible, ſhould "be diſcouraged. Indeed all "were put in great fear. "Immediately many of them "who were more eminent, "yielded up themſelves [to "their Idolatry] through "fear: others, who [h] had to "doe in the management of "the Publick Affairs, were "forc'd through the neceſ- "ſity of their offices [they "held;] and they induced "others of their acquain- "tance, who, being ſummon'd "by name, repaired to their "impure and profane ſacri- "fices. Some looked pale, "and trembled, as if they "themſelves were about to "have been ſacrifices and "victimes, not ſacrificers to "their Idols. So that they "rendred themſelves the ſub- "ject of laughter to the mul- "titude that ſtood round a- "bout them: becauſe they de- "monſtrated themſelves to "all, to be fearfull both of "death and of ſacrificing: "But others of them ran to "the Altars more willingly, "proteſting very confident- "ly that they never were "Chriſtians before. Con- "cerning whom the Lords "prediction is moſt true, "*that they ſhall hardly be "ſaved*. As for the reſt, ſome of them adhered "to the one or the other of thoſe parties we have "mentioned; ſome fled away; others were ap- "prehended. And of theſe [though] ſome pro- "ceeded ſo far as till [they came to] bonds and "impriſonment, and others of them had been im- "priſoned ſeveral days; yet before they were "brought to the tribunal, they renounc'd [the "Faith.] Some of them after they had perſiſted "ſome time in ſuffering torments, yet for fear of "what might follow renounc'd [their Religion.] "But the ſtedfaſt, and bleſſed Pillars of the Lord, "being ſtrengthened by him, and having received "power and patience equal and anſwerable to "their ſtrong faith, became admirable witneſſes "of his kingdom. The firſt of which was *Ju- "lianus* a Gouty man, who could neither goe "nor ſtand; he, together with two other men who "carried him, was brought before the Judge: "one of thoſe perſons ſtraightway deny'd "[Chriſt.] But the other whoſe name was "*Cronion*, but was ſirnamed *Eunus*, together "with the old man *Julianus*, having confeſſed "the Lord, rode upon Camels through the "whole City (which you know is very "large) and were ſcourged as they ſate on "high, and at laſt in the preſence of all the "multitude ſtanding round, they were conſum'd "by

* Theſe words [τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν, worſhip of their Gods] ought, as I ſuppoſe, to be expunged: for they diſturb the ſenſe, and were added by ſome *Scholiaſt*, to explain the preceding term [εὐσέβειαν, ſervice. Valeſ.

c Νοσφίζομαι, *to purloin*; See *Tit.* 2. 10.

* Heb. 10. 34.

d Τῆς ἀσεβείας ῥημάτα, are the terms here: what the words were, 'tis hard to conjecture: in his Epiſtle to *Germanus* he calls them [ἀθέους φωνὰς, *impious words*;] and in this Epiſtle [δύσφημα ῥήματα, *horrid words*.] *Valeſ.*

e Here we read ἐφέσιον, i. e. *in his own houſe*, but *Nicephorus* very ill reads ἐφέσιον. Concerning this *Serapion*, *Bede*, and *Uſuardus* ſpeak at the 14[th] of *November*. Where they ſay he ſuffered in the Reign of *Decius*; but they might better have ſaid in the Reign of *Philip*. For *Dionyſius* in this Epiſtle to *Fabius* expreſly affirms that *Serapion*, and ſome other Martyrs, ſuffer'd before the death of *Philip* the Emperour. The ſame errour is committed in all *Martyrologies* concerning *Apollonia* the Virgin, which ſay ſhe ſuffer'd in the time of *Decius* upon the 9 day of *February*. Valeſ.

f Here he means the death of *Philip* the Emperour, who behav'd himſelf gently and kindly toward the Chriſtians: therefore what paſſages are here next related, happened in the laſt year of the Reign of *Philip*: which thing *Dionyſius* intimates in the beginning of this Epiſtle, where he ſays, the Perſecution began a year before the Emperours Edict came out: but *Chriſtoph.* did not underſtand this place, he rendring [μεταβολὴν βασιλείας] *the alteration of the Emperours mind towards us*. *Baronius* follows this errour of his, at the year of Chriſt, 253. Chap. 102. *Valeſ.*

g In the Kings M. S. and *Stephanus*'s Edition, inſtead of ἀποφαίνων, θεραβεχὺ is read, but in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. ἀποφαίνων is the term, which is a great deal better as I think. For *Dionyſius* here means that this Decree of *Decius* was ſo terrible, that it ſeemed to repreſent thoſe moſt dreadfull times of *Antichriſt*, foretold by our Saviour. *Valeſ.*

h *Chriſtophor.* miſtakes in his tranſlation of this place. I have rendred here [δημοσιεύοντες] as if it had been [δημόσια πεφιλοντες] *the Decurions* or Magiſtrates: for theſe always aſſembled themſelves at the reading of the Emperours Edicts in the Courts, and firſt of all executed his commands; hence they were compell'd to be preſent at the reading of this decree, and immediately after it was read, to ſacrifice to the Gods, according to the injunction of the Decree. *Valeſ.*

DECIUS. "by an [i] exceeding hot fire. A Souldier who at-
"tended on them as they were lead [to the stake,]
"thrust away all those who abused them, and
"when the people exclaim'd against him, this
"most valiant champion of
"God (by name *Besas*)
"was call'd in question, and
"after he had behav'd himself
"nobly in a great combat in
"defence of Piety, he was
"beheaded. Also another
"man, a *Libyan* born, (both
"according to his name, and
"also agreeable to the divine
"benediction truly stil'd
"[k] *Macar*,) after much ex-
"hortation of the Judge to a
"renunciation, being nothing
"subdu'd therewith, was
"burned alive. After these
"*Epimachus*, and *Alexander*,
"after a tedious imprison-
"ment, which they endur'd,
"having suffered infinite sorts
"of tortures, as * iron scrat-
"chers, scourges, were also
"burned to death with un-
"slaked lime: with them al-
"so four women: *Ammo-*
"*narium*, an holy Virgin
"(whom the Judge for a long
"time and with much ear-
"nestnes tortured, because she had before hand
"said she would utter nothing he should enjoyn
"her,) when she had verified her promise, she
"was led to execution. Now the rest were these.
"*Mercuria* a most virtuous and venerable Ma-
"tron: and *Dionysia* the mother of a numerous
"issue, but did not love her children more then
"the Lord: [l] also another *Ammonarium*. The
"Judge being now ashamed that he tortured them
"yet in vain, and that he was thus overcome by
"women, slew them with the
"sword, before they under-
"went the tryall of tortures.
"For *Ammonarium* their lea-
"der had suffered torments
"for them all. *Heron* also,
"and [m] *Ater*, and *Isidorus*,
"*Ægyptians*, and with them
"*Dioscorus*, a lad of about
"fifteen years of age, were
"set before the Judge. Who
"first of all endeavoured to
"deceive the youth with words, as thinking him
"flexible and easie to be perswaded; he endea-
"voured also to force him by torments, [sup-
"posing] him to be remiss and inclineable to
"yield; but *Dioscorus* was neither mov'd with
"perswasions, nor yielded he to torments. When
"[the Judge] had most barbarously torn the
"rest with stripes, and they persisted, he delivered
"them also to the fire, but he dismiss'd *Dioscо-*
"*rus*, because he was lovely in the eyes of the
"people, and he also himself admired him for his
"most prudent answers to his questions: Saying,
"he allow'd him space for repentance because of
"his tender age. And now the most excellent
"*Dioscorus* continues with us, reserved for a
"greater and more lasting combat. Also one
"*Nemesion*, another *Ægyptian*, was falsly accu-
"sed as a companion of theeves: but having before
"the *Centurion* cleared himself of this accusation
"brought against him, as being most absurd,
"he was impeach'd as being a Christian, and
"brought bound before the Governour: who,
"(most unjust man,) having inflicted upon him
"double as many torments and stripes, as upon the
"theeves, [commanded] him to be burnt a-
"mongst theeves: Blessed man! Who was ho-
"noured after Christ's example. Moreover, a
"whole [n] file of Souldiers, *to wit*, *Ammon*, and
"*Zeno*, and *Ptolomy*, and *Ingenuus*, and with them
"the old man *Theophilus*, stood together before
"the place of judicature. And when a certain
"man was accused for being a Christian, and in-
"clined to a renunciation [of his Religion,]
"they standing by gnashed upon him with their
"teeth, made grimaces at him with their counte-
"nances, stretched out their hands, and shewed
"mimick and antick gestures with their bodies;
"[in so much that] all mens eyes were turned
"towards them: before any one came to lay
"hands on them, they ran to the [o] place where
"the accused usually sate, confessing themselves to
"be Christians: Upon which, the Governour and
"the Assessours were surprized with a great fear.
"The accused seem'd most couragious at what they
"were about to suffer, but the Judges trembled. So
"they went out of the place of judicature in a
"kind of Pomp and State, and rejoyced at the
"testimony [they were to give to the Faith,]
"God [p] making them to triumph gloriously.

DECIUS.

[i] This ἀσβέστου πυρὸς may be rendred *vivæ calcis incendio, a fire of unslaked lime*; so also we may translate the same phrase which is us'd a little after this, speaking of *Epimachus* and *Alexander*, where he says, πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ διεχρήσαντο: instead of which phrase *Nicephorus* uses πλάνῳ, *with lime*. In *Menæo*, on the 30th day of *October*, there is mention of these Martyrs, *Julianus*, *Cronio*, and *Macarius*, where the words are, ἀσβέστου ζέοντος καὶ ἀυτῆς ἐκχυθέντος; *burning lime being poured upon them*. Vales.

[k] *Macar* is derived from the Greek term μακάριος, which signifies *blessed*: *Dionysius* seems here to allude to those words of our Saviour, *Matt.* 5. 10. *Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousnes sake*, &c. *Rufinus* translates this place thus, *Alius quidam, vir nominis sui* Macarius, *gente Lybicus*. Vales.

* Ξυστῆρας is the term in the original: it signifies properly *any kind of iron-instrument to make incision*: *Dionysius* does here mean by it, *an engine wherewith they scraped the flesh from off the bones of the Christians*.

[l] These words [*also another Ammonarium.*] I have added out of *Rufinus*: for *Dionysius* said there were *four women*; but we find but three, except, according to *Rufinus*, we adde these words. *Vales.*

[m] Instead of *Ater* in *Georg. Syncellus*, and *Niceph.* we find *Aster*: in *Rufinus* 'tis *Arsinus*; in the old *Roman Martyrologie*, which is mostly taking out of *Rufinus*, he is called *Arsenius*, at the 19th of the Kalends of *January*. Vales.

[n] σύνταγμα στρατιωτικὸν, *Rufinus* renders *a Troop of Souldiers*; him *Christophorson* also follows: but I had rather translate it *a file of men*. Some may perhaps think that these Souldiers were the *Prefects Apparitours*, and other officers, because they stood before the judgment seat, but I rather think they were *legionary* Souldiers of that legion which kept Garison at *Alexandria*, and were under the Command of the Emperours Deputy-Governour of *Ægypt*; for at that time he who was the Emperour's Prefect in *Ægypt*, had not onely power in Civil affaires, but also in Military. In the old *Roman Martyrologie* the birth-day of these Martyrs is set down on the 13th of the Kalends of *January*. Vales.

[o] By this word βῆμον is meant *Subsellium*, i.e. *the place on which the Criminals while they are examin'd by the Judge sate*. It is in some places call'd *Ambon*, or *Pulpitum*. Vales.

[p] Θεῷ θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς, *Rufinus* translates thus, *God thus triumphing by his Saints*; hence we may suppose he read δι' αὐτοὺς. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* follow this translation of *Rufinus*: but we must take notice and see whether *Dionysius* meanes not by θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς, θριαμβεύειν ποιοῦντος αὐτὸν, which I think he does, and therefore have so translated it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLII.

Concerning some other things which Dionysius *relates.*

"SEveral others were torn in pieces by the
"Heathens, both in the Cities, and in the
"Countrey Villages: one of them I will hear
"speak of for examples sake. *Ischyrion* was a Mer-
"cenary *Officer under one
"of the Magistrates. He,
"whom he served, injoyned
"him to sacrifice: but when
"he obeyed him not, he was
"injurious to him; when he
"still persisted to be disobe-
"dient, he basely reproacht him. After he had
"patiently sustained all this, he took a great stake,
"and having run it through his guts and bowels,
"murdered him. What need I to reckon up the
"multitudes, which wandered in deserts and
"mountains, and dyed by Pestilence, thirst, and
"cold, and by diseases, thieves, and savage beasts?
"such of them as survived are witnesses of their
"choice and victory: but I will adde one fact
"for a manifestation of the truth hereof. There
"was one *Chæremon* a very aged man, Bishop of
"the City called *Nile*, he together with his wife

* Ἐπίτροπος (from whence the term [ἐπιτροπεύω,] which here occurs, is derived) signifies *one that looketh to another mans business, and that has the charge of his affairs committed to his care.*

DECIUS. "fled unto the mountain [a] *Arabius*, but never re- "turned; neither could they, or any thing of "their bodies ever be found, although the Brethren "ſearched all places careful- "ly. Alſo many about this "mountain *Arabicus* were "taken captives and inſlaved "by the barbarous [b] *Sara-* "*cens:* ſome of which were "with much difficulty re- "deem'd with great ſums "of money; but others of "them are not yet [re- "deem'd] even at this time. "Now (my Brother) I have "not at large related theſe "things to no purpoſe, but "that you may ſee how great, "and how grievous miſeries "happened to us, which "they who have moſt ex- "perienced, do beſt under- "ſtand. Afterwards, after ſome few words he makes an addition to all this, ſaying; "Therefore "thoſe divine Martyrs, (who are now Aſſeſſours "with Chriſt, colleagues of his kingdom, and are "[c] partakers of his judgement, giving ſentence "together with him,) during their being amongſt "us, received to themſelves "ſome of the brethren who "were lapſed, and lay con- "victed as having ſacrificed to "Idols: And when they had "ſeen their converſion and "penitence, judging it might "be acceptable to God, who "in no wiſe willeth the death "of a ſinner, but rather that "he repent, they admitted "them, and [d] brought them "together, and received them "into their congregation, "and [e] communicated with "them in prayer, and in "eating. Now, therefore "(Brethren) how doe you "counſel us concerning theſe "things, what muſt be done "by us? Shall we be of like "mind, and of the ſame Opi- "nion with the [Martyrs?] "Shall we obſerve their de- "termination, and the favour "they [ſhewed ſuch per- "ſons?] and ſhall we be in- "dulgent towards them, to "whom they were merci- "full? Or ſhall we render "their ſentence unjuſt, and "make our ſelves examiners "and Judges of their Opi- "nion? grieve their goodneſs "and clemency? and de- "ſtroy the Order [which is conſtituted?] *Dio-* DECIUS. *nyſius* very adviſedly annex'd theſe words, diſ- courſing concerning them, who in the times of Perſecution had lapſed through infirmity of mind.

[a] *Herodotus* mentions a mountain, called *Arabius*; which *Ptolomy* and others call *Troicus*. *Chriſtopherſon* therefore does not well in calling it *a mountain in Arabia*. 'Tis a little after called *Arabicus*, from its vicinity to *Arabia*. Valeſ.

[b] This place ought to be taken notice of for this one thing: for of all the Writers which came to our hands, there is none (that I know of) who is ancienter then *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, that mentions the *Saracens*. Indeed *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſays in his 14th book, that he mention'd the *Saracens* amongſt the Acts of Prince *Marcus*. So alſo ſays *Spartianus*, (*in Nigro*) ſaying they were conquered by the Roman Souldiers. *Valeſ.*

[c] It was the opinion of the Ancient Fathers, that Martyrs ſhould be Chriſts Aſſeſſours, and ſhould judge the world together with him. So ſays *Eulogius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in his 5th book *againſt the Novatians*: but *Photius* in his *Biblioth.* reproves this Opinion. (*Photius* ſays) that thoſe words of St *Paul* in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* 6. 2. *Know ye not that the Saints ſhall judge the world?* muſt not be underſtood as if the Saints were to be judges with Chriſt: *Paul*, ſays he, only meaneth thus, that other men who had not lived ſo piouſly ſhould by the Saints means be condemned. As it is in the Goſpel, The men of *Ninevie, and the Queen of the South ſhall riſe up in judgement againſt wicked men, and condemn them*, Matth. 12. 41. *Photius* took this Expoſition out of *Chryſoſtome*; but *Eulogius*'s Opinion ſeems the truer to me. For if the Martyrs are now colleagues of Chriſt in his kingdom, Why may not they be partakers of his judgment? Moreover, Chriſt expreſly promiſed the Apoſtles, *That they ſhould ſit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*, Matth. 19. 28. *Valeſ.*

[d] This place muſt be rendred according to our tranſlation; though *Langus* and *Chriſtoph.* tranſlate it, as *if the Martyrs admitted the Penitents into the Church*: which they could not doe, being in bonds. Moreover the Biſhops onely had power of reconciling Penitents, the Martyrs could onely intercede for them, and write commendatory letters in their behalf; though this word συγχωρᾶν may be rendred paſſively, as in the 3d Chap. of this 6th book. *Valeſ.*

[e] Communion in the Church is twofold, *of Prayer*, and *of the Sacraments*, that of the prayers was granted to *Penitents* after a certain time; but the Communion of the body of Chriſt was not granted except to them who were reconcil'd after long time of repentance. But *Dionyſius* here means private Communion; now that I call private Communion, which was granted to any one by ſome private perſons and not by the Biſhop, whoſe power and duty it was to grant it. The thing theſe private perſons granted, was this; theſe Martyrs and Confeſſours permitted penitents who deſired their pitty and interceſſion, to pray to God with them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Novatus, *what manner of perſon he was as to his moralls; and concerning his Hereſie.*

FOr *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, being puffed up with pride againſt theſe * men, as if there were no further hopes of ſalvation left for them, although they perform'd all things appertaining to an unfeigned converſion, and a ſincere confeſſion, conſtituted himſelf the Ringleader of a peculiar Sect, of thoſe who by reaſon of their haughty minds ſtil'd themſelves † *Cathari*. Upon this account a very great Synod was aſſembled at *Rome*, conſiſting of ſixty Biſhops, but of Presbyters and Deacons [the number] was greater. And when the Paſtours of each reſpective place in the reſt of the Provinces, had conſulted by themſelves concerning what was to be done; [a] This Decree was promulged to all: "That "*Novatus*, together with all "thoſe who imitated his "pride, and who preſum- "ptuouſly aſſented to his un- "charitable and moſt inhu- "man Opinion, ſhould be accounted as alienated "from the Church: but that the Brethren who "were fallen into the calamity [of the lapſed,] "ſhould be healed and cured by the remedies of "repentance. There came to our hands the Epiſtles of *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*: which ſet forth the Acts of that Synod at *Rome*, and the Opinions of all thoſe in *Italy*, and *Africa*, and the Provinces there. There are alſo extant other Epiſtles written in Latine, by *Cyprian* and thoſe Biſhops aſſembled with him in *Africa*: by which it appears that they conſented to the relieving of thoſe who were fallen into Temptation, and that the Authour of this Hereſie ought with good reaſon to be expelled out of the Catholick Church, together with all thoſe who had been ſeduced by him. There is alſo annex'd to theſe [b] another Epiſtle of *Cornelius*'s concerning the Decrees of that Synod: and alſo another concerning the miſchievous Acts of *Novatus*. Part of which, nothing hinders but that we may here inſert, that ſo they who read this work, may have a perfect knowledge in all things concerning *Novatus*. *Cornelius* therefore, informing *Fabius* what a man this *Novatus* was as to his courſe of life, writes theſe very words: "But that "you may the better un- "derſtand how this admi- "rable fellow heretofore co- "veted a Biſhoprick, and "concealing this his hot am- "bition

* That is, *the lapſed.*

† That is, *the pure.*

[a] *Rufinus* tranſlates this phraſe δέσμα παείσαλλε τοῖς πᾶσι, *Decretus ſignificatur quid facto opus eſſet*, but the other Tranſlatours in my Opinion turn it better, by tranſlating it thus; *Decernitur ab omnibus.* Valeſ.

[b] *Rufinus* confounds, and miſ- eth this Epiſtle with that which *Euſebius* afore mentioned, for he owns but two Epiſtles of *Cornelius*. *Hieronymus* in his book, *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, reckons up four, but *Euſebius* in this place gives us an account of three onely. The firſt, and the third ſeem as if *Cornelius* had writ them in Greek, which may be proved by ſeveral Arguments, for *Euſebius* quotes ſeveral things out of the third Epiſtle, but does not in the leaſt ſignifie that it was ever tranſlated out of Latine into Greek, which thing he always does as often as he quotes any Latine Authours. Moreover, in this very Chapter *Euſebius* ſignifies that the firſt Epiſtle was writ in Greek, for ſpeaking of it, he adds that there was another Epiſtle of *Cyprian* annex'd to it, which was written in Latine. Which clauſe certainly he had not added, had not *Cornelius*'s Epiſtle been written in a contrary Language. *Valeſ.*

DECIUS. "bition continued undiscovered, for a covert for "his folly, usually from the beginning having the "Confessours in his company, I will make this de- "claration to you: [c] *Maxi-* "*mus* a Presbyter of our "Church, and *Urbanus*, "which men have the se- "cond time acquired great "renown to themselves for "their confessions; *Sidonius* "also, and *Celerinus*, a man "who has most patiently en- "dured all sorts of tortures "through God's mercy; and "having corroborated the "weakness of the flesh "through the strength of his "faith, utterly vanquished the adversary: These "men [I say,] when they had made enquiry in- "to the man, and [d] detected his subtilty and de- "ceit, his perjury and lyes, his unsociableness and "wolfish friendship, returned to the holy Church; "and divulged all his subtile devices, and his vil- "lanies (which he had kept "conceal'd within himself "for a long time, refusing "to declare them) in the "presence both of a suffi- "cient number of Bishops, "and also of a great many Presbyters and Laicks; "Lamenting, and repenting, because, having been "seduced by this subtile and wicked beast, for "some small time they had abandoned the Church. After some few words, he also adds this ("Dear "Brother) What a wonderfull change and alte- "ration we saw made in a short time in him? For [e] "this most excellent fellow, (who affirmed with ter- "rible protestations and oathes, that he did not in "the least covet the Office of a Bishop,) on a sud- "den appears a Bishop, as if he had been [e] thrown "into the midst by an Engine. For this *brave* "Doctour, who [pretended himself] to be a Main- "tainer of the Church discipline, when he endea- "voured by force to acquire to himself, and surre- "ptitiously to steal the Bishoprick which was not as- "sign'd to him by God, chose for his confidents two "men, who despaired of salvation, that he might "send them into some little corner, and the most "despicable part of *Italy*, and there delude three "Bishops, who were simple and unlearned men, by "a certain fraudulent enterprise, affirming and "protesting that with all possible speed they must "post to *Rome*, that all the disagreement which "had been there, might by their mediation, toge- "ther with the other Bishops, be composed. "When [f] they arrived, being "(as we said before) per- "sons unexperienced in the "plots and subtilty of these "wicked men, having been "shut up close by some per- "sons like himself who were "assign'd for that purpose, "at ten of the clock he com- "pell'd them, being drunk "and dozed with over much [g] "wine, to give him the Bishoprick by [g] an imagi- "nary and an ineffectual imposition of hands: and in his Epistle to *Cyprian*, says *Novatianus* was Ordain'd by three Bishops, whereas *Pacianus* says, in his 2d Epistle to *Sempronianus*, he was Ordain'd by the letters commendatory of the Confessours: but these differences we may thus reconcile. *Novatianus* was named to be the Bishop, by the Epistle of the Confessours, but was afterwards Consecrated by three Bishops. *Vales.*

DECIUS. "And he laid claim to that by craft and subtilty, "which did in no wise appertain to him. One "of those Bishops not long after return'd to the "Church, bewailing and confessing his sin, whom, "through the mediation of all the people then pre- "sent, [h] we received into the "communion of the Laity. "We ordain'd successours "for the other two Bishops, "and sent them away to pos- "sess their Sees. [i] This main- "tainer therefore of the Go- "spel, knew not that 'twas "meet there should be but "one [k] Bishop in the Church "of *Rome*. In which he was "not ignorant (for how "could he be?) that there "should be [l] 46 Presbyters, "seven Deacons, Seven sub- "Deacons, Clerks 42; Exor- "cists, Readers, together with "Janitors, 52. Widows, "and [m] indigent persons, "which could not maintain "themselves, above a thou- "sand and five hundred. All "these the grace and bounty "of the Lord maintain'd. "But neither could so great "multitude, so necessary in "the Church, (a congre- "gation which by Gods pro- "vidence is both rich, and "numerous, together with a "great and innumerable mul- "titude of people,) make "this man ashamed of this "so desperate an attempt, or "deter him from proceeding "in it, or recall him into the "Church. And again, after "some other words, which intervene, he adjoyns these. "But come on, let us in our "following words declare, "in what works of his own, "or what good practices he "was so confident, as to aspire to a Bishoprick. "Was it upon this account, that from the begin- "ning he had been conversant in the Church, and "had fought many combats in defence of it, and "had been in many and great perils upon account "of Religion? No; this is nothing so. For the "devil who had entered into him, and for a long "time dwelt in him, was the occasion of his being "a believer. He being relieved [thereof] by "the Exorcists, fell into a grievous distemper, and "it being supposed that he would die immediately, "he received Baptism, ([n] being besprinkled with "water,) on the bed whereon he lay: (if that [n] This word ῥαθεὶς *Rufinus* very well renders *perfusus*, *besprinkled*; for people which were sick, and baptiz'd in their beds, could not be dipped in water by the Priest, but were sprinkled with water by him: this Baptism was thought imperfect, and not solemn for several reasons. Also they who were thus baptiz'd were called ever afterwards *Clinici*, and by the 12th Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea*, these *Clinici* were prohibited Priesthood. *Chrysostome* describes this sort of Baptism in his 60th Homily Tome the 2d (to the *Catechumeni*:) *Cyprian*, in his 76th Epistle, holds this Baptism to be lawfull, and perfect. *Vales.*

[c] Concerning this *Maximus* the Presbyter, *Urbanus*, and *Sidonius* Confessours, how they deserted *Novatianus*, and were converted to the Church, see *Cornelius* the Pope's Epistle to *Cyprian*. There was also at the same time another *Maximus* Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, whom *Novatianus* imploy'd as Embassador to *Cyprian* into *Africk*, together with *Machæus*, and others: Afterwards the Schismaticks made this *Maximus* a Bishop in *Africk*, as *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Cornelius* tells us. *Vales.*

[d] Καλύπτω, signifies to catch a man in the very act of Robbery, whilest the φωλεὰ, or things which he hath stolen are yet in his hands, hence it signifies to bring any plot, robbery or any other wickedness to light, to bewray, or disclose. *Viger. Idiot.* pag. 27.

[e] Ἐκ μαλαγάνης (the phrase here in the originall) has the same import with [ἀπὸ μηχανῆς] which is a proverbial speech in Greek, and signifies, *ex insperato*, *improviso*; i.e. *unlookt for*, or *on a sudden*. See *Erasm. Adag.* pag. 46. *Edit. Froben.*

[f] *Theodoret* in his 3d book *of his Heretic. Fabul.* Chap. 5. writes, that *Novatus* himself went into *Italy* to fetch these Bishops, and when he, with the Bishops upon their journey, came into some town or other, he forced them to Ordain him, which those Bishops complain'd of when they came to *Rome*; but this Epistle of *Cornelius* refutes that story of his. *Vales.*

[g] *Cornelius* calls this *an imperfect*, and *ineffectual* Ordination, because it was solemniz'd by Bishops of another Dioceſs, and not by those Bishops who had the right and power of Ordaining the Bishops of *Rome*, which were the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Tibur* and others; 'twas also ineffectual and vain, because it was done by men who were drunk, by force, at the tenth hour of the day, none of the Clergy, or people being present, and lastly, because another Bishop was before regularly Ordain'd. *Cornelius* both here,

[h] Hence we may gather that *Cornelius* degraded the Bishops which assisted in the Consecration of *Novatianus*, and also excommunicated them all, except one who by the mediation of the people, obtain'd the Priviledge of the communion which the Laicks have: Which was to kiss the Bishop after they had taken the Eucharist of him, as *Hieronymus*, and *Paulus Diaconus* affirm. *Vales.*

[i] This is spoken Ironically of *Novatianus*, because he himself (as *Cyprian* in his first Epistle to *Cornelius* witnesseth) boasted he was a Defender of the Gospel of Christ. *Vales.*

[k] The same words [ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶ ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ] are in the Epistle of *Cornelius* to *Cyprian*: where the Confessours, who deserted *Novatianus*, use these words, as a renunciation of their former Principles, by this ἐκκλησία καθολικὴ, is here meant the *Church of Rome*. *Vales.*

[l] Hence we may gather how many Churches there were then at *Rome*, for every Presbyter had his particular Church; so that if there were 46 Presbyters, there were also 46 Churches: See *Baronius* in the year of Christ 57. *Vales.*

[m] Some Editions read χλυδώμενοι, others χλινοδώμενοι: but without doubt the true reading is ἀλιδώμενοι, that is, as *Rufinus* renders it, *indigent persons*, or as the *Roman Clergy* explain it, *persons who could not maintain themselves*. *Chrysostome* in his 67th Homilie upon *Matthew*, saith, that the Church of *Antioch* in his days, though it had but small revenues, yet reliev'd above 3000 widows and virgins daily, besides strangers, Lepers, and Prisoners: and besides *Clerks*, whom it supplied with meat and cloathing. *Vales.*

DECIUS. "can be termed Baptiſm:) Neither, when he had "eſcaped that ſickneſs, did he afterwards receive "the other things which the ° Canon of the "Church injoyneth ſhould be received: nor was "he ᵖ ſealed by the Biſhops impoſition of "hands; which if he never received, how did he "receive the holy Ghoſt? And again, a little after, he ſaith; "This man in the time "of perſecution, through "timerouſneſs and a deſire "of life, deny'd that he was "a Presbyter. For being "deſired and intreated by "the Deacons that he would "come out of his Chamber, "in which he had ſhut him-"ſelf up, and ſuccour the "Brethren as far as it was "meet and poſſible for a "Presbyter to ſuccour the "diſtreſſed Brethren, who "wanted aſſiſtance; he was "ſo far from complying with "the Deacons who intreated "him, that with great indig-"nation he went his way, "and departed. For he ſaid "he would no longer be a "Presbyter; but was a fa-"vourer of another kind of "Philoſophy. Having ran over ſome few paſſages, he makes this addition hereto in theſe words: "For this ex-"cellent fellow has deſerted "the Church of God, in "which, after he had re-"ceived Baptiſm, he was "ᵠ vouchſafed the degree of "Presbyter by the favour of "the Biſhop, who by impo-"ſition of hands Ordain'd "him Prieſt. Who being "ʳ denyed [Orders] by "all the Clergy, and many "of the Laity, (becauſe it "was not lawfull for one "who had been baptized in "his bed by reaſon of ſome "infirmity, as he was, to be "admitted into ſ any ſacred "Order,) the Biſhop in-"treated licence might be "granted him to Ordain this "perſon onely. To theſe impious acts he afterwards ſubjoyneth this other, the worſt of all his wicked exploits; ſaying thus: "For he made oblations, and diſtributed to every "one a part thereof, which when he had ᵗ deli-"vered, inſtead of bleſſing them, he compelled "the wretched men to ſwear, holding the hands of "him that received with both his hands, and not "letting them go, till the "perſons had ſworn, pro-"nouncing theſe words: (for "I will here make uſe of "his own words:) *Swear "to me by the body and blood "of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, "*that thou wilt never deſert "me, and revolt to Cornelius.* "So the miſerable man was not permitted to "taſte, before he had ᵘ curſed himſelf. And "at the receiving of the bread, inſtead of ſaying "† Amen, he ſays, I will never return to *Cor-"nelius.* Again, after ſome other words he ſays thus: "Now you muſt underſtand he is "ſtript naked of all his followers, and left de-"ſolate. The Brethren daily deſerting him, and "returning to the Church: And ˣ *Moſes a bleſſed "Martyr,* (who lately amongſt us ſuffered a fa-"mous and admirable Martyrdom,) taking no-"tice in his life time, of this man's impudence "and folly, ʸ deprived him of communion, toge-"ther with the five ᶻ Presbyters, who with him "had voluntarily ſeparated themſelves from the "Church. Now at the end of his Epiſtle, he makes a catalogue of thoſe Biſhops who were preſent at *Rome*, and condemn'd the folly of *Nova-tus.* He alſo gives an account of their names, and the name of every ones particular Church, in which he Govern'd. He does alſo expreſly men-tion thoſe, who were not then preſent [at *Rome*,] but by letters approved of the ſentence of the fore-ſaid Biſhops, together with their names, and the names of the Cities, from which each of them wrote. Thus much *Cornelius* has recorded in his Epiſtle to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch.*

° The Canon was this, *that they who were* baptized *in their beds, if they recovered again, ſhould afterwards go to the Biſhop, that he might ſupply what was wanting in that Baptiſm*; *Novatianus* is here accuſed by *Cornelius*, becauſe, after his recovery he never went to the Biſhop for the completion of Baptiſm, as the Canon of the Church injoyneth: for it is expreſly commanded in the 47th Canon of the *Council* of *Laodicea*, and in Chap. 38. of the Council of *Eliberis*. Valeſ.

ᵖ *Ruſinus* thinketh that by this phraſe [τὸ σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀπισκόπου] is meant the *Chriſm*, but I rather think he means *the impoſition of hands*, by which the Biſhops gave the holy Ghoſt to them who were baptiz'd. *Cyprian*, to *Jubaianus*, confirms our interpretation. 'Tis true σφραγίζειν ſignifies *to ſign*, or *mark*, it alſo ſignifies, *to lay hands on*, as *Innocentius* uſes it in his 3d and 6th Chap. to *Decentius*, and *Marcus* in his life of *Porphyrius* Biſhop of *Gaza*, and *Ambroſe* (or whoſoever it is who is the Au-thour of thoſe books) upon the 4th Chap. of *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. This ſealing of the baptized was ſometimes per-form'd with the *Chriſm*, (that is) when the Perſon, in caſe of approaching death, had been baptiz'd by ſome of the inferiour Clergy, and not anointed; but if he had been perfectly baptized before, onely impoſition of hands by the Biſhop was required, as the *Canon Arauſicanus* tells us. Hence I conjecture aroſe the cuſtom of not uſing the *Chriſm* in Baptiſm amongſt the *Nova-tians*, (as *Theodoret* tells us they did not, in his third book *Haret. Fabul.*) becauſe their Ringlea-der *Novatianus* received Baptiſm without the *Chriſm*. Valeſ.

ᵠ Hence we may gather that *Novatianus* immediately received Prieſts Orders being never Or-dained Deacon, or Subdeacon: which thing was at that time cuſtomary in the Church, as we may ſee in *Origen* and others. *Valeſ.*

ʳ Formerly Biſhops could not Ordain Prieſts without the con-ſent of the Clergy, and People. Now concerning the requiring of the peoples votes in the Election of Presbyters, the *Nicene* Fathers themſelves do evidence that, in their Synodical Epiſtle to the Biſhops of *Ægypt*. Out of ſeveral places of that Epiſtle we may ga-ther, that the conſent of the people was required in the Ordination of Clergy men. The holy Fathers alſo in that ſame Epiſtle deprive thoſe Biſhops who adhered to *Meletius* the Schiſmatick, of all authority of propoſing their names to the people, who were to be admitted into holy Orders, and onely granted it to thoſe Biſhops who were pure from all Schiſm. For, in thoſe days, the Biſhops gave up the names of them who were to be Ordain'd to the people, that if they had any thing to object againſt any of them, they might atteſt it openly; as we may read in the *Sacramentarium* of *Gregory* the great. There is alſo an excellent paſſage in St *Chryſoſtome* upon this ſame thing *in his* 18th *Homily upon the* 2d *Epiſtle of Paul to the Corinthians*. We have the whole ſolemnity excellently deſcrib'd in the *Sacramentarium* of *Gregory the Great*, pag. 236. upon which place conſult the Annotations of that moſt learned man *Hugo Menardus*. Valeſ.

ſ Κλῆρος ſignifies *a Degree or Order of them who have any Office in the Church*. So *Cornelius* calls κλῆρον καὶ πρεσβυτέριον, *the Presbytership*. *Euſebius*, and *Irenæus* very often uſe κλῆρον καὶ ἐπισκοπὴν for *the Dignity of a Biſhop*: κλῆρός τις ſignifies any degree whatſoever. *Valeſ.*

DECIUS.

ᵗ It was the proper du-ty of the Prieſt to deliver the Euchariſt, and the Cup into the hands of the Receivers. See *Chry-ſoſtom's* 46 Homily upon *Mat-thew*: in the 2d Council of *Or-leans*, Chap. 15. the Deacons are forbid to preſume to deliver the body of Chriſt to the belie-vers, when the Prieſt is preſent. *Valeſ.*

ᵘ Every oath has a curſe an-nexed to it, which though it is not al-ways ex-preſſed (as in this place) yet may be ta-citly under-ſtood; which thing the Latine Transla-tours did not take notice of, and hence they make ἐωπῶ καὶ παρεδίδου to ſignifie, *before he had devoted himſelf to him*, (i.e.) as they ſuppoſed to *Novati-anus*; but I had rather read it ἐωπῷ, with *George Syncellus*. The meaning of the place then is this, *that the unhappy man was not permitted to taſt, before he had ſolemnly curſed himſelf.* Valeſ.

† This phraſe [ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀμὴν, *inſtead of ſaying Amen*] has the ſame import with what *Cornelius* has ſaid a little before, viz. [ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν, *inſtead of bleſſing him.*] For the faithfull (when they rece.ved the Euchariſt from the hands of the prieſt) uſed to anſwer *Amen*, after the Prieſt, delivering the Sacrament, had ſaid, *The body of our Lord*, &c. See *Ambroſ.* in his B. 4. Chap. 5. *De Sa-cramento*: *Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem*, *in his laſt Catechiſm*: and *Auguſt.* B. 12. Chap. 10. *againſt Fauſtus*. Valeſ.

ˣ Concerning this *Moſes*, a Presbyter of *Rome*, *Cyprian* in his E-piſtles does ſpeak frequently. After the Martyrdom of *Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome* (who ſuffered *Anno Chriſti* 250.) this *Moſes* was apprehended, (together with *Maximus* the Presbyter, and *Nicoſtra-tus* the Deacon,) caſt into priſon, where after 11 Months, and 11 days, he dyed. See *Cyprian's* 15th Epiſtle to *Moſes* and *Maximus*. Valeſ.

ʸ *Moſes* being a Presbyter had no authority to excommunicate his fellow-Presbyters: all he could doe was to ſeparate himſelf from their communion, when they came to viſit him in priſon. This phraſe here [ἀκοινώνητον ἐποίησε, i.e. *he deprived him of communion*] the ancient writers frequently uſed, when they ſpake of thoſe Preſ-byters, who abſtained from communion with others. See *Paulinus in the Life of* St *Ambros*. *Moſes's* depriving of *Novatianus* of com-munion was, I ſuppoſe, done by him a little before his death. For at firſt *Moſes* the Confeſſour had communion with *Novatianus*: and when the Clergy of *Rome* wrote that Epiſtle to *Cyprian* (which among *Cyprian's* Epiſtles is accounted the 31,) *Moſes* then had communion with *Novatianus*: for both of them ſubſcribed that Epiſtle. More-over, *Novatianus* himſelf wrote an Epiſtle, as *Cyprian* atteſts in his E-piſtle to *Antonianus*: from which Epiſtle we may perceive the wit and eloquence of *Novatianus*; for that Epiſtle, we muſt confeſs, is a moſt elegant piece; and it was written when *Moſes* had been a year in pri-ſon, as may be collected from *Cyprian's* Epiſtles to *Moſes*. Valeſ.

ᶻ Who theſe five Presbyters were, who with *Novatianus* made a Schiſm, 'tis to me unknown. I can't think that *Maximus* the Presby-ter and Confeſſour, who with *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, *Nicoſtratus*, and the reſt of the Confeſſours were ſeduced by *Novatianus*, adhered to his party any long time. For *Maximus* and the reſt of the Confeſſors went

went over to *Novatianus*'s party after *Moses*'s death. Indeed *Novatianus* separated himself from the Church before *Moses*'s death, which happened in *February*, *Decius* 3, and *Etruscus* being *Consuls*: but the confessours did not betake themselves to *Novatianus*'s side till after *Moses*'s death. So great was the power and authority of *Moses*. Besides, 'tis evident the Confessours were not dismist of their imprisonment till *Moses* was dead: for why should they be freed rather than *Moses*? Therefore they became *Novatianus*'s followers after *Moses*'s death. One *Maximus*, name-sake to *Maximus* the Presbyter and Confessour, seems to have been one of these five Presbyters; whom *Novatianus* sent as his messenger afterwards into *Africa*. *Vales.*

DECIUS.

CHAP. XLIV.

Dionysius's *story concerning* Serapion.

Dionysius Bishop of *Alexandria* sent Letters to this same *Fabius*, who was something inclining to this Schism, and having discours'd several things concerning repentance in his Letters to him, and also related the combats of some who had undergone Martyrdom a little before at *Alexandria*, amongst other stories, he relates a miraculous thing, which I thought necessary here to insert into this our History, it runs thus: "I will "here propose to you one example which hap-"pened amongst us. There was amongst us one "*Serapion* an old man, a believer: who for a long "time had lived blameless: but in the time of per-"secution he lapsed: he often petitioned for par-"don, [a] but no body gave at-"tention to him, because he "had sacrificed. Being taken "with sickness, he remained "for the space of three days "speechless, and senseless: be-"ing a little refresht on the "4th day, he called his daugh-"ters son to him, and said, "Child, how long do you de-"tain me? I pray make haste, "and absolve me quickly, "call one of the [b] Presbyters "to me: And when he had "spoken these words, he was "again speechless. The child "ran to the Presbyter. It "was now night: and the "Presbyter also was sick, "and not able to come. But "(because I had before given "command, that those peo-"ple who were dying, if "they desired it, and [c] espe-"cially if they had before "humbly requested it, should "be [d] absolved, that they "might depart with a lively "hope) he [e] gave to the "Child a piece of the Sacrament, bidding him to "[f] moisten it in water, and put it into the old "man's mouth: the child returned with it. And "when he approached, before he came in; *Sera-"pion* again recovered himself a little, and said, "Child thou art come, the Presbyter was not "able to come; but doe thou perform quickly "what he injoyn'd thee, and let me depart. The "boy moistned it in water, and put it into his "mouth immediately. And when he had swal-"lowed it by little and little, he straightway gave "up the Ghost. Is it not plain that he was pre-"served, and his life prolonged till he was ab-"solv'd, that his sin being quite blotted out, he "might for the several good works he performed, "be [g] acknowledged [by Christ.] Thus much *Dionysius*.

[a] He means that none of the Clergy, or Laity, were moved with his entreaties so as to think him worthy of absolution. (For the people's suffrages were required when any one was to be received into the Church, who for any fault had been excommunicated.) And the Bishop himself sometimes asked the Consent of the people. The people also did often intercede for the penitents to the Bishop, as we may see in the preceding Chap. in the Epistle of Pope *Cornelius* to *Fabian* Bishop of *Antioch*. *Vales.*

[b] Some one may perhaps ask why *Serapion* did not rather send for the Bishop, whose Office it was to reconcile penitents. The Bishop had given this authority to the Presbyters for fear least he being absent any one should die without absolution and the Communion. See *Epiphanius in his Heresie of the Arrians*. This custom of committing this authority to the Presbyters was usual in all great Cities. *Vales.*

[c] This was the Decree of the *African Synod* about the same time that *Dionysius* wrote these things. *Vales.*

[d] In the Savil. and Fuk. M.SS. before this word [ἀφεθῆ] there are some words inserted which also *Christophor.* inserts in his translation: it may appear from this place that the Sacrament was delivered to such penitents in case of necessity, without the reconciliatory imposition of hands. And this communion was called, the *viaticum*. See Canon the 77 and 78 of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, and the 39th Canon of the first Council of *Arausica*: this Communion was called also *dispensatoria*, because it was granted to dying penitents, before the completion of the full time appointed for Repentance, and if the penitent communicant recovered, it was perfected after his recovery by imposition, he compleating his time of repentance. *Vales.*

[e] This that *Dionysius* here says concerning the giving of the Eucharist to the boy to carry to the sick person, ought not to seem strange, for it was frequently done a long time after; So that St *Udalric* thought it necessary expressly to prohibit it, in his Synodical speech which *Gretser* published together with the Life of *Gregory the seventh* Chap. 20. But that which *Gretser* takes to be St *Udalric*'s Oration, I found lately to be the Synodical Epistle of *Ratherius* Bishop of *Verona* to his Clergy. And so 'tis intitled in the old *Laudunensian* M.S. *Vales.*

DECIUS.

[f] *Rufinus* translates this phrase ὀπτήξαι κελεύσας, thus, *he commanded it should be given him being dipped*. So the Antients us'd to dip the Consecrated bread in water, as *Adamannus* witnesseth in his 2d book *concerning the Miracles of* St *Columba*, Cap. 6. And Bede also in the life of St *Cuthbert*, Chap. 31. and in his Poem upon the same man's life; and several other Ecclesiastick Writers. But the Eucharists being put into the mouth of sick persons, is mentioned in the 75th Canon of the 4th Council of *Carthage*; which Canon is, *concerning sick persons, who desired repentance, but were speechless before the Priest came to them.* See the contents of that Canon. *Vales.*

[g] *Langus*, *Wolfius* and *Musculus* render ὁμολογηθῆναι in this place by the Latine word *confiteri*; which, in my opinion, is intolerable. *Christoph.* renders it, *in numerum Confessorum referri*, *to be reckoned amongst the Confessours*: which Translation I like, if it be understood thus, *referri à Christo*, *to be reckoned by Christ*. For *Dionysius* alludeth to *Christ*'s words in the Gospel. *He who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father*, &c. Matth. 10. 32. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLV.

Dionysius's *Epistle to* Novatus.

Let us now see what the same person wrote to *Novatus*, who about this time disturbed the fraternity of the *Roman* Church. Take notice therefore how he writes to him, because he pretended that some of the Brethren were the Authors of his Apostacy and Schism, and how he yielded to it, being compelled by them. "*Dionysius* sendeth greeting to our "Brother [a] *Novatus*. If "you (as you say) were "seduced unwillingly, you "should manifest it by a "voluntary return. For bet-"ter it were to endure any "thing whatever, then that "the Church of God should "be rent asunder. Nor were "Martyrdom less honoura-"ble if a man suffer death "before he will yield to "raise Schism in the Church, "then if he undergoe it ra-"ther than he will yield to "sacrifice to Idols. Yea in "my opinion 'tis much more "glorious, for in that case "man suffers Martyrdom for "his own soul's sake onely: "but in this he undergoes it for the sake of the "whole Church. Wherefore now, if you can per-"swade, or compel the Brethren to return to con-"cord, your good deed will be greater then "your crime; for this will not be imputed to "you: but that will be commended But if you "can effect nothing upon the disobedient, save "your own soul. I wish you health, and that "you may embrace Peace in the Lord. These things he wrote to *Novatus*.

[a] *Hieronymus*, *in his Catalogue*, where he relates the beginning of this Epistle, instead of *Novatus* more truly writes *Novatianus*. And so in *George Syncellus*'s *Chronicle* we read Διονύσιος Νωβατιανῷ. *Rufinus* says that *Dionysius* wrote two Epistles after the same Copy; one to *Novatus*, another to *Novatianus*; and at the end of *Dionysius*'s Epistle to *Novatus*, which *Eusebius* here rehearseth, he addes thus much, *and he wrote these* same words to *Novatianus*: which words are no where found in the Greek Text. The Greek writers being deceived through the likeness of the names, make a confusion betwixt *Novatus*, and *Novatianus*, using them both to signifie one and the same person. Our Authour *Eusebius* is also guilty of this mistake. *Vales.*

DECIUS.

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning Dionyſius's *other Epiſtles.*

HE alſo wrote an Epiſtle *concerning Repentance* to them [a] in *Ægypt*: in which he layeth down his Opinions concerning the lapſed, and makes diſtinctions in the degrees of faults. There is alſo extant a particular book of his *concerning Repentance*, to *Conon* Biſhop of the Church of *Hermopolis*. And another [b] objurgatory Epiſtle to his flock at *Alexandria*. And amongſt them there is an Epiſtle written to *Origen concerning Martyrdom*. And an Epiſtle to the Brethren at *Laodicea*, over whom *Thelymidres* was Biſhop: He alſo writ *concerning Repentance* to the Brethren in *Armenia*, over whom [c] *Meruzanes* was Biſhop. He writes to all theſe, and alſo to *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, after he had received his Epiſtle concerning *Novatus*. Where he declares that he was invited by *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe who were with him: and alſo by *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cappadocia*, and by *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Paleſtine*, to meet them at the Synod at *Antioch*, where ſome men endeavoured to eſtabliſh the *Novatian* Schiſm. [d] Moreover he ſends him word that he had heard *Fabius* was dead, and that *Demetrianus* was appointed to be his ſucceſſour in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*. He alſo writes concerning the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in theſe very words: "Alſo bleſſed *Alexander* being in pri-"ſon, there died a happy death. There is extant beſides this, another Epiſtle of his ſent by *Hippolytus* to the Brethren at *Rome*, *concerning the* [e] *Office of a Deacon*. He alſo wrote another to them *concerning Peace*, and *concerning Repentance* likewiſe. And again he wrote another to the Confeſſours there, who even at that preſent were favourers of *Novatus*'s Opinion. He alſo ſent to thoſe ſame men two other Epiſtles, after their return to the Church. He alſo compiled many more Epiſtles written to divers perſons, wherein he has left to them, who at this time ſtudiouſly peruſe his Works, variety of profit.

DECIUS.

[a] *Hieronymus* in his book, *concerning the Eccleſiaſtick Writers*, ſaith, that *Dionyſius* wrote this Epiſtle about *Repentance, and the order, or degree of ſins*, to the Armenians. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophor.* tranſlate ἐπιτρεπτικὴ, *an hortatory Epiſtle*; but not well; *Euſebius* uſes the ſame word in his former books. *Valeſ.*

[c] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. inſtead of μεϱυζάνης, 'tis μεϱυαζάνης; he was Biſhop of *Armenia the leſs*, as I think. *Valeſ.*

[d] We muſt underſtand this News was written in the ſame Epiſtle, and not in another, as *Chriſtophorſon* thinks. *Valeſ.*

[e] *Ruſinus* tranſlates διακονικὴ *de Miniſterii*, as if the Epiſtle were ſo intitled, becauſe it treated *concerning the Miniſters of the Church.* *Jacobus Goar*, who publiſhed *Georgius Syncellus*, and illuſtrated him with his Notes, thinks that this διακονικὴ was a kind of an Eccleſiaſtick Epiſtle, as were *the Synodical*, the Dimiſſory Epiſtles, and the like: but I rather aſſent to *Ruſinus*, that it was called διακονικὴ, becauſe it treated *concerning the Duty of a Deacon.* Valeſ.

The End of the Sixth Book of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

The PREFACE.

DIonyſius the Great, Biſhop of Alexandria, *ſhall again aſſiſt us with his words in the Compoſure of this Seventh Book of the* Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory; *who particularly relates all the Actions of his own Times, in the Epiſtles which he left to Poſterity: And our Narration ſhall take its beginning from hence.*

CHAP. I.

Concerning the wickedneſs of Decius *and* Gallus.

GALLUS.

GALLUS ſucceeds *Decius*, who was ſlain in a ſhort time, together with his [a] Children, before he had fully compleated the [b] Second year of his Reign. [c] About this time died *Origen*, having lived Seventy years wanting one. But *Dionyſius* in his Epiſtle to *Hermammon*, writes thus concerning *Gallus*. "But neither did *Gallus* "underſtand what was *Decius*'s deſtruction; "neither did he before ſee what brought his "ruine: But he alſo ſtumbled upon the ſame "ſtone, which lay before his eyes. He, (his "Kingdom being in a happy ſtate, and all affairs "ſucceeding according to his [d] deſire) perſecu- "ted the holy men who offered up their prayers "to God for his peace and ſafety, and together "with them, drove away thoſe prayers, by which "they intereeded for him. This he writes concerning *Gallus*.

[a] *Decius* the Emperour had 2 ſons, the elder was named, *Quintus Herennius Etruſcus Meſſius Decius*; The younger, *Caius Valens Hoſtilianus Meſſius Quintus*. They were both made *Cæſars* by their father, and afterwards *Auguſti*, as may appear by their Coins, and the inſcriptions upon them. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Euſebius* in his *Chronicle* ſaith *Decius* Reigned one year, and three moneths. *Aurelius Victor* ſaith he died after he had Reigned two years compleat. But *Victor* in his *Epitomy* ſaith he Reigned 30 moneths. *Euſebius in his Chronicle* Aſſigns one year and three moneths to *Decius*, becauſe he had before ſaid that *Philip* Reigned ſeven years, whereas he Reigned but ſix. After his death *Decius* proclaimed himſelf both Emperour, and Conſul, which was in the year of Chriſt 249. And in the year 250. he was again Conſul. And alſo the year after he kept his Government, as we may gather, by a Decree of the Senate which was made in that year, which *Pollio* in *Valerian* relates. Wherefore he died the year following, together with his ſons (when *Gallus*, and *Voluſianus* were Conſuls,) being all kill'd in the Wars in *Thrace*. Valeſ.

[c] *Baronius* placeth *Origen*'s death at the year of Chriſt 256, in the third year of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*; *Euſebius* here placeth it in the ſame year that *Decius* died, and *Gallus* began to Govern. But *Euſebius* himſelf in the 36th chap. of the 6th book of this Hiſtory confirmeth what *Baronius* ſaith: for he ſays that in the 3d year of *Philip* the Emperours Reign, *Origen* was above 60 years old. And from the 3d year of *Philip*'s Reign to the 3d year of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*'s Conſulſhip, 'tis 9 years. Moreover, if we ſay *Origen* liv'd 69 years, and died in the firſt year of *Gallus* the Emperour, he muſt neceſſarily be born in the 4th year of *Commodus* the Emperour: but the *Chronicon Alexandr.* aſſigns his birth to the ninth year of that Emperour. *Valeſ.*

GALLUS.

[d] Some Copies, as the King's M. S. and Stephan. Edit. inſtead of χτ ῥᾶν, read χτ ῥᾶν. And make it a Metaphor taken from them *who ſail with tide and ſtream.* Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

Who about theſe times were Biſhops of Rome.

COrnelius having poſſeſſed the Biſhoprick of *Rome* about three years, *Lucius* was appointed his ſucceſſour. He having miniſtred in the Office not eight whole months, died, and relinquiſhed the dignity to *Stephen*. It was this *Stephen*, to whom *Dionyſius* wrote the firſt of his Epiſtles *concerning Baptiſm*, there being about that time a great controverſie raiſed, whether it were lawfull for the Converts, of what Sect ſoever, to be cleanſed by Baptiſm. [a] For an old Cuſtom had prevailed, that about theſe Converts onely impoſition together with prayer was to be uſed.

[a] At theſe words we ſhould begin the 3d Chapter, for what follows concerning *Cyprian*, ought to be contained in the ſame ſentence with theſe laſt words in this Chapter. And before theſe words in all books we find a diſtinction, which ſhews, here is to begin another Period. But *Muſculus*, and *Chriſtoph.* begin the third Chapter where we doe. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. III.

How Cyprian, *with ſome Biſhops which were of his mind, was the firſt that was of the Opinion, that the Converts of any Heretical Sect whatever, ought to be rebaptized.*

CYprian then Biſhop of *Carthage* was the [a] firſt of all, who thought, that Hereticks ſhould not be admitted unleſs they were Cleanſed

[a] *Cyprian* was not the firſt Authour of this Opinion; but *Agrippinus*, who was Biſhop of *Carthage* a long time before

fore him, having aſſembled together the Biſhops of *Africa* and *Numidia*, made a Decree that Hereticks ſhould be rebaptized, as *Cyprian* ſaith in his 71 and 73 Epiſtles. Therefore *Cyprian* ought here to be excuſed, who onely endeavoured to maintain his predeceſſours Opinion, which was eſtabliſhed by the Authority of a Synod. But this Cuſtom of rebaptizing Hereticks, had been uſed in *Cappadocia* time out of mind, as *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*. Valeſ.

GALLUS. from their former errour by Baptiſm. [b] But *Stephen*, thinking no innovations ought to be raiſed in oppoſition to the Tradition which had prevailed of Old, was in no wiſe well pleaſed at the Biſhops this.

[b] The Epiſtle of *Stephen* to the Biſhops of *Africa* is in the 74 and 75 Epiſt. of *Cyprian*. *Firmilianus* alſo, in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*, relates ſome heads of that Epiſtle, and confutes them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

How many Epiſtles Dionyſius *wrote concerning this Controverſie.*

DIonyſius therefore having written at large to * him concerning this buſineſs, at laſt certifieth him, that the Perſecution being allayed, the Churches in all places, which deteſted *Novatus*'s [a] *Novelties*, had regained a general Peace amongſt themſelves: thus he writes,

* To *Stephen.*

[a] Νεωτερισμὸς (the term here) has ſome alluſion to *Novatus*, or *Novatianus*'s name: other Greek Authours call that which the Latines call *Novitates hæreſeon, Novelties, innovations*, or *newneſs of Doctrine*, νεωτερισμούς. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Peace which followed the Perſecution.

"[a] BUt know (my Brother,) that all the "Churches throughout the Eaſt, amongſt which there were formerly diviſions, "are now united: [b] *And a little farther he writes*; "and all the Prelates every where are in perfect "Concord, as to their ſentiments, and rejoyce "exceedingly for this unexpected Peace: [to "wit,] *Demetrianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*; *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea*, *Mazabanes* of [c] *Ælia*, *Alexander* being dead; *Marinus* of *Tyre*; *Heliodorus* of *Laodicea*, *Thelymidres* being deceaſed; "*Helenus* of *Tarſus*, and all the Churches of *Cilicia*; *Firmilianus*, and all *Cappadocia*. For I "have here onely named the more eminent Biſhops, that my Epiſtle might not be too long, nor "my relation troubleſome: Alſo all the Provinces of *Syria* and *Arabia*, whom you [d] frequently relieve, and to whom you have now written: "*Meſopotamia* alſo, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*: And "in a word, all people every where rejoyce for "the concord and Brotherly-love, and praiſe "God. Theſe are the words of *Dionyſius*. But *Xyſtus* ſucceeds *Stephen* after he had executed the Epiſcopal Office two years. To him *Dionyſius* wrote a ſecond Epiſtle *concerning Baptiſm*, and ſet forth to him the judgment and opinion of *Stephen*, and the other Biſhops. Concerning *Stephen* thus he writes; "Indeed he before [e] wrote letters "concerning *Helenus* and *Firmilianus*, and all the "[Biſhops] of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*. "And moreover, concerning all the neighbouring "Provinces, that he would have no communion "with them for this very reaſon, becauſe (ſays "he) they rebaptize Hereticks. And conſider "the weightineſs of the affaire; for truly I hear, "that there have been determinations made in the "[f] greateſt Synods of Biſhops concerning this "buſineſs, that Hereticks which were converted, "ſhould be firſt Catechized, and then ſhould be "waſhed and cleanſed from the filth of their old "and unclean leaven. And I wrote to him, making "interceſſion for all theſe men. And afterwards "he ſays: alſo to our well beloved and fellow-"Presbyters, *Dionyſius*, and *Philemon* (who were "formerly of *Stephen*'s Opinion, and wrote to me "concerning the ſame things) I before wrote "in ſhort, but now I have written more at "large. But thus much concerning the ſaid controverſie.

GALLUS.

[a] *Baronius* from this Epiſtle of *Dionyſius*'s (at the year of Chriſt 259) gathers that the Eaſtern Biſhops had renounced their Errour, and adhered to *Stephen*'s Opinion, *that Hereticks were not to be rebaptized.* But any conſiderate reader of this Epiſtle will find it far otherwiſe. For the ſubject of this Epiſtle is twofold. 1. Whether Hereticks were to be rebaptized. 2. Concerning the unanimity of the Oriental Churches, which had abominated the *Novatian* Hereſie, and Decree'd that the lapſed ſhould be received. He therefore tells him, that *Demetrianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, Metropolitan of the Eaſt, and the reſt had ſubſcribed to this Opinion: which he knew would pleaſe *Stephen*, becauſe *Fabius*, *Demetrianus*'s predeceſſour, endeavoured to eſtabliſh the *Novatian* Hereſie, as *Dionyſius* before ſignified in the end of the 6 book of this Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

[b] Theſe words [καὶ ἔτι μικρὸν προϊὼν λέγει, *and a little farther*] are not in the Fuk. and Savil M. SS. but *Syncellus*, *Nicephorus*, King's Maz. and Med. M. SS. have them, and though ſome will have theſe words to ſignifie μεσογειοτέρω Ἐκκλησίαι *the more Remote Churches*, yet I think that they are *Euſebius*'s own words, repeating the heads of *Dionyſius*'s *Epiſtle*. And this is my reaſon, becauſe in moſt of our M. SS. there is a middle diſtinction at theſe words; therefore we tranſlate it thus, *a little further he writes*. Valeſ.

[c] This City was in *Dionyſius*'s days, and alſo till *Conſtantinus*'s time called *Ælia*. It was afterwards called *Jeruſalem* (as I before noted) through the pride of the Biſhops of that See, who termed themſelves the ſucceſſours of *James* the *Juſt*: hence is it that *Rufinus* never calls it *Ælia* but according to the manner of his times, always *Jeruſalem*. Valeſ.

[d] The Church of *Rome* was wont formerly to relieve other Churches, and to ſend money and cloathes to the Brethren in captivity, and to thoſe which wrought as ſlaves in the Mines. So *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* ſaith in his Epiſtle to Pope *Soter*; which Epiſtle *Euſebius* quotes in his fourth book chap. 23. *Euſebius* alſo in that ſame place ſays that this laudable cuſtom continued in the Chuch of *Rome* in his days. And to that purpoſe Collections were made in the Church. Ἐπαρκεῖν properly ſignifies, *to ſupply one with all things neceſſary for a journey, viaticum præbere*, and alſo it ſignifies (as it does here) *to relieve charitably, as we do beggers, with money*, or *Alms*. So *Clemens Alex.* in his firſt book *Stromat.* and *Chryſoſt.* in his 67 Homily upon *Matthew*, uſe the word. *Valeſ.*

[e] *Stephen* wrote another Epiſtle, (beſides that we mentioned, before he wrote to the Biſhops of *Africa*,) to the Eaſtern Biſhops, which *Firmilianus* mentions in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*, near the end: where *Firmilianus* ſays that he broke off all peace and friendſhip with the Eaſtern Biſhops, but he did not, onely threatned that he would renounce all communion with them, if they perſiſted in their old Opinion, as *Dionyſius* here expreſly teſtifieth. It is certain that *Stephen* never proceeded in this matter farther then threats; for after *Stephen*'s death, *Dionyſius* wrote to *Xyſtus* deſiring his judgment in that point. For *Dionyſius* inclined to the Opinion of the *Africans*, and the Eaſtern Biſhops, as *Hieronymus* witneſſeth. *Firmilianus* in his foreſaid Epiſtle does ſtrangely aggravate the buſineſs, ſo that ſome think from his words they may gather that *Stephen* excommunicated thoſe Biſhops: he was indeed much diſpleaſed that the *African* Synod ſhould pretend to diſanul ſo ancient a cuſtom, and make Decrees, that Hereticks ſhould be rebaptized, without the knowledge of the Church of *Rome*: but he never broke peace with them, nor excommunicated them: for he wrote an anſwer to *Cyprian*. And although his letters to *Cyprian* were ſomething ſharp, yet they ſtill remained friends: for *Cyprian* afterwards in his letters to *Pompeius*, called *Stephen* brother. In fine the *Africans*, notwithſtanding *Stephen*'s letters, rebaptized Hereticks till the times of *Conſtantine*, as we may ſee from the Council of *Orleans*. Valeſ.

[f] He meanes by *theſe great* Synods, the Synod of *Iconium*, of which ſee *Firmilianus*'s Epiſtle to *Cyprian*; the Gouncil of *Synnada*, and the Council of *Carthage* under *Cyprian*: in which Council above eighty Biſhops gave their opinion, ſome of which were Martyrs and Confeſſours: in the Council of *Iconium* fifty Biſhops met, as *Auguſt.* atteſts in book 3. and chap. 3. againſt *Creſconius*. But the Eaſtern Churches, eſpecially the Churches of *Cappadocia*, ſtill retained their old cuſtom of rebaptizing Hereticks. And that cuſtom remained amongſt them even till the firſt Synod of *Conſtantinople*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Hereſie of Sabellius.

[a] AFter this head of diſcourſe, he informs him [b] of the [b] *Sabellian* Hereticks, who at that

[a] Inſtead of σημαίνων ἐν τούτῳ, the King's M. S. reads ἐπ' αὐτῷ, which reading we follow, and underſtand κεφαλαίῳ, which word is us'd in *Euſebius* before. Now ἐπ' αὐτῷ κεφαλαίῳ, ſignifies, *poſt illud capitulum, after that chapter*, or *head of his diſcourſe*. *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to *Xyſtus* conſiſted of two principall heads, which were the matter and ſubject of the whole, (*viz.*) *Concerning Hereticks being rebaptized*, and *concerning Sabellius his Hereſie*. Valeſ.

[b] Theſe

[b] These Hereticks were very ancient, even before *Sabellius*, though those who maintained these opinions were afterwards all so denominated, from *Sabellius*. For we find this was the opinion of *Praxeas*, against whom *Tertullian* wrote. After *Praxeas* followed *Noetus*, (See *Epiphan.* Heref. 57.) from whom they were called *Noetiani*. Suddenly after *Noetus* arose *Sabellius*, from whom all which held the same opinion were afterwards called *Sabellians*. This *Sabellius* (the reviver of this Hereſie) was a *Lybian*, born at *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*: He affirmed the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, to be but one ſubſiſtence, one perſon under three ſeveral names, which in the time of the Old Teſtament gave the Law under the notion of the Father: in the New, was made man in the capacity of the Son, and deſcended afterwards upon the Apoſtles, in the quality of the holy Ghoſt. *Dionyſius* undertakes this man; but managing the cauſe with too much eagerneſs and fervency of diſputation, he bent the ſtick too much the other way, aſſerting not onely ἑτερότητα ἀπὸ ὑποστάσεων, *a diſtinction of perſons*, but alſo οὐσίας διαφορὰν, *a difference of Eſſence*, and an inequality of power and glory. Upon which account he is ſeverely cenſured by S[t] *Baſil*, (*Epiſt.* 41. *ad Magn. Philoſoph.*) and others of the ancients, as one of thoſe who in a great meaſure opened the gap to thoſe *Arrian* impieties which afterwards broke in upon the world.

GALLUS. time abounded mightily, and thus he writes, "For "concerning the opinion which lately ſprung up at "*Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*, which is impious, "and full of blaſphemies againſt God Almighty, "Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and contains "much infidelity againſt his onely begotten Son, the "firſt begotten of every creature, the Word that "was converſant amongſt men; and is full of ſtupi- "dity and ſenſeleſſneſs about the holy Ghoſt: when "letters came to me from both parties, and brethren

[b] *Dionyſius* here ſeems to mean his Epiſtle to *Ammon* Biſhop of *Berenice*, and that to *Teleſphorus*, and that to *Euphranor*: all againſt *Sabellius*; *Euſebius* mentions theſe Epiſtles, in Chap. 26. of this ſeventh book. *Athanaſius* in his *defence of Dionyſius Alexandrinus* mentions but one Epiſtle of *Dionyſius*'s to *Ammonius* and *Euphranor*. *Dionyſius* was accuſed by ſome Biſhops of *Ægypt*, for ſpeaking ſome things about Chriſt in that Epiſtle which were not Orthodox. *Valeſ.*

"to diſcourſe with me, I wrote ſome [c] Epiſtles ac- "cording to my ability with Gods aſſiſtance, ex- "plaining thoſe [points] more at large like an In- "ſtructour: of which Epiſtles, I have ſent you copies.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the moſt execrable Error of the Hereticks, and concerning the viſion ſent from God which appeared to Dionyſius, *and the Eccleſiaſtick Canon he received.*

THE ſame *Dionyſius* in his third Epiſtle, *concerning Baptiſm*, written to *Philemon* Preſbyter of the Church of *Rome*, annexeth theſe words: "I have read over the books and tra- "ditions of the Hereticks, defiling my mind for "a little while with their moſt accurſed inven- "tions: Indeed, I received this advantage from "them, that I can the better confute them in my "own thoughts, and do grow to a greater de- "teſtation of them. And when one of my bro- "ther Presbyters prohibited me, fearing leaſt "I ſhould be mixed and diſordered with the filth "of their wickedneſs; (for he ſaid my mind "would be defiled, and truly I was ſenſible he ſaid "true:) a viſion ſent from God corroborated "me. And a voice came to me, which gave me "this expreſs command, ſaying; Read all things "that thou ſhalt take into thy hands, for thou art "able to ſearch into, and to examine every thing, "and this was the principal cauſe of thy becoming "a Chriſtian: I gladly received the viſion, as "being conſonant with the [a] Words of the A- "poſtle, who ſpeaketh thus to thoſe who are able,

[a] These words γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, *be ye skilful Tryers* or *Examiners*, are no where found in the Apoſtle, indeed we have, in *the firſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians* chap. 5. ver. 21. theſe words, *prove all things, and hold faſt that which is good*: which are the ſame in effect with theſe, *be ye Tryers*, &c. But *Origen*, and *Hieronymus* ſay that theſe words, *Eſtote boni Trapezitæ*, are an expreſs command of our Saviour's. And that the place out of the *Theſſalonians* above quoted has relation to theſe words δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, and exactly agrees with them, wherefore I am of the ſame mind with the Learned *Uſher*, who in his *Proleg. to Ignatius*'s *Epiſt.* cap. 8. ſays, this command of Chriſt is taken out of the *Goſpel according to the Hebrews*. Theſe words are alſo quoted in *Cyril Hieroſolymit.* his 6 Catechiſm, neer the end. *Valeſ.*

"*Be ye skilful* * *Examiners*. Afterwards, having GALLUS. ſpoken ſomething concerning all the Hereſies, he continues ſaying; "I received this Rule and "Canon from *Heraclas* our bleſſed Pope. For "thoſe who were Converts from Hereſies, (al- "though they were [b] Apoſtates from the Church; "or rather not Apoſtates, but ſeemingly aſſembled "themſelves, and were privately diſcovered to "frequent any of the Heterodox teachers) he "excommunicated, and would not again admit "them into the Church although they intreated "him, before they had made a publick confeſſion "of what they had heard from the adverſe party. "And then he again admitted them to commu- "nion, but thought no ſecond Baptiſm was re- "quiſite for them, becauſe they had before re- "ceived holy *[Baptiſm] from him. Again, after a copious diſcourſe upon this queſtion, he thus concludes. "This furthermore I underſtand, "that the *Africans* of this Age were not the "onely introducers of this cuſtom, but this was "eſtabliſht long before by Biſhops, who were "before our Age, in their moſt populous Aſſem- "blies, and in the [c] Synods of the Brethren at "*Iconium*, and at *Synnada*, and amongſt many "other perſons; whoſe ſentiments and determi- "nations I will by no means overthrow, nor ex- "cite them to contention and ſtrife. For it is

* The term in the original is τραπεζῖται, which word occurs Matth. 25. 27. where our tranſlation renders it *Exchangers*. The *Iſraelites* being bound by the Law (Exod. 30. 13.) to come up to *Jeruſalem*, how far ſoever they dwelt from it, and there to ſacrifice, and offer the *half ſhekel* for the uſe of the Temple, (which by the length of their journey they were ſometimes diſabled to do) theſe *Trapezitæ* ſet up their tables in the very Temple, that ſo they might traffick with all that had uſe of them; in like manner as others brought *Oxen* and *Sheep* and *Doves*, to ſell there to them which had not brought their ſacrifices with them. See D[r] *Hammond* on Matth. 21. v. 12.

[b] Here we may ſee the Difference between *Apoſtates*, and thoſe which are *ſimply called Hereticks*. *Apoſtates* were them, who had been baptiz'd in the Catholick Church, but had deſerted the Church and revolted to Hereticks; *Simple Hereticks* were thoſe who had never been admitted into the Church. And this was the cuſtom in the Church that *Apoſtates* as well as *ſimple Hereticks* ſhould be received (when they returned to the Church) *by impoſition of hands*. S[t] *Auguſt.* in his 48 Epiſtle to *Vincentius* ſaith, the Church dealt more kindly with them who were never received into the Church, (that is with them who were *ſimply Hereticks*) then with them who had been received into her, and deſerted her, (that is *Apoſtates*) This is therefore the ſence of *Dionyſius*'s words here, as we may gather by the afore mentioned words of S *Auguſt.* *Dionyſius* here ſays, *Heraclas* his predeceſſour had this form of admitting Converts, who had been *Apoſtate Hereticks*, into the Church. He required *a publick confeſſion* (which is called Exomologeſis) of the Principles of that Hereſie which they had followed; but he did not rebaptize them, becauſe they had been before baptized: immediately after this confeſſion he laid hands upon them (as we may gather from *Dionyſius*'s words) this impoſition of hands upon *an Apoſtate*, and *a ſimple Heretick*, was different. The one was *ad pœnitentiam, in order to Repentance*: the other was *ad tradendum Spiritum Sanctum, for the delivery of the Holy Ghoſt*, the firſt was uſed at the admiſſion of *Apoſtates*, the other at the admiſſion of them whom they called *pure Hereticks*. See *Cyprians* Epiſtle to *Stephanus*. Valeſ.

* In the Med. M. S. and Rob. Stephens's Edit. the reading is [τῷ γὰρ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι &c. *for they had received the holy Spirit*, &c.] In the Kings, Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. the word [πνεύματι, *ſpirit*] is wanting: which in my judgment is the trueſt reading. For *Dionyſius* gives the reaſon why *Heraclas* did not reiterate Baptiſm in the admiſſion of Hereticks in theſe words [τῷ γὰρ ἁγίῳ οὐδὲν ἔδει παρ' αὐτῶν τελυχέναι] [underſtand βαπτίσματι, *Baptiſm*] [*for they had before received holy Baptiſm from him.*] *Dionyſius* calls Baptiſm *holy*, to difference it from the Baptiſm of Hereticks; which *Cyprian*, *Firmilian*, and others (who at that time defended the opinion *of not rebaptizing Hereticks*) call *profane*: *Dionyſius* was a favourer of their party, as appears both from his Epiſtles here quoted by *Euſebius*, and alſo from S[t] *Jeroms* teſtimony. *Valeſ.*

[c] That theſe Synods were before *Dionyſius Alexand.* his time, we may eaſily gather by his own words here: for he expreſly affirms that theſe Synods were πολλῷ πρὸ ἡμῶν, *long before our time*. The ſame thing *Firmilianus* witneſſeth, in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian* concerning the Synod of *Iconium*. This Synod was a long time before the days of *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, as we may gather by *Firmilianus*'s words in his ſaid Epiſtle to *Cyprian*, where he expreſly affirms that this Synod

of

of *Iconium* had been long ſince aſſembled: Alſo *Dionyſius Alexand.* in his Epiſtle to *Philemon* Presbyter of *Rome*, which he wrote about the beginning of the preſidency of *Xyſtus*, ſaith, that this Synod was ſolemnly aſſembled by the Biſhops which preceded him *a long time.* Therefore this Synod ſeems to have been aſſembled about the end of *Alexander Severus*'s Reign: about which time, as *Euſebius* in the 6th book of this Hiſtory recordeth, *Firmilianus* was newly promoted to the dignity of Prieſt in the Church of *Cæſarea.* Therefore I cannot aſſent to *Baronius*, and *Binius*, who reckon this Synod of *Iconium* in the year of Chriſt 258 which was the 2d year of *Stephen*'s preſidency. *Valeſ.*

GALLUS. "written: *thou ſhall not remove thy neighbour's* "*land-mark*, *which thy fathers have ſet in thine* "*inheritance.* His fourth Epiſtle *concerning Baptiſm*, is written to *Dionyſius*, who was at that time Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, and a little while after obtained the Biſhoprick there. From which Epiſtle we may learn what a learned and admirable man this ſame *Dionyſius* was, by *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*'s teſtimonies of him. After other things he writes to him in that Epiſtle concerning *Novatus* in theſe words:

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Novatus's *Hereſie.*

"FOR we may with ſufficient reaſon abomi-
"nate [a] *Novatianus*, who ſtirr'd up Schiſm in
"the Church, and ſeduced ſome of the Brethren
"to blaſphemies and impieties, and induced moſt
"profane Doctrine concerning God, and calum-
"niouſly accuſed our moſt gracious Lord Jeſus
"Chriſt as unmercifull; beſides all theſe things he
"[b] diſalloweth of holy Baptiſm; and utterly
"aboliſheth Faith, and the [c] Confeſſion of Faith
"before Baptiſm: and he perfectly [d] baniſheth
"the holy Ghoſt from them, (although there
"were ſome hope that it ſtill reſted in them, or
"would return to them again.)

[a] The Maz. Med. Fuk. M. SS. read Νοουατιανῷ, and truely, as we afore noted book 6. chap. 45. 'Tis ſtrange that we find the true name of this Heretick only in this place of *Euſebius.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἀθετεῖν τὸ λυτρὸν ἅγιον what may be the true meaning of ἀθετεῖν, in this place may be beſt conjectured by conſidering the divers ſignifications of the word, for from the various meanings of the word, aroſe the different tranſlations of this place. Ἀθετεῖν ſometimes ſignifies *to reject*, *to ſcorn*, ſometimes *to diſgrace*, or *diſhonour*, as *Heſych.* ſaith, ἀθετεῖ, ἀτιμάζει, *not to eſteem*, or *value one*, but *to deſpiſe*: ſo *Clemens Alexand. Stromat.* book 4. uſes the word. Οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἀθετεῖ. *Novatianus* who did not allow but condemn the Baptiſm of the Catholick Church, is fitly ſaid here ἀθετεῖν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα. (i. e.) *he rejected*, and *contemned* that Baptiſm as unprofitable and ineffectual to ſalvation. *Valeſ.*

[c] 'Twas the cuſtom for the *Catechumeni*, or *Catechized*, before the receiving of Baptiſm to repeat the Creed. And at every Article the Prieſt asked them whether they believed, to which they anſwered, *yes I believe*: wherefore when they ſaid that *they believed the Remiſſion of ſins*, *Novatianus* who did not allow Remiſſion of ſins, but aboliſhed it, muſt alſo aboliſh that confeſſion of faith which the *Catechized* repeated before Baptiſm. See *Cyprians* 70 and 76th Epiſtle. *Valeſ.*

[d] It is very difficult to underſtand what *Dionyſius* here means by ſaying *Novatianus baniſhed the holy Spirit from the Brethren*: Perhaps by the holy Spirit he means *the grace which was given to penitents by impoſition of hands when they were admitted into communion, after the performance of the duty of Repentance.* But then theſe words are very obſcure (*although there was ſome hope that it ſtill reſted in them or would return to them again.*) 'Tis plain and evident that *Dionyſius* here ſpeaks concerning them who had lapſed, but how can the holy Spirit be ſaid to abide in them who had ſinned? indeed it may be ſaid to return again to them after their repentance, but can in no wiſe abide in them, for the Scripture ſaith, *Every ſoul which ſinneth ſhall likewiſe periſh.* We muſt then underſtand it of them who had lapſed through weakneſs and ignorance: who in thoſe days were called *libellatici*, or *ſacrificers*, (who had purchaſed libells of ſecurity from the Heathen Magiſtrate, for fear leaſt they ſhould be compelled to ſacrifice) for ſuch as ſin through weakneſs or ignorance do not forfeit the grace of the Spirit: but if this explication pleaſe not, we will underſtand it ſpoken of the faithfull: ſome of whom retained the holy Spirit which they received in Baptiſm, ſome loſt it. From them who had loſt it, *Novatianus* utterly expelled and baniſhed the holy Spirit, by denying them Repentance and Peace, by which the grace of the holy Spirit is regained; he drove it away from them who retained it, and kept it, by inſinuating into their minds falſe and ſiniſter opinions of the holy Ghoſt, as that he was *unmerciful*, *implacable*, &c. And ſo denied them, and utterly deprived them of all hopes of pardon for ſin committed. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Baptiſm of Hereticks, that it is impious.

Dionyſius's fifth Epiſtle was written to *Xyſtus* Biſhop of *Rome.* In which after much diſcourſe againſt Hereticks, he relates this very accident which happened in his days. "For truly "(Brother) I want your advice, and deſire your "judgment. Such a thing as this, coming to my "knowledge, I fear leaſt I ſhould err in it. For "one of the congregation of the Brethren, who "was accounted an antient believer, a perſon who "had been a member of the congregation before "my ordination, (yea and as I think) before "ever bleſſed *Heraclas* was conſtituted Biſhop: "this man (I *ſay*) being preſent at the Ba-"ptiſm of ſome who were lately baptized, and "having heard the Queſtions, and their Anſwers, "came to me weeping, and lamenting his own "caſe. And falling down at my feet he made a "confeſſion of, and renounced the Baptiſm which "he had received from the Hereticks, that it was "not of this kind, neither had it any likeneſs at "all to this of ours; but was full of impieties, and "blaſphemies. He alſo ſaid that he was now moſt "grievouſly pricked in mind, and had not the "confidence to lift up his eyes to God, having "been initiated by ſuch impious words and cere-"monies. For this reaſon he prayed that he might "partake of the moſt pure Baptiſm, [a] Adoption, "and Grace. Which thing I durſt not perform: "but told him that the daily communion with "the Church he had ſo long enjoyed was ſufficient "for that. For I durſt not rebaptize one who "had heard the [b] giving of thanks, and had to-"gether with the reſt of the congregation ſaid "*Amen* to it, and who had [c] ſtood before the holy "Table, and [d] ſtretched out his hand to receive "the holy food; and who had received it, and for "a long time had been partaker of the body and "bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Moreover, I "bad him be of a good courage, and approach the "holy Communion with a ſtedfaſt faith, and a "good conſcience. But he ceaſeth not his lamen-"tations, and has been afraid to come to the holy

[a] Υἱοθεσίαν is by *Chriſtophorſon* rendred *ſuſceptio in Eccleſiam*, *a receiving into the Church*; 'tis by *Muſculus* rendered *ſuſceptio* only; which Verſion I rather approve of. For *Baptiſm* is termed υἱοθεσία, becauſe in it *God receiveth us as his ſons*: υἱοθεσία may alſo be tranſlated *perceptio*, for ſo Baptiſm is ſtiled in the M. S. Acts of the Paſſion of St *Geneſius Mimus.* Valeſ.

[b] When the Prieſt had finiſhed the ſolemn prayers at the Euchariſt, all the people with a joynt acclamation uſed to ſay aloud *Amen*, (that is) *ſo be it.* We muſt underſtand that place of St *Paul* in the firſt Epiſt. to the *Corinth.* Chap. 14. v. 16. to be ſpoken in reference to this Cuſtom, in which place St *Paul* taxeth the *Hebrews*, who uſed the *Hebrew* or *Syrian* language commonly in their Oblations and Divine Service, when the *Grecians* were preſent with them, (as the Commentatour ſays upon the place.) This word *Amen* denotes the aſſent of the people to the prayer made by another before them, and it is an expreſſion of affirmation, which the Church ſtill retaineth. *Valeſ.*

[c] From theſe words [τραπέζῃ παρεστάναι] we may gather that the Communicants came to the Altar, and received the body of Chriſt from the Presbyter, ſtanding up, and not upon their knees, as we do now: had it not been ſo, *Dionyſius* would not have added παρεστάναι; which word we find to be properly uſed in reference to them who miniſter at the Altar. *Chryſoſtom* in his 41 Homilie, upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinth.* uſeth [ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ συναξείῳ] for *the Prieſt*; but [ὁι παρεστῶτες, or παρεστηκότες] he uſeth to ſignifie *the Laity.* But in the 44 Canon of the council of *Laodicea* all Communicants were prohibited from coming to the Altar, except *the Prieſts.* Valeſ.

[d] In the Primitive Church the faithful Communicants came to the Altar with their hands carefully waſhed, and when they were about to receive the body of our Lord, they ſtretched out their right hands bending them and making them hollow, and they put their left hands under them leaſt they ſhould drop any of that holy food. See *Chryſoſt.* 3d Homil. upon the *Epheſians*, and alſo his 52 Homil. upon *Matthew.* Valeſ.

"Table

"Table, and can scarce endure to be present at "the prayers, although he be desired. There is also extant another Epistle of his, besides those before spoken of, *concerning Baptism*, which is directed from him and the Church he presided over, to *Xystus* and the Church at *Rome*. In which Epistle he enters into a prolix argumentation about, and discourses at large upon the Question proposed. There is also extant another Epistle of his, besides these concerning *Lucianus*, which he wrote to *Dionysius* the *Roman*. But thus much concerning these things.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Valerian, *and the Persecution in his Reign.*

VALERIAN. MOreover, *Gallus* having not possessed the Empire two compleat years, was slain; *Valerian* and *Gallienus* his son, succeeded in the Government. Again therefore what *Dionysius* relateth concerning this [*Valerian*] we may gather out of his Epistle to *Hermammon*, in which he makes this Narration; "This also is revealed to "St *John*, for saith he, [a] *And there was given unto "him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies, "and power was given unto him*, [*to continue*] "*fourty and two moneths*. It is matter of wonder "to see how both these things are fulfilled in "*Valerian*, and especially if we consider how he "behaved himself before the Persecution, how "kind and how loving he was to the servants of "God: For no Emperour of all his predecessours was so courteously, so lovingly dispos'd towards them (no not [b] those who are manifestly "reported to have been Christians,) as he was, who "at the beginning of his Empire seem'd most mercifull, most loving towards them. His whole "household was filled with pious men, and was "[seemingly] a Church of God. [c] But his Master, "and [d] Chief of the Magicians of *Ægypt*, perswaded him to change his resolution: bidding "him murther and persecute those pure and holy "men, as being impugners and obstructers of "accursed and abominable sorceries. For there "were then, and are yet living, men, who with "their very aspects, or [e] blowing upon, or words, "are powerful enough utterly to dissipate the "cheats of noxious *Demons*. He advised him to "perform impure rites of initiation, abominable "inchantments and execrable sacrifices; to cut "the throats of miserable Infants, to sacrifice the "children of unhappy parents, to rip open the "bowels of new-born babes; and to tear in "pieces and cut asunder God's own workman-"ship, as if by these Acts he should purchase "for himself a prosperous felicity. He also adds these words. "Indeed, [f] *Macrianus* offered ac-"ceptable thank-offerings to the *Demons* for the "Empire which he hoped for, who at first when "he was nam'd the Emperours [g] Rationalist, did "mind nothing that was reasonable, [h] or for the "publick: But he lay under the curse of the "Prophet, which saith, [i] *Wo to them who pro-"phesie after their own hearts, and regard not the "publick good*. For he did not understand that "there was a providence which over-ruled all "things. Neither had he regard to the judg-"ment of him, who was before all, is in all, and "above all. Upon this account he was indeed an "adversary of his Catholick Church: but he "alienated, and banished himself from the mer-"cy of God, and fled away from his own * sal-"vation as far as he could; in this thing verifying "his own name. After some other passages he again saith. "For *Valerian*, who was induced "to act these things by his means, was exposed to "affronts and reproaches, according to what was "spoken to *Esaias* saying, *They have chosen their "own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abo-"minations, I also will chuse their delusions, and "recompence their sins upon them*. [k] This *Macri-"anus* was most extraordinarily desirous of the

VALERIAN.

[a] *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 257. cap. 7.) does excellently well explain this passage of *Dionysius*'s; *to wit*, concerning the space of time, during which *Valerianus*'s persecution lasted. For whereas *Valerian* reigned almost seven years, as 'tis acknowledged by all; in his former three years he was mild towards the *Christians*, but in his latter *triennium* he raised a persecution against the Church. *Valerian* began to reign in the year of Christ 253. (about the end of the year) *Volusianus* 2 and *Maximus* being Coss. This is manifest from the old Coins produced by *Occo* and *Goltzius*, wherein *Valerian* is inscribed TRIBVN. POTESTAT. 3. *Consul* 3. Also, TRIB. POT. 5. Cos. 4. The same may be gathered from *Gallienus*'s Coins. *Vales.*

[b] By these Christian Emperours he means *Philip* the first Christian Emperour (as many of the ancients doe affirm) of the *Romans*: but because he speaks in the plural number, we may adde *Alexander Severus*, who in his private Chappel had Christ's Image, and favoured the Christians. But *Dionysius* here means those Emperours who were called and thought to be Christians, not that they were really so. *Vales.*

[c] This ἀρχισυνάγωγος ἦν ἀπ' ἀιγύπτου μάγων, *Baronius* at the year of Christ 252. saith was the same man that excited the *Alexandrians* in the Reign of *Decius* to persecute the Christians. (see Chap. 41, Book 6, of this History:) but I think it was quite a distinct person, namely *Macrianus*, he that was afterwards Emperour, who stirred up *Valerian* to persecute the Christians: this *Macrianus* was *Valerian*'s Master or Tutor, and by his evil counsel it was that *Valerian* raised this Persecution; which thing *Dionysius*'s following words do confirm. *Vales.*

[d] This ἀρχισυνάγωγος, is a term borrowed from the *Jews*; for in their Synagogues there were these degrees of Officers; the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, or *Rulers of the Synagogues*; also *Fathers of the Synagogues*; *Priests*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons of the Synagogues*, whom they called *Azanites*; there were also *Apostles*, and *Patriarchs*, who were set over all these: but what this ἀρχισυνάγωγος may mean in this place, we are yet to seek: neither know we what these μάγοι ἀπ' ἀιγύπτου were, except we call them *Aruspices* or *Diviners*, who were at *Rome*: or we may call them *the Priests of Isis* and *Serapis*, over whom this *Macrianus* was *Ruler* or *Chief*. Now these Magicians were prohibited by the Jews, but the *Roman* Emperours, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, had these Magicians with them in their Camps and in all their exploits. *Dio* says, *M. Antony*, in his expedition into *Germany*, took *Arnuphis* an *Ægyptian sorcerer* along with him; so *Valerian* here had Magicians in his Army, and the chief or head of them was this *Macrianus*, as *Dionysius* attests. *Vales.*

[e] This participle ἐμπνέοντες, *Vales.* renders *insufflantes*, (i. e.) *blowing upon*. For the Christians used to blow upon the *Demons* and their delusions, temples, and images; shewing thereby that they abominated them: concerning this usage amongst the Christians, see *Brissonius*'s Notes in *commentar. ad Tit. Cod. Theod. de Feriis*. And *Heraldus* in *his Notes* on *Minucius Felix*.

[f] This phrase καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ κεῖνος, is spoken in reference to the δαίμοσι, the *Demons*, and not βασιλεῦσι, *the Emperours*, as some think; which interpretation if we should follow, the sence would be lost; but in our translation, the sence is plain and entire. And also although here we find Μακεῖνος, yet the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. read Μακριανός. So likewise the Writers of the *Roman History*, and the old Coines, name this Tyrant. *Vales.*

[g] The Greeks call them ὑπὸ τῆς καθόλου λόγων, whom the Latines call *Rationales, vel procuratores summæ rei*; *Receivers General*, or *Stewards of the Emperours Estate*. Whose *procurator* or *steward* this *Macrianus* was, we cannot certainly tell; we must not suppose he was *Valerian's*. Vales.

[h] *Dionysius* here jesteth upon the word καθολικὸν, by which he meaneth both *the stewards office*, and also *the Catholick Religion*, from which signification some gather our Religion to be called καθολικὸς, *quod sit rationalis*, because 'tis rational: but I can scarce think that we can hence gather the Catholick Religion to be so called; for this word καθολικὸς does not signifie *rationalis*, except we understand λογοθέτης *a steward*, or *rationalist*. We find this title attributed to the Church about the first Age after the Apostles, see B. 4. Chap. 15. pag. 59. and in the Acts of the Martyrdom of *Pionius* the Martyr, who suffered in the Reign of *Decius Augustus*, it is so termed: about which time several heresies arose, and endeavoured by their traditions to subvert the true faith of Christ and the Doctrine of the Apostles. At that time, that the true Church might be distinguished from the adulterate Conventicles of Heretícks, this name *Catholick* was attributed to the congregation of the Orthodox persons. *Vales.*

[i] This place out of the 13. chap. of *Ezek.* vers. 3. μὴ καθόλου βλέπουσι, *Hieronym.* translates, *non omnino videnti, see not at all*: but our Authour *Dionysius* renders it as if it were τὴν καθόλου προνοίαν; accommodating the words of the Prophet, or rather of the Septuagint, to his own purpose. *Vales.*

* *Robert Stephens* reads [τῆς ἑαυτῆς ἐκκλησίας, *from his own Church*:] but in the Kings, the Maz. Fuk. and Savil M. SS. the reading is [τῆς ἑαυτῆς σωτηρίας, *from his own salvation*.] Vales.

[k] *Christoph.* thought these words [ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἦν δὲ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιμανεὶς, *he was most extraordinarily desirous of the Empire*] were spoken concerning *Valerian*, when as 'tis plain they must be referred to *Macrianus*. For he could not possibly say of *Valerian* that he was unfit for the Empire which he coveted, for he was a most

eminent man, the very chief of the City: and before he Reigned (as Hiſtorians averr) was judged worthy of the Empire by common conſent. This tranſlation and miſtake of *Chriſtoph.* has alſo brought *Baronius* into an errour. *Valeſ.*

VALERIAN. "Empire, but being unable to put on the imperial dignity, becauſe of his feebleneſs of body, "he made his two ſons Emperours, who were "heirs of their fathers iniquities. The prophecy "which God ſpake is moſt evidently accompliſhed in theſe two brothers: *Viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.* "For he impoſed his own [1] evil luſts which he "could not injoy, upon the heads of his Children, "and imprinted on them his own wickedneſs and "hatred againſt God. Thus much *Dionyſius* writeth concerning *Valerian.*

[1] Ὧν ἠπύχει we have rendred (*which he could not enjoy*) And if that reading [ἠπύχει] be true, it muſt be ſo rendred: the Kings M. S. and Steph. Edit. read [ἠπύχει·] but the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. read ὧν ἠυξύχει, *which he ſucceſsfully obtained*; and in my opinion 'tis the better reading. For *Macrianus* did obtain the Empire, which he was ſo deſirous of, but by reaſon of his debility of body he was unable to carry the *Inſignia* of the Empire, but raiſed his two ſons to that dignity, wherefore upon the obtaining of all theſe his deſires, *Dionyſius* might well ſay of him ὅτι ἠυξύχησε πρὸς ἰδιῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, that he was *votorum compos, maſter of all his wiſhes.* As for *this feebleneſs of body* (ἀναπήρῳ σώματι) which he attributeth to *Macrianus*, we find it mentioned in no Hiſtorians, except in *Zonaras's Annals* (who was the onely man that gave us a true relation of the Acts of *Macrianus* and his ſons) and he ſays *Macrianus* was lame. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning what then happened to Dionyſius, *and to thoſe Chriſtians which were in* Ægypt.

BUt concerning the Perſecution which raged exceedingly againſt him; what [ſufferings] alſo he and others ſuſtained upon account of the worſhip of the ſupream God, his own words will declare, which he wrote in anſwer to * *Germanus* a Biſhop of thoſe times, who endeavoured out of malice to revile him: thus he anſwers him. "[a] I run the hazard "of falling into great folly "and ſtupidity, being compelled of neceſſity to re"late the miraculous pro"vidence of God concer"ning us. But becauſe 'tis "ſaid, [b] *It is good to keep "cloſe the ſecrets of a King, "but it is honourable to re"veale the workes of God:* "therefore I will hand to hand engage in the "aſſault made againſt me by *Germanus*. I came "to *Æmilianus* not without company, for there "followed me *Maximus* my fellow Presbyter, "and *Fauſtus*, *Euſebius*, and *Cæremon* who were "Deacons. One of the brethren of *Rome* alſo "then preſent went in with us. Neither did "*Æmilianus* ſay to me at firſt, do not you hold "ſolemn aſſemblies: for this was needleſs for "him to have ſaid, and a recurſion from the laſt "to the firſt, or principal thing in hand: for it "was not his deſire that we ſhould not aſſemble "others, but his principal care was that we our "ſelves ſhould not be Chriſtians: And he com"manded me to leave off that way of worſhip, "for he thought that if I would change my mind, "others would follow my example: I replied not "impertinently but in ſhort, that [c] *we ought to "obey God rather than man.* But I openly pro"teſted that I worſhipped him who is the onely "true God, and adored no "other, and that I would "never change my mind nor "ever ceaſe being a Chri"ſtian. After theſe words "he bid us depart thence in"to a Village called *Cephro* "adjoyning to the wilder"neſs. But hear what words "paſſed on both ſides, as we "find them inſerted in the "[d] Publick Records [e], when "*Dionyſius* and *Fauſtus* and "*Maximus* and *Marcellus* "and *Cæremon* were brought "in, *Æmilianus* the Go"vernour ſaid: I have alſo "diſcourſed with you by "word of mouth concerning "the clemency which our "Lords the Emperours have "uſed towards you; for they "have given you power to "remain in ſafety if you will "but turn to that which is "agreeable to nature, and "adore the gods which are "protectours of their Em"pire, and forget thoſe "things which are repug"nant to nature. What ſay "you to theſe [Propoſals?] For I hope you "will not ſhew your ſelves ungrateful towards "their clemency, becauſe they incite you to better "things. *Dionyſius* replied, all men do not wor"ſhip the ſame gods, but every one worſhip thoſe "whom they think to be gods: but we pay re"verence and adoration to one onely God, the "creatour of all things, who gave the Empire into "the hands of the moſt ſacred and Auguſt Em"perours *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. And to him we "offer up our prayers inceſſantly for the perma"nency and ſtability of their Empire. *Æmilianus* "the Governour ſaid unto them, who hindereth "you but you may alſo worſhip him (if he be a "God) together with them who are by Nature "Gods: for you are commanded to worſhip the "Gods, and alſo thoſe Gods, whom all men own to "be ſuch. *Dionyſius* replied; we adore no other. "Then ſaid *Æmilianus* the Governour unto them: "I ſee you are altogether ungrateful and inſenſible "of the Emperours lenity towards you. Where"fore you ſhall not abide in this City, but ſhall be "ſent into the parts of *Libya*, to a place called "† *Cephro*; for this place "I have deſigned for you ac"cording to our Emperours "command; and it ſhall "in no wiſe be ſuffered that "either you, or any others, "keep your meetings, or have "recourſe to the places cal"led the [f] *Cœmeteries*; but if "it appears that any one of "you be not gone to the "place which I have com"manded you to go to, or "ſhall be found afterwards "in any aſſembly, he will bring imminent danger "upon himſelf, for a neceſſary obſervation "[thereof] ſhall not be wanting. Therefore "depart

VALERIAN. [c] Theſe words occurr in Chap. 5. of the Acts of the Apoſtles, ver. 29. they are Saint *Peter's* anſwer to the *Sanhedrim*, when they laid to their charge the preaching the Goſpel: but how theſe words come in in this place I cannot tell, except we read with the Kings M. S. ἀπεκινάμην δὲ ὡς ἀπροικότως οὐδὲ μακρὰν τοῦ πεισθαρχεῖν. (i.e.) *I anſwered him not abſurdly, and not much unlike that Anſwer of the Apoſtle.* Valeſ.

[d] *Chriſtoph.* tranſlates [ὡς ὑπομνηματίοις] *ſicut à quibuſdam in Commentarios relata ſunt*; but we have rendred it thus, *as they are inſerted in the Publick Records.* For the Greeks uſe ὑπομνήματα in the ſame ſence as the Latines uſe their word *Acta*, ſee B. 1. c. 9. note *(b.)* Thoſe which wrote theſe ὑπομνηματογράφοι, the Latines call *ab Actis, Regiſters, Recorders.* We find mention of the *Regiſters* of *Alexandria* in ſeveral places. *Lucianus* was once *Recorder of Alexandria*, and he ſaith he had a large ſalary out of the City treaſurie for the performance of this Office; and for the good execuſon thereof he had the Government of a Province conferred upon him. *Valeſ.*

[e] This was the form of their publick Acts as *Amm. Marc.* informs us *in his 22 book.* Valeſ.

† *Cephro* was the moſt rude and barbarous tract of the *Lybian* deſart; and *Coluthio* (a place hereafter mentioned in this chapter, to which *Dionyſius* was in particular deſigned) was, 'tis like, the moſt uncomfortable part of that tract. See *Nicephor.* B. 6. chap. 10.

[f] Thoſe places which *Euſebius* in Greek here calls κοιμητήρια, the Latines call *Areæ.* Valeſ. They were the places where the Martyrs were uſually buried; upon which account the Chriſtians frequented them. See book 4. chap. 15. note *(o.)*

* The paſſage which follows, is an eminent fragment of the Epiſtle (or rather the book) which *Dionyſius* wrote againſt *Germanus* the Biſhop; and it is to be joyned to that other fragment of the ſame book, which you had in Chap. 40. of Book 6. *Valeſ.*

[a] This place of *Dionyſius* alludeth to that of Saint *Paul* in the 11th Chap. of the 2d Epiſt. *to the Corinthians* v. 16; where St *Paul* uſeth this ſame excuſe, being about to commend himſelf: upon which place ſee *Chryſoſtom's* Annotat. *Valeſ.*

[b] Theſe words we find in the 12th Chap. of *Tobit* ver. 7.

VALERIAN. "depart hence whither you are commanded: And "he compelled me, although I was sick, to depart, "and gave not one days respite. [g] How then "could I have any leisure to call or not to call a "meeting? *After some passages he again saith;* "But neither were we absent (by God's as-"sistance) from a corporal "congregation: For with "greater diligence I gathered "together those in the City, "as if I had been present with "them, being absent in body "(as I [h] said;) but present "in spirit: in *Cephro* also "there was a great congrega-"tion assembled with us, some "of whom were the bre-"thren who followed us out "of the City; others came "thither from the rest of "*Ægypt:* And there God "opened to us a door [to "preach his] Word: at "first indeed we were per-"secuted, and stoned: but "afterwards some of the "Heathens, and those not a few, forsook their "Idols, and were converted to God; for the "word, which they had not before received, was "then first sown amongst them by us; as if God "had sent us away to them for this end: After "we had here fulfilled the Ministry, he again "removed us to another place: For *Æmilianus* "resolved to convey us into places more uncom-"fortable (as he thought) and more like the "*Lybian* desart: And he gave command that we "should altogether repair to *Mareotis,* having "allotted particular villages throughout that Re-"gion for every of us. But he ordered us to "reside nere the high-road, that we might be the "first that should be apprehended. For this was "wholly his contrivance and provision, that when-"ever he had a mind to apprehend us, he might "have all of us easily taken without any trouble. "But when I was commanded to depart to *Ce-"phro,* although I knew not where the place lay, "(having scarce ever before heard the name of "it,) yet I went away willingly, and not at all "disturbed. But when they told me I was "to depart thence to the "[i] [parts] of *Colluthio,* they "who were present with me "can tell how I was then "disposed; for here I "will blame my self: At "first indeed I was grieved "and sorely vexed; for al-"though I had a better know-"ledge of, and was more ac-"quainted with those places, "yet they reported it was a "Countrey not inhabited by "brethren and good men, and exposed to the "disturbances of Travellers, and incursions of "Thieves. But I received comfort by the bre-"thren, when they suggested to me, that it lay "nearer to the City; and although *Cephro* had "brought us a great multitude of brethren out "of *Ægypt,* so that we could hold larger as-"semblies, yet there, the City lying nearer, we "should more frequently enjoy the company of "our truly beloved friends and acquaintance, "for they would flock thither, and reside with us. "And there would be [k] particular congregations, "as if it were in the more remote Suburbs. And "so it fell out to be. After some other discourse he thus again writeth concerning what happened unto him. "[But perhaps] *Germanus* * glori-"eth in his many Confessions; and he can enu-"merate a great many [af-"flictions] which have be-"fallen him. But how many "sentences of the Judges "may he reckon up which "were pronounced against us; "[how many] confiscations, "proscriptions, plundring of "goods, [l] deprivations of dig-"nities, contempts of world-"ly glory, despisings of the "praises of the Prefects and "[m] Senatours: what pati-"ent sufferance of publick "menaces, of exclamations a-"gainst us, and of perils, and "of persecutions, and of "wandring up and down in "Exile, and of anxieties, and "of all sort of tribulation: "what things happened to "me under *Decius,* and "[n] *Sabinus,* and what to this "present under [n] *Æmilianus:* "but where appeared *Ger-"manus?* what report is "there concerning him? but "I desist from this great "imprudence which I am "fallen into upon *Germa-"nus*'s account. Wherefore "I willingly give those bre-"thren, who perfectly know "these matters, leave to "make a narration of every "thing which did befall us. The same *Dionysius,* in his Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus,* doth again in these words mention some things concerning this persecution; "It is superfluous to recite "to you, who knew them "not, the names of all our "[Martyrs,] which were "very many. But under-"stand thus much, that both "men and women; young "and old; young women "and antient women; Soul-"diers and Rusticks; per-"sons of all sorts, and all "Ages; some of them ha-"ving been victorious in the "combate by scourges and "fire; and others by the "Sword, received crowns "of [Martyrdom.] But a "long interval of time passed "away being insufficient to "make some appear accepta-"ble to the Lord: in like "manner as for me it hath "not seemed [sufficient to "make me acceptable] who "have continued even till this time: Wherefore [o] "God hath reserved me for a time which he "knows to be opportune, who saith; [o] *In an ac-"ceptable*

VALERIAN. [k] These words, which we here translate *particular Congregations,* are in Greek κατὰ μέρος συναγωγάς. Those that dwelt in the remotest parts of the Suburbs, were not bound to come to the congregation of the great Church: but in that part of the Suburbs there were particular assemblies in a Church, or some other place fit for that purpose. Thus much we may gather by this passage of *Dionysius.* Moreover the Greeks did not call those places onely which joyned to the City πρόαστεια, but also the Villages which were a great way distant from the City. *Canopus* which was twelve miles from *Alexandria,* is called by *Athanasius* in his book which he presented to the Council of *Chalcedon,* πρόαστειον. Further, from this place we may gather, that in *Dionysius*'s days there was but one Church in *Alexandria* whither all the Christians assembled themselves to pray: but afterwards, in the days of *Athanasius,* the number of the Churches being increased by the bounty of the Bishops of *Alexandria,* the Citizens of *Alexandria* had particular Congregations in divers Churches; Except in the solemn festivals of *Easter* and *Whitsontide,* when all the people assembled themselves in the great Church. *Valesius.*

* These things concerning *Germanus* are here spoken Ironically. *Valesius.*

[l] By these words, ἀξιωμάτων στερήσεις, *deprivations of dignities;* we may conjecture that *Dionysius* was descended of a good family; for *dignitas* is that which cometh by nobleness of birth. Thus we find, *In Gest. Purgat. Cæciliani,* that *Victor* being asked by *Zenophilus* the President, *cujus conditionis esset,* he answered, he was *Professor litterarum Romanarum,* and when he asked him *cujus dignitatis esset;* he answered he was sprung a *Patre Decurione Constantinensium, avo milite, qui in Comitatu militaverat. Dionysius Alexandrinus,* before he turned Christian, was by profession an *Orator,* or *teacher of Rhetorick.* Valesius.

[m] *Augustus* commanded the *Alexandrians* to govern their City without any *Senatours,* or *Aldermen.* But afterward *Severus* the Emperour granted the *Alexandrians* power of having a Senate, as we may read in book 51. of *Dio.* And in *Athanasius*'s Epistle *Ad Solitarios* there is mention of the Senatours of *Alexandria. Valesius.*

[n] This *Sabinus* was Prefect of *Ægypt* under *Decius* the Emperour; of him *Dionysius* speaketh in his Epistle to *Fabius,* which Epistle is quoted in chap. 41. book 6. of this History: but *Æmilianus,* who is here mentioned as Governour, afterwards seised the Empire, as *Pollio* writeth in his 30 Tyrants. *Valesius.*

[o] These words occurr in *Isa.* c. 49. v. 8.

[g] Here *Dionysius* answers *Germanus*'s cavil, who accused him, because he never called an Assembly of the Brethren before the Persecution began; which was a custome in those days, *(vid.)* That the Bishops, upon the Approach of a Persecution, should gather the people together, and exhort them to a constant Perseverance in Christianity; and Baptize infants, and *Catechumens;* least they should die unbaptized; and also distribute the Sacrament to believers. *Valesius.*

[h] Although we read here [ὡς εἶπον] and have so translated it; yet the Maz. and Med. M. SS. read [ὡς εἰπεῖν] [*as one may say:*] the Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. read ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, *as the Apostle said:* 'Tis certain *Dionys.* here alludeth to that of the Apostle in the first to the *Corinth.* Chap. 5. ver. 3. *Valesius.*

[i] In the original the reading is [τὴν κολλυθίων] but we must necessarily understand μέρη [parts] and so we have translated it. This *Colluthio* was a part of the *Mareotic* prefecture in *Ægypt;* so called from them who were formerly possessours of it. *Colutho* is a common name amongst the *Ægyptians,* and hence came κολλύθιον; which in *Niceph.* we find written with a single *(L.)* There were several *Ægyptians* called by this name, *Colutho.* Valesius.

VALERIAN. "ceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of "ſalvation have I helped thee. But becauſe you are "inquiſitive after our affaires, and deſirous to be "informed in what condition we live: you have "fully heard, how when I, *Caius*, *Fauſtus*, *Peter*, "and *Paul* were led away Priſoners by the "Centurion, and the [p] Magiſtrates [of *Alexan-*"*dria*] and the Guards and Officers that were "with them, [q] ſome of them of *Mareotis* came "upon them, and took us away by force, drag-"ging us by violence who were unwilling, and "would not follow them. But at this preſent, "I, and *Caius*, and *Peter* being alone, and depri-"ved of the reſt of the brethren, are ſhut up in "a deſert, and moſt uncomfortable place of *Li-*"*bya*, being three days journey diſtant from *Para-*"*tonium*. And a little after theſe words, he ſaith; "Some have hid themſelves ſecretly in the City "that they may viſit the brethren, As *Maximus*, "*Dioſcorus*, *Demetrius* and *Lucius*, who are "Presbyters. (For *Fauſtinus* and *Aquila* being "men more eminently known in the world, tra-"vel up and down *Ægypt*.) But the Deacons "that are ſurviving, beſides thoſe that died in "[r] the Plague, are theſe: *Fauſtus*, *Euſebius*, *Chære-*"*mon*. *Euſebius*, [I ſay] one whom God hath "impowered from the beginning, and furniſhed "with great vigour to fulfil the Office of Mini-"ſtration to the Confeſſours in Priſon, and to "perform the Funeral [r] Rites due to the bodies "of the perfected and bleſſed Martyrs, with great "hazard and danger. For to this very preſent "the Governour ceaſeth not moſt cruelly to ſlay "ſome who are brought before him, (as I be-"fore told you) to tear in pieces others with "tortures, and to make other-ſome to pine away "in Priſons, and bonds, giving a ſtrict charge "that none approach them, and making diligent "ſearch whither any one be ſeen to come neer "them. Notwithſtanding, God through the "chearfulneſs and fortitude of the brethren, doth "inceſſantly refreſh the afflicted. Theſe are *Dio-*"*nyſius*'s words, and are contained in that Epiſtle.

We muſt further underſtand, that this *Euſebius* whom he before called a Deacon, was a [t] great while after conſtituted Biſhop of the Church of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. And *Maximus*, who he ſaid was then a Presbyter, ſucceeded *Dionyſius* himſelf in the Government of the brethren at *Alexandria*. *Fauſtus* alſo, (who together with *Dionyſius* was at that time famous for his being a Confeſſour) was reſerved even till the Perſecution in our days, and being very old, and full of years, he was perfected by Martyrdom, being beheaded even in our Age. But thus much concerning what happened to *Dionyſius* about that time.

VALERIAN.

[t] Theſe words ὁ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπισκοπήσας τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν παροικίας, are in the Med. Fuk. and Maz. M. SS. and not without reaſon; for it was *a great while after* that *Euſebius* was ordained Biſhop of *Laodicea*: for he ſucceeded *Socrates*, as *Euſebius* atteſts a little lower. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Martyrs which ſuffered at Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine.

IN this Perſecution under *Valerian*, three men of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* very eminent for their confeſſion of Chriſt, were crowned with divine Martyrdom, being made food for the wild beaſts. One of them was called *Priſcus*; the other *Malchus*; the name of the third was *Alexander*. They report that theſe men, living in the Countrey, ſhould blame themſelves firſt for being careleſs and ſlothful perſons, becauſe they were negligent of, and did not eagerly catch at the crown of Martyrdom, ſeeing that was a ſeaſonable time of diſtributing thoſe rewards of victory to them who had the leaſt ſpark of celeſtial love in them. Then, when they had conſulted about theſe things amongſt themſelves, they took a journey to *Cæſarea*, and went immediately to the place where the Judge was, and received the aforementioned ſentence of death. Beſides theſe, there was a woman of the ſame City, in the ſame Perſecution, who they report, ſtrove in the ſame combate: But 'tis famed that ſhe was one of *Marcion*'s Sect.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Peace under Gallienus.

[a] BUt not long after, *Valerian* being [b] captivated and enſlaved by the *Barbarians*, his ſon Reigned alone, who behaved himſelf more prudently in his Empire. He immediately putteth a ſtop to the Perſecution againſt us by his Edicts; and gave command that the Prelates of our Religion ſhould ſecurely, and with freedom execute their uſual Offices, by his Reſcript which runs thus: EMPEROUR CÆSAR PUBLIUS LICINIUS GALLIENUS, PIUS FELIX AUGUSTUS, *To* Dionyſius, Pinna, Demetrius, *and the reſt of the Biſhops: We have commanded that the Indulgence of our Gracious Bounty be publiſhed through the whole World: That all ſhall quickly depart out of Religious places. And for this cauſe you are impowered to make*

[a] *Rufinus* here alters the courſe of the Chapters, and placeth theſe which we place here as the 13th and 14th after the 19 chapter immediately; but in his *Index* before his Hiſtory he keeps the ſame method as the Greek copies of *Euſebius* does: why he ſhould here pervert the order, I cannot tell; except it is, becauſe he thinks it is more convenient to ſubjoyn the ſufferings of *Marinus*, and *Aſturius* to the ſufferings of the Martyrs of *Cæſarea*. But he ought to obſerve that thoſe Martyrs of *Cæſarea* ſuffered in *Valerian*'s Perſecution; but *Marinus* and *Aſturius* ſuffered in the Reign of *Gallienus*. This miſtake of *Rufinus* has brought ſeveral other Authours into the ſame Errour. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Valerian* was taken captive by the King of *Perſia*, in the year of Chriſt 259.

P Tranſlatours generally miſtake in rendring this word στρατηγοὶ in this place, by the Latine word *duces*, *captaines*: *Chriſtoph.* ſaw the abſurditie it led to by rendring it *duces*, and therefore he renders it *dux*: but neither does he by thus rendring it, avoid an abſurditie, for it was not the leaſt branch of the Captaines duty to lead Criminals into baniſhment, but that was rather the Centurions or the Guards duty. Wherefore this word στρατηγοὶ muſt here ſignifie ſome other Officer beſides a Captain, we will therefore render it the *Duumviri*, or as we call them, *the Sheriffs*, or *Magiſtrates of Alexandria*; which are in Greek often called στρατηγοὶ. Now it was the duty of theſe Magiſtrates to apprehend Criminals, commit them to priſon, examine them, &c. ſtill reſerving the power of judging to the *Roman* Preſident. Wherefore 'tis not here abſurd, but very reaſonable to ſay, theſe *Duumviri* aſſiſted the Governour in leading theſe men into baniſhment: the following words alſo στρατιῶται and ὑπηρέται confirm our opinion: for στρατιῶται are the *Guards* which belonged to the Prefect; ὑπηρέται are the Officers belonging to the *Duumviri*, or *Sheriff*. *Athanaſ.* in his Epiſtle *ad Solitarios*, calls this Magiſtrate, or *Duumvir*, στρατηγόν. *Valeſ.*

Q Theſe things happened in the firſt Perſecution under *Decius*, at that time when *Dionyſius*, by the ſentence of *Sabinus* the Governour, was led to *Taposiris*. See his own Epiſtle to *Fabius* in chap. 40. book 6. And whoſoever does compare that Epiſtle with this here, he will conclude them both written concerning the ſame thing. Wherefore, *Euſebius* miſtakes when he thinks that the ſubject of this Epiſtle here to *Domitius* is that thing which happened in *Valerian*'s Reign: for none of theſe things which he here mentioneth, happened in *Valerian*'s Reign, but in the Perſecution which begun a little before *Decius*'s Reign, as *Dionyſius* himſelf ſaith in his Epiſt. againſt *Germanus*, which *Euſebius* quoteth in the 6th book. But in the Perſecution under *Valerian*, he had onely thoſe companions which he mentions in the beginning of this chapter. *Valeſ.*

R *Rufinus* inſtead of νόσῳ readeth νήσῳ, and accordingly he tranſlates the place, *ſome who dyed in the Iſland*: but *Dionyſius* means *the Plague*, which in *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*'s time, ſpread it ſelf quite through the *Roman* Empire, as *Euſebius* and others Record. *Valeſ.*

S *Chriſtoph.* renders this word ἐνειλεῖσθαι, by a long Periphraſis thus, *ad lintea, quibus corpora beatorum Martyrum jam vita defunctorum involverentur, conficienda*; he all along having relation to the uſage in our days, for with us the dead are wrapped in linnen cloth, and ſo intered. But the Antients, I mean the Chriſtians, uſed to wrap the dead in moſt coſtly clothes, and ſo bury them: but for *Chriſtophorſon*'s tranſlation, we have *Athanaſius*'s authority, who ſaith, *in his life of S. Anthony*, that the *Ægyptians* uſed to wrap their dead bodies, eſpecially thoſe of the holy Martyrs *in linnen*, and did not interr them, but laid them upon beds and kept them within their own private houſes. *Valeſ.*

GALLIENUS.

make use of a Copy of our Rescript, that no body may molest you: And that which is Lawful for you to put in execution was Granted by Us long ago: And upon this account Aurelius Cyrenius, *Our* [c] *High Steward shall keep the Copy of this Edict Granted by Us.* For the more manifest understanding of these things, they were Translated by Us out of Latine into Greek, and here inserted. There is also extant another Rescript sent to other Bishops, in which he permitteth to them the Restauration of the places called [d] *Cœmeteria.*

[c] For an explication of this persons Office, see *Valesius*'s notes, *Ad Excerpta ex dione Cocceiano*, pag. 112.

[d] They were the places where they buried their dead, and often assembled for their Religious solemnities, especially the memorials of the Martyrs; as has before been remark't.

CHAP. XIV.

What Bishops flourisht in those times.

AT this time [a] *Xystus* still continued to preside over the Church of *Rome*; but *Demetrianus* succeeded *Fabius* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*; *Firmilianus* was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia:* Moreover, *Gregorius*, and his brother *Athenodorus* governed the Churches of *Pontus*; they were both *Origen*'s Schollars: *Theoctistus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* being dead, *Domnus* succeeded in that Bishoprick: he living but a little while, *Theotecnus*, who lived till our times, was constituted his successour. And this person also was one of *Origen*'s School. But *Mazabanes* of *Jerusalem* being dead, *Hymenæus* succeeded in that See, who also was very eminent in our days.

[a] *Xystus* was dead long before; for he died a famous Martyr in the Persecution under *Valerian*, when *Tuscus* and *Bassus* were Consuls, on the 8th of the *Ides of August*; as we may see in *Cyprians* Epistle. *Vales.*

CHAP. XV.

How Marinus *was Martyred at* Cæsarea.

A General peace being at this time restored to the Churches in *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*, *Marinus*, a man honoured with a [a] Military dignity, and eminent for descent and riches, was beheaded for his confession of Christ, upon this account. There is a certain dignity amongst the *Romans* termed the [b] Vine, which those that obtained, are said to be made Centurions; [c] this place being vacant, *Marinus*, whose course in order it was, was called to that promotion: when he was forthwith to have been invested in that dignity, there came another before the Tribunal, and accused him, saying, it was unlawful according to the old Laws, for him to hold any dignity amongst the *Romans*; for he was a Christian, and did not sacrifice to the Emperours; therefore the Office belonged to him. [d] *Achæus*, (for that was the name of the Judge) being enraged at this, first asked *Marinus* what Opinion he was of: then when he saw that he stedfastly confessed himself to be a Christian, he granted him three hours respit for deliberation. When he was gone out of the place of judicature *Theotecnus* the Bishop of that City coming to him, taketh him aside to discourse with him; and laying hold of his hand, leads him to the Church; wherein when he had placed him at the very Altar, he put his [e] Cloak a little aside, and shewed him the sword wherewith he was girded, and also brought the Book of the Sacred Gospels and placed it right against him, bidding him on his own accord to take which of those two best pleased him. When *Marinus* without any delay had put forth his right hand, and taken up the Sacred Book, *Theotecnus* said unto him, adhere therefore, adhere to God, and being impowered by him thou shalt obtain what thou hast chosen; go in peace. Immediately as he returned from the Church, the Cryer, who stood before the Tribunal, called him; for the time allotted him was now accomplished: When he was brought before the place of judicature, and had shewed a greater courage in the confession of the Faith then he did before, immediately he was hailed away to Execution, *and was* [f] *Crowned with Martyrdom.*

GALLIENUS.

[a] He means the *Cohortalis Militia*, as may be collected from what follows. For mention is made of *Achæus* the Judge, of the *Forum*, &c. Which could not be spoken of the *Militia Castrensis*. Had the *Camp-milice* been spoken of here, *Marinus* must have pleaded his cause before the *Captain*, or *Deputy of Cæsar*. The ordinary Judges had their *Centurions* and *Cornicularii* in their Court. Yea, almost all the names of the Officers under them were taken from the *Camp-milice*, as *Asconius Pedianus* has remark't. *Vales.*

[b] The phrase in the original is [Τὸ κλῆμα] which we have rendred [*The Vine.*] It was enacted by a Law amongst the *Romans*, that *no Citizen should be beaten with rods, but with Vines:* See *Livy*, in his 57 Book: upon this account the Souldiers were by the Centurions beaten with Vines; whence at last the Vine came to be the badge of the Centurions Office. *Spartianus* (in the life of *Hadrian*) uses it in this sense; and so does *Plutarch* in *Galba.*

[c] In the Maz. Fuk. and Med. M. SS. there is a stop here; but in the Kings M. S. there is none; which punctation in the three M. SS. first named, *Salmasius* (in his notes on *Spartianus*) defends against *Casaubon*, (in his notes on the same Authour,) who thought that the Vine was a badge which denoted those that were to be chosen Centurions, who should bear that Office, when there was a place vacated. And therefore *Casaubon* read this passage thus [*There is a certain dignity amongst the Romans termed the Vine, which those that obtain are said to be made Centurions when there is a place vacant:*] which reading agrees with the Kings M. S. But *Salmasius* makes a stop (as we do) at the word [Centurions,] which doubtless is the truest reading: See note (*b*) in this chapter. *Vales.*

[d] That was the Judges name; so a famous Captain was called, who heretofore rebelled against *Antiochus*, as *Polybius* relates. This *Achæus* was president of *Palestine*, and had his residence at *Cæsarea*, which was the chief City of that whole Province. *Vales.*

[e] We read τῆς χλαμύδος, not τῆς χλανίδος; which is a common, but an Erroneous reading. The *Chlamys* and the *Balteus* (i.e. *the Cloak* and *the Belt*) were military badges, as may be proved from innumerable places in *Chrysostom*, *Libanius*, and others. *Vales.*

[f] The term here is [τελειῶται] i. e. *he was perfected by Martyrdom.* For Martyrs were initiated by confession, and perfected by death; as *Dionysius* phrases it at the end of Chap. 11. in this book. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (in B. 4. *Stromat.* pag. 206.) gives another reason, why Martyrdom is called τελείωσις; ὅτι τέλειον ἔργον ἀγάπης ἐνεδείξατο, *because it demonstrates the perfection of love.* Vales.

CHAP. XVI.

A Relation concerning Astyrius.

ASTYRIUS also is much fam'd for his Religious boldness and freedom at that time: A man who was a *Roman* Senatour, a singular favourite of the Emperours: and both for his nobleness of Birth and Estate, known to all persons. He, being present at the death of the foresaid Martyr, took up the Corps, wrapped it in a white and precious garment, laid it upon his shoulders and carried it away; and when he had adorned it very richly, he deposited it in a decent Grave. This persons familiars, who lived till our days, relate infinite other things concerning him.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the mighty Miracles of our Saviour at Paneas.

AMongst which they relate this Miracle. At *Cæsarea-Philippi*, (which the [a] *Phænicians* call *Paneas*) they report there are springs to be

[a] Those whom our *Eusebius* here calls φοίνικας, *Phœnicians*, are the *Grecians* which inhabited *Phœnicia.* For *Paneas* is a Greek name, the *Syrians*, or rather the *Syro-Phœnicians*, called this City *Dan*, as S. *Jerom*, affirms in *his Questions on Genesis*; his words are these; *Dan Phœnices oppidum, quod nunc Paneas*

Paneas dicitur. Dan autem unus è fontibus Jordanis. Nam & alter vocatur Jor, quod interpretatur ῥεῖθρον. Duobus ergo fontibus, qui haud procul à ſe diſtant, in unum rivulum ſæderatis, Jordanis deinceps appellatur. i. e. *Dan is a Town of Phœnicia, which is now called Paneas. Alſo Dan is the name of one of the Spring-heads of Jordan. For the other is named Jor, the interpretation whereof is* [a Stream.] *Theſe two Fountains therefore, which are not far diſtant from each other, are united into one Rivulet, which is afterwards called Jordan.* Valeſ.

GALLIENUS. ſeen at the foot of the Mountain called *Panius*, out of which the River *Jordan* hath its original. They ſay, that on a certain Feſtival they uſed to [b] caſt a ſacrifice into theſe Springs, and by the power of the Devil it would miraculouſly vaniſh out of ſight: And that this was a Miracle much talked of by them who had ſeen it. *Aſtyrius* therefore being upon a time preſent with thoſe that did this, and ſeeing many ſtruck with admiration at what was done, was ſorry for their errour. Then he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and beſought the ſupream God, by Jeſus Chriſt, that he would rebuke this Devil which ſeduced the people, and command him to ceaſe from deceiving of men. They report that when he had prayed thus the ſacrifice floated upon the Waters immediately. Thus periſhed their Miracle, and never afterwards was there any prodigie done neer that place.

[b] This cuſtom, *φάγιον χαλασθαι of caſting the ſacrifice into the Springs*, or *Wells*, which they worſhipped, was uſed by the Heathens. And hence it is that *Publicola* aſketh *Auguſtine*, in his 153. Epiſtle, whether it were lawful to drink of that Spring or Well, into which any part of a ſacrifice had been caſt. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Statue, which the Woman who had the Flux of blond, erected.

BUt ſince I have made mention of this City, I think it not at all unſutable to produce a ſtory, which is worthy to be related to poſterity. For they ſay that the woman, [a] who had the Iſſue of bloud, whom the ſacred Goſpels inform us to have been healed by our Saviour, was born in this City: and that her houſe may be ſeen there, and that the illuſtrious Monuments of our Saviour's beneficence ſhown towards her doe yet remain. For neer the gate of her houſe ('tis ſaid) ſtands upon a Pillar of ſtone, the Effigies of a woman in braſs, kneeling on her knees, and ſtretching forth her hands forward in the form of a ſuppliant. On the other ſide oppoſite to it ſtood another Image of a man made of the ſame mettal ſtanding upright, dreſſed decently in a * ſhort veſture, and ſtretching out his hand towards the woman. At whoſe feet upon the baſe of the Pillar 'tis ſaid there ſprings up a ſtrange kind of an herb, which grows up to the [b] skirt of his braſen doublet, and is a preſent remedy to remove all ſorts of diſeaſes: They ſay that this Statue repreſented our Saviour. This remained till our Age, and therefore we our ſelves went to the City to ſee it. Nor need it ſeem a wonder that the Ancient Gentiles, who received benefits from our Saviour, did theſe things; ſeeing that we have ſeen the pictures of his Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, and of Chriſt himſelf, drawn in Colours, and preſerved till our days. It is probable enough that thoſe Ancients, according to the cuſtom of the Heathens, were wont [c] unadviſedly to honour all thoſe after this manner as Saviours, by whom they had been any ways benefited. GALLIENUS.

[a] This place of *Euſebius*, concerning the woman who had the Iſſue of bloud, is quoted in the *ſeventh Synod, Action.* 4. pag. 508. See alſo what *Philoſtorgius* ſaith in his ſeventh book, chap. 3. And what *Nicephorus*, who borroweth it from him. *Valeſ.*

* Διπλοΐδα; it ſometimes ſignifies a *Military Cloak*; this term occurs *Pſal.* 109. 29. where 'tis rendred *a Mantle.*

[b] *Rufinus* underſtands this place [μέχρι τῆς κρασπέδου ἀνίου] ſo, as if this herb had no healing vertue till it was grown up to the skirt of our Saviours veſture: but ſince *Euſebius* does not expreſſely determine it that way, every one may interpret the place as pleaſeth him beſt. I think *Euſebius* meaneth by the addition of theſe words that the herb grew up no higher then the skirt of our Saviour's doublet, as if it were in reverence to him. See *Nicephor.* B. 6. chap. 15. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Rufinus* tranſlateth this word ἀπαρεφυλάκτως, *indifferenter, indifferently*; but I rather think ἀπαρεφυλάκτως here ſignifieth *inconſiderately, unadviſedly, contrary to the Doctrine of the Ancients, unwiſely.* Moreover, Sr *Henr. Savil* in the margin of his M.S. upon theſe words ἐθνικὴ συνήθεια, *the cuſtom of the Heathens*, bids us take notice that this is here ſpoken *concerning images.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Chair of James *the Apoſtle.*

THe Epiſcopal Chair of *James* the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who was conſecrated by our [a] Saviour himſelf, and the Apoſtles; (who in holy Writ is honoured with the title of the Brother of Chriſt;) being reſerved till this time, the Brethren who have ſucceeded in that Church do reverence it: Hence they plainly manifeſt to all what great veneration and reſpect, both the Antients, and alſo thoſe of our Age, have, and do pay to holy men for their love to God. But thus much concerning theſe things.

[a] This was an old tradition, that *James* the Apoſtle was Ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by Chriſt. Beſides *Euſebius*, Saint *Chryſoſt.* in his 38 *Homil.* upon the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, on theſe words, *Deinde viſus eſt Jacobo, Then he was ſeen of James*; expreſly affirmeth it: the ſame alſo *Epiphanius, Niceph. Calliſt.* and others do affirm. They all ſeem to borrow this opinion from the firſt book of *Clemens's Recognitions*: alſo, in the eighth book of *his Conſtitutions*, Chap. 35. we find him ſpeaking of *James* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in theſe words, ὃν αὐτὸς τῷ χυρίῳ, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων χειροτονηθείς, *Ordained by our Saviour himſelf, and the Apoſtles.* We muſt farther advertiſe the Reader that theſe words τῶ Ἀποστόλω *the Apoſtle* are wanting in the Kings Fuk. Maz. M. SS. and in *Rufinus*: but in our Maz. Med. Fuk. M. SS. in the Contents of this Chapter, we find this word ἀποστόλω *the Apoſtle*: although in the *Index* of the Chapters which is prefixed, we find it thus written, περὶ τῆς θρόνου Ἰακώβου τῆς ἐπισκόπου, *concerning the Chair of James the Biſhop.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning Dionyſius's Paſchal *Epiſtles, in which he preſcribeth a Canon concerning* Eaſter.

MOreover, beſides thoſe his fore-mentioned Epiſtles, the ſame *Dionyſius* at the [a] ſame time wrote theſe ſtill extant, called [b] *Paſchal* Epiſtles: amongſt which he interweaves *Panegyrick* diſcourſes *concerning the feaſt of Eaſter*: one of theſe Epiſtles he Dedicateth to *Flavius*; another to *Domitius* and *Didymus*. In which he publiſheth a Canon of eight years, having proved that we ought to celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter, at no other time, but after the vernal Æquinox. He compoſed another Epiſtle beſides theſe, to his Fellow-Presbyters at *Alexandria*, and others to divers other perſons, and theſe he wrote whileſt the rage of the Perſecution ſtill continued.

[a] From this word τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ, *at the ſame time*, ſome would conclude that *Dionyſius* wrote theſe Epiſtles in the Perſecution, raiſed by *Valerian*: but that is falſe; for this Epiſtle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, was written in the Reign of *Decius* the Emperour. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Rufinus* very well tranſlates this word ἑορτασικὰς, in this place, *Paſchales, Paſchal Epiſtles.* The Biſhops of *Alexandria* uſed to write theſe *Paſchal* Letters every year, and ſend them to the reſt of the Churches of *Ægypt*; that they might all agree in the time of the celebration of *Eaſter.* There are at this day extant Epiſtles of this ſort, written by *Theophilus, Cyril*, and others: what was the form of theſe Epiſtles we may underſtand from the 30 *Paſchal Homilies of Cyril*; firſt they diſcourſed ſome thing concerning *Eaſter*: in the end they declared the beginning of *Lent*, and the day of *Eaſter*, whence we may call them *Homilies*, as well as *Epiſtles.* Valeſ.

CHAP.

GALLIENUS.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning what things happened at Alexandria.

DIonysius returned to *Alexandria*, Peace being as yet scarce throughly setled there. But when Sedition and War joyntly raged again there, so that he could not visit all the Brethren in the City, they being divided into the one or the other party of the faction: Again, even on *Easter-day*, as if he had been exil'd out of *Alexandria*, he converse with them by letters. And in his other *Paschal* Letter which a little after this he wrote to *Hierax* one of the *Ægyptian* Bishops, he mentioneth the Sedition then at *Alexandria*, in these words; "It is no wonder if it be difficult "for me to converse with men far remote even "by Letters, whenas it is rendred now no easie "matter for me to discourse with my self, and "to give advice to my own soul. For I am com-"pelled to send Letters even to my own bowels, "my Brethren, who live under the same roof, "have the same mind, and are members and inha-"bitants of the same Church; and it appears to "me a great difficulty, how I should convey my "Letters to them: For a man may with more "ease and less danger travel not onely beyond "the bounds of this Province, but even from East "to West, then out of *Alexandria* into *Alexan-*
"*dria*. For the very mid-
"dle street of this [a] City is
"more unfrequented and im-
"passible then that vast and
"invious wilderness which
"*Israel* travelled through in
"two Ages. [b] Those calm and
"still Havens do represent
"the Sea through which the
"Israelites had a spatious
"passage, it being divided,
"and made like a wall on
"both hands, [c] but the Æ-
"gyptians were drowned in
"the paths thereof. And
"through the frequent slaugh-
"ters perpetrated therein,
"they were like a red Sea.
"The River which runneth by
"the City seemed sometimes
"more dry and uncomfort-
"able then the thirsty wil-
"derness, through which,
"when the *Israelites* travel-
"led, they were so thirsty,
"that they murmured against
"*Moses*, until by the power
"of God (who onely doth
"marvellous things) water
"gushed out of a craggy
"Rock for them. At o-
"ther times it overflowed in
"such abundance, that it laid
"all the Countrey round a-
"bout under water, the
"Highways and the fields,
"and seemed to threaten
"a return of that deluge
"which was in the days of
"*Noah*. It runneth by,
"being continually polluted
"with bloud, and murthered,
"and drowned bodies; like that River which
"by *Moses*, in the sight of *Pharaoh*, was turn-
"ed into bloud, and stank: And what other
"water can purifie this water which purgeth
"all things it self? How can that vast and im-
"mense Ocean which is impassible by men,
"cleanse this bitter Sea? Or how can that
"great River which springeth out of *Eden*,
"though it gather its four heads, into which it
"is divided, into that one of *Geon*, wash away
"this putrified gore? Or how can that * Aire
"be purified, which on every side is defiled with
"most noisome exhalations? For such vapours
"arise from the Earth; such winds from the
"Sea; such blasts from the Rivers; and such
"mists from the Havens, that the very dews are
"nothing else but the Gore of dead Carkasses
"putrified in all the subjacent Elements. After
"all this they wonder, and seem to doubt whence
"these [d] continued Plagues; whence these noy-
"some diseases; these contagions of all kinds; and
"this various, and numerous destruction of men
"proceeds. They admire why this great City
"contains not in it as many inhabitants, (should
"they be numbred even from infants to the most
"aged and decrepit) as it formerly maintained
"persons, who were [e] lively old men, as they
"called them. But in those days there were so
"many persons betwixt fourty and seventy years
"old, that their number could not now be made
"up, although all from fourteen to fourscore years
"of age were registred, and their names enrolled
"in the Tables, that they might partake of the pub-
"lick distribution of Corn. And our youngest men
"now look as if they were of the same age with our
"old men formerly. And although they see man-
"kind so much diminished and consumed from off
"the earth, (their intire destruction being increased
"and augmented incessantly) yet they tremble not.

GALLIENUS.

* The very situation of *Alexandria* did doubtless conduce much to the insalubrity of the place. For the river *Nile*, coming from the West, was conveyed into the City under ground by arches made under the houses. The manner how this was done, is set down by *John Leo*, *in his description of Africa*: his words are these; *Cuique fere domui civitatis ingens cisterna concamerata, crassisque innitens fornicibus substructa est, in quas exundans* Nilus *per aquæductum in planitie magno artificio constructum extra* Alexandriam *deductus, sub ejus manibus demittitur*, &c. This artificial conveyance of the River, though it were otherwise acceptable to the inhabitants, yet it could not be without some annoyance to the Air, the complexion whereof suffered much alteration by the noysome vapours which rose up out of the waters, which in tract of time putrified in their Cisterns. It is the collection of the foresaid *Leo*, in his following words, *Cisternæ porrò temporis successu turbidæ ac cænosæ redditæ, plurimis æstivo tempore languoribus occasionem præbent*, &c. The same Authour gives us another reason for the unwholsomness of that City; which was caused by certain little gardens planted near the City, the fruits whereof were so unwholsom, that the inhabitants were thereby made subject to very noxious feavers, and many other diseases. See *John Leo's descript. Afric.* pag. 675, and 676. *Edit. Lugd. Batav.* 1632.

[a] In the Kings M. S. we find, instead of τῆς πόλεως, *this City*, ἢ τῶν πόλεων *these Cities*; which reading is not to be rejected: for that great faction had so divided *Alexandria* that in a manner it became of one City two, as before he seemeth to intimate when he saith, that *a man may with more ease travel from East to West, then out of Alexandria into Alexandria*. This great Sedition, I think, happened, when *Æmilianus* possest himself of the Government of *Alexandria*. Vales.

[b] There are divers ways of translating this place according as we point it. Most Translatours have erred here, by an Erroneous conjunction of this sentence with what precedeth. But *Dionysius*'s following words confirm our punctation and version: the sense of which is that the Havens of *Alexandria*, overflowing with the bloud of the slaughtered Citizens, did truly represent the red Sea. Wherefore it is not the Middle Street of the City which is compared to the red Sea (although some so interpret it) but the Ports or Havens are said to represent that. *Vales.*

[c] Betwixt these words where we use onely a middle distinction or *comma*, *Robert Steph.* uses a full period, contrary to the Authority of all the M. SS. we ought rather to follow the punctation of the M. SS. and joyn this passage with what precedeth: but here we meet with a Genitive case plural of the Article [ὧν,] which we translate in the singular number, and referr it to θαλάσσης *the Sea*, which is a singular put for the plural number. For the Sea was divided into two parts and opened a broad way for the *Israelites*; so that what was really but one Sea, seemed to be two; but if we translate it according to *Stephanus*'s punctation, we can find no word to which this *Genitive plural* of the Article can reasonably be referred. *Vales.*

[d] Συνεχεῖς λοιμοὶ, *continued plagues without intermission*. The plague even from the times of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, over-ran and destroyed almost all the *Roman* Empire. *Eutropius* saith that the Reign of *Gallus* and *Volusianus* was onely remarkable for the great plague which happened in their days. *Aurelius Victor* affirms that *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were beloved very much on this account, because they took care of every ones, even of the poorest man's funeral. The plague afterwards raged at *Rome*, and in the *Roman* Provinces, in the days of *Gallienus*, as *Pollio* in *Gallienus*'s Life attests. *Vales.*

[e] Ὡμογέροντες; *vivid, lively, lusty old men*. So they were called at *Alexandria*, who were between fourty and seventy years old. Their names were registred in tables that they might partake of the publick distribution of the Corn, as *Dionysius* attests in his following words. Over these were the *Archigerontes*, of whom mention is made in *the first Law of the Codex Theodosianus, de Alexandrinæ plebis primatibus*. Hither may be referred that which *Gregor. Naz.* affirms, in his *21 Oration concerning S. Athanasius*, to wit, *that the Alexandrians were wont to be distributed into Sexes, Ages, and Trades, as often as, out of respect, they went forth to meet any person*. Vales.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Plague which then raged.

AFterwards the Pestilence succeeding the War; when the Feast [of *Easter*] was at hand, *Dionysius* again writeth to the Brethren,

GALLIENUS. deſcribing the miſeries of that calamity in theſe words: "[a] To ſome men this preſent may ſeem "not a time to celebrate a Feſtival; but neither "this which we obſerve, nor any other time (I "ſpeak not onely of the mournful, but alſo of "any of thoſe times which they account moſt "joyful) is a time of feſti- "vity to them. Now indeed "all places are full of mour- "ning; all perſons lament; "and the City rings on every "ſide with continual lamen- "tations for the multitudes "of them who are already "dead, and who are daily "dying: For as the Scri- "pture ſaith concerning the "firſt born of the *Ægyp- "tians*, ſo now a great *cry is "heard*: for there is no "houſe, in which there is "not one dead; (b and I "wiſh there were but one in "every houſe:) Indeed ma- "ny, and ſore afflictions have "befaln us before this cala- "mity. [c] Firſt of all they "expelled us out of the City. "And when we onely were "perſecuted and oppreſſed "by all men, yet neverthelefs "even then we kept the Feſti- "val days. And every place, "where every one of us par- "ticularly underwent affli- "ction; The Field; the "Deſert; the Ship; the "Inn; the Priſon, was a "place for holding our ſo- "lemn Aſſemblies: but the "perfected Martyrs, who "are ſatiated in heaven, kept "the moſt joyful feaſt of all. "After theſe [miſeries] "ſucceeded War, and Famine; "In which we were fellow- "ſufferers with the Heathens. "We alone ſuffered what- "ever they afflicted us with; "but what ever calamities "they brought upon them- "ſelves and ſuffered, we par- "ticipated of. And we were "again made joyful by the "Peace of Chriſt, which he "granted to us alone: But when both we and "they had enjoyed a very ſhort time of refreſh- "ment, this Plague immediately invaded us. A "thing moſt formidable to them, and more cala- "mitous than any accident whatſoever. And, as "one of their own writers ſaith, it was the onely "thing which ſurmounted all mens expectation "and fear. It was indeed no ſuch thing to us; "but rather an exerciſe, and tryal, nothing inferi- "our to our former ſufferings: for this Plague "did not ſpare us; but it raged grievouſly a- "mongſt the Heathens. After theſe words he con- tinues, ſaying; "Indeed many of our Brethren, "through their ſuperabundant love, and brotherly "kindneſs neglecting their own ſelves, and firmly "adhering to one another, without any thing of "caution viſiting them who were infected, care- "fully miniſtring to them, and healing them in "Chriſt, moſt willingly died with them; in- "fecting themſelves with other mens diſtempers, "attracting the diſeaſe from their neighbours "upon themſelves, and voluntarily [d] drawing the "infection out of them by tranſlating it into "themſelves. And many who had cured and "reſtored others to their former health, died "themſelves, having brought their death upon "themſelves; And being thus made the ranſom "and expiation for them all, they died, really ful- "filling that common ſaying, which always hi- "therto hath ſeemed to contain no more than an "officious [e] friendſhip. Thus therefore died the "beſt of our brethren; ſome of whom were "Prieſts, and others Deacons; alſo thoſe of the "Laity which were eminent died voluntarily: So "that this kind of death which was ſuffered upon "account of piety, and a ſtedfaſt faith, may be "eſteemed no leſs honourable then Martyrdom. "They took the dead bodies of the Saints up in "their open hands, and into their boſoms; they "cloſed their eyes, and ſhut their mouthes; car- "ried them upon their ſhoulders; and [f] buried "them: they ſtuck cloſe to them; embraced "them; waſhed them; and [g] adorned them cu- "rioufly in their cloathes: not long after they "had the like good offices performed to them- "ſelves: for thoſe who ſurvived did continually "tread in the ſteps of ſuch as went before them. "But the Gentiles practice was quite contrary "to this. They thruſt out of doors thoſe which "begun to be infected; they fled away from thoſe "who were moſt dear to them; they deſerted "them being half dead in the high-ways; and "caſt forth the dead bodies unburied; being ut- "terly averſe from a participation and ſociety "[with them] in death, which yet was in no "wiſe eaſie for them to avoid, though they uſed "all arts and devices to decline it. After this E- piſtle, when affaires in *Alexandria* were in a peaceable and quiet poſture, he again ſendeth ano- ther *Paſchal Epiſtle* to the Brethren throughout *Ægypt*, he alſo writ ſeveral others beſides this. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle of his *concerning the Sabbath*, and another *concerning Exercitation*. Again, in an Epiſtle to *Hermammon*, and the Bre- thren in *Ægypt*, he has a long diſcourſe concer- ning the improbity of *Decius* and his ſucceſſours, where he alſo makes mention of the peace in the Reign of *Gallienus*.

GALLIENUS.

[a] This Exordium of this *Paſchal Epiſtle* of *Dionyſius*'s is really a moſt elegant one. Here he ſaith that this preſent time, when all things were in ſo lamentable a poſture, would ſeem to the unbelieving Heathens no fit time to keep a feaſt in: But neither this time, which (ſaith he) is really a time of Mourning, nor any other, though never ſo undiſturbed, never ſo merry, could poſſibly yield the Heathens any true joy. For the wicked and unbelievers can never keep a feaſt, although they daily ſacrifice, becauſe they cannot enjoy any true mirth: onely the pious and virtuous do truely keep a feaſt, becauſe they perform their duty, and offer prayers, and unbloudy ſacrifices to God. *Origen*, in his eighth book *againſt Celſus*, diſcourſes at large concerning this Opinion; which paſſages in him are borrowed from the *Stoicks*, and they give much light to the underſtanding of this place of *Dionyſius*. Valeſ.

[b] Here we read onely ὄφελόν γε, *and I wiſh*: but *Turnebus* in the margin of his book very well correcteth and pointeth it thus. Καὶ ὄφελόν γε εἷς; *And I wiſh onely one had died in every houſe*: the Kings M. S. reads thus καὶ ὄφελόν γε εἰς πολλὰ, &c. but *Turnebus* does very well amend this place of *Dionyſius*, by his foreſaid punctation of it. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Dionyſius* here makes a compendious repetition of all the ſufferings of the Chriſtians from the time he was firſt Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*: firſt he recounts the Perſecution and expulſion, which began in the laſt year of *Philip* the Emperour. Next the *Civil War* which immediately followed; concerning which *Civil War*, ſee Chap. 41. Book 6. of this Hiſtory. Then he ſaith, after a little ceſſation followed the Plague; which raged grievouſly in the times of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*; but it began in *Decius*'s Reign: for it is evident by *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, that ſome Deacons died of this Plague in the Reign of *Decius*. See Chap. 11. Book 7. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἀναμασσόμενοι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας ſome tranſlatours render *mitigantes*, *eaſing*, *and leſſening their diſtempers*: but I cannot approve of that verſion, for the verb ἀναμάσσω, or ἐκμάσσω ſignifies *to ſqueeze out*, or *to wipe off*. *Dionyſius*'s meaning is this, that they who viſited the infected Chriſtians, did in a manner force the infection from them, and tranſlate it to, or take it upon themſelves. And that is the true notion of ἀπομάσσω *to take upon himſelf*, *and as it were to ſuck out another's diſeaſe and infection*. It is no more then what he ſaid in theſe words, τὴν νόσον ἑαυτοῖς ἕλκουσες, *drawing the infection upon themſelves*. Valeſ.

[e] This word φιλοφροσύνη we have here rendred *friendſhip*, yet the word primarily and properly ſignifies that which the Latines call *comitas*, that is, *complaiſance*, *courteouſneſs*, *civility*, *affability*: as for this term περίψημα, which we have tranſlated *a Ranſom*, we find it in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinth*. Chap. 4. v. 13. this word ſeems to have been uſed by the *Alexandrians* in their ſalutations: when they met together, and promiſed their ſincere love, willingneſs, and diligence in ſerving one another, they uſed to ſay ἐγὼ εἰμὶ περίψημα σοῦ, or elſe we may take the word in this ſence; as if the Heathens ſhould call the Chriſtians the very περίψημα πάντων *the off-ſcouring*, the filth, the very *faces populi*, and the *purgamenta ſeculi*; which interpretation is not to be rejected here. *Valeſ.*

[f] *Chriſtoph.* in his Latine Verſion, renders this word [διαπίπτοντες] *decenter ornantes*, *dreſſing them up neatly*: but he miſtakes; for *Dionyſius* ſpeaks of their dreſs afterwards in theſe words, περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες, *decking them in their beſt cloaths*: διαπίπτοντες, here we therefore render, *componentes* (that is) *burying them*, and ſo the word is uſed in profane as well as in ſacred Authours: *Compoſtus pro ſepulto*, in *Virgil*, and *Horace*. Valeſ.

[g] Περιστολαῖς καλλιστοῦσι, ſome render, *linteo funebri involventes*, *ſhrowding them in a winding ſheet*. But this is contrary to the cuſtom of buryings in thoſe days; for the Heathens uſed to dreſs the dead in their beſt cloaths and ſo interr them. And the Chriſtians uſed in like manner ſo to dreſs the Saints Corps. See Chap. 16. of this ſeventh book, concerning *Aſturius*. Valeſ.

CHAP.

GALLIENUS.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Reign of Gallienus.

NOthing hinders but we may hear his own words which run thus: "[a *Macrianus*] "therefore, having treacherously betrayed one of "the Emperours which preceded him, and made "War upon the other, was immediately extir- "pated, and together with his whole family became "extinct. *Gallienus* was now "proclaimed, and by com- "mon consent received Em- "perour: he was both an old "Emperour, and a new: for "he was before * them, and "also survived them: for ac- "cording to that which was "spoken by the Prophet E- "saias, † *Behold the former "things are come to pass, and "new things shall now rise up.* "For as a cloud rising up be- "fore the rays of the sun, "overshadoweth it for a "while, and appears to be "substituted into the place thereof: but when the "cloud has gone over it, or is dissolved; the sun, "which before was risen, seems then to arise "again: so *Macrianus*, who set himself before, "and [b] approacht the very Empire of *Gallienus*, "now is not, for he never was: but *Gallienus* as he "was Emperour before, so "he now continues to be. "And the Empire it self, "having deposited its old "Age as it were, and being "cleansed from the dregs "of its former improbity, "now flourisheth with grea- "ter vividness; is seen and "heard of at a larger distance, and spreads its fame "in all places. He afterwards declares the time when he wrote these things, in these words: "It "now again comes into my mind to contemplate "the years of our Emperour: For I see how "those most impious persons who had so great a "name, are in a short time become most obscure. "But our most Pious and Religious Emperour, "having passed his seventh, is now in the ninth "year of his Empire, in which we are about to "solemnize the Festivals.

[a] Though we find here barely, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἔν, *he therefore*; yet we must understand *Macrianus*; for by his treachery it was that *Valerian* was delivered into the hands of the *Persians*. Other Historians assert that he was delivered to them by his own Captains; so *Aurel. Vict. Syncel.* and others. These words of *Dionysius* are to be joyned with those in Chap. 10. of this Book; for they are fragments of one and the same Epistle to *Hermammon*; we also find a piece of it in Chap. 1. of this seventh Book. *Vales.*

* He means *Macrianus*, and his two sons. See Chap. 1. of this Book; at the close of the Chapter.

† Esai. 42. 9.

[b] *Dionysius* here speaks of *Macrianus*'s Empire, because he was owned, and received as Emperour by *Ægypt*, and the Eastern Provinces: Which his Coins declare, for on the fore-side there is this inscription, ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΦΟΥΛ. ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΣ; And on the reverse this, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Nepos, *and his Schism.*

BEsides, *Dionysius* wrote two Books *concerning the promises*. The occasion of his writing these Books was *Nepos*, an Ægyptian Bishop, who taught that the promises, which were made to the Saints in the sacred Scriptures, should be performed in the * Jewish sence, and affirmed that there was to come a thousand years state upon earth, which should be spent in bodily pleasures. Now he supposing he could confirm his own opinion out of *John*'s Revelation, wrote a Book upon this Question, and intitled it, *A Confutation of the Allegorical Expositors*; which piece *Dionysius* confutes in his Books *concerning the Promises*. In the first Book of which he proposeth his own opinion concerning the Question. In the second he discourseth concerning the *Revelation of John*, where in the very beginning he makes mention of this *Nepos*, and writes thus concerning him: "But because they produce a "Book of *Nepos*'s, on which they rely very much, "as if it did [a] infallibly de- "monstrate that the King- "dom of Christ should be "[set up] on earth: in- "deed for several other "things I commend and "love *Nepos*, for his faith, "his industry and study in "the Scriptures, and also for "the many [b] Psalms and "Hymns he composed, with "which many of the Bre- "thren are even at this time "much delighted. And I re- "verence the man for this "reason chiefly, because he "is [c] dead. But I judge "truth most to be beloved, "and to be the most precious "of all things. It is our "duty to praise, and freely "to commend what-ever is "truly said: but we are al- "so to examine and correct "what-ever unsound opinion "appears to have been com- "mitted to writing. Now "could he be present, and "discusse his opinion by "word of mouth, then a bare "discourse by Questions and "Answers, without any wri- "ting might suffice to con- "vince and reduce the ad- "verse party to an agree- "ment. But since there is "a Book published (and as "to some it seems) a most "perswasive one; since some Teachers look upon "the Law and the Prophets to be of no value; "neglect to follow the Gospels; have small "esteem for the Epistles of the Apostles; and "[d] promise great things concerning the Doctrine "of this Book, as containing some great and hid- "den Mystery; since they "will not suffer the more ig- "norant of our brethren to "think of any thing that is "sublime and great, neither "of the glorious and truly "divine advent of our Lord, "nor of our Resurrection "from the dead; our ga- "thering together to him, "and our being made like "him: [e] But perswade them "to think that men hope for "nothing in the Kingdom "of God, but abject and mortal things, such as "they now hope for. It is necessary we enter "into a dispute against our Brother *Nepos*, as if "he himself were present. After some words he continues, saying; "When I was in the Province "of the [f] *Arsinoitæ* (where, "as you know, this opinion "was long since propagated "so far, that there were "Schisms and revoltings of whole Churches "together;) having convened the Presbyters and "Teachers

GALLIENUS.

[a] We have here sufficient evidence that this Book *concerning the Promises* was written in answer to *Nepos*: I wonder that *Hieronymus in his Preface before the eighteenth Book of his comments upon Esaias*, should affirm that this Book was written against *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lions*. Indeed *Irenæus* was one of them who believed that Christ should come and Reign on the Earth a 1000 years, which opinion was grounded on *Papias*'s Authority, as *Hieronymus* himself affirms, and also our Authour *Eusebius* in the end of the third Book. But as well from this place, as also from *Hieronymus* himself, in his Book *De Script. Ecclesiastic.* we may gather that this Book was not written against *Irenæus*, but against *Nepos*. Vales.

[b] Ψαλμῳδίας, we have here translated, the *Composition of Psalms and Hymns*; according to the custom of the Christians who used to compose Psalms and Hymns in honour of Christ, as *Eusebius* in the end of the fifth Book attesteth. We also find mention of these Hymns in the Epistle of the Council of *Antioch* against *Paul* of *Samosata*, and in the last Canon but one of the Council of *Laodicea*, where there is an express prohibition that no Psalms which in Greek are called ἰδιωτικοὶ, that is, *composed by* private or ignorant persons, should be sang in Churches. *Vales.*

[c] *Pliny* in his 28 Book Chap. 2. asketh, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. *Vales.*

[d] This word προεπαγγέλλω, signifies properly *to promise a great while before any performance*; it is a Metaphor taken from the Mysteries of the *Grecians*, who promised strange and great things to them who are initated, and tormented them with a long expectation; that by keeping their thoughts thus in suspence, they might beget in them an opinion, and a fear and reverence. *Vales.*

[e] The true reading of this place in the Greek, we owe to the Maz. M. S. according to which reading we have here translated it. *Vales.*

[f] This Province was so called from *Arsinoë*, who was Queen of it, before it was a *Roman* Province. *Vales.*

GALLIENUS. "Teachers of the Brethren in every particular "Vilage, (ſuch Brethren alſo as had a mind to "come being preſent,) I adviſed them that there "might be reſearches made into this Doctrine, "in the preſence of a publick Aſſembly. And "when they produced this Book as a defence, and "an impregnable bulwark, ſitting with them three "whole days together from morning till evening, "I endeavoured to diſcuſſe the contents thereof. "In all which time I did extraordinarily ad-"mire the conſtancy of the Brethren, their love "to truth, and the [e] great "quickneſs and readineſs of "their underſtanding, with ſo "much order, modeſty and "moderation did we pro-"poſe Queſtions, propound "doubts, and yield our aſ-"ſents. For we took ſpecial care never pertina-"ciouſly to defend our former opinions, when "once they were found to be erroneous: neither "did we ſhun the objections of others: But to "the utmoſt of our power, we endeavoured to "[h] keep cloſe to the points "of the preſent Queſtion, "and confirm them as well "as we could: Neither, if "we were convinc't, were we "aſhamed to be perſwaded "out of our opinion, and "conſent with others: But with a good con-"ſcience, unfeignedly, and with [i] hearts diſplai'd "to God, we received what-ever was grounded "upon the demonſtrations and declarations of "the ſacred Scripture. In the concluſion, the chief "maintainer and champion of this Doctrine, by "name *Coracio*, confeſſed, and made a proteſta-"tion to us in the Audience of all the Brethren "there Aſſembled, that he would no longer ad-"here to this opinion, nor diſpute concerning it, "nor mention it, nor preach it, ſo powerfully was "he convinc't by the Arguments which had been "brought againſt it. And the reſt of the Brethren, "which were preſent, rejoyced at this conference, "and at the [k] reconciliation and unanimity which "was amongſt all men.

[e] Ἐυπαρακολούθητον, is the term in the original; I have rendred it *docilitatem, apteneſs to be taught.* For auditours are properly ſaid παρακολουθεῖν, *when they apprehend the ſenſe of words.* Valeſ.

[h] The Greek phraſe is ἐπιβατεύειν τῷ προκειμένῳ, which *Valeſius* renders, *ad ea de quibus inſtituta erat diſputatio eniti*; and we, *to keep cloſe to the points of the Queſtion in hand*, or *the preſent queſtion.*

[i] This phraſe πλατυνθείσαις ταῖς καρδίαις, is truly tranſlated thus, *expanſis cordibus, & patefactis*, *with hearts unfoulded, and* as it were *ſpread abroad*: but ſome tranſlate it *puris & ſimplicibus cordibus, with pure and ſingle hearts*: which ſenſe though the words may bear, yet it is not ſo good in this place, as the other Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[k] Συγκατάβασις, is not put in this place *for diſpenſation*, but for the ſame as συμβίβασις, (i. e.) *an union, and reconciliation*: and ſo *Dionyſius* uſes the word a little before: St *Paul* alſo in his Epiſt. to the *Coloſſians*, Chap. 2. v. 2. & 19. uſeth συμβιβάζειν, and συμβασμός, in this ſence. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Revelation *of* John.

HAving interpoſed ſome words, he afterwards ſays thus concerning the *Revelation* of *John*; "Indeed ſome of our Anceſtours diſowned, and "wholly rejected this Book; confuting every "Chapter, and demonſtrating it to be an un-"known and ſenſeleſs work; and that the Title is "forged; for they ſay it is not *John*'s. Neither "is it a *Revelation*, becauſe it is covered over with "ſo thick and dark a vail of Ignorance. And "that not onely no Apoſtle, but alſo no holy or "Eccleſiaſtick perſon could have been the com-"piler of this work: but that it was * *Cerinthus*, "the founder of the Hereſie, called from him the "*Cerinthian Hereſie*, who was deſirous to have "a creditable name prefixt before his forgery: "for this, they ſay, was *Cerinthus*'s Opinion and "Doctrine; that Chriſt's Kingdom ſhould be ter-"reſtrial: And whatſoever he, being a carnal "and voluptuous man moſt luſted after, in theſe "he dream'd the Kingdom of Chriſt conſiſted; "as in indulging the belly, and the parts beneath "the belly, I mean, in eating, drinking, and mar-"rying; and alſo in feſtivals, ſacrifices, and kil-"ling of victims, by which theſe might with "more ſpecious pretences be acquired. I dare "not indeed reject this Book, ſince many of the "Brethren have it in great eſteem. But this is "the Opinion I have of it, I think the ſenſe or "ſubject thereof ſurpaſſeth my apprehenſion, and "that there is a myſterious and admirable mea-"ning covertly contained in every part of it; for "though I do not underſtand it, yet I ſuppoſe "there is a more profound meaning comprehen-"ded in the words. I do not judge of, nor "fathom theſe things by the line of my own "reaſon; but attributing much more to faith, "I eſteem them more ſublime then to be com-"prehended by me. I do not condemn thoſe "things I could not underſtand, but I the rather "admire them becauſe I cannot ſee through "them. After theſe words, having carefully look't into the whole Book of the *Revelation*, and demonſtrated that it was impoſſible to be underſtood according to the obvious ſenſe of the words, he goes on, ſaying; "But having fini-"ſhed his Propheſie, (as I may call it,) the "Prophet pronounceth bleſſing upon all them "who keep it, and moreover on himſelf too; for "he ſaith: * *Bleſſed is he that keepeth the words "of the Propheſie of this book: And I am John "which ſaw and heard theſe things.* I do not "indeed deny that his name was *John*, and that this "was *John*'s Book: [for I grant that it was "written by ſome holy and divinely inſpired "perſon:] But I cannot eaſily be brought to "give my conſent that this was *John* the Apoſtle, "the ſon of *Zebedee*, the brother of *James*, the "Author *of the Goſpel according to John*, and of "the Catholick Epiſtle. For I conjecture by the "*Genius* and Nature of them both, by the form "of the ſtile, and the method "and [a] diſpoſition (as they "call it) of the Book, that "it is not the ſame writer. "For the *Evangeliſt* does "no where inſert his name; "neither does he make him-"ſelf known either in his "Epiſtle, or *Goſpel*. Afterwards he thus proceeds again: "*John* no where "[ſpeaks] either as con-"cerning himſelf, or as con-"cerning another. But he "that wrote the *Revelation* "prefixeth his name at the very beginning: "[where he ſays,] * *The Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt which he gave unto him to ſhew to his ſervants quickly, and he ſent and ſignified it by his Angel unto his ſervant* John, *who bare record of the word of God, and of the teſtimony* [*of Jeſus Chriſt, and*] *of all things which he ſaw.* "Afterwards he writes an Epiſtle: † *John unto the ſeven Churches in Aſia; Grace be unto you, and peace.* "Now the Evangeliſt has not pre-"fixt his name, no not before his Catholick E-"piſtle: But, without any circumlocution, has "made his beginning from the Myſtery of the "Divine

GALLIENUS.

* Revelat. c. 22. v. 7, 8.

[a] Διεξαγωγή, is a term proper to the *Rhetoricians*, as plainly appears by the following word λεξεως. I think that διεξαγωγὴ has the ſame import with *diſpoſitio*, or οἰκονομία; for διεξαγαγεῖν, in *Suidas* is the ſame as διοικεῖν, *to diſpoſe*, or *handle*. Or we may render it *the form and manner of writing*: for firſt he proves the *Revelation* not to be *John*'s the Apoſtle, by the τὸ ἦθος, *the Genius* or *Nature* of the writer: Then by the *ſtile* and *mode of writing*, that is, *by the Phraſe, and the ſentences.* Valeſ.

* See B. 3. Chap. 28. pag. 44. note c. & d.

* Revelat. c. 1. v. 1, 2.

† Verſ. 4.

GALLIENUS. "Divine Revelation. * *That which was from the*
* 1 John c. 1. v. 1. "*beginning, which we have heard, which we have*
"*seen with our eyes.* For upon account of this
"kind of Revelation the Lord hath pronounced
† Matth. c. 16. v. 17. "*Peter* blessed in these words, † *Blessed art thou*
"*Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and bloud hath not*
"*revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in*
"*heaven.* But neither before the second, nor
"third *Epistle of John* which are extant, although
"they are very short, is *John*'s name expresly
"prefixt; but he is nameless intituled *the Elder.*
"But the other [*John*] thought it not enough to
"name himself once and so to proceed in his re-
"lation, but he again repeateth his name. * *I*
"*John, even your brother and companion in tribula-*
"*tion, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus,*
* Revelat. c. 1. v. 9. "*was in the Isle that is called Patmos, for the word*
"*of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.*
† Revelat. c. 22. v. 7, 8. "And at the close of this Book he saith. † *Bles-*
"*sed is he that keepeth the sayings of the Prophesie*
"*of this book. And I John saw these things and*
"*heard them.* Therefore that it was *John* who
"wrote these things, we ought to believe, because
"he affirms it. But what *John* it was 'tis un-
"certain; for he has not said that he himself
"was that *John*, who in several places of the
"Gospel is called *the beloved Disciple of the*
"*Lord*; or that he was he who lay in the bo-
"som of the Lord; or that he was the brother of
"*James*; or that he was the person who with his
"own eyes and ears saw and heard the Lord. For
"certainly he would have mentioned some of these
"forementioned [descriptions,] if he were de-
"sirous to have made himself apparently known:
"But he has recorded none of these passages in
"his writings, but stiles himself our brother
"and companion and witness of Jesus, and calls
"himself blessed, because he saw and heard these
"Revelations. I suppose there were many of
"the same name with *John* the Apostle, who
"through their love to, admiration and zea-
"lous emulation of him, and because they
"were desirous to be beloved of the Lord as
"he was, had a great love for this name.
"[b] As we see many chil-
"dren of the faithful cal-
"led by the name of *Paul*
"and *Peter*. Moreover there
"is another *John* mentioned
"in the *Acts of the Apostles*,
"Sirnamed * *Mark*, *whom*
"*Barnabas and Paul took to*
"*be their companion.* Con-
"cerning whom it is again
"said, * *They had John to be*
"*their Minister.* Whether
"it were he that was the Au-
"thour of this Revelation or
"not, I dare not affirm. For
"'tis no where written that
"he came with them into *A-*
"*sia*, but 'tis said that when
"*Paul* and his company
"*loosed from Paphos, they*
"*came to Perga in Pamphi-*
"*lia: and John departing*
"*from them, returned to Je-*
"*rusalem.* Therefore I think
"it was some other *John*,
"one of them who lived in
"*Asia.* For 'tis said there
"are two Tombes at *Ephesus*, and both called
"by the name of *John*'s Tombe. [c] Also from
"the sentences, the words, and the disposition or
"placing of them, this *John* who wrote the *Reve-* GALLIENUS.
"*lation*, may with good reason be suspected to be gument, by
"a distinct person from the other *John*; for which he
"there is a mutual agreement betwixt *the Gospel* proves that
"and *the Epistle*, and they both begin alike: the the *Gospel*
"Gospel begins thus: *In the beginning was the* and *Reve-*
"*word.* The Epistle thus: *lation* were
"*That which was from the* not written
"*beginning.* The Gospel by one and the same *John*, for he
"says: *And the word was* had urged his first Argument be-
"*made flesh and dwelt a-* gun at note (a,) to this place:
"*mongst us, And we beheld* now here he begins a second,
"*his glory, the glory as of* (viz.) to prove by the words and
"*the onely begotten Son of* sentences, and by the placing of
"*the Father.* The Epistle the words or method, that they
"says the same with a ve- were two distinct persons. For I
"ry little variation: *That* render this word σύνλαξις, *the*
"*which we have heard,* placing or modelling of words, ac-
"*which we have seen with* cording to *Cicero*, though σύνλα-
"*our eyes, which we have* ξις in this place may as well com-
"*looked upon, and our hands* prehend *the ordering and model-*
"*have handled of the word of* *ling of Sentences*, as well as *of*
"*life*; *for the life was mani-* *words*. But here we may take
"*fested.* For these are his notice what an excellent Critick
"*preludiums*, directing his *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was. For it
"words (as in the following is the property of a Critick to
"passages he has declared) against those, who judge of the writings of the An-
"denyed that Christ came in the flesh. Where- tients, and to discern what is true
"fore on set purpose he subjoyneth this, *And* and genuine, and what spurious
"*what we have seen we bear witness to, and shew* and supposititious. *Vales.*
"*unto you that eternal life which was with the*
"*Father, and was manifested unto us. That which*
"*we have seen and heard, declare we unto you.* He
"is constant to himself, and does not in the least
"wander from his subject proposed, but in the
"same [d] Periods and words
"he does prosecute all points,
"some of which expressions
"we will briefly recount.
"He who does carefully
"read them, will both in his
"Gospel and Epistle, very
"frequently meet with *life*; very often with
"*light*; *an avoiding of darkness*; very frequently
"with *truth*; *grace*; *joy*; *the flesh and bloud of*
"*our Lord*; *judgment*; *forgiveness of sins*; *the*
"*love of God towards us*; *the commandment of*
"*mutual love one towards another*; and that *we*
"*ought to keep all the Commandments.* There is
"also contained in them *the*
"[e] *condemnation of the World,*
"*of the Devil*, and of *An-*
"*tichrist*; *the promise of the*
"*Holy Ghost*; *the Adoption of*
"*the sons of God*; *a faith*
"*Universally required of us*;
"mention *of the Father and the Son in every*
"*place.* In summe, they who note the phrase
"in all things throughly may easily discern, that
"the *Genius* and Stile, both in the Gospel and the
"Epistle appears to be one and the same. But the
"*Revelation* is altogether different from, and unlike
"to these; it has no alliance to, nor (as I may so
"say) familiarity with either of these: nor has the
"*Revelation* so much as one syllable in it which
"is common to these: Neither does the Epistle
"(for I omit the Gospel) make the least mention
"of the *Revelation*; nor the *Revelation* of the
"Epistle. And yet *Paul* in his Epistles mentions
"something concerning his *Revelations*, which he
"did not digest into a volume by themselves.
"Furthermore by the phrase, the difference be-
"twixt the Epistle and Gospel and the *Revelation*,
"may be easily conjectured: for those are not
"onely

[b] We ought to take special notice of this passage concerning the primitive Christians custom of calling their children, by the names of *Peter* and *Paul*, which they did both for the reverence and love they bare to those Saints, and also that their children might be beloved and no less dear in the sight of God then those Saints were. *Chrysostom* in his *Oration* concerning S[t] *Meletius* saith, that the *Antiochians* had such a reverence and esteem for him, that the parents called their children after his name, that they might have their houses in a manner adorned with his presence. The same father also in his 21 *Homily upon Genesis*, adviseth his Auditours that they should not carelesly call their children by their grandfathers or great Grandfathers, or some noble Heroes names, but that they should rather give them the names of some men who were famous for virtue and piety; that the children, by their example, might be excited to an imitation of them. *Vales.*

* Acts 11. 25. and 13. 5.

[c] This is *Dionysius*'s second Argument, by which he proves that the *Gospel* and *Revelation* were not written by one and the same *John*, for he had urged his first Argument begun at note (a,) to this place: now here he begins a second, (viz.) to prove by the words and sentences, and by the placing of the words or method, that they were two distinct persons. For I render this word σύνλαξις, *the placing or modelling of words*, according to *Cicero*, though σύνλαξις in this place may as well comprehend *the ordering and modelling of Sentences*, as well as *of words*. But here we may take notice what an excellent Critick *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was. For it is the property of a Critick to judge of the writings of the Antients, and to discern what is true and genuine, and what spurious and supposititious. *Vales.*

[d] κεφάλαια in this place signifies *Periods* or *sentences, by which an entire sense is concluded. Chapters* also they may be called, the Greeks also call them ἀριθμοὺς, the Latines *Capitula*. Vales.

[e] Ἔλεγχος τῦ κόσμυ, must I think be rendred here rather *the condemnation of the world*, then *the reproving of the world*. In the *old Glossary* we find ἔλεγχος to signifie *judicium*. Vales.

" onely written moſt * correctly and agreeable " to the purity of the Greek tongue, but they are " alſo compoſed with great elegancy in the words, " in the Argumentations and whole contexture " of the diſcourſe: So impoſſible it is for any " one to find any Barbariſm or Solœciſm, or " laſtly any Idiotiſm in them. For [the Evan- " geliſt] ('tis apparent) had [f] both faculties; " the Lord had endewed him with both, that is, " the gift of knowledge, and the gift of ſpeaking. " As touching this other *John* I doe not indeed " deny that he ſaw the *Revelation*, and that he " received the [gift of] knowledge and of pro- " pheſie. But I take notice that his dialect and " ſtile is not pure Greek, but he makes uſe of " ſome Barbarous words, yea and in ſome places " he has Solœciſmes, which it is not now neceſ- " ſary to give a Catalogue of. For I would have " no one ſuppoſe that I have ſaid theſe things in " a way of deriſion; but onely on this account, " that I might explain the diſſimilitude of theſe " books.

* See *Jude* verſ. 24. ἀπταίστως; *without any errour*, or *miſtake*.

[f] By both faculties he means that which the Greeks call λόγῳ προφορικὸς, and ἐνδιάθετος (i. e.) *externus* and *internus ſermo*, which is afterwards mentioned, τὸν τῆς γνώσεως τὸν τῆς φράσεως λόγον, *the gift of knowledge and the gift of ſpeaking*; by which ſubſequent words the preceding are explained. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Dionyſius's *Epiſtles.*

THere are extant many more of *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtles [a] beſides theſe. As for example, his Epiſtles to *Ammon* Biſhop of *Berenice* againſt *Sabellius*; and an Epiſtle to *Teleſphorus*; alſo one to *Euphranor*; and again another to *Ammon*, and *Euporus*. He alſo wrote [b] four more Books upon the ſame ſubject, and dedicated them to his nameſake *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*. There are alſo more of his Epiſtles beſides theſe extant amongſt us: and moreover ſome Books of his, which are ſomething verboſe and prolixe, and are written in an Epiſtolary form: As for example, his Books *concerning* [c] *Nature*, which are dedicated to *Timotheus* a child, *concerning Temptations*, which he dedicated to *Euphranor*: Beſides theſe Books, in his Epiſtle to *Baſilides* Biſhop of *Pentapolis*, he ſays he wrote *a comment upon the beginning of Eccleſiaſtes*. He has alſo left us ſeveral Epiſtles which he wrote to this [d] *Baſilides*. Thus many are *Dionyſius*'s works. But now after an Hiſtorical relation of thoſe things, we will deliver to the knowledge of Poſterity an account of our own Age.

[a] Hence we may gather that the 2 books *concerning the Promiſes*, out of which *Euſebius* has the fragments afore quoted, were Epiſtles. We may alſo confirm this by a paſſage in Chap. 22. where *Dionyſius* uſes ὡς οἶδας which is *an Epiſtolary phraſe*. But becauſe theſe Epiſtles were ſomething prolix, they were therefore called books. *Rufinus* truly calls *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtles *concerning Baptiſm*, Books, and the four Books againſt *Sabellius* here mentioned are nothing elſe but a longer ſort of Epiſtles, which *Euſebius* teſtifies: for he ſaith that all the reſt of *Dionyſius*'s books were written in an Epiſtolary form and ſtyle. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Dionyſius Alexand.* in his Epiſtles againſt *Sabellius* ſeemed not to be Orthodox as touching the *Divinity of Chriſt*, and he was accuſed of it before *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, by ſome of the Biſhops of *Pentapolis*, who went to *Rome*. *Dionyſius Roman.* called a Synod, heard the Accuſers, and having examined ſome ſelect Opinions in *Dionyſ.* Epiſtles, he wrote to *Dionyſ. Alexand.* deſiring him that he would more diſtinctly declare his faith and opinion concerning thoſe matters. Upon this account *Dionyſ. Alexand.* wrote four Epiſtles to *Dionyſ. Roman.* which he intituled περὶ ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀπολογίας (that is,) *concerning the confutation of his Adverſaries*, and *concerning his own Apology* or *defence of himſelf*. Valeſ.

[c] *Euſebius*, in his 14th Book *De Præparat.* produces an excellent piece of this Book *De Naturâ*. It was dedicated, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδὶ; this word being dubiouſly taken to ſignifie either a *ſon*, or any other *child* or *ſervant*, 'tis ſome difficulty to determine who the perſon was, to whom it was dedicated, ſome ſay to his *ſon*: I have here rendred it *to a child*. For I cannot think that *Dionyſ.* was ever married. The like difficulty occurs in Book 6. Chap. 40. *Valeſ.*

[d] Of theſe many Epiſtles written by *Dionyſius* to this *Baſilides*, onely one is now extant, which *Theodorus Balſamo* has preſerved for us. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Paul *of* Samoſata, *and the Hereſie founded by him at* Antioch.

DIonyſius, nameſake to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, ſucceeds *Xyſtus*, after he had preſided over the Church of *Rome* [a] Eleven years. About the ſame time alſo died *Demetrianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, whom *Paul* of *Samoſata* ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick. This *Paul* had an abject and low opinion of Chriſt, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, as if he had been by nature no more then a meer man; *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was intreated to come to the Synod: He having complained of his Age, and alſo of his infirmity of body deferred his coming; But he openly declared by letter what was his ſenſe and opinion concerning the matter in debate. But the reſt of the Paſtors of the Churches from all parts haſtned to *Antioch*, and were convened there as againſt the corrupter of Chriſt's flock.

[a] Here *Euſebius* is in a groſs miſtake, for *Xyſtus* was not Biſhop of *Rome* Eleven Years, but onely two Years and Eleven Months, as we may ſee in the book *De Pontificibus Romanis*, which *Cuſpinianus* firſt publiſhed, and that book is moſt exact in its account of the times of the Pope's from *Calliſtus* to *Liberius*: the ſame alſo ſays *Xyſtus* ſuffered Martyrdom *on the eight of the Ides of Auguſt*: but our Authour neither here, in *his Hiſtory*, nor in *his Chronicle* mentions any thing of *Xyſtus*'s Martyrdom, which I really admire, and ſhould more admire, did not I certainly know that *Euſebius* is not over ſollicitous and curious in his Hiſtory concerning what things were done in the Weſtern parts. Moreover *Euſebius* in his *Chronicle* aſcribes Eight Years to *Xyſtus*, and he ſays that *Dionyſius* ſucceeded *Xyſtus* in the 12th Year of *Gallienus*, and that *Maximus* ſucceeded *Dionyſ. Alexandrin.* in the 11th year of the ſaid *Gallienus* the Emperour. Which is moſt abſurd, whenas 'tis evident that *Dionyſ. Alexand.* dedicated his four Books againſt *Sabellius* to *Dionyſ. Roman.* as our Authour tells us in Chap. 26. of this 7th Book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Eminent Biſhops of thoſe times.

THe moſt eminent of theſe aſſembled were *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* both brothers, Biſhops of the Churches of *Pontus*: Beſides theſe there were *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, and [a] *Nichomas* Biſhop of *Iconium*: Alſo *Hymenæus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theotecnus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* upon the Confines of *Jeruſalem*: Beſides theſe, *Maximus*, who with great commendation governed the Brethren of *Boſtra*. And a great many more may be reckoned; who, together with Preſbyters and Deacons, were convened in the aforeſaid City at the time aforeſaid, and upon the ſame account. But theſe were the moſt eminent of them. All theſe therefore being aſſembled in the ſame place together, [b] divers times and often, diſputations and Queſtions were raiſed in every Synod. On the one ſide *Paul* of *Samoſata* endeavoured to conceale and hide his Heterodox Opinions; on the other, theſe perſons ſtriving with all diligence to denudate and make apparent his Hereſie and Blaſphemie againſt Chriſt. In the *Council of Nice*, *Nicomas* Biſhop of *Boſtra* is named the firſt of the Biſhops of the Province of *Arabia*: but the common M. SS. read *Nicomachus*, and ſo we find it in the M. S. of *C. Fuſtellus*, which is of no leſs antiquity then the other. *Valeſ.*

[a] This name *Nichomas* ſeems to be abbreviated, and ſhould rather be *Nichomedes* or *Nichomachus*. In the old M. S. *in the Abbey of Corbie* which contains *a collection of the Canons* amongſt the Biſhops which ſubſcribed to

[b] We here tranſlate it, *divers times*, though ſome Greek Copies read onely χρὶ χρόνου διαφόρου· but all our MSS. read χρὶ χρόνους διαφόρους. There were ſeveral Synods called againſt this *Paul* of *Samoſata*; hence follows the word [πολλάκις] which we muſt in no wiſe ſuppoſe to be ſuperfluous here. *Euſebius* ſays, *there were many Synods aſſembled at ſeveral times, and in every Synod there were many Seſſions* or *Actions*. The firſt Synod againſt *Paul* was at *Antioch* in the twelfth year of *Gallienus*; of which Synod *Firmilianus* was Preſident: concerning which ſee *Baronius*, *Anno Chriſti* 265, and 266. *Valeſ.*

interim

GALLIENUS. interim *Dionysius* *dies in the twelfth year of *Gallienus*'s Empire, after he had presided in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* seventeen years. *Maximus* succeedeth him. But *Gallienus*, having held the Empire fifteen years compleat, *Claudius* was constituted his successour. He, having Reigned two years, left the Government to *Aurelianus*.

* Anno Christi. 265.

CHAP. XXIX.

How Paul *being confuted by* Malchion *a Presbyter, (who formerly had been one of the* †Sophistæ*) was deposed.*

† See B. 4. Chap. 16. Note (s.)

AURELIANUS. IN this Emperours time was the last Synod convened, which consisted of a very great number of Bishops: The Authour of that Heresie at *Antioch* being now convicted, and by all manifestly condemn'd of false Doctrine, was excommunicated out of the Catholick Church, which is under heaven. But one [b] *Malchion* most especially confuted and convinced him being desirous to keep himself conceal'd: He was a most eloquent man, and Master of the *Grecian Philosophy School* at *Antioch*. And moreover for his surpassing sincerity in the faith of Christ, he was honoured with a Presbytership of the Church there. Now this man having undertaken to dispute against *Paul*, (the Notaries having written down all the passages of that disputation, which is at this day extant) was the onely person that was able to detect and convince that crafty and deceitfull fellow.

[a] Hence it may be gathered, that the *Synod of Antioch* was assembled in the beginning of *Aurelianus*'s Reign. But I cannot assent to *Baronius*, who says this *Synod* was called in the second year of *Aurelianus*. The *Council* of *Ephesus*, in pag. 228. utterly destroys this Opinion of *Baronius*'s: for it says that *Paul* of *Samosata* was excommunicated 160 years before that time; and if we reckon backwards we shall find, that the year of *Claudius* and *Paternus*'s Consulship, that is, the year of Christ 270. is the 160 year backwards from the time that book was written, which was, *Theodosius* 13th, and *Valentinianus* 3d being Consuls. Moreover, if *Baronius* reckon these things done in the 2d year of *Aurelianus*, he must of necessity make *Dionysius* to continue Bishop of *Rome* till that year; but that is contrary to the Authority of the *Lib. Pontifical.* Farther, in the second year of *Aurelianus* his Reign, there was a War waged against *Zenobia*, when *Antioch* and other Cities were taken, so that 'tis impossible there should be a *Synod* of Bishops that year there. *Vales.*

[b] *Leontius* in his first book against *Nestorius* has a fragment of this disputation. In *Theodoret*, this *Malchion* is called *Malachion*; but falsly: this man gained such honour in this Confutation of *Paul*, that he was thought worthy to be Cannoniz'd in the *Greek Menology* at the 28 day of *October*. Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the Epistle of the Bishops against Paul.

THe Prelates therefore, being assembled together, by common consent writ an Epistle to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: and then sent it over all the Provinces: both manifesting their diligence to all men; the perverse Heterodoxy of *Paul*, the Confutations and Disputes which were held against them; and also giving in a Narration of the whole Life and Morals of the man, whose words in which Epistle, that Posterity may remember them, it will be convenient here to relate.

THE EPISTLE.

To Dionysius *and* Maximus, *and to all our fellow-Ministers over the whole world, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and to the whole Catholick Church under heaven*; Helenus, Hymenæus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas, [a] Ælianus, Paul, Bolanus, Protogenes, Hierax, Eutychius, Theodorus, Malchion, *and* Lucius; *And all the rest of the Bishops of the Neighbouring Cities and Provinces which are with us, the* [b] *Presbyters, and Deacons*; 'tis writ *and the Churches of God, To the beloved Brethren in the Lord, health.* After some words interpos'd, they adde these following. *We have written to, and intreated many of the Bishops far Remote; that they would come and assist in the Curing of this Pestiferous Doctrine: for we wrote to* Dionysius *Bishop of* Alexandria, *and to* Firmilianus *Bishop of* Cappadocia, *men of blessed Memory. The first of them wrote to* Antioch, *but did not so much as vouchsafe the Authour of the Heresie a salutation*; [c] *neither did he write to him by name, but to the whole Church: a Copy of which Letter we have here inserted. The other,* Firmilianus, *came twice, and condemned* Paul's *novelties, as we who were then present do attest, and many others do also know as well as we. But when he promised to recant*, Firmilianus *believing him, and hoping that the business might be composed* [d] *without any reproach to our Religion, deferred his sentence; being deceived by him who denyed his God and Lord, and who kept not the faith which he formerly professed. But* Firmilianus *was now about coming to* Antioch: *and he came as far as* Tarsus; *For he had had experience of his malicious wickedness who denyed his God. But in the interim of our assembling, and whilest we were sending for him, and expecting his coming, he died.* After some other passages they describe his Morals, and what course of Life he lead, in these words: *But since he turn'd to forged and spurious Opinions, departing from the* [e] *true Rule, it is not our concern to examine the Actions of one who is out of the Church: Neither how he, who was formerly poor, and indigent, (having had no Estate from his Parents, nor got any thing by any Trade or Profession) is now become incredibly rich, by his unlawful, and sacrilegious dealings,* [f] *by extortion, and vexatiousness used towards the Brethren, and by* [g] *taking of Authority, as when a Souldier, or else by deceit and cunning, when under pretence of favouring, or succouring and helping a man we get something from him. And this latter is that which the Fathers of the Council of Antioch here mean: the Greeks call it σείειν; so here, σείειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν; to which the Latine word *concussio*, and *concutere* does exactly answer; in which sense they were used among the *old Lawyers*. We also find the word in the Gospel, where *John* gives this command to the Souldiers: (*viz.*) Μηδένα διασείσητε. *Luke* Chap. 3. 14. And amongst the *Grecians*, the antient use of the word σείειν is in the same sence as *calumniari*. So *Aristophanes* and *Teleclides*, use the word. *Vales.*

AURELIANUS

[a] In the Maz. Fuk. Med. and Sav. MSS. 'tis writ thus, ἀιλιανὸς *Ælianus*; but in some printed Editions, 'tis ἀμιλιανὸς *Amilianus*. Also *Rufinus*, and *Niceph.* call him *Ælianus*. *Athanasius* says there were 70 Fathers in this *Synod*, who devested *Paul* of *Samosata*. Vales.

[b] We ought to take notice of the inscription of this Epistle: for we find here not the names of *Bishops* onely, but also of *Presbyters*'s, and *Deacons*, and of the *Laity* also. The same we may see in the *Acts of the Council of Carthage*, in which *Cyprian* was President, and in the *Council* of *Eliberis*. Vales.

[c] Hence we may gather the Epistle of *Dionys. Alexand.* to *Paul* of *Samosata*, which is inserted in the 11th Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is suppositious, together with the 10 Propositions of *Paul*, and *Dionysius*'s Answers to them. For the Fathers of *the Council of Antioch* do here affirm, that *Dionys.* did not write to *Paul*, but to the whole Church of *Antioch*. In that Epistle which goes under the name of *Dionysius*, we find that he wrote to *Paul* twice. But the stile of the Epistle and Answer is not at all like *Dionysius*'s works. So that I am fully perswaded, although *Baronius* takes that work to be true and Genuine, it is false, and adulterate. *Vales.*

[d] The Greek words [ἄνευ πινὸς ὀφλῆ τὸν λόγον λοιδορίας] must be translated, *sine ullâ Religionis nostræ contumeliâ*, and we have rendred them in *English* accordingly: but *Christoph.* scorn'd to follow that excellent version of *Rufinus* which agrees with us. *Vales.*

[e] The Fathers called the Rule of faith τὸν κανόνα, *the true rule.* See the fourth book of our Authour *Eusebius* and Chap. 23, where we find the same use of κανὼν exactly with this here. *Vales.*

[f] *Extortion* is twofold; and is committed either by *the terrour* or Magistrate demands any thing; or else *by deceit and cunning*, when under pretence of favouring, or succouring and helping a man we get something from him. And this latter is that which the Fathers of *the Council of Antioch* here mean: the Greeks call it σείειν; so here, σείειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν; to which the Latine word *concussio*, and *concutere* does exactly answer; in which sense they were used among the *old Lawyers*. We also find the word in the Gospel, where *John* gives this command to the Souldiers: (*viz.*) Μηδένα διασείσητε. *Luke* Chap. 3. 14. And amongst the *Grecians*, the antient use of the word σείειν is in the same sence as *calumniari*. So *Aristophanes* and *Teleclides*, use the word. *Vales.*

[g] Καταβραβεύειν is by *Langus* very well translated *præmia accipere, to take bribes*: St *Paul* uses that term, *Colos.* 2. 18. *Vales.*

AURELIANUS

bribes from thoſe that were injured, promiſing to help them to their right, for a reward; but he deceiv'd them too, [h] getting money for doing nothing through their willingneſs, who were entangled in Suits, to give any thing for a delivery from thoſe troubles: He [i] ſuppoſed godlineſs to be gain. Neither need we declare how proud and inſolent he was, being inveſted with ſecular Dignities; and deſiring to be ſtiled a [k] Ducenarius, rather then a Biſhop: and how he walk't in ſtate through the * Forum, reading and dictating Letters as he walked in publick, with a numerous Guard about him, ſome going before and ſome following him: in ſo much that there was an ill opinion and an odium brought upon the faith through his pride and haughtineſs. Neither [does it concern us to examine] his vain glorious ambition in the Eccleſiaſtick conventions, which he greedily purſues, being deſirous of glory, and affected with an imaginary pomp: with ſuch devices as theſe terrifying the minds of the faithful and ignorant. Beſides, he erected for himſelf a [l] Tribunal, and a lofty throne, not like one of Chriſt's diſciples, but had a place called his [m] Secretum, like as the ſecular Magiſtrates have. He alſo uſed to clap his hand upon his thigh, and ſtamp't upon the Throne with his feet. And ſuch as did not commend him, and ſhake their [n] oraria, as they uſually did in the Theaters, and did not make loud exclamations, nor leapt up and down in the ſame manner as his favourites (which were a company of ſilly men and women that during their hearkning to him uſed ſuch indecencies) did; but were attentive to him with ſuch a ſeemly reverence and decencie as befits the houſe of God; thoſe perſons he rebuked and reproach't. In his publick diſcourſes he reflected upon thoſe Doctours of our Religion that were dead, with all imaginable ſcorn and petulancy; but he magnified himſelf not as became a Biſhop, but rather like a counterfeit, and an Impoſtour. He aboliſhed the Pſalms, which were uſually ſung in honour of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as Novel, and the compoſures of modern men. On the great feaſt of Easter, he appointed women to ſing Pſalms in his commendation in the body of the Church, which whoſoever heard might juſtly tremble at: He alſo privately ſent the [o] Biſhops of the Neighbouring Villages and Towns, and the Preſbyters who were his flatterers to make diſcourſes to the people in commendation of him. For he will not joyn in a confeſſion with us, that the Son of God came down from heaven, that we may now premiſe ſome things of what we ſhall hereafter more at large declare in writing. Neither ſhall this be affirmed on our bare word, but it is evident in many places up and down his [p] Acts which we have ſent you: and moſt eſpecially there where he ſays that Jeſus Chriſt is of the * earth; But thoſe who chaunt out his praiſes, and ſing his Encomium's amongſt the people, do ſay, that this their impious maſter is an angel come down from heaven: nor does that haughty fellow prohibit theſe expreſſions, but is himſelf preſent when they are ſpoken. What need we here mention his and his Presbyters and Deacons [q] Subintroduced women (as the Antiochians term them?) in whom he conceals not onely this, but many other damnable crimes, (which he is conſcious of, and of which he has been convict they are guilty) that by this means he may keep them ſo obnoxious, as not to adventure, through a fear of their own guilt, to accuſe him for his impious words and practiſes. Moreover, he has enriched them. And this is the reaſon he is beloved and admired by them who covet ſuch things. But why do we write theſe things? We know (beloved) that it is the duty of a Biſhop, and of the whole Clergy, to be examples of good works to the people. Neither are we ignorant, that by introducing women into their ſociety, ſome have wholly fell away from goodneſs, and others have been ſuſpected. Although therefore it be granted he committed nothing that was unchaſt, yet the very ſuſpicion which ariſes from ſuch a thing, ought carefully to be avoided, leaſt it ſhould be offenſive to any one, and induce others to imitate it: for how can he reprove, or admoniſh another not to frequent the company of women, and to take heed leaſt he fall, (as it is written,) who has now indeed ſent away one, but keeps two that are young and beautiful with him? and where-ever he goes, he carries them along with him; and therefore indulges, and [r] ſtuffs himſelf with delicacies. Theſe are the reaſons that all people ſigh, and lament privately: but they ſo dread his Tyrany, and Authority, that they dare not accuſe him; now, (as we have before ſaid) any one would call a man, who profeſſes the Catholick Doctrine, and is reckoned of our Communion, to an account for theſe things. But from one, who has abjured the Myſtery [of our Religion,] and has boaſted in that curſed Hereſie of Artemas, (for why may we not manifeſt to you his father:) we judge it needleſs to require an account of theſe things. Afterwards in the cloſe of the Epiſtle they adjoyn theſe words. *Having therefore excommunicated this contumacious Enemie of God; we were neceſſitated to ordain another Biſhop in his ſtead over the Catholick Church, (as we are perſwaded, not without the providence of God)* [to wit,] Domnus (*the ſon of* Demetrianus *of bleſſed Memory, who before him was the eminent Governour of that See*) *a man adorned with all accompliſhments requiſite to a Biſhop. Which we have therefore ſignified to you, that you may write*

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to

[h] Although μισθὸν be joyn'd with καρπόω in the Greek, and we have ſo tranſlated it: (viz.) *getting money for doing nothing*, making it to be referred to *Paul*; yet it ſhould rather be referred to the *Litigants*, or *people in ſuit*, who gave their money to *Paul*, for his help and favour in their cauſe, and ſo loſt it: he never helping them. *Valeſ.*

[i] This is a Scripture phraſe, taken out of 1 *Timothy* chap. 6. v. 6.

[k] Theſe *Ducenarii* were *procuratours*; called *ducenarii*, becauſe they were ſuch *receivers*, or *Collectours of the Revenues*, as had 200 ſeſterces paid them from the Emperour, as a yearly ſallary. See *Dio*, *Lib.* 53. p. 506. *Valeſ.*

* See Book 5. Chap. 1. note (*c.*)

[l] The Fathers do not here condemn *Paul* becauſe he had a throne; for that was cuſtomary amongſt Biſhops, even from the times of the Apoſtles, as we may ſee in Chap. 19. Book 7. concerning the throne of *James* the brother of the Lord. But for this they condemn him becauſe he erected a *Tribunal* for himſelf in the Church, and buil't a *high throne*, as *Ruſinus* well tranſlates the place, higher then it was before. Biſhops did ſit higher then the people; but they had not a *Tribunal*. Valeſ.

[m] This *Secretum* was onely proper to Magiſtrates, and the *Judices Majores*, or *Judges of Life and Death*. It was the inner part of the Court of Judgment, and was compaſſed about with Rails, and Curtains were drawn about it; in it the Judges ſate, when they heard the Tryals of Criminals. See my notes on *Amm. Marcell.* p. 87. *Valeſ.*

[n] Καλασείειν ταῖς ὀθόναις, ſignifies *to ſhake a linnen cloth*, or *handkerchief in token of applauſe*; as the Spectatours uſed to doe in the *Theater*. *Vopiſcus* ſays that *Aurelianus* was the firſt who gave theſe ὀθόνας, *oraria*, in Engliſh, *handkerchiefs*, to the people of *Rome*, that *concutiendo*, *by ſhaking them*, they might ſignifie their conſent in Elections. But *Aurelianus* borrowed this cuſtom from the *Eaſtern People* who long before his time uſed theſe *Oraria* after the ſame manner. *Valeſ.*

[o] *Euſebius* ſeems here to mean the *Chorepiſcopi*, which ſome term *Vicarios Epiſcopi*, & *Vicarios Epiſcopos*, i. e. *Deputys of the Biſhop*, and *Vicar-Biſhops*. They here make a diſtinction betwixt the *Epiſcopi Civitatum*, and *Epiſcopi Pagorum*. And theſe latter, the Fathers here ſay, ſang, or repeated theſe ſongs or Hymns in their Sermons, and congregations. See *Damaſi Epiſt.* concerning theſe.

[p] Ὑπομνήματα are here *Geſta*, or *Acta*, *Publick Acts*; ſuch are commonly Regiſtred; but ſome falſly tranſlate them *Commentaries*. Now the *Acts* of *this Synod of Antioch* were nothing but the Diſputation of *Malchion* againſt Paul *of Samoſata*; which were Regiſtred by the *Notaries*. Valeſ.

* See Joh. 8. 23.

[q] Theſe *Subintroduced women* were neither *Wives*, nor *Concubines*, but a third ſort of women; which the Presbyters, &c. kept, not to have children by, nor upon account of luſt, but as 'twas pretended out of a deſire of piety. See *John Langus*'s notes on B. 6. *Niceph. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Chap. 30. Theſe ſort of women, *Valeſius* ſays, were called *Siſters*; which he was informed of from the third *Canon.* Concil. *Nicen.* They were alſo termed *Commanentes*. See *Jerom*'s Epiſtle to *Euſtochius*, where he inveys againſt theſe ſort of women.

[r] Here the Fathers accuſe *Paul* becauſe he kept theſe fair women with him; and becauſe [τὸν ἐμπιπλάμενον] *he glutted himſelf with all ſenſual delights*, as, feaſts, drinking, and the like, which are the common incentives of luſt. *Valeſ.*

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to him, and receive from him [f] Communicatory Letters: but as for this [Paul] let him write to Artemas, if he pleases, and let the followers of Artemas, hold Communion with him.

[f] Τὰ κοινωνικὰ γράμματα. The Latines call them, *Literas communicatorias, communicatory Letters*; the use whereof is very ancient in the Church. They were also called *Formatæ*, as *Augustine, in Epist.* 163. attests. There were two sorts of these Letters. One sort was given to the Clergy and Laity that were going to travel, that they might be admitted to Communion by forrein Bishops. Another sort were those, which Bishops sent to other Bishops, and received from them mutually, to attest and declare their mutual Communion: concerning this latter sort the *Synod* speaks here. They were usually sent by the new Bishops a little after their Ordination. See *August.* 162 Epist. and *Cyprians* Epistle to *Cornelius*, pag. 92. *Vales.*

[t] And let these things be here by us inserted. * *Paul* therefore having been devested of his Bishoprick, and being also fallen from the orthodox Faith, *Domnus* (as is aforesaid) succeeded in the Government of the Church of *Antioch*; But [u] *Paul* being by no means willing to quit the Possession of the * Church; an address was made to *Aurelianus* the Emperour, who most justly determined concerning this business; giving command that the Pallace should be resigned to whom the Bishops of the Christian Religion in *Italy* and *Rome* should assign it by their Letters. Thus therefore the aforementioned *Paul*, was with the greatest disgrace thrust out of the Church by the secular power. Thus indeed was *Aurelian* affected towards us at that time; But in the following part of his Empire his mind towards us being altered, he was induced by the advice of some men to raise a Persecution against us. Much discourse there was every where concerning it: but the divine vengeance assaulted him, (being now ready, and as I may say, almost subscribing the Edicts against us,) [repressing] his design, and binding him (as it were) by the armes; making it evidently apparent to all men that the readiness of the Princes of this world [to persecute us] can never prevail against the Churches of Christ, unless the invincible hand of God in his divine and celestial judgment, permits it to be done for our chastisement and amendment, at those times in which he judgeth it most seasonable. Moreover, *Probus* succeeds *Aurelian*, having Reigned six years. And after he had held the Empire the like number of years, *Carus* together with his Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, succeed him. Again, these having not lived three full yeares, the Empire falls to *Diocletian* and those who were adopted with him. In whose times the Persecution against us was accomplished, and at the same time with it was the demolishing of the Churches: but a little before this, died *Dionysius*, after he had governed the See of *Rome* nine years, and *Felix* succeeded him.

[t] *Baronius* at the year of Christ 272. (in which year he has placed this Synod of *Antioch*,) accuses *Eusebius* of fraud, or rather of connivence; becaus he on set purpose (as he says) omitted that Creed which the Fathers made in this Council of *Antioch*, which utterly destroyed Arianism. But *Baronius*, as in other places, so here also, causelesly accuseth *Eusebius*. For that Creed which he there produceth out of the Acts of the Synod of *Ephesus*, was not the Creed which was composed by the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch*, but by them of the *Nicene* Council. For the more certain demonstration of this, See the 3d Tome *of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, pag. 378; where this Creed, which *Baronius* mentions as composed by the Fathers of this Council of *Antioch*, is expressly assign'd to the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*. Wherefore that Creed which *Baronius*, and *Binius*, following his example, have placed in the Acts of this Council of *Antioch*, must be razed out. There is also extant an Epistle of this 2d Synod of *Antioch* to *Paul* of *Samosata* in the 11th Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, which Epistle was written about the beginning of the Session of this 2d Synod, but *Baronius* ascribes that Epistle to the first Synod, which cannot possibly be, because of the title, and the persons mentioned in it, and other circumstances. *Vales.*

[u] After the sentence of being deposed was passed against *Paul*, he kept his Church for some years; and would not obey the decree of the Bishops; relying on the power of *Zenobia* an Eastern Queen. *Theodoret* says, in his 2d Book *Haretic. Fabul.* that *Paul* did flatter her, and used all means possible to get her favour. When *Zenobia* was conquered, the Christian Prelates petitioned *Aurelianus*, that this *Paul*, who had conspired with *Zenobia* against the *Romans*, might be removed from the See of *Antioch*, which was done in the third year of *Aurelianus*. Vales.

* Τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄικω· the import of which words, being litterally rendred, is *the house of the Church*: perhaps they mean *the Bishops Palace*; a little after they call it τὸν ὄικον; which we have rendred *the Palace*. *Valesius* renders the first phrase *Ecclesiæ Domus*, and the second *Domus*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning the heterodox and corrupt opinion of the Manichees *which sprang up at this time.*

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AT the same time that mad-man, (truly called [a] *Manes*) who gave denomination to that furious Heresie, was armed with madness; Satan himself that Adversary of God, having produced him for the destruction of many men. This person was barbarous in his whole course of life, in his very discourse and manners, he was as to his disposition devilish and mad: he undertook what was agreeable hereto, and attempted to feign himself to be Christ. Sometimes he declared himself to be the * *Paraclete*, and the very *holy Spirit*, being also besides his madness puft up with pride: at other times, as if he were Christ, he elected twelve disciples to be Colleagues of his new-formed opinion: Moreover, when he had patched up a Collection of false and Atheistical opinions, gathered out of various Heresies which were long since extinct, he poured them, like some deadly poison, out of *Persia* into [b] our Countrey. Hence came that impious name of the [c] *Manichees*, which at this time abounds in many places; such therefore was the original of this [d] forged doctrine, which sprang up in the times before mentioned.

[a] *Eusebius*, as we here see, derives the name of this Heretick from the Greek word μανὴς, *a madman*: *The Learned Bishop Pearson, on the Creed*, supposes *Manes* to be a *Title* rather than a *name*, and to be derived from the Hebrew מנא, or מינא, signifying, *an Heretick*: see his reasons for this derivation, in his marginal notes at pag. 64. *of his Exposition on the Creed*; Edit. *Lond.* 1669.

* See the note on chap. 14. B 5.

[b] The phrase in the original is ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμῶν οἰκουμένην; which *Valesius* renders *in Orbem Romanum, into the Roman Empire.*

[c] *Manes* was not the first Authour of this Heresie, though his followers were from him called *Manicheans*. Indeed, *Manes* dissieminated this Heresie in the days of *Aurelianus*, or *Probus* the Emperour: but he had a predecessour, though not a master, called first *Terebinthus*, afterwards *Buddas*: which *Buddas* had a former master, by name *Scythianus*, who was the first Authour of this Heresie, and lived about the Apostolick times. See the pedegree of this *Heresie* drawn at large by *Epiphanius, Advers. Manicheos*; pag. 617, &c. *Edit. Petav.*

[d] Ψευδωνύμε γνώσεως, *knowledge falsely so called.* 1 Tim. 6. 20.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning those Ecclesiastick men who were famous even in our Age, and which of them lived till the demolishing of the Churches.

AT this time *Eutychianus* succeeded *Felix*, who had been Bishop of the Church of *Rome* five years. And [a] he, having not lived full ten months, leaves the dignity to *Caius*, who lived in our Age: when he had presided there about fifteen years, *Marcellinus* was ordained his successour; whom the Persecution overtook: At this time *Timæus* succeeded *Domnus* in the Government of the Church of *Antioch*: After him *Cyril* succeeded in our memory. In his time we knew one [b] *Dorotheus*, who then had the dignity of Presdent from *the old book of the Popes*; in which the years of all the Popes from *Callistus* are very well digested by the Consuls under whom they began their Presidencies, and under whom they died. *Eusebius* here takes away 8 years from *Eutychianus* and ascribeth them to *Xystus*. See Chap. 27. note (*a.*) *Vales.*

[a] This *Eutychianus*, late Bishop of *Rome* 8 years and 11 months as is evi-

[b] This *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, *Baronius* (in his notes *on the Roman Martyrology*) takes to be the same with that *Dorotheus* who was a Presbyter of *Tyre*: but this is a mistake in him; which error *Blondellus* undertakes to correct; but in the *interim* committeth one far worse. For he confounds this *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, with

Dorotheus, Diocletian's Groom of the Chamber; whoſe Martyrdom our Authour in the 8 book giveth us an account of: I do not in the leaſt doubt but there were two of this name (*viz.*) *Dorotheus*'s, one was Presbyter of *Antioch*, and the other was an Eunuch, Groom of the Chamber to *Diocletian*. And this may be proved by ſufficient arguments. (1.) This *Dorotheus*, the Presbyter, was not a Martyr; for we find no mention of him as ſuch in *Euſebius*, and certainly had he been ſo, *Euſebius* would not have omitted him amongſt the Eccleſiaſticks he reckons up Book 8. chap. 13. who ſuffered Martyrdom, ſeeing alſo he was his maſter. (2.) This *Dorotheus* the Presbyter was a man nobly deſcended, and he bore Office before he was a Presbyter; but the other *Dorotheus* was a man of a ſervile condition, an Eunuch, and Groom of the Chamber to *Diocletian*. Beſides, 'tis impoſſible that the ſame man ſhould be a Groom of the Chamber, and a Presbyter; for that was inconſiſtent with the Eccleſiaſtick Canon, and with reaſon; onely youths of great beauty were choſen to ſerve in the Emperours Bedchamber. Laſtly, we read in *Euſebius*, and others, that *Dorotheus* the Groom of the Chamber ſuffered Martyrdom while he had that Office. Hence aroſe this confuſion; both theſe *Dorotheus*'s were *Eunuchs*, and both the Emperour's favourites. *Valeſ.*

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[c] The reading in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Sav. M.SS. is ἐλευθέρως, *liberaliter educatus, he was very well educated.* Valeſ.

[d] This is the ſame *Anatolius* (if I miſtake not) that *Eunapius* mentions in the Life of *Iamblichus*; where he ſays that *Iamblichus* was at firſt the Scholar of *Anatolius*, who at that time was eſteemed the beſt Philoſopher next to *Prophyrius*. This *Anatolius*, here ſpoken of by *Euſebius*, lived in the ſame times *Prophyrius* did, and according to *Euſebius*'s Character, he was a man well verſed in all ſorts of learning. *Valeſ.*

[e] The phraſe, in the original is Ἀριστοτέλους διαδοχῆς, *Ariſtotelicæ ſucceſſionis*, of the *Ariſtotelick Order*. *Anatolius* being an exellent Philoſopher was requeſted by the Citizens of *Alexandria* to ſet up an *Ariſtotelick* School, in imitation of the *Platonick* School long ſince erected at *Athens*. The maſters of *Plato*'s School were called διάδοχοι, and were promoted to that place by a publick decree. This School had great annual revenues, raiſed out of Eſtates, which learned men left as legacies to this School, which were hence called διαδοχαί. In imitation of this School at *Athens*, there was afterwards founded a Philoſophical School at *Alexandria*, of which that moſt excellent Philoſopher *Hierocles* was maſter. See *Damaſcius, in vitâ Iſidor.* pag. 1058, &c. *Valeſ.*

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[f] This Siege of the *Bruchium* was in *Aurelianus*'s time, as we find aſſerted in the end of B. 22. of *Amm. Marcell. Euſebius* in *his Chronicle* ſays it happened on the 2d year of *Claudius*: for which *Scaliger* reproves and corrects *Euſebius*, relying on the authority of *Marcell.* But I had rather follow our Authours opinion here. For that *Euſebius* mentioned in this chap. and *Anatolius* were ſtill at *Alexandria*, and could not poſſibly travel to *Antioch* till the ſiege was raiſed. But *Euſebius*, we ſee, went to the Synod of *Antioch*, which, as before we proved, was in the ſecond year of *Claudius*. And intending to return from *Antioch*, he was detained by the *Laodiceans* and made Biſhop of that place. But if we ſay that the *Bruchium* was not taken till *Aurelianus*'s Reign; how could *Euſebius*, who was at the ſiege go towards that Synod, and be made Biſhop of *Laodicea*. Valeſ.

[g] Whileſt *Claudius* warred againſt the *Barbarians*, *Zenobia* ſent *Zabda* her Captain, who, by the aſſiſtance of *Timogenes* an *Ægyptian* ſeized upon *Ægypt*, and put a Garriſon into *Alexandria*: but *Probus* the *Roman* General, with ſome aſſiſtance of the *Ægyptians*, who did not affect the *Syrians* of *Palmyra* who kept the Garriſon, forced them out thence; as *Pollia* in the Life of *Claudius*, and *Zoſimus* record. And this, I think, was the time when the *Bruchium* was beſieged by the *Romans*. Valeſ. *Martinius* thinks that this *Bruchium*, here mentioned as a part of *Alexandria*, and in the Greek called πυρεχεῖον, was that which the *Romans* call the *forum frumentarium*, or *Corn-market*; it being derived from πυρὸς χέω, *Annonæ præfectus*; and that compounded of πυρὸς and ἔχω, *tritici curam habeo, to have the charge of the wheat*: See *Martin. Lexicon. Philolog.* in the word *Bruchion.*

[h] *Chriſtoph.* renders the word ταμιεύειν, here uſed, *Congerere, to lay up Corn*; but it muſt here be rendred quite contrary, *to give out*, or *meaſure out corn ſparingly*; which was cuſtomary in famines, and in ſieges. *Valeſ.*

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[i] *Hieronymus*, in *his Chronicle*, says that this siege of the *Bruchium* lasted several years. *Vales.*

[k] *Excerptions out of* Anatolius's Canons concerning Easter.

[k] These words ought to be separated from the Text of *Eusebius*, as we have here done in the Translation. For they are a Title as it were, which noteth that the fragment following is out of another Authour. *Vales.*

[l] Ἔχεις πίνυν. These words being imperfect, and unintelligible; there must of necessity be something understood. *Christoph.* conjectures that τὸ πάσχα, *Easter*, is to be understood; but that is absurd, for the feast of *Easter* does never fall on the *New-moon* of the first moneth. I rather think we ought to read ἔχεις, *you have*, or ἔχε in the *imperative*, *reckon the New-moon*, &c. *Vales.*

"[l] You have therefore in the first year the "New-moon of the first moneth, (which is the "beginning of the circle of nineteen years;) ac- "cording to the *Ægyptian* account on the 26 day "of the moneth *Phamenoth*; but according to the "*Macedonian computation* of moneths, on the "22 day of the moneth "*Dystrus*; and as the *Ro-* "*mans* phrase it, before the "11th of the Calends of *A-* "*pril*: On the aforesaid 26 "day of the moneth *Phame-* "*noth* the Sun is found not "onely to have entered the "first segment [of the *Zo-* "*diack*,] but is then going "the fourth day in it: They usually call this seg- "ment, the first *Dodecatemorion*, the *Æquinox*, "*the beginning of moneths, the head of the Cycle*, "and *the* [m] *original of the course of the Planets.* "The segment next before this they commonly call "*the end of the moneths, and the twelfth segment*, "*the last Dodecatemorion*, and "*the term of the circuit of* "*the Planets*: Wherefore "we affirm that they who "place the first moneth in "this segment, and take the "14th day [n] from it to be "the feast of *Easter*, are, as "it happens, in no small "mistake. Neither is this "our opinion; but it was "known to the antient Jews "even before Christ's [com- "ing;] and it was also in "an especial manner obser- "ved by them; which may "be understood from the "words of *Philo*, *Josephus*, "and *Musæus*. And not from "the words of these persons "onely, but from them who "were antienter then they; "*to wit*, from the two [o] *Aga-* "*thobulus's*, who were sir- "named the *Doctours*, or *Masters*. But I fear he mistakes in affirming them to be antienter then *Philo* and *Josephus*. For *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* says, that *Agathobulus* the Philosopher flourished in the times of *Hadrianus*. Vales.

[m] Ἄφεσις (the term which occurs here) does properly signifie *Carceres, the place whence the horse-races were begun.* *Anatolius* therefore calls the first *Dodecatemorium*, ἄφεσις, because from that, as it were from the original and fourse thereof the course of the Planets should begin. *Vales.* The translation of this *Canon* of *Anatolius*'s will be scarce understood by the unlearned Reader, because so many terms of Art occur in it. The Learned Reader, that is desirous of farther satisfaction herein, may consult *Petavius*'s notes on *Epiphan.* p. 188, &c. and *Ægydius Bucherius*, *De Doctrinâ Temporum*, pag. 440, Edit. *Antverp.* 1634.

[n] That is, *from that segment*: for although the reading in the Greek Text be ἀπ' αὐτὴν, yet it is to be corrected thus, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; understand τμῆμα, *segment*: so *Petavius* corrected it in his notes upon *Epiphanius* pag. 190. *Vales.*

[o] *Anatolius* here affirms that there were two *Agathobulus*'s, sirnamed the *Doctours*, or *Masters*.

"named *the Masters*: and also from the [p] famous "*Aristobulus*, who was one of the Seventy, that "at the request of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* and his "father, translated the Sacred and divine Scriptures "of the *Hebrews*, and Dedicated *his Expositions on* "*Moses's Law* to the same Kings. These Authours "*in their solutions of the* "*Questions upon Exodus*, say "that all ought to sacrifice "the Passover together after "the vernal Æquinox, in "the middle of the first "moneth. Now this hap- "pens when the Sun goes "through the first part of "the *Solar Circle*, or (as "some of them terme it) "the *Zodiack*: but *Aristo-* "*bulus* addeth, that not onely "the Sun, but the Moon al- "so must of necessity pass "through the Æquinoctial "segment on the feast of "the Passover: for where- "as there are two Æqui- "noctial segments, the one "called the *vernal*; the other "the *Autumnal*; and they "diametrically opposite the "one to the other; and whereas the feast of the *Pass-* "*over* is granted to be on the 14 day at evening, "the Moon shall be diametrically opposite to the "Sun, as we may see it is in full Moons. Where- "fore the Sun will be in the vernal Æquinoctial "segment; and the Moon will necessarily be in "the Autumnal Æquinoctial segment. I know "they have said a great deal more; (part where- "of is probable, and part concluded from most "certain demonstrations;) by which they en- "deavour to make it evident, that the feast of the "*Passover*, and that of *unleavened bread* must al- "ways be celebrated after the Æquinox. But I "omit the requiring such abundance of demon- "strations from them, off whom *the Veil* of the "*Mosaick Law is taken*: and by whom (the face "being now uncovered) may be seen as in a "glass for the future, both Christ himself, "Christ's doctrines, and his sufferings. Now, that "the first moneth amongst the *Hebrews* does be- "gin about the Æquinox, the precepts in the "[q] Book of *Enoch* are suf- "ficient evidences. The same *Anatolius* has left us *Institutions of* * *Arithmetick* in ten entire books, as also several other evidences of his diligence about, and great experience in, the holy Scriptures; *Theotecnus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* first ordained him Bishop by imposition of hands, providing him to be his successour in his own Church. And indeed for some small time they both [r] presided over that Church together. But the Synod against *Paul* being convened at *Antioch*, they are now called.) These sort of *Assistants* were first instituted for the ease of Aged Bishops; but afterwards they grew customary; and were chosen not out of necessity, but ambition and pride: but the Fathers of the Council of *Sardis* put a stop hereto. *Vales.*

DIOCLETIAN [p] *Rufinus* renders Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ καὶ πάνυ. *Aristobulus* *of Paneas*; but he is in a gross errour. I wonder that *Scaliger*, (in *his Animadversions* upon *Eusebius*, pag. 130.) should think, these words of *Anatolius* ought to be corrected according to *Rufinus*'s translation of them. *Bede* also follows this corrupt Version of *Rufinus*, and takes *Paniada* to be the name of a *Jewish* writer. *Scaliger* in the place afore-quoted largely proves that what *Anatolius* says of *Aristobulus* (viz. he was one of the 72 Translatours) is false. This *Aristobulus* was also sirnamed the *Master*, or *the Doctor*; as we may see 2 *Maccabees* Chap. 1. because he was Tutour to King *Ptolomy*. For I cannot assent to *Scaliger*, who makes a distinction betwixt that *Aristobulus* mentioned in the History of the *Maccabees*, and *Aristobulus* the *Peripatetick*, who dedicated his Expositions upon *Moses*'s Law to *Ptolomy Philometor*. Vales.

[q] This book of *Enoch* is quoted by *Jude* in his *Canonical Epistle*. It was an Apocryphal book, and not received amongst the Authentick Scriptures of the Jewes. But the Apostles, and the antient Fathers in imitation of them, have not been afraid to quote *Apocryphal* books which seemed to confirm the truth. *Georgius Syncel.* in his *Chronicle*, quotes an excellent fragment out of this book of *Enoch*'s. *Vales.*

* Some Excerptions out of *Anatolius*'s *Arithmetick* are yet extant. *Vales.*

[r] We have the like example in Chap. 11. book 6. Where *Alexander* ruled the Church of *Jerusalem* joyntly with *Narcissus*. These two are the most antient instances of *Assistant* Bishops (as

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[r] *Euſebius* relates the ſame thing concerning *Euſebius Alexandrinus* in the beginning of this chapter: (viz.) that he went to the Synod of *Antioch*, which was called upon *Paul*'s account, and in his return was ſtopped by the *Laodiceans*, and made Biſhop of that place. Now again we find the ſame concerning *Anatolius*: which cannot poſſibly be defended, except we ſhould ſay that *Euſebius* died ſome few days after his Ordination: but in oppoſition to that we will produce *Hieronymus*'s authority, who in the ſecond year of *Aurelianus* writes thus; *Euſebius is now famous at Laodicea.* Valeſ.

[r] he going through the City of *Laodicea* [towards that Synod] was there detained by the brethren, *Euſebius* being then dead: After the death of *Anatolius*, *Stephen* is ordained Biſhop of that Church, being the laſt before the Perſecution. He was indeed admired by many for his eloquence, Philoſophy, and his other *Grecian* learning: but he was not [s] ſo well affected towards the true faith [of Chriſt,] as the time of the following Perſecution afterwards demonſtrated; which manifeſtly declared him to be a diſſembler, fearful and cowardous, rather then a true Philoſopher: but after this the affairs of that Church did not forthwith run to decay; For *Theodotus* [u] Ordained Biſhop of that Church by God himſelf the preſerver of all things, immediately reſtored all things to their former ſplendour: He was a perſon who in deeds verified his own name, and made a true repreſentation of the Epiſcopal Office; he was of all men the moſt eminent for his skill in Phyſick and in curing of the body. And there was no man his equal for healing of ſouls; for humanity, ſincerity of mind, commiſeration, and diligence in helping thoſe who wanted his aſſiſtance: he was alſo incomparably well exerciſed in divine learning. Such a perſon was this *Theodotus*. *Agapius* ſucceedeth *Theotecnus*, who had governed the Biſhoprick of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* with great care. Who, we know, was very laborious, and moſt ſincerely ſollicitous for the good of the people over whom he preſided; and with a liberal hand relieved all, moſt eſpecially the indigent: In this man's times we knew *Pamphilus* (a moſt † loquent man, and a true Philoſopher in the practiſes of his life) honoured with a Presbyterſhip of that Church. To declare what a perſon this man was, and whence deſcended, would be a copious ſubject. But all things relating to his life, the † School he founded; the conflicts which during the time of Perſecution he underwent in ſeveral confeſſions, and laſtly the crown of Martyrdom with which he was encircled, we have fully declared in a [x] peculiar work. Indeed this *Pamphilus* was the moſt admirable perſon of all that lived here. [y] Amongſt thoſe men who lived neareſt to our times, we knew theſe to be moſt eminent, *Pierius* one of the Presbyters of *Alexandria*; And [z] *Meletius* Biſhop of the Churches in *Pontus*: *Pierius* was egregiouſly eſteemed for his [*voluntary*] poverty, and his Philoſophick literature: he was alſo a man ſingularly exerciſed in Contemplations upon the Scriptures, expoſitions, and publick diſcourſes in the Church: and *Meletius* (whom the learned called the [a] *Honey of Attica*) was ſuch a man as one would deſcribe to be moſt accompliſhed with all ſorts of learning. The powerfulneſs of his eloquence cannot worthily be admired. But, ſhould any one ſay that he had this faculty by nature, [we anſwer,] who could excell him in his knowledge in many other Arts and Sciences, and in his various ſorts of literature? Certainly, ſhould any perſon have made tryal of him, he would have affirmed that he was a man moſt acute in all Sciences which have a dependence on reaſon; and alſo moſt eloquent: The virtue and piety of his life was alſo correſpondent to theſe his accompliſhments. In the time of the perſecution we knew this man, when he abſconded for the ſpace of ſeven years compleat in the regions of *Paleſtine*. After *Hymenæus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, a little before mentioned, *Zambdas* entred upon the Government of that Church; who dying not long after, *Hermon*, the laſt of the Biſhops before the Perſecution in our Age, ſucceeded in the Apoſtolick Chair, [b] which is preſerved there even to this day. *Theonas* ſucceedeth *Maximus* in the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, who had been Biſhop there eighteen years, ſince *Dionyſius*'s death. In his days *Achillas*, who at the ſame time with *Pierius* was honoured with a Preſbyterſhip, was very famous [at *Alexandria*] who was entruſted with the care of the * Catechetick School. He in his * Τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως τὸ διδασκαλεῖον; literally, *the School of the divine faith.* actions exhibited a moſt excellent example (inferiour to none) of a more ſublime Philoſophy, and a genuine pattern of an Evangelick converſe. After *Theonas* had born the Epiſcopal Office nineteen years, *Peter* ſucceeded in the Epiſcopate of *Alexandria*. He alſo was eſteemed a perſon very eminent in his function, which he bore twelve years compleat. Having preſided over the Church almoſt three of thoſe twelve years, before the Perſecution, he paſt the reſt of his time in a more ſtrict and [c] aſcetick courſe of life; but

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[z] This is the man, whom *Athanaſius* in his *Speech againſt the Arrians* calls *Meletius the great*, pag. 291. Where in his Catalogue of the Orthodox Biſhops, he reckons *Meletius* Biſhop of *Pontus* for one. *Philoſtorgius* in his firſt book calls him Biſhop of *Sebaſtopolis* in *Pontus*. He ſays he was at the Council of *Nice* with *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Amaſia*, and that he ſided with the *Arrians*: but *Athanaſius* in the place above quoted, proves that to be falſe. *Valeſ.*

[a] Therefore the name of *Meletius* is derived ἀπὸ τῆς μελίτος, *from honey.* *Gregory Nazianz.* in his *Iambicks* calls *Meletius* the Biſhop of *Antioch*, μέλιτος ἐπώνυμον. *Valeſ.*

[b] By theſe words [εἰσέτι νῦν ἐκεῖσε πεφυλαγμένον] he means that the throne of *James* the brother of the Lord, was preſerved at *Jeruſalem* till that time, as 'tis recorded Chap. 19. book 7. So alſo at *Alexandria*, the Chair, or Throne of Saint *Mark* the Evangeliſt who firſt founded the Church of *Alexandria*, was preſerved there for a long time. *Valeſ.*

† Ἧς σωεσήσαλο διαλειβῆς. Some tranſlate theſe words thus, *concerning the School in which he was educated:* but I underſtand them ſpoken of the School which *Pamphilus* founded at *Cæſarea*: concerning the Library which he erected at *Cæſarea*, ſee *Hieronymus*'s *Catalogue*; where he ſpeaks concerning *Matthew*; ſee alſo his Epiſtle to *Marcella*. Valeſ.

[x] *Chriſtoph.* takes theſe words, ἐν ἰδίᾳ βιβλίῳ to ſignifie *one book onely*: But *Euſebius* wrote three books of the Life of *Pamphilus*. Which *Hieronymus* atteſteth in his book *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*; and in his *Apology againſt Ruſinus*. Valeſ.

[y] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς, &c. (that is,) as we have tranſlated it, *amongſt thoſe men who lived neareſt to our times*, &c. Some will have μάλιστα to be referred to σωνιστάντες, *moſt eminent men*; but that I cannot approve of. *Pierius*, and *Meletius*, of whom *Euſebius* afterwards ſpeaks, lived even till *Conſtantine*'s time; concerning *Pierius*, ſee *Photius* and *Hieronymus*. *Ruſinus* does not call him *Pierius*, but *Hicrius*. So does the old *Roman Martyrology*, at the fourth day of *November*. But this *Martyrology*, I think, is neither the old one, nor the *Roman*. For had it been the *Roman Martyrology*, we ſhould have had mention of none but *Roman* Martyrs. But in it we have a Catalogue of the Martyrs, of all Countreys. That I think (if any deſire to know which it is) is the old *Roman Martyrology*, which *Bucherius* publiſhed with the Canon of *Victorius Aquitanus*, although that looks more like a *Calender*, then a *Martyrology*. There is indeed none which is properly the *Roman* Martyrology: for that which *Gregory the Great* mentions in his Epiſtle to *Eulogius*, is St *Hierom*'s *Martyrology*, which the *Weſtern Church* then uſed, as we ſhall hereafter at another place demonſtrate. *Valeſ.*

[c] There is nothing more frequent in *Euſebius* then the uſe of theſe words, ἄσκησις, and Φιλοσοφία; which terms the *Chriſtians* borrowed from the Philoſophers, as I noted Chap. 17. book 2. Note (*a.*) The Philoſophers called thoſe ἀσκήτας *who profeſſed a ſtricter kind of life.* Hence it is that

that *Artemidorus* in his fourth book chap. 35. calls *Alexander* the Philosopher ἄνδρα ἀσκητικὸν. *Ascetick Philosophy* is opposed to Philosophy which consists in *bare words*. When the *Christians* first made use of this name *Ascetæ*, they bestowed it on the Clergy; A long time after that, the *Monks* laid claim to this name. But at the first it was used as was before shown: see Chap. 17. book 2. note *(a.)* which may be proved by the instance here of *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Pierius* the Presbyter; both whom *Eusebius* in this Chapter calls *Ascetas*. *Eusebius* also Chap. 11. concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, calls *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, *Asceta*. Vales.

DIOCLETIAN continued to be apparently solicitous for the publick utility of the Churches. Upon which account being beheaded in the ninth year of the Persecution, he was adorned with a crown of Martyrdom. But having here terminated the History of the succession of Bishops from our Saviour's Nativity, to the demolishing of the Churches; which [History] comprehendeth the space of [d] three hundred and five years; in the subsequent [Books] we will record the conflicts of those, who in our Age couragiously fought for Religion, how many and how great they were, and leave them for the information of succeeding Ages.

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[d] This place ought particularly to be taken notice of, in regard *Eusebius* here summeth up the time which he hath comprehended in his *Ecclesiastick History*. He saith that from our Saviour's Birth to the demolishing of the Churches, which was in the nineteenth year of *Diocletian*, there were 305 years. Also in *Eusebius's Chronicle* the 305 year of Christ is set opposite to the 19 year of *Diocletian*. But in *Scaliger's* Edition, the year in which the Persecution under *Diocletian* began, is reckoned the 304 year of Christ. Hence arises this difference; *Scaliger* in his Edition of *Eusebius's Chronicle*, reckons not that to be the first year of Christ in which he was born, but the year following. But *Eusebius* reckons that to be the first of Christ in which he was born, as I before noted Chap. 5. book 1. note *(a.)* For *Eusebius* places his birth on the 8th of the *Ides* of *January*. Indeed, in all the M.SS. of *Eusebius's Chronicle* (which have the years of Christ annext, particularly in that of *Millaine*, which is ancienter then any other) that is noted for the first year of Christ in which he was born in *Bethleheth* of *Judea*. Vales.

THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

The PREFACE.

HAving comprized the successions of the Apostles in Seven entire Books, in this Eighth we have thought it requisite to set forth the Affaires of our own Age, (which deserve no trivial description,) being a matter most necessary to be derived down to the knowledge of posterity. And our relation shall take its beginning from hence.

CHAP. I.

Concerning those things which preceded the Persecution in our days.

[a] In the most ancient Maz. M.S. and in the Editions of *Rufinus*, the first chap. is begun at these words, *How great*, &c. *Vales.*

[a] HOW great and what manner of glory and freedom the doctrine concerning the adoration of the supream God, declared unto mankind by Christ, was dignified with amongst all men, *Græcians* as well as *Barbarians*, before the persecution in our times; 'tis beyond our abilities deservedly to declare: but the favours of the Emperours towards those of our Religion may be an evidence hereof; whom they entrusted with the Governments of Provinces, freeing them from their fears of [b] sacrificing, out of the abundant kindness they reserved for our Religion. What need we mention those who were conversant in the Imperial palaces? Or the Emperours themselves? Who permitted their domesticks, together with their [c] wives, children and servants, freely and openly to make profession of their Religion by their words and practises, even before their own faces, and in a manner suffered them to boast of their fearlessness and freedom in professing their faith. Whom also they had an high esteem for, and accounted them more acceptable than the rest of their attendants. Such a one was that [d] *Dorotheus*, a person who of all men declar'd the heartiest affection too and fidelity in their service, upon which account he was more highly valued by them than the Magistrates and most honourable Governours of the Provinces: to whom we will adde the most renowned *Gorgonius*; and as many others as arrived to the same degree of honour with them upon account of the word of God. The same affection, observancy, and eminent favour you might see voutsafed to the Prelates of every Church, as well by all

[b] The Maz. and Med. M.SS. retain the true reading of this place; which is [περὶ τὸ θύειν, *of sacrificing:*] the same reading *Gruter* found in his copies. The Governours of Provinces were oblieged to sacrifice to the Gods, and to the Emperours, and to be present at sacrifices. Upon which account the Christians abstained from the Magistracy, and refused the Government of Provinces, offered them by the Emperours. *Vales.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* Edit. is [περὶ τὸ θεῖον.]

[c] Our Authour means not *the Empresses*, as *Christophorson* supposed; but the wives of the Empe-rours domesticks. *Vales.*

[d] This *Dorotheus* was of the Bed-chamber to the Emperour *Diocletian*, or *Galerius Cæsar*: so *Metaphrastes* affirms, in the *Acts of the Martyrs*, *Indes*, and *Domna*, Chap. 23. *Vales.*

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private perſons as Governours of Provinces. But now, how ſhould any one be able to deſcribe [e] thoſe numerous [f] congregations, their multitudes, who throughout every City flock't [to embrace the faith of Chriſt;] and thoſe famous aſſemblies [of the people] in the Churches? For which reaſon they were no longer contented with the old Edifices, but erected ſpatious Churches from the very foundations throughout all the Cities. Theſe [proſperous ſucceſſes,] increaſing in proceſs of time, and being daily augmented with a growth and greatneſs, no envy could put a ſtop to; neither was any evil ſpirit able to bewitch them, nor could the treacheries of men prohibit them, as long as the divine and celeſtial hand [of God] covered and guarded his people, continuing to be worthy of its [protection.] But, after the affairs of our age were through too much liberty changed into looſeneſs and ſloth; when ſome began to envy and revile others, and we were in a manner at wars amongſt our ſelves, [wounding] one another with words as it were with arms and ſpears; when Prelates daſhed againſt Prelates, and the people raiſed factions againſt the people; and when unſpeakable hypocriſie and diſſimulation had arrived to the height of miſchief, then did the divine vengeance, as it takes delight to do, gently begin to viſit us (the multitudes [of the faithful] as yet meeting in their aſſemblies) by degrees and with moderation; the perſecution being firſt begun with thoſe brethren who bore arms. But when we became inſenſible, and entertained not the leaſt thought of propitiating and appeaſing the Deity; but, like ſome Atheiſtical perſons, ſuppoſing our affairs to be managed regardleſly and without any inſpection, we added impieties to impieties: when they, who ſeemed our paſtours, rejecting the ſanctions of Religion, were inflamed with mutual contentions, ſtudying nothing elſe but the augmenting of ſtrifes, menaces, emulation, envy, and mutual hatred, and [g] greedily challenging to themſelves the preeminence, as if it were a dominion: then forthwith (according to the expreſſion uttered by *Jeremiah*) * *the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and caſt down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Iſrael, and remembred not his footſtool in the day of his anger: The Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Iſrael, and thrown down all his ſtrong holds.* And, as it is predicted in the Pſalms, † *He hath made void the covenant of his ſervant, and profaned his ſanctity in the earth*, to wit, by the deſtruction of the Churches. *He hath broken down all his hedges, he hath made his ſtrong holds fear. All the multitudes of the people that paſs by the way ſpoil him*; and further, *he is a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his enemies, and hath turned away the edge of his ſword, and hath not aſſiſted him in the war. But he hath put an end to his purification, and hath broken his throne by caſting it to the ground. The days of his life hath he ſhortned, and* laſtly *covered him with ignominy.*

[e] In the Med. Fuſc. Savil. and Maz. M.SS. the reading here is [πᾶσιν ἐξ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρόποις, &c.] *amongſt the procuratours, &c.* which M. SS. have not theſe words [καὶ θεοσεβείας καὶ δεξιώσεως ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης, *obſervancy and eminent favour.*] But in the Kings M. S. and *R. Stephens* Edit. the reading is [πᾶσιν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, *by all private men*;] in which copies alſo we have thoſe words, which we ſaid were wanting in the other M. SS. *Valeſ.*

[f] The term in the original is [Ἐπισυναγωγάς.] which word St *Paul* uſes 2 *Theſſal.* 2. 1. where our tranſlatours render it, *our gathering together.* ἐπισυνάγειν does properly ſignifie, to *collect perſons diſperſt in divers places into one place.* In this ſenſe *Dionyſ. Alexandrin.* uſes it B. 4. Chap. 23. of this hiſtory; where he ſpeaks of *Quadratus* Biſhop of the *Athenians.* Valeſ.

[g] That is, whilſt the Biſhops were at variance amongſt themſelves concerning preeminence, or about the bounds of their Dioceſſes. *Valeſ.*

* Lament. 2. 1, 2.

† Pſal. 89. 39, &c.

The words of *Euſebius* in the original here, do not agree with that Copy of the Septuagint printed according to the *Vatican* M. S. at *Rome*, (which is the common Septuagint we now uſe,) nor with the original Hebrew; the Learned reader, upon comparing the Texts, will ſee the difference; we tranſlated our Authours words as we found them in the Greek copy.

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CHAP. II.

Concerning the Ruine of the Churches.

ALL theſe [predictions] were [a] fully compleated in our times, when with our own eyes we ſaw both the houſes of prayer thrown down to the ground, even to their very foundations, and alſo the divine and ſacred Scriptures committed to the fire in the midſt of the *Forum.* [When we beheld] ſome paſtours of the Churches baſely hiding themſelves, ſome in one place, ſome in another; others of them ignominiouſly apprehended, and expoſed to the ſcorn of their enemies. When alſo, according to another prophetick expreſſion * *contempt was poured upon Princes, and he cauſed them to wander in the wilderneſs where there was no way.* But 'tis not our [deſign] to deſcribe thoſe ſad calamities which in concluſion befell them: for it is unfit for us to record their mutual diſſentions and folly before the perſecution. Wherefore we will relate no more concerning them, than whereby we may juſtifie the divine vengeance. We will not proceed therefore to mention thoſe who were [b] tryed by the perſecution, nor thoſe who wholly made ſhipwrack of their ſalvation, and were voluntarily precipitated into the gulfs of the deep: but we will in general inſert ſuch paſſages onely into this our Hiſtory, as may in the firſt place be profitable to our own ſelves, and in the next to poſterity. From hence then we will begin briefly to deſcribe the ſacred combats of thoſe who were Martyrs for the divine Religion. [c] It was the nineteenth

[a] In the Maz. M.S. the reading is δλ̃ον, *omnino, wholly* or *fully.* In the Kings M. S. and *Robert Stephens's* Edit. 'tis δλ̃η τῇ. The former is the better reading. At theſe words Chap. 2. begins in all our M. SS. and in *Rufinus's* old copy. *Valeſ.*

* Pſal. 107. 40. this quotation ſeems impertinent, *Valeſ.*

[b] Πεπειραμένων, *tryed, experienced:* for this term is uſed inſtead of πεπειρασμένων. St *Paul* uſes the word, Heb. 4. 15. where our tranſlation renders it *tempted.* 'Tis a metaphor taken from ſhips, ſet upon by *Pirates* at Sea; as the follwing words declare: theſe *marine thieves* are called *Pirates* ἀπὸ τῆς περιῤῥεῖν. *Valeſ.*

[c] So ſays *Euſebius, in his Chronicon*; and ſo alſo the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: with whom agrees *Idatius* (*in faſtis*) whoſe words are theſe; *Diocletiano* VIII. *& Maximiano* VII. *his Coſſ. perſecutio Chriſtianorum*: i. e. *when Diocletian was the eighth time Conſul and Maximianus the ſeventh, the perſecution of the Chriſtians began.* The ſame may be concluded from the *Acts* of *Munatius Felix* (*in Geſt. apud Zenophilum Conſutarem Numidiæ.*) According to *Euſebius's* account this was the 305 year from our Bleſſed Saviours nativity; but, according to the *Dionyſian Æra*, which we now make uſe of, it was the 303. But *Baronius* (in *Annal.*) and *Petavius* (*in the ſecond part of his Rationar. Tempor.*) affirms that the beginning of this perſecution muſt be placed on the 302 year of *Chriſt*; when *Conſtantius* IV. and *Maximianus* IV. *Coſſ.* Their opinion is grounded on one onely argument, *to wit*, the *Acts* of the *Council of Cirta* (a City in *Numidia*, afterwards called *Conſtantina.*) which *Council Auguſtine* (*in Breviculo Collat.*) affirms was convened the year after the perſecution began, and after the paſſion of the Martyrs. Now the *Acts* of that *Council* (which *Auguſtine* relates in the B. 3. againſt *Creſconius*) doe ſhew, that it was convened *Diocletian* VIII, and *Maximianus* VII, *Coſſ.* But this argument is eaſily anſwered. For there is a miſtake in thoſe *Acts* of the *Council of Cirta*; the true reading is, P. C. *Diocletiani* IX. and *Maximiani* VIII. This appears evidently *ex Breviculo Collat Diei* 3. cap. 17. where we meet with theſe words; *Nam Geſta Martyrum quibus oſtendebatur tempus perſecutionis, Coſſ. geſta ſunt Diocletiano* IX. *& Maximiano* VIII. *pridie Idus Februarias: Geſta autem Epiſcopalia decreti Cirtenſis, poſt eorundem conſulatum*, 3. *Nonas Martias*, &c. This paſſage cannot be ſuppoſed to be falſe. For *Auguſtine* adds there, that the Officers, being commanded by the Judge to ſee what diſtance of time there was between the paſſion of the Martyrs and the *Council* of *Cirta*, were deceived, and through their ignorance told him what was falſe. For whereas *the Acts* of the Martyrs were thus inſcribed [*Diocletiano* IX. *and Maximiano* VIII. *pridie Idus Febr.*] and the *Acts* of the *Council* of *Cirta*, thus [*poſt conſulatum Diocletiani novies, & Maximiani octies*, 3. *Nonas Martias*,] the Officers taking [*poſt conſulatus*] for [*conſulatus*] made anſwer, that there was onely one moneth between the *Acts*, both of the Martyrs, and of the *Council.* But there really was 13 moneths ſpace between them, as *Auguſtinus* truly affirms. ——There is another argument to evince, that the *Council* of *Cirta* was not convened in the *eighth Conſulate* of *Diocletian.*

Diocletian. For whereas that Council was assembled to Ordain a Bishop over the Church of *Cirta*, (as *Augustinus* affirms) I desire to know who was Ordained Bishop of that Church by those Bishops convened in that Council? *Silvanus* was not. For he in this very year was still *Sub-deacon* to *Paul* Bishop of *Cirta*, as 'tis apparent from *the Acts* of *Munatius Felix*. Answer perhaps will be made (as *Baronius* does) that *Paul* was made Bishop of *Cirta*. But this cannot be true, for the persecution began under *Paul*, as 'tis evident from the *Acts*, *apud Zenophilum Consularem Numidiæ*, which are related in *Augustine*'s third book against *Cresconius*. See the place; and also *Augustine*'s 165 *Epistle*. Thus much I have said (and could have said a great deal more) to evince that the Council of *Cirta* was convened 13 moneths after those *Acts* of the Martyrs of *Africa*; and therefore it could not be assembled in the eighth *Consulate* of *Diocletian*, and the seventh of *Maximian*; in which year the persecution began. *Vales.*

DIOCLETIAN year of *Diocletians* Empire, in the moneth [d] *Dystrus*, (which the *Romans* call *March*,) when (the festival of the salutiferous passion [e] approaching) the Imperial Edicts were proposed in all places, giving command that the Churches should be totally destroyed, and the Scriptures consumed by fire; and declaring that those who were elevated to any degree of honour should be rendred infamous; and [f] those that were private persons, if they persisted in a resolution of retaining the profession of Christianity, should be deprived of their liberty: such was the first Edict against us. But not long after, other Rescripts arrived; by which command was given, that all the Prelates of the Churches every where should first be put into bonds, and afterwards compelled to sacrifice by all ways imaginable.

[d] The *Alexandrian Chronicle* places the beginning of this persecution in the same moneth. But our *Eusebius* (in his B. *concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, which is put as an *Appendix* to this 8th book of his *Ecclesiastick History*) says it began in the moneth *Xanthicus*, which the *Romans* call *April*. Vales.

[e] *Theodoret* (in book. 5. chap. 38. of his *Ecclesiastick History*) affirms, that the Edict for the demolishing of the Churches was proposed on the day of our Lords passion (*i. e. Good-friday*:) The Authour of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* says it came forth on *Easter-day*; which was on the 25 of *March*: but *Easter-day* could not fall on the 25 of *March* in the 19 year of *Diocletian*, as *Scaliger* and *Petavius* have observed. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, says it came forth in *March, diebus paschæ*. The Greek phrase here imports onely, that *Easter was near at hand*, when the Edicts were proposed: Εἰσελαυνούσης; *Rufinus* renders it, *dies solennis paschæ imminebat, the solemn day of Easter was at hand.* In the year of Christ 303 (according to the *Dionysian Æra*) *Easter* fell on the 18 day of *April*, amongst the Eastern Churches. *Vales.*

[f] Τὰς ἐν οἰκέσεως. *Rufinus* and *Nicephorus* supposed the servants of the Christians were hereby meant. But that cannot be the meaning of this place. For then the Imperial Edict would have been imperfect, providing onely for the apprehension of those who were honoured with any degree of preferment, and of servants, and leaving out the rusticks and ordinary sort of people. Besides, how can servants be said to be deprived of their liberty? *Christophorson* translates it *privatos*, private *persons*. I think he means the *Actores* and *procuratores*, *who were servants to the richer sort of men*. *Zonaras* expounds this place very well, thus, τοὺς δὲ τύχης ἰδιώτης Θ, *persons of a private condition.* Vales.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the various sorts of combats which [*the Martyrs*] *underwent in the time of the Persecution.*

FOrthwith therefore many Prelates of Churches, having endured most severe torments with great alacrity of mind, exhibited spectacles of most illustrious combats. Many others being prepossessed with a faintness of mind by reason of their fear, were immediately discouraged at the first attack made against them. Every one of the residue had their courses in various kinds of tortures. One was scourged all over his body with whips: another was rack't with tortures, and had his flesh scraped off with tormenting irons that were intolerable. Under which [torments] some made a lamentable conclusion of their lives; but others accomplished their combat after another manner. One, being forcibly thrust forward by others, and constrained to approach their impure and most nefarious sacrifices, was let goe as if he had sacrificed, although he really did not. Another (when he had neither approacht [the Altar,] nor toucht any thing that was execrable, yet because others said he had sacrificed) silently bore that calumny, and went his way. A third was taken up on their shoulders half dead, and cast forth as if he had been really so: a fourth lying upon the ground, was drawn a great way by the feet, and then accounted amongst them who had done sacrifice. One cried out, and with a loud voice attested, that he denyed to sacrifice: another exclaimed that he was a Christian, adorning himself with the confession of that salutary appellation. A third affirmed that he neither had, nor ever would sacrifice. But these being struck on the mouth by the Souldiers with their fists, (a great company of whom were placed there as a Guard) silenced, and [a] beaten on the face and cheeks, were by force thrust out. So highly did these enemies of piety every way esteem their being thought to have perfected what they desired! But these [proceedings] against the holy Martyrs did in no wise prove successful to them: whose [admirable courage] should we undertake accurately to set forth, what expressions would be sufficient to compose such a Narrative?

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[a] I suppose he means the *plumbatæ* (i. e. *instruments of torture made with lead*) with which they beat the Martyrs on the face and cheeks. There is frequent mention of this sort of torture in the sufferings of the Martyrs. Our Authour had said before, that the Martyrs were beaten with the fists of the Souldiers. Here therefore he must mean these *Plumbatæ*: otherwise, what he says is a *tautology*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning God's illustrious Martyrs; how they fill'd the world with their fame, having been adorned with divers crowns [*of Martyrdom*] *for Religion.*

FOr who should be able to make a relation of those infinite numbers [of Martyrs] who demonstrated an admirable alacrity of mind for the worship of the supream God; not onely from that time the persecution was raised against all the [Christians,] but long before, when the times were calm and serene? For some time since, when the [Devil,] [a] who hath received power over this world, was first rouzed as it were out of a profound sleep, and as yet made his attempts against the Churches in a secret and occult manner, after that interval which followed the persecution under *Decius* and *Valerian*: (for he would not set upon us closely and with an open War; but as yet made tryal onely of those who were engaged in the Milice; for he supposed the rest would easily be vanquished, could he first overcome them:) Then [I say] you might have seen very many of those who were Souldiers most willingly embracing a private life, rather than they would renounce the worship of the Creator of all things. For when the [*Roman*] [b] General (who he was it matters not) first set upon persecuting the Christian Souldiers, and began * to take a strict view of, and purge those that belonged to the army; permitting *from that time begun by degrees.*

[a] He means the Devil, who is said in the Gospel to be *the Prince of this world.* Vales.

[b] His name was *Veturius*; he was *Magister Militum, the Master of the Camp*, or *Lieutenant-General of the Army*: Concerning whom *Eusebius* in *his Chronicon*, at the 17 year of *Diocletian* says thus, *Veturius Master of the Camp persecutes the Christian Souldiers; the persecution against us being* Vales.

* Φυλακειτῶν· It Imports *his doing of the Office of a Judge amongst his Souldiers*, examining the place and order of each of them. The same term occurs book 10. chap. 4. where see note (*u.*)

them

DIOCLETIAN them freely to chooſe, whether by obeying they would enjoy that degree of honour they were arrived to, or on the contrary be deprived of it, if they refuſed to comply with the [Emperours] commands: innumerable Souldiers of the Kingdom of Chriſt, without all delay or heſitancy, preferred their confeſſion of him, before the apparent glory and proſperity they were poſſeſt of. Some few of which (one or two) procured not onely the loſs of their preferment, but death alſo for their pious and reſolute ſtedfaſtneſs: * the framer of the conſpiracy [againſt our Religion] being at that time moderate, and preſumed to proceed to ſhed the bloud but of very few: the multitude of believers ('tis likely) terrified him, and made him afraid as yet to enter into an open War againſt them all. But when he prepared himſelf more manifeſtly for an engagement, it is impoſſible to relate how many and eminent Martyrs of Chriſt were viſible to the inhabitants of all Cities and Countries.

* He means *the Devil*, not the *Roman General*, as *Chriſtophorſon* ſuppoſed. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning what was done at Nicomedia.

IMmediately therefore, upon the publiſhing of the Edict at *Nicomedia* againſt the Churches, [a] one who was no obſcure perſon, but eminently illuſtrious for fecular honour and eſteem, moved with a divine zeal, and incited by an ardent faith, took down [the Edict,] which was fixed up in the moſt open and publick place [of the City,] and [b] tore it, as being impious and moſt deteſtable: [which he did] whileſt two of the Emperours made their abode in that City; one of which was ſeniour to the reſt, and the other held the fourth place in the Empire. But this perſon, who was the firſt of the inhabitants of that City which appeared thus eminent and zealous, having ſuffered ſuch puniſhments, as were thought meet to be inflicted on him for ſuch a bold act, perſevered in an undiſturbedneſs and tranquility of mind to his very laſt gaſp.

[a] This perſon is called *John* in the *Martyrology* of *Uſuardus*, *Ado*, *Notker*, and in the *old Roman Martyrology*, at *September* 7. *Valeſ.*

[b] The *Edicts* and *Reſcripts*, of the Emperours were written in paper. Therefore *Nilus*, in his 264 Epiſtle, ſays it was barely called *Charta*; but after it had been ſubſcribed by the Emperour, it was called *Sacra*; which appears alſo from the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, and from *Juſtinians Novells*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning thoſe who were converſant in the Imperial Palaces.

BUt that time produced theſe divine and glorious Martyrs, (which excelled all that ever were celebrated as admirable and famous for their courage, both among *Grecians* and *Barbarians*,) *Dorotheus*, and the other boys that were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperours. Who although they were accounted worthy of the higheſt ſtation of honour by their maſters, and were no leſs beloved by them than if they had been their own ſons; yet they ſuppoſed the reproaches and tortures for Religion, and thoſe various ſorts of deaths deviſed for them, to be really of greater value than the glory and pleaſure of this life. We will here relate what an *exit* one of them made, and leave the Readers to conjecture from him what befell the reſt. In the forementioned City, one of them was publickly brought forth before the foreſaid Emperours; and commanded to ſacrifice, which when he refuſed to do, DIOCLETIAN 'twas ordered he ſhould be ſtript and hoiſted up on high, and that his whole body ſhould be lacerated with ſtripes, until he ſhould yield, though againſt his will, to do what he was commanded: but when he continued immoveable after his ſuffering ſuch tortures as theſe, they mixed ſalt and vinegar together, and poured it (his bones being now laid bare) upon the putrified parts of his body. When he had undergone theſe tortures alſo, then fire and a gridiron was brought forth; and the remains of his body were laid on [and broiled,] like fleſh dreſſed to be eaten; not all at one time, but by little and little, that he might not end his life too ſoon: neither were thoſe perſons who laid him on the fire, permitted to leave him, till after ſo great [tortures,] he ſhould give his conſent to perform what he was commanded. But, having conſtantly perſevered in his reſolution, and gotten the victory, he expired under his very tortures. Such was the Martyrdom of one of thoſe boys who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperours; being truly worthy of his name: for he was called [a] *Peter*. The [Martyrdom] of the reſt, although not at all inferiour to this, yet ſhall be omitted, leaſt our diſcourſe ſhould be too tedious. Thus much onely we will relate; that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* (together with many others that were attendants at the Imperial palace) after various combats, having finiſhed their lives by being ſtrangled, obtained the rewards of a divine victory. At the ſame time *Anthimus*, the then Biſhop of the Church of *Nicomedia*, was beheaded for the teſtimony of Chriſt. With whom was joyned a great multitude of Martyrs. For in thoſe days, by what accident I know not, there happened a [b] fire in the Imperial palace at *Nicomedia*. Which being laid to our charge as the Authours thereof, by a report grounded on a falſe ſuſpicion; all ſorts of perſons that were the worſhippers of God in that [City] were deſtroyed by heaps, ſome with the ſword, and others by fire. At which time, report ſays, both men and women, excited by a divine and unſpeakable alacrity, leapt into the fiery pile. The executioners alſo, having bound another great company in Boats, caſt them into the abyſſes of the Sea. Moreover, the bodies of thoſe who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperours, having been interred with decent funeral obſequies, they who were accounted their maſters, ſuppoſed it requiſite to dig up again, and caſt them into the Sea; leaſt ſome (as they thought) ſhould look upon them as Gods, and worſhip them [in after ages,] ſhould they be let alone to reſt in their graves. Such were the exploits performed at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the perſecution. But not long after, when ſome attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the Empire in the region called [c] *Melitina*, and others in [d] *Syria*:

[a] Concerning this *Peter*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, and the others that were martyred, ſee *the Acts of the ſuffering of Indes and Domna*, at the 26. of *December*. Valeſ.

[b] There is an illuſtrious evidence of this fire, which happened at *Nicomedia* in the firſt year of the perſecution, in the 25 chap. of the Emperour *Conſtantine's Oration, ad Cœtum Sanctorum*. Valeſ.

[c] See B. 5. chap. 5. note (b.) concerning *Melitina*. There was a City, and a country called by this name in *Armenia the leſs*. But I never met with any thing concerning this tyrant, who ſeized the Empire in that region. *Valeſ.*

[d] He means *Eugenius*, who for ſome little time tyrannized in *Syria*. *Libanius* (in his *Oration* to *Theodoſius*, pag. 411; and in his *Antioch.* pag. 363.) tells the whole ſtory. Whereto may be annext a paſſage of the ſame *Libanius's*, out of *his Oration* to *Theodoſius*, *concerning the Sedition at Antioch*, pag. 399. There was a *Tribune* of *Seleucia*, by name, *Eugenius*, who had the command of 500 Souldiers. Theſe Souldiers were ordered to open the mouth and paſſage of the Haven.

Haven. When they had laboured day and night without any intermission; being much displeased at their task, they force their commander (*Eugenius*) to take the Empire upon him; threatning him with death unless he would give his assent. The *Tribune* being after this manner compelled, took the purple off the image of one of the gods, and was saluted Emperour. He goes forthwith to *Antioch*, (which then had no garrison in it) supposing that if he could possess himself of that City, it would much advance his designs: he makes himself master of that place about Sun-setting. But his Souldiers, agreeable to their usual irregularities, destroyed the Country as they marched, and stuft themselves with wine, and good cheer. Which being perceived by the *Antiochians*, they, despising the paucity and drunkenness of the Souldiers, killed them all with stones and weapons of all sorts, (the very women giving their assistance) and their Leader also, as he was going towards the palace: so that about the first watch none of them were left alive. But the Emperour, who ought to have expresst his thankfulness to the *Antiochians*, ordered the princes of the *Antiochensian* and *Seleucensian Order* should be slain, when as neither of them deserved any punishment. Amongst them the Grandfather of *Libanius* (a proper comely old man) was killed. All this I met with pag. 411 & 363. Moreover, *Libanus* (*in Orat. ad Theodosium de seditione*) tells us, the name of this *Tribune* of the *Seleucensian* Souldiers was *Eugenius*; and the name of the Emperour was *Diocletian*, whom he calls, by his true name, *Diocles*. Thus I have given you the name and History of the Tyrant; and the time when this *Eugenius* made his attempts on the Empire, *Eusebius* here declares, *to wit*, when *Diocletian* was the eighth, and *Maximian* the seventh time *Coss.* Vales.

DIOCLETIAN an Imperial Edict arrived, [commanding] that all the Governours of Churches every where should be bound and imprisoned. The sight of what was done after that, no expressions are sufficient to describe: when infinite multitudes were every where committed to custody; and the prisons in all places, which in former times had been provided for murderers and robbers of the dead, were then filled with Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers and Exorcists: insomuch that there was now no place left therein for those who had been condemned for their crimes. Again, when [c] another Edict followed the former, wherein it was commanded that those who were imprisoned, if they would offer sacrifice, should have their liberty to goe whither they pleased: but if they refused should be cruciated with a thousand tortures: the multitudes of martyrs in every Province cannot possibly be reckoned up, especially those [who suffered] in *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Thebais*, and *Egypt*. Out of *Egypt* some went into other Citys, and Provinces, and were there adorned with glorious Martyrdoms.

[c] This was the third Edict of the Emperours against the *Christians*. By the first it was ordered the Churches should be ruined and the Scriptures burnt; and those who were honoured with any preferment (if they refused to sacrifice) should be deprived of their dignity; the meaner sort were to loose their liberty; see chap. 2. Another Edict soon followed this, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons should be imprisoned, and by all ways compelled to sacrifice. The third Edict comprehended all sorts of Christians, as well those of the Laity, as the Clergy; which Edict was proposed (says *Eusebius in the* chap. 3. *of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*) in the second year of the persecution. But this seems rather to have been the fourth Edict: for the second and third concerned the Presbyters onely; by the second 'twas ordered they should be imprisoned, and by the third it was enjoyned, they should by tortures be compelled to sacrifice. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning those Egyptians [*who suffered*] *in* Phœnicia.

SOme of them, we knew, were famous [for their Martyrdoms] in *Palestine*; and others in *Tyre* a City of *Phœnicia*. Whom any one that had seen, could not but have been astonished at their innumerable stripes; at the courage and constancy of those truly [a] admirable champions of piety in suffering them; at their combat with wild beasts, accustomed to devour the bloud of mankind, which immediately followed their tortures with scourges; at their encounters in that combat with Leopards, *huge wild bears, fierce wild bores, and bulls, which were incited against them with fire and red hot iron; and *lastly* at the admirable patience of those couragious [Martyrs] in enduring [the Assaults] of each of those wild beasts. We our selves were present at the performance of these things, when we saw the divine power of our Saviour Jesus Christ (whom the Martyrs then bore witness of) present, and evidently manifesting it self to the Martyrs: [for] those ravenous beasts for a long time dared not to touch or approach the bodies of these [Martyrs] beloved by God. But they turned their fury upon others, *to wit*, those that were [b] infidells, who instigated and provoked them: but the sacred champions onely, who stood naked and by the motions of their hands irritated them against themselves, (for this they were enjoyned to do,) they did not so much as touch. Sometimes indeed they assailed them; but, as it were by some divine power, they were stopt, and retired back again: which hapning for a long time together, gave occasion of no small admiration to the spectatours; so that because the first beast performed not its assault, a second and a third was let loose upon one and the same Martyr: you would have admired the intrepid stedfastness of those sacred persons at the sight of all this, and that firm and immoveable fortitude of mind, which was in young and tender bodies: for you might have seen a youth, who had not yet compleated the twentieth year of his age, standing still without being bound; and (having stretcht forth his hands, in form of a Cross,) in an undisturbed and fearless temper of mind contending with the greatest earnestness in prayers to the divine Majesty, in no wise receding, or removing from the place he stood on; when the Bears and the Leopards, breathing forth rage and death, almost toucht his very flesh with their jaws. But their mouths were (after what manner I know not) bound fast as it were by a divine and unspeakable power, and they ran backward again. After such a manner as this did this person behave himself. Again, you might have seen others (for they were in all five in number) cast to an enrag'd Bull, who tore some of the Infidels that approacht him, tossing them into the air with his horns, and leaving them to be taken up half dead. But when he should have assailed the sacred Martyrs onely with rage and menaces, he could not approach them; but stamping on the ground with his feet, tossing his horns this way and that way, and breathing forth rage and menaces by reason of his being irritated with red hot irons, he was notwithstanding drawn backward by the assistance of divine providence. When therefore none of them was at all hurt by him, they let loose other wild beasts upon them. In fine, after these various and horrid assaults of the wild beasts;

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[a] Τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς θαυμαζέων, is the reading of the Maz. and Med. M. SS. accordingly we have rendered it *of those truly admirable champions*, &c. Those champions were termed *paradoxi*, *who had gained many victories*. See *Peter Faber* (*in Agonistico*) B. 3. pag. 603. *Vales.*

* Διαφόρων ἀγρίων; *ferorum immanium*; so *Valesius* renders it; and we have translated it *huge*, i. e. *terrible*, *outragious wild bears*.

[b] By [ἐξωθεν] the term which here occurs, *Nicephorus* (B. 7. chap. 7.) thought those were meant, who stood without the *Arenæ* of the *Amphitheatre*, and incited the wild-beasts by their clamours. But *Rufinus* supposed that the *Arenarii* were here spoken of, *whose business it was to provoke the beasts*: thus he renders the place, *Verùm bestiæ illos ipsos qui ad instigandum mittuntur, incredibili velocitate discerpunt, But the beasts tare in pieces those with an incredible swiftness, who are sent in to provoke them. Christophorson* thought that as well the *Infidells*, as those who stood without the *arena* were here meant. The same term occurs again in this chapter; we have rendred it in both places *infidels*. Vales.

DIOCLETIAN beaſts; they were all [c] killed with the ſword, and, inſtead of being buried in the earth, were committed to the ſurges of the Sea.

[c] It was the cuſtom, that the *confectors* (concerning whom ſee B. 4. chap. 15. note *n*.) were ſent in to ſlay, or cut the throats of offenders, in the *Arena*. We muſt not think theſe Martyrs were beheaded. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning thoſe who [ſuffered] in Egypt.

SUch was the combat of thoſe *Egyptians*, who gloriouſly fought for Religion at *Tyre*: thoſe [*Egyptians*] alſo may be deſervedly accounted admirable, who ſuffered Martyrdom in their own country. Where infinite numbers of men (together with women and children) contemning this temporal life in reſpect of our Saviours doctrine, underwent various ſorts of death. Some of whom, after their fleſh had been torn off with torturing irons, after they had been rackt, moſt cruelly ſcourged, and [undergone] infinite other tortures, of different ſorts and horrible to be heard, were committed to the fire: others were drowned in the Sea. Otherſome cheartully offered their heads to be cut off by the Executioners: ſome died under their tortures: others were deſtroyed by famine. Again, others were crucified; ſome of them according to the uſual manner of crucifying malefactours, but others after a more cruel manner, being nailed to the Croſs with their heads downwards; and kept alive, until they died by famine on the very Croſſes.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning thoſe [who ſuffered] at Thebais.

BUT the pains and tortures, which the Martyrs underwent at *Thebais*, ſurmount all relation; who were torn all over their bodies, untill they expired, with [ſharp] ſhells inſtead of torturing irons. Women were tied by one of their feet, and drawn up on high into the air, with their heads downwards, by certain machines; and their bodies being naked and wholly uncovered, were made a moſt deteſtable, moſt cruel, and inhumane ſpectacle to all that lookt upon them. Again, others being bound to trees and boughs, were killed: For by certain engines they drew together the [two] ſtrongeſt boughs, and having faſtned the Martyrs legs to each of them, they ſuffered the boughs to return into their natural ſite, deſigning [thereby] to pull aſunder their members, againſt whom they had invented theſe [ways of death:] And all theſe things were performed, not for a few days, or during ſome ſhort time, but continued for the ſpace of whole years: ſometimes no more than ten, at other times above twenty in number, were deſtroyed: ſometimes not leſs then thirty; at others neer ſixty; and again, at another time, an hundred men, together with very ſmall children and women, were killed in one day, being condemned to various and interchangeable ſorts of puniſhments. We alſo our ſelves, being [a] converſant in thoſe places, ſaw very many [deſtroyed] together in one day; where-of ſome were beheaded; and others underwent the puniſhment of fire. Inſomuch that the Executioners ſword became blunt, and being rendred unfit for uſe, was broken; and the Executioners themſelves being tired, ſucceeded one another by turns. At which time alſo we beheld a moſt admirable ardour of mind, and a truly divine ſtrength and alacrity in thoſe who believed in the Chriſt of God. For no ſooner was ſentence pronounced againſt the firſt, but others ran haſtily from ſome other place before the Judges tribunal, and confeſt themſelves to be Chriſtians. They regarded not dangers, nor thoſe various ſorts of tortures; but with an undiſturbed fearleſneſs made a bold confeſſion of the worſhip of the ſupream God; and with joy, laughter and delight received their laſt ſentence of death; in ſuch ſort that they ſang, and to the very time of their expiration ſhouted forth hymns and thankſgivings in praiſe of God the maker of all things: ſuch admirable perſons were theſe. But theſe in a moſt eſpecial manner deſerved the greateſt admiration, who [although] eminent for riches, nobility, glory, eloquence and Philoſophy; yet preferred the true Religion, and the faith in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt before all theſe. Of this ſort was *Philoromus*; a perſon that bore no ordinary office, was the Emperours [b] *Rationaliſt* at *Alexandria*; who together with his dignity and *Roman* honour, being attended with a guard of Souldiers, did daily exerciſe a judiciary power. *Phileas* alſo, Biſhop of the Church of the *Thmuitæ*; a perſon eminent for his diſcharge of the publick Offices and places of Magiſtracy in his own country; and famous for his Philoſophick ſtudies. Theſe two perſons (*although* they were intreated by very many of their relations and friends, and moreover by [c] perſonages of honour, *yea notwithſtanding* the [d] Judge himſelf beſought them to take pitty on themſelves, and have compaſſion on their wives and children, *yet*) could in no wiſe be induced by ſuch perſons as theſe, that (out of a deſire to preſerve their own lives) they ſhould contemn the laws [made] concerning the confeſſion and renunciation of our Saviour. But having ſtoutly bore up againſt all the menaces and contumelies of the Judge, with a manly and Philoſophick mind, or rather with a pious and religious heart, they were both beheaded.

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[a] Hence it may be collected that *Euſebius* lived in *Egypt*; which is alſo atteſted by *Theodorus Metochita*, (*in Collectan.*) Where he ſays, that not onely the *Egyptians* but alſo all thoſe who lived in that country, uſed an intricate and obſcure ſtile in their writing. Amongſt which he reckons our *Euſebius*. Valeſ.

[b] That is, the *Procurator*, or *Receiver general* of the Emperours revenues in *Egypt*. For that Office is meant by theſe words [τῆς βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως.] *Valeſ.*

[c] The phraſe is [ἐπ' ἀξίας ἀρχόντων, i.e. *the honourable Magiſtrates.*] But [ἀρχόντων] ſhould be expunged: for, as I think, 'tis a *Scholion* added to explain what went before, οἱ ἐπ' ἀξίας does not ſignifie *Magiſtrates*, but *perſonages of honour*. Beſides, no body was ſtiled Ἄρχων, but the *judge* himſelf. *Valeſ.* See *Valeſius*'s note on B. 14. of *Amm. Marcellinus*.

[d] In *the Acts of the paſſion of Phileas* this preſident is called *Culcianus*: he was Preſident of *Thebais*, ſays *Epiphanius*. Therefore *Phileas* ſuffered at *Thebais*, not at *Alexandria*, as ſome think. That which induced them to be of that mind, was a place in *Euſebius*'s following chapter, where he quotes *Phileas* his Epiſtle, which he wrote to the *Thmuitæ* from *Alexandria*, a little before his ſuffering Martyrdom. But, being (as I ſaid) condemned by *Culcianus* Preſident of *Thebais*, 'tis manifeſt that he ſuffered there. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

[a] The written informations of Phileas *the Martyr concerning what was done at* Alexandria.

[a] In the Med. and Maz. MSS. the title of this chap. is thus, [*The written informations concerning what was done at Alexandria.*] The title of the foregoing chapter is thus written [*Phileas the Martyrs relation concerning thoſe who ſuffered at Thebais.*] I doubt not but thoſe words [*Phileas the Martyr*] belong to the title of this chap. 10. For here *Euſebius* (out of *Phileas*'s Epiſtle to the *Thmuitæ*) relates the Martyrdoms of the *Alexandrians*. Valeſ.

BUT becauſe we have ſaid that *Phileas* was a perſon worthy of great eſteem for his *Grecian* literature, let him be produced as a witneſs for

DIOCLETIAN for himself; both to demonstrate what a person he was, and also to relate the Martyrdoms which in his time happened at *Alexandria*, which he will [declare] more accurately than we can, in these words:

[b] OUT OF PHILEAS'S EPISTLE TO THE THMUITÆ.

[b] These words should be Printed in Capital Letters. In the Kings M. S. they are disjoyned from the Text: In the Med. M.S. they are plac'd in the Margin: but in the Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. they are omitted. *Vales.*

"All these Examples, Prescripts, and good Documents being deposited for us in the divine "and sacred Scriptures, the blessed Martyrs, who "were conversant amongst us, without any delay "manifestly fixed the eye of their mind upon "the supream God, and willingly embracing "death upon account of piety, they steadfastly "adhered to their calling: for they found that "our Lord Jesus Christ had been incarnate for us, "that he might abolish all manner of sin, and "provide us with assistances for our entrance into "life eternal. For * *he thought it not robbery to* "*be equal with God: but made himself of no repu-*"*tation, and took the form of a servant: And being* "*found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto* "*death, even the death of the Cross.* Wherefore "the Martyrs (who were [c] full of Christ) zealously affecting the best gifts, "endured all manner of sorrow, and all sorts of tortures that could be invented, not onely once, but "some of them a second time also. And when "the Souldiers that were of the guard endeavoured with much earnestness [to strike a terrour] "into them, not onely by all manner of menaces "in words, but by deeds, they were in no wise "discouraged in mind, because * *perfect love casteth* "*out fear.* Whose fortitude and courage under "each torture what words would be sufficient to "relate? For, free leave being granted to all persons that would be injurious towards them, some "beat them with clubs, others with rods; others "some with scourges: again, some scourged them "with thongs of leather; others with ropes: "And the spectacle of these tortures was variously enterchanged, and full of malicious cruelty. For some [of the Martyrs] having their "hands bound behind them, were hung at an [d] Engin of wood, and every member of their bodies was distended by certain machines. After that, "the Tormentours, by command [of the Judge,] made use of [e] iron-nailes "to torture them with all over their bodies, which were applied not onely to their sides, as Murtherers are usually tormented, but also to their bellies, their legs, and to their cheeks. Others, being lifted up, were hung by one hand at a * Gallery, the stretching of whose joynts and members was a sharper pain to them than all sorts of tortures. Others were bound face to face to Pillars, their feet not touching the ground; that so their bonds being strained by the heaviness of their bodies, might with stretching be the closer drawn together: and this they endured not "ouly as long as the Governour talked with them, "and was at leisure to hear them; but almost a "whole day together: for when he went away "[to hear] others, he left [f] Officers, that were "impowred by him, to be watchfull over the former [Martyrs,] whether any one of them, "being overcome by the sharpness of his tortures, "would seem to abandon "his resolution. He also "commanded they should "be [g] strained with bonds "without any commiseration, and afterwards, when "they were dead, that they "should be thrown on the "ground, and drag'd up and down. For they "ought not [he said] to take the least care of "us; but that all persons should so think of, and "behave themselves towards us, as if we were "not men. This [h] second torture (after they "had beaten us with stripes) "our Adversaries invented. "There were some also, "who after they had been "scourged, lay in the "[i] stocks, both their feet being stretched to the fourth "hole; in so much that they were forced to lie "in the stocks with their bellies upwards, being "unable to stand because of their fresh wounds, "caused by the stripes, which they had all over "their bodies. Others threw themselves upon the "ground, where they lay by reason of the innumerable wounds made by their tortures; yielding a more miserable spectacle to those that "lookt on them, than in the very time of their "being tortured; and bearing in their bodies the "various and different sorts of tortures invented "for them. These things being thus performed, "some [of the Martyrs] expired under their "tortures, having made the adversary ashamed by "their persevering constancy. Others, being half "dead, were shut up in prison, where having "been sorely afflicted with the smart of their "wounds, they ended their lives not many days "after. The residue having been refreshed with "methods of cure, became more stout and confident by time, and their abode in prison. Therefore, when afterwards command was given, that "they should choose, whether by touching the "detestable sacrifices they would free themselves "from all molestation, and obtain from them an "execrable liberty; or whether, refusing to sacrifice, they would receive the sentence of death: "without any delay they chearfully proceeded "forth to death. For they well knew what was "before prescribed to us by the sacred Scriptures: "for * *he* (says the word of God) *that sacri-* * Exod. 22. 20.
"*ficeth to other Gods*, shall be utterly *destroyed*. And "again, † *Thou shalt have no other Gods, but me.* † Exod. 20. 3.
Such were the expressions of [*Phileas*] the Martyr, (a true Philosopher, and also a sincere lover of God,) which he sent to the Brethren of his Church, before his last sentence of condemnation, being yet in prison: whereby he informed them both in what condition he was in; and also exhorted them stifly to retain their piety in Christ after his death, which was now approaching. [k] But what need we spend many words in relating

[c] Χειστοφόροι μάρτυρες, i. e. *Martyrs full of Christ*: So *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, was called Θεοφόρος, i. e. *full of God.* Vales.

[d] Περὶ τὸ ξύλον. I suppose he means the *Eculeus*; on which Offenders were hung, and had their sides torn with iron-nailes. *Vales.*

[e] Ἀμυσλήεια (the term here) seems to signifie some thing more than *iron-nailes*. For *Hesychius* interprets ἀμυσλήειον by ξίφος δίστομον, *a two-edged sword*. Note here the cruelty of the Judges; who were not contented with iron-nailes onely, but used knives also, or razours, with which they cut the sides of the Martyrs. *Vales.*

* Ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, στοὰ signifies, a *Porch, Gallery, or walking place under-propped* with *Pillars*; in such Philosophers taught and disputed: the *Stoicks* had their name from hence: Ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς Φιλόσοφοι.

[f] He means the *Apparitours* or *Officers*, who were under the *Præfectus Augustalis*; concerning whom *Phileas* speaks in this Epistle, and calls him ἡγεμόνα, *the Governour*. The name of the *Præfectus Augustalis* at that time was *Hierocles*, as *Epiphanius* says, in *Hæres. Melitian.* Vales.

[g] The phrase in the original is τοῖς δεσμοῖς πεσιτένειν; which to me seems a new and uncouth expression. *Vales.*

[h] That is, *the dragging of the bodies up and down*: the first sort of torture was by stripes and scourges; the second was, that they were laid on the ground, drag'd about, and so drawn into prison. *Vales.*

[i] See B. 4. Chap. 16. note (c.)

[k] After these words *Christophorson* has inserted many Chapters, out of that *Appendix* which *Robert Stephens* has published at the latter end of this Eighth Book. But that *Appendix* is an entire Book, and separated from this work, *to wit, the Ecclesiastick History*; in which *Eusebius* describes the sufferings of the *Palestine* Martyrs, and especially the passion of his friend *Pamphilus*.

Pamphilus. Some ſtudious perſon added this book to the eighth book of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, becauſe their Subjects were very like; whoſe Copy the Tranſcribers afterwards following, placed it in their Copies. In all the M. SS. which I could ever yet ſee, this book is extant after the end of B. 8. in ſuch manner as *Robert Stephens* publiſh't it. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore did ill, and contrary to the authority of all Copies, to put this book in here, as if it had been part of the Eighth book of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. *Muſculus* was more prudent, who (following *Stephens*'s Edition in his Verſion) tranſlated the eighth book as he found it in the Greek, and wholly omitted this *Appendix*: which neither *Ruſinus*, nor *Nicephorus* ſeem to have found in their Copies. Beſides, the Titles of the Chapters of Book 8. (which, as uſually, are prefixt before it) were ſufficient to have put *Chriſtophorſon* in mind, that this *Appendix* did in no wiſe belong to the Eighth Book. *Valeſ.*

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the conflicts of the divine Martyrs over the whole world (whoſe new combats were ſucceeded by other conflicts that were as new;) and eſpecially when as they were aſſaulted not in an ordinary way, but in an hoſtile manner?

CHAP. XI.

Concerning what was done in Phrygia.

FOr at that time ſome armed Souldiers inveſted a whole City of Chriſtians, that was very populous, in [a] *Phrygia*, and, having ſet it on fire, burnt the men (together with the women and children) whilſt they called upon Chriſt the ſupream God. The reaſon hereof was this, the whole body of inhabitants of that City, the [b] *Curator*, the [c] *Duumvir*, together with all the reſt who were of the Magiſtracy, and all the common people, profeſſing themſelves to be Chriſtians, would in no wiſe obey thoſe that commanded them to ſacrifice to Idols. Another perſon alſo, by name [d] *Adauctus*, (a man deſcended from a noble family in *Italy*, that had obtained a *Roman* dignity, a perſon that had paſſed through all degrees of honour in the Palace of the Emperours, in ſo much that he had faithfully diſcharged the Office of [e] *Receiver General*, which amongſt them is called *The* [f] *Maſter of the private Revenue*, and that of *Rationaliſt*; beſides all this, he was famous for his virtuous performances in Religion, and for his confeſſions of the Chriſt of God,) was adorned with the crown of Martyrdom, having undergone the conflict upon account of Religion, whilſt he bore the Office of *Rationaliſt*.

[a] *Lactantius* tells the ſame ſtory, in his book 5. *Inſtitut. Divinar.* chap. 11. where he treats concerning the injuſtice of the Judges, or Rulers of Provinces, who puniſhed the Chriſtians: *alii* (ſays he) *ad occidendum præcipites extiterunt, ſicut unus in Phrygia, qui univerſum populum cum ipſo pariter conventiculo concremavit*; i. e. *others were very haſty to murther* [the Chriſtians] *as was one in Phrygia, who burnt all the inhabitants, together with the place they dwelt in, at one and the ſame time.* Valeſ.

[b] The *Curator* of the City was he, who lookt after the Treaſure, and what ever elſe in generall belonged to the revenue of the City; this is manifeſt from the *Pandects of the Law*; he is alſo called *Logiſta* (from the Greek word λογιστὴς, which is the term here in the original,) *in Lege* 3. *Cod. de modo multandi.* Hence [λογιστεύειν] was uſed to ſignifie *the performance of the Curators Office, or place.* See *Valeſius*'s notes on *Ammian. Marcellinus*, pag. 36.

[c] Στεφανὸς, is the term in the original; which the *Latines* called *Magiſtratus*, or *Duumvir*; 'tis taken in this ſenſe throughout the *whole title Cod. Theod. de Decurionibus*: *& in Optatus*, Lib. 1. &c. in which places (and in many others) *Magiſtratus* and *Duumvir* are promiſcuouſly uſed. The chief Magiſtrate amongſt the *Corinthians, Rhodians, Tarſenſes, Epheſians*, and *Philippians, was called* στρατηγὸς; and alſo amongſt the *Athenians* the στεφανηφόροι got the Precedency and chief place, the name of ἄρχοντες being ſuppreſſed: See *Cicero* in Book 5. Epiſt. 11. *ad Atticum.* Laſtly in all *Grecian* Cities it was at length cuſtomary to call the chief Magiſtrates *Strategi*; as 'tis manifeſt from the *old Coyns* and marbles. See *Valeſius*'s his notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, B. 31. pag. 423, 424.

[d] In the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill. M. SS. this perſon's name is Ἀδαυκτὸς, *Adauctus*: ſo *Ruſinus* and *Cedrenus* wrote his name alſo. This perſon is mentioned in the *Greek Menæum*, on the third of *October*. There was at the ſame time another *Adauctus*, who ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, and is mentioned at the ſeventh of *February Valeſ.*

[e] He means the *Procuratour*, or *Steward* of the Revenue. *Ruſinus* renders this place thus; *rationes ſummarum partium adminiſtrans*; which is truly tranſlated. *Valeſ.*

[f] Concerning theſe *Magiſtri rei privatæ*, ſee *Leg.* 2 and 4, *Cod. Theod. De jure fiſci.* Theſe Officers are uſually joyned with the *Rationaliſts* in the *Cod. Theod.* See *Valeſius*'s notes on *Ammian. Marcellin.* Book. 15. pag. 78.

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CHAP. XII.

Concerning many other men and women, who ſuffered Martyrdom in a various and different manner.

WHat need is there now of mentioning the reſt by name, or of recounting the multitude of men, or delineating the various ſorts of tortures [endured by] the admirable Martyrs of Chriſt? Part whereof were beheaded, as it happened to thoſe in *Arabia*; and part were [killed] by having their legs broken, as it befell thoſe in *Cappadocia*. Some, being hung up on high by the feet with their heads downwards, (a [a] ſlow fire having been kindled under them,) were ſuffocated with the ſmoak that aſcended from the combuſtible matter ſet on fire, ſo it befell thoſe in *Meſopotamia*: others had their noſes, the tips of their ears, and their hands cut off, and the other members and parts of their bodies were mangled, as it happened at *Alexandria*. What need is there of renewing the remembrance of what was done at *Antioch*? where ſome were broyled on [b] Grid-irons ſet over the fire, not till they were killed, but that their puniſhment might be prolonged: others were more ready to thruſt their right hands into the fire, than to touch the impious ſacrifices. Whereof ſome, avoiding the being put to the teſt [whether they would ſacrifice,] before they would be apprehended and fall into the hands of thoſe that laid wait for them, threw themſelves headlong from the tops of high houſes, having accounted death to be a gain, becauſe of the malitiouſneſs of the impious. Alſo, a certain holy woman, (admirable for her virtuous ſoul, and [her comely] body, eminently famous, beyond all at *Antioch*, for riches, deſcent, and reputation,) had educated two daughters (virgins that were eminent for beauty, and in the flower of their age) in the precepts of Religion: when many, moved thereto by envy, uſed all manner of induſtry in inquiring out the place where they abſconded; and it being at length underſtood they lived in a forrein country, they were with much diligence ſummoned to *Antioch*: after the woman knew, that ſhe and her daughters were now incompaſſed with the Souldiers nets, perceiving her ſelf and daughters reduced to an inextricable ſtate of perill, ſhe exhorted the virgins, expreſly declaring to them the miſchiefs that would befall them from the Souldiers, and that of all evils, raviſhment was the moſt intollerable, the menaces whereof it was unlawfull for them to endure even to hear: Moreover, having ſaid, that to yield up their ſouls to the ſervice of devils, was worſe than all ſorts of death, and all manner of deſtruction; there was but one way (ſhe declared) to avoid all theſe evils, which was to flie to the Lord for refuge. Immediately after theſe words, having all agreed to embrace the ſame advice, they adorned their bodies

[a] Such a fire is that, which is made of ſtraw and ſmall ſprigs of trees. It is called a *ſlow*, or *ſlack fire*, to difference it from the ἄσβεστον πῦρ, *the unquenchable fire*, which we took notice of before. This fire was kindled at ſome diſtance, that ſo the Martyrs might be choakt with the ſmoak, rather than burnt. *Pionius* the Martyr ſeems to have been killed by ſuch a fire, as *his Acts* do atteſt. *Seneca* (in his third book *De Irâ*) ſeems to mention this ſort of puniſhment, in theſe words, *Et circundati defixis corporibus ignes.* Valeſ.

[b] *Ruſinus* tranſlates ἐσχάραις, which is the term here, *grid-irons*: So alſo the *Old Gloſs* renders this term. *Valeſ.*

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[c] There may be a double meaning given of these words. For we may either understand that these women had gone one half of their journey; in which sense *Nicephorus* took the words: or that they stood on a bank which was in the middle of the highway. Concerning the Martyrdom of these sort of Christian women (who drowned themselves for the preservation of their Chastity and Religion,) see St *August. De Civitat. Dei*, book 1. chap. 26. There is extant an *encomium* of these women in the *first Tome* of *Chrysostome*, where the mother is called *Domnina*, and the daughters *Bernice* and *Prosdoce*. The *Antiochians*, celebrated their Martyrdom on the 20 day after the *Feast of the holy Cross*; the *Greeks* placed their *Birth-day* on *Oct.* 4. Vales.

[d] Τὰ ἀναισχύντα τοῦ σώματος; which *Rufinus* translates elegantly, *usque ad loca pudenda quibus naturalis egestio procurari solet.* The *Grecians* call [ἀναίσχυντον] that part of the body, which modesty forbids to be named. *Vales.*

* Ironically spoken.

[e] The Med. Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. read [πλὴν ἀνωτάτω,] *superlative.* Vales.

[f] *Rufinus* says an Edict of the Emperour was set forth, whereby such a sort of punishment was commanded thenceforth to be inflicted on the Christians: But I think this not to be true. For the Magistrates themselves, being overcome by the constancy of the Christians, at length betook themselves to this sort of punishment on their own accord. *Vales.*

[g] You must understand [ἀγῶσι, *combats*;] for he had spoken concerning these just before. *Christophorson* translated these words ill, thus [*at this time*;] and from them began a new Chapter. *Vales.*

[h] The term here is [ἀπορρήτου, *secret.*] It seems to be used for [ἀῤῥήτου, *inexplicable*;] in which sense *Eusebius* does frequently use it. But if any one will translate it [*secret,*] I shall not withstand it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning those Prelates of the Church who demonstrated the sincerity of the Religion they asserted by [the effusion] of their own bloud.

NOw, of those Ecclesiastick Prelates, who suffered Martyrdom in the most eminent Cities, the first that must be commemorated in the monuments of the pious, may be *Anthimus*, a witnes of Christs kingdom, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who was beheaded in that City. But, of the [a] *Antiochian* Martyrs [we will mention] *Lucianus* a Presbyter of that Church, a person most eminent [for sanctity] throughout his whole life: he at first made a declaration of the celestiall kingdom of Christ in words, and by an Apologetick oration, at *Nicomedia*, in the presence of the Emperour; and afterwards he [asserted it] in deeds and reall performances. But the most eminent Martyrs in *Phœnice* (which were most acceptable to God, and Pastours of Christ's flock) were *Tyrannio* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Zenobius* a Presbyter at *Sidon*; also *Silvanus* Bishop of the Churches at *Emisa*. This [Prelate last named] being, together with some others, cast as food to the wild-beasts at the very City of *Emesa*, was received into the number of the Martyrs. Both the other rendred the doctrine of the divine faith famous at *Antioch*, by their most patient suffering [of tortures] untill their deaths; [*Tyrannio*] the Bishop was drowned in the depths of the Sea; and *Zenobius* (a most incomparable Physitian) died couragiously under the tortures, which were applied to his sides. Amongst the Martyrs of *Palestine*, *Silvanus* Bishop of the Churches at *Gaza*,

[a] Instead of [ἥν δ' ἐπ' ἀντιοχείας, *the martyrs at* Antioch] in *Nicephorus* the reading is [ἥν δὲ ἀπ' ἀντιοχείας, *the Martyrs of* Antioch,] which doubtless is truest. For *Lucianus* suffered not at *Antioch*, but at *Nicomedia*, as *Eusebius* attests in this place; to whom agree *Jerom* [*in Catalog.*] *Rufinus*, and *Nicephorus*. The same is confirmed by *Lucianus* himself in the Epistle he wrote to the *Antiochians*, when he was (together with some other Martyrs) in prison at *Nicomedia*. The last words of this Epistle are extant in *the Alexandrian Chronicle*, *at the first year of the persecution.* Vales.

DIOCLETIAN was, together with nine and thirty others, beheaded at the mines of braſs, which are in *Phæno*. Alſo *Peleus* and *Nilus*, *Ægyptian* Biſhops, together with ſome others, were burnt to death at the ſame place. Amongſt which number we muſt in no wiſe omit the mention of *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, the moſt admirable perſon in our age, and the greateſt ornament of the Church at *Cæſarea:* whoſe fortitude and courageous exploits we [b] will declare at a fit and convenient opportunity. [Moreover,] of thoſe who were perfected by a glorious Martyrdom at *Alexandria*, throughout all *Egypt*, and *Thebais*, the firſt to be mentioned is *Peter*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, a moſt divine teacher of the Chriſtian Religion; alſo, *Fauſtus*, [c] *Dius*, and *Ammonius* (perfect Martyrs of Chriſt) who were his Presbyters. Beſides, *Phileas*, *Heſychius*, *Pachumius*, and *Theodorus*, Biſhops of Churches in *Egypt*. Moreover, there were many other eminent [Martyrs] who have an honourable mention among the Churches that are in thoſe places and Countries. But our [deſign] is not to commit to writing the conflicts of all thoſe who ſuffered for the worſhip of God over the whole world, nor yet to give in an accurate relation of every accident that befell them; but of thoſe rather, who with their own eyes beheld what was done. Moreover, thoſe [conflicts] our ſelves were preſent at, we will commit to the knowledge of poſterity in [d] another work: But in this preſent book I will annex to what has been declared a revocation of what had been practiſed againſt us, and the accidents that happened from the very beginning of the perſecution, which will be moſt uſefull to the Readers. Therefore, before the war [was denounced] againſt us, (during the time that the Emperours were friendly and peaceable towards us,) [e] how great a felicity and plenty of all that is good the *Roman* Empire was dignified with, what words can be ſufficient to declare? At which time, thoſe, in whoſe hands the ſupream power was, having compleated the tenth and twentieth year of their Empire, lead their lives in a firm and continued peace, [ſpending the time] with feſtivities, publick ſhews, moſt ſplendid banquets, and delights. When their Empire was after this ſort enlarged without any manner of impediment, and daily augmented with an increaſe of greatneſs, on a ſudden they revoked the peace with us, and raiſed a perfidious war [againſt us.] The [f] ſecond year of this war was not compleated, when a new and unexpected accident ſubverted the ſtate of affairs almoſt throughout the whole [*Roman*] Empire. For, [g] He that had the precedency amongſt the foreſaid Emperours, (having been viſited by an unfortunate diſeaſe, which drave him into a diſordered and mad temper of mind,) betook himſelf to a private and Country life, together with that [Emperour] who was the next in dignity to him. Theſe affaires were no ſooner tranſacted after this manner, but the whole *Roman* Empire was [h] divided into two parts; which, as it has been reſome few moneths before he reſigned it, it muſt be ſaid he triumpht about *January*, in the year of Chriſt 304, and put off his purple on the *Kalends* of *April* of the ſame year; which time of his Reſignation, *Idatius* declares (in *Faſtis.*) Whence it follows, that he triumpht in winter time, and in the depth of winter travelled from *Rome* to *Nicomedia*; neither of which is probable. For neither did the *Roman* Emperours uſually triumph in winter; nor was *Diocletian* (by reaſon of his age and infirmity of body) able to endure the trouble of ſo tedious a journey. Beſides, in the nineteenth year of his Empire, in *March* and *April*, *Diocletian* was at *Nicomedia*; at which time the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians began, as our *Euſebius* atteſts in chap. 5. book 8. He was at *Nicomedia* alſo, when the Palace there was burnt; (as *Conſtantine* witneſſeth in *his Oration ad ſanctorum cœtum*, chap. 25.) which fire happened ſome moneths after the perſecution was began. Let us therefore ſuppoſe, that that happened in *May*, is it credible that *Diocletian* could goe from *Nicomedia* to *Rome*, triumph there, return from thence to *Nicomedia*, put off his purple there, and retire into *Dalmatia* to lead the reſt of his life in retirement there: is it (I ſay) credible he could do all this within ten moneths ſpace? Beſides, the diſeaſe, by which *Diocletian* was for ſome time put out of his wits, ſeized him firſt at *Nicomedia*, a little after he raiſed the perſecution, as *Conſtantine* relates. Wherefore, 'tis very improbable, that *Diocletian*, troubled with ſuch a diſtemper, undertook ſuch a long journey. Further, *the Authour of the panegyrick ſpoken to Maximian* and *Conſtantine*, does expreſly affirm, that *Diocletian* and *Maximian* triumphed at *Rome* ſome years before the twentieth of *Diocletian*'s Empire; ſee his words. *Scaliger* therefore is much miſtaken, in ſaying *Diocletian* and *Maximian* triumphed in the twentieth year of *Diocletian*'s Empire: *Hieronymus*, more truly, placed it on the eighteenth of *Diocletian*. In which year *Idatius (in Faſtis)* obſerves, that the Emperours gave command by their Edict that Corn ſhould be ſold cheap; which ſeems to have been ordered by them after the triumph, to pleaſe the people of *Rome*. But *Cedrenus* places this triumph on the ſeventeenth year of *Diocletian*. Valeſ.

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[b] *To wit*, in the book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, which is placed after this eighth B. For in that *Euſebius* at large declares the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus*, as may there be ſeen. Moreover, from this place it appears, that that book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine* was written by *Euſebius* after his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, and after his books *concerning the life of Pamphilus the Martyr*. *Chriſtophorſon* (who had inſerted that whole Appendix before this chapter) was forced to omit theſe words of *Euſebius* here, leaſt *Euſebius* ſhould ſeem to have forgot himſelf. I muſt indeed confeſs, that in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. the reading is [ἀνεγεφάλαιῶ, *we have declared*;] but if that reading be true, *Euſebius* muſt mean his books *concerning the life of Pamphilus the Martyr*; which (as before we obſerved) he wrote before *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. Valeſ.

[c] In the Maz. & Med. M. SS. this perſon is called *Dius*; in *Robert Stephens* he is named *Didius*. Valeſ.

[d] He means doubtleſs his book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*. For no other book but that can be found, wherein *Euſebius* relates the conflicts of the Martyrs which he himſelf had ſeen. The opinion of *Chriſtophorſon* is from this paſſage further diſproved, who ſuppoſed the book *Concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine* was part of this eighth book: upon which account, after theſe words [*in another work*] he omitted ſome words, and inſerted others, againſt the authority of all Copies. *Turnebus* was ſenſible hereof, and therefore at the margin of his copy he put this Greek *Scholion* at theſe words, [Σημείωσον ὅτι παύτῳ ἔχεις πῶ γεγρῆν ἐυθὺς ὧ τῶτο τὸ βιβλίου, i. e. *note, that you will meet with this writing immediately after this eighth book.* Valeſ.

[e] How great the felicity of the *Roman* Empire was, in the reign of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, *Mamertinus* atteſts in his *Genethliacum*, about the latter end. Neither did the *Romans* ever ſucceed more proſperouſly in their wars againſt the *Barbarians*, than at that time. The *Barbarians* were in every engagement ſlain, and the limits of the *Roman* Empire enlarged. If we read the Hiſtories of thoſe times, we ſhall find that the affairs of the Empire were never in a better poſture; when four Princes, *to wit*, two *Auguſti*, and as many *Cæſar*'s, did each of them ſeverally repell the *Barbarians*. But although *Diocletian* and *Maximian* obtained ſo many victories over the enemies of the *Roman* Empire; yet they triumphed but once, a little before they reſigned the Empire. as *Eutropius* and *Zonaras* do atteſt. The words of *Eutropius* are theſe; *uterque una die privato habitu imperii inſigne mutavit; Nicomediæ Diocletianus, Herculius Mediolani, poſt triumphum inclytum, quem Romæ ex numeroſis gentibus egerant, pompa ſerculorum illuſtri, &c. Hieronymus* (in his *Chronicon*) has placed this triumph of *Diocletian* and *Maximian* on the eighteenth year of *Diocletian*. At which place *Scaliger* (*in his Animadverſions*) remarques, that *Hieronymus* has committed an *Anachroniſm*. For he ſays, this triumph was performed on the twentieth year of *Diocletian*, ſome months before he put off his purple. But *Scaliger* himſelf is miſtaken rather than *Hieronymus*. For if *Diocletian* triumphed in the twentieth year of his Empire, that is

[f] *Euſebius* had better have ſaid, *the firſt year was ſcarce compleated.* For this Reſignation of the Empire, made by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, happened about the beginning of the ſecond year of the perſecution, on the *Kalends* of *April*, in the year of *Chriſt* 304. the perſecution having been begun in the moneth of *March* of the foregoing year. Whenas therefore *Euſebius* ſays [*the ſecond year of this war was not compleated*,] his meaning muſt be this [*it was the ſecond year current of the perſecution:*] in this ſenſe that other place of *Euſebius* (*which occurs in* chap. 3. *of his* B. *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine, about the end of the chapter,*) is to be taken *Valeſ.*

[g] *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates theſe words [πῶ πρωτοσάλη πρῶ εἰρημένων] thus, *primus noſtrarum ærumnarum auctor, the firſt authour of our ſorrows*; which verſion is not good: but he ſeems to have followed *Nicephorus* herein; who (in B. 7. chap. 16.) writes out this paſſage of *Euſebius*; and inſtead of his words here ſet down, uſes theſe [τῶ ἀρχηγῶ τῆς κακίας, *the authour of our miſchief.*] Valeſ.

[h] For *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* parted the Empire between themſelves: which was the firſt diviſion of the Empire, as *Euſebius* here aſſerts. For although there had been more than one *Auguſtus* at the ſame time, yet they governed the *Roman* Empire together, without making any diviſion of it; thus it was in the Reign of *Marcus* and *Verus*. Neither was there any diviſion made of the Empire in the reign of *Diocletianus* and *Herculius Maximianus*; when thoſe two *Auguſti* parted neither the provinces, nor the legions. See *Eutropius*, B. 10. *Oroſius* B. 7. Concerning this diviſion of the Empire (which *Rome* was much diſpleaſed at) *Porphyrius* (in *his Panegyrick* to *Conſtantine*, written by him in the 15th year of *Conſtantine*'s reign,) ſpeaks theſe words,

Lacerata cruentis
Imperii pars feſſa poli, diviſa gemebat
Sceptra, & Auſoniæ marebat perdita jura. Valeſ.

corded,

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corded, was an accident that never happened before. Within some small interval of time, the Emperour *Constantius* (a person of extraordinary mildness throughout his whole life, most favourable to his subjects, and one that had a singular affection for the divine doctrine [of our Religion,] ended his life according to the common sanction of nature, leaving his own Son *Constantine* Emperour and *Augustus* in his stead. And he was the [i] first that was deified amongst the [*Romans*,] being after his death vouchsafed all honours due to an Emperour. He was the mildest and most benigne of all the Emperours: and moreover, he onely person of those Princes in our days, that passed over the whole time of his government sutably to his Imperial Majesty: he behaved himself with the greatest graciousness and candour imaginable towards all persons, both in other matters; and also was in no wise a confederate in the war raised against us, but preserved those worshippers of God, that lived under his government, free from harm and injuries: and, having neither demolished the fabricks of the Churches, nor attempted any other new design against us, he obtained an [k] honourable and thrice-happy conclusion of his life: being the onely person [of all the four Emperours] that ended his life in his Imperial government fortunately and gloriously, [leaving] his own Son (a most prudent and pious *Prince*) his successour. *Constantinus*, Son to this man, being immediately from the very time [of his fathers death] proclaimed supream Emperour and *Augustus* by the Souldiers, (but long before that by the supream God) exhibited himself an emulatour of his fathers piety towards our Religion. Such a person was he: afterwards *Licinius*, by the common suffrage of the Emperours was declared Emperour and *Augustus*: at which *Maximinus* was sorely displeased, who untill that time had been honoured onely with the title of *Cæsar* [l] by all men. He therefore, being a person of a most tyrannical disposition, by violence possest himself of that dignity, and was by himself declared *Augustus*. About that time [*Maximianus*,] [m] whom we before manifested to have re-assumed the Empire after his resignation of it, being found to have contrived machinations in order to the death of *Constantine*, ended his life by a most infamous death: he being the [n] first, whose Monuments, Statues, and what ever else of that nature has been usually erected in honour of the Emperours, were abolished, upon account of his being a profane and most impious person.

[i] The meaning of his passage is not, that *Constantius* was the first Emperour that had the honour to be deified after his death: (for many Emperours, before *Constantius*, were by the Senate accounted amongst the number of the *divi*:) But that, of the four Emperours who governed the Empire together (to wit, *Diocletianus*, *Maximianus*, *Constantius*, and *Galerius*) *Constantius* was the first that obtained this honour; because he was the first of them four, that dyed. *Vales.*

[k] In the Kings M.S. the reading is [τέλον εὐδαίμονα, *a fortunate end of his life*:] but in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. the words here are [τέλον ἐυδόκιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον, *an honourable and thrice-happy conclusion of his life.*] *Vales.*

[l] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. the reading is [μόνον Καίσαρα ὑπὸ πάντας εἰσέτι τότε χρηματίζοντα, *honoured with the title of* Cæsar *onely, before* (or, *otherwise than*) *all the rest*:] which reading is truer *than* [ὑπὸ πάντων, *by all men.*] For, four *Augusti* at that time governed the affairs of the *Roman* Empire; to wit, *Galerius*, *Constantinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*. But *Maximinus* was long before made *Cæsar* by *Galerius*, and continued in that dignity untill *Galerius*'s death. Wherefore, 'tis most true (what *Eusebius* here saith) that *Maximinus* was much displeased, because, there being then so many *Augusti*, he alone had no other title than that of *Cæsar*, when as notwithstanding he had received that title of *Cæsar*, before the other three Princes now mentioned. *Vales.*

[m] These words [*whom we before manifested to have re-assumed the Empire, after his resignation of it*] are wanting in the Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. They are in the Kings M.S. And in the Med. M.S. they are written at the margin here, in the same hand in which that M.S. is written. Moreover, although *Eusebius* here says, he before related, that *Maximianus Herculius* re-assumed the Imperial dignity; yet hitherto I cannot find the place where *Eusebius* his said this. *Vales.*

[n] Πρώτος δὲ τούτων (the expression here) is to be understood in the same sense with that we explained a little before in this chapter, [πρῶτός τε ἐν θεοῖς, *the first that was deified.*] See note (*i.*) in this thirteenth chapter. *Vales.*

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CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Morals of those that were the enemies of Religion.

Maxentius (Son to this *man,) who had possest himself of the government of *Rome*, at first hypocritically pretended [himself a professour of] our faith, that he might thereby please and flatter the people of *Rome*. Upon this account he commanded his subjects to forbear persecuting the Christians, making a shew of piety, and [being desirous] to seem benign, and much more mild than the former Governours. But in his practises he manifested himself not to be such a manner of person, as 'twas hoped he would have proved. But, having applied himself to [the commission of] all sorts of impious facts, he omitted no manner of action that was impure and libidinous. He committed adulteries and rapes of all sorts. He parted the husbands [by divorce] from their lawfull wives, whom (when he had by uncleanness abused) he most dishonourably sent back again to their husbands. Nor did he make it his business to be thus injurious towards obscure persons, and those of mean quality, but towards them especially, who were advanced to the highest place of honour in the Senate of *Rome*; insulting over the most eminent personages. All persons therefore, both the vulgar, and the Magistrates, as well the honourable, as the obscure, standing in great fear of him, were sorely afflicted with his intollerable tyranny. And although they were quiet, and patiently bore the austere servitude [they were oppresst with;] yet none could so avoid the bloudy cruelty of the Tyrant. For, one time, upon a very trivial pretence, he delivered the people of *Rome* to be slain by his [a] own guards. And so innumerable multitudes of the *Roman* people (not *Scythians*, nor *Barbarians*, but his own Citizens) were killed with spears and all sorts of weapons in the midst of the City. Moreover, 'tis impossible to enumerate how many slaughters were made of those that were Senatours, to the end their estates might be seized; infinite numbers of them being put to death at several times for various crimes framed [against them.] At length, as the complement of his impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [exercise] the delusions of Magick Art: sometimes ripping up women great with child; other whiles searching into the bowells of new-born infants; he also killed Lyons, and [performed] some other horrible rites, to call forth the *Dæmons*, and repell the approaching war. For he most undoubtedly presumed, that by these performances he should obtain the victory. Whilst this person therefore tyrannized at *Rome*, 'tis impossible to relate what mischievous acts he perpetrated, and [how miserably] he enslaved his Subjects: insomuch that they were reduced to such extream penury and want of necessary sustenance, as ('tis recorded by those of our times)

* To *Maximianus*.

[a] *Aurelius Victor* (*in the life of Maxentius*) says the same; *adeo sævus, uti prætorianis cædem vulgi quondam annuerit; he was so cruel, that one time he connived at his Guards for killing the common people. Constantine*, having vanquished *Maxentius*, did quite put down the *Prætorian Cohorts*, (i. e. *those Souldiers, whose office it was to guard the Emperours body*,) upon pretence of this slaughter (here mentioned) they made among the common people; but in reality, that they should not attempt any alterations in the government, nor make Emperours, as they had done *Maxentius*, whom they proclaimed *Augustus*. Moreover, *Zosimus* tells the same story, (here mentioned by our *Eusebius*) but a little otherwise. For he relates, that when the temple of the God *Genius* at *Rome* was accidentally fired, and the people flockt together to quench the fire; a Souldier, who derided this God of the *Gentiles*, was killed by the common people; upon which there immediately happened so great an uproar amongst the Souldiers, that the whole City had been destroyed, had not *Maxentius* intervened. *Vales.*

GALERIUS. never happened at *Rome*, nor any where else. But *Maximinus* the Tyrant in the Eastern parts, having secretly made a league with *Maxentius* [the Tyrant] at *Rome*, as being his brother in wickedness, endeavoured to keep himself concealed for a long time. But being at last detected, he suffered condign punishment. It was wonderfull [to observe] how near a relation and brother-like affinity in wickedness this man expresst towards the Tyrant at *Rome*; or rather, how far he exceeded and surpassed him in the perpetration of nefarious facts. For Inchanters and Magicians were by him promoted to the chiefest places of honour: he was exceeding timorous and superstitious, and a mighty favourer of the impostures about *Idols* and *Dæmons*: without divinations and responses of Oracles he presumed not to move any thing a nails breadth (as the saying is.) Upon which account he imposed a more cruel and sharper persecution upon us, than the former Emperours had done; commanding that Temples [to the Gods] should be erected in every City, and that those places dedicated to their worship, which by length of time were decayed, should with all diligence be repaired. He [constituted] priests for the Idols in every place and City; and over them he appointed a [b] chief Priest of every Province, any one of those who had most worthily discharged all the publick Offices in the Court [or Senate] of the City; and appointed him a military guard [consisting of] a set number of troops. [In fine,] he freely bestowed the Governments of Provinces, and chiefest places of preheminence, on all those that were impudent Soothsayers, as being Religious persons, and most acceptable to the Gods. After this, he proceeded to vex and oppress, not one City onely, or Country, but all the Provinces in general that were under his government, with exactions of Gold, Silver, and vast sums of money, with most burthensome [c] imposts, and with various sorts of forfeitures succeeding one another. Moreover, depriving the rich of their estates laid up for them by their Ancestours, he bestowed a vast treasure and heaps of money on those about him that were his flatterers. Besides, he was given to ebriety and drunkenness in such an high degree, that in his cups he would rave, and be out of his wits; and in his drunkenness he would command such things to be done, as the next day when sober he would repent of. In sottishness and luxury no man was his equal, exhibiting himself the master of debauchery both to his Princes and to his [inferiour] Subjects. He permitted his Souldiers to live effeminate lives, in all manner of deliciousness and intemperance: but he perswaded his Presidents and chief Commanders (who in a manner were his Colleagues in his Tyranny,) to break forth into extortion and covetousness towards those under their jurisdiction. What need we relate those libidinous courses, in which this man indulged himself? or recount their multitudes, which he vitiated by adultery? For he passed through no City [in his journey,] without committing whoredome with women, and ravishing of virgins. Moreover, these [his practises] succeeded according to his desire against all persons, the Christians onely excepted; who, having contemned death, despised that his outragious Tyranny. [d] For the men (having endured the fire, the sword, the being * fastned [to wooden engines] with nails, the wild beast, the being drowned in the depths of the Sea, the cutting off their members, the searings with hot irons, the pricking and digging out of their eyes, and the being maimed all over their bodies; and, besides all this, famine, the mines, and bonds;) would rather demonstrate their patient sufferance under all [these tortures] for religion, than they would forsake the adoration of God, and worship Idols. Again, the women were not less corroborated by the doctrine of the divine word than the men: some of whom underwent the same combats with the men, and obtained rewards of their fortitude equal to them: others, haled away to be ravished, were more ready to part with their lives, than expose their bodies to be defiled. Indeed, one onely Christian woman, the most eminent and famous of the *Alexandrian* women, (when the others had been vitiated by the Tyrant,) vanquished the dissolute and incontinent mind of *Maximinus* by her most valiant courage of mind. She was a woman eminent for riches, descent, and learning; but she preferred chastity before all these. When [the Tyrant] had often solicited this woman [to commit adultery with him,] he was indeed unable to kill her (who was prepared to die,) because his lust was master of his cruelty: but he punished her with exile, and deprived her of her whole estate. Infinite other women, being unable to endure the hearing of the menaces of ravishment, which the Governours of Provinces threatned them with, underwent all sorts of tortures, torments, and capital punishments. But the most admirable person above all these was that woman at *Rome*, the most noble and truly chastest woman of all those, whom *Maxentius* (the Tyrant there, whose practises were like *Maximinus*'s) attempted to vitiate. For, as soon as she understood that the Ministers, which the Tyrant made use of for the performance of such [villanies,] had assaulted her house, (now she also was a Christian,) and that her husband, who was Prefect of the City at *Rome*, had by reason of his fear permitted them to take her and carry her away with them: [e] having requested that a short [time] might be allowed her, as if she would have adorned her body, she went into her Chamber; and, being alone, [f] sheathed a sword in her own breast. Expiring immediately here-

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[b] Ἐκλῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀρχιερέα; So our Author words it in the Greek. They were called *Sacerdotes* [i. e. *chief Priests*] by the *Gentiles*, who had the Temples of a whole Province under their care: but the *Flamines* [the *Priests*] were those, who in every Town and City took care of the performance of their Religious Rites. (See *Valesius*'s notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 28. pag. 375. Moreover, *Maximinus* must not be supposed to have been the first that instituted *these chief Priests of the Provinces*: for there were such Priests long before his time. But *Maximinus* increased their honour, and allowed them a guard, i. e. *Lictors* and *Apparitors*. These *chief Priests of the Provinces* were made out of the body of the *Curiales*, (i. e. *those that were of the Court*, or *Senate in every City*; see *Valesius*'s *notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* B. 28. p. 374.) who had before born all publick Offices, and discharged them worthily. This place [of high Priest of a Province] was accounted so honourable, that he that bore it took place of the *Magistrates*, or *Duumviri*. See the *Gesta purgat. Cæciliani*, B. 9. chap. 4. These *high Priests* had the power of entring into the *secretum* of the Judges, and of being assessours with them, as appears from *the Acts* of *Theodorus the Martyr* at *November 9.*

[c] Ἐπισκήψεσι. *Musculus* translates it *Statutis*, *Laws*: *Christophorson*, *mandatis*, *commands*: *Valesius*, *indictionibus*, *imposts* or *taxes*. Our *Eusebius* uses the same term at chap. 8. B. 10. Where, speaking of *Licinius*, he says, ἐπισκήψεις τε μυρίας καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὑπουργεῖσθαι ἔθνων ἐπινόει, i. e. *he invented several sorts of Taxes against his Subjects*. See book 10. chap. 8. note (*d.*)

[d] See *Eusebius*'s *oration concerning the praises of Constantine*, c. 7. where this passage is repeated almost in the same words. *Vales.*

* Πεσσηλώσεις is the term in the Greek: *Valesius* renders it *Clavorum suffixiones the being fastned with nails*; perhaps our Author means *crucifixion*.

[e] Ἐς βραχὺν ὑποπαρεσκευασθῆναι χρόνον is the expression in the Greek.

Some words seem to be wanting, which may be thus supplied [εἰς ἀπαχώρησιν χρόνον βραχὺν ὑποπαρεσκευασθῆναι χρόνῳ, *having requested a short space of time for a recess.*] *Eusebius* used the same phrase before, when he spake of the *Antiochian* woman, who with the two Virgins leapt into the River. *Vales.*

[f] At the margin of the Maz. and Savill M. SS. I found this *Scholion* written, for the explication of these words: [πῶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἕως ὑποδέχεται τὰς ἑαυτῶν διαχρυσαμπύκας; ἢ τοί γε ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χεὶρ, ἀχὶ τὰς εἰς ἑαυτὰς τὰ ὅπλ' ἀμείλικτον ὑπεδέξαμπύκας ἐν μιᾷ ῥύσιν ἀναχάσεως.

γέφει· δειλίας γὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας, φόβῳ κολάσεως τὸν θάνατον προαρπάζειν· ἀλλὰ τὰς μηδὲν φοβερὸν ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς χεῖρον ὁμολογίας ἡγουμένας, ἀλλὰ παῖσα προθύμως πάσχειν, ἅπερ ἂν ἡ τύραννος καὶ δαιμονιώδης ἐπίνοια κολάσεια ἐπάγει· i. e. *How does this man admire those women, who were the authours of their own deaths? And yet the Judgment of the Church is, not to record them amongst the number of the Martyrs, who have been their own executioners. For 'tis* [an argument] *of fear, rather than courage, by death to prevent the dread of punishment. But* [the Church looks upon those as Martyrs,] *who suppose nothing to be dreadfull upon account of the confession of Christ; but with alacrity suffer all* [tortures,] *that a Tyrannick and deviliſh ſubtilty can produce* [againſt them.] The Authour of this *Scholion* has made a true remark, *to wit*, that the Church approves not of *ſelf-murder*; when men, out of a fear of death, or through deſperation, lay violent hands on themſelves. But as often as they are driven to do that by the inſtinct of the divine ſpirit, which rarely happens; then the Church approves and admires that act: but propoſes it not for imitation. See what S^t *Auguſtine* thought concerning this matter, in his firſt Book. *De civitate Dei*, chap. 26. *Valeſ.*

GALERIUS. upon, ſhe left indeed her Corps to thoſe that came to conduct her [to the Tyrant;] but by this act of hers (which reſounds more than any voice) ſhe has manifeſted to all men that now are, and ſhall be in future ages, that the courage of the Chriſtians is the onely thing that is inexpugnable, and which cannot be extirpated by death. Such indeed and ſo great was the fertility of wickedneſs, produced at one and the ſame time; the authours of which were two Tyrants, who had divided the Eaſt and Weſt between themſelves. And now, what man is he, that, making his reſearches into the cauſe of theſe ſo great [calamities,] will be dubious in affirming the perſecution [raiſed againſt us] to have been [the originall of all theſe miſeries?] Eſpecially, [when he conſiders] that theſe mighty diſturbances [in the Empire] were not terminated, before the Chriſtians had the free and open profeſſion of their Religion reſtored to them.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning what happened to the Gentiles.

[a] The perſecution began in the year of Chriſt 303; when *Dioclesian* was in his 8th, an *Maximian* in his 7th, conſulate. It ended in the year of Chriſt 312; then, when *Conſtantine*, having conquered *Maxentius*, ſent letters to *Maximinus* Emperour of the East, to procure liberty for the Chriſtians; as our *Euſebius* relates in Book 9. Therefore the perſecution laſted ten years, as 'tis here affirmed. And ſo the years are noted in the M. S. copies of *Euſebius's Chronicon*, as *Pontacus* has obſerved. *Epiphanius* therefore is miſtaken; who (in his Book *De ponder. & menſur.*) ſays this perſecution laſted twelve years. See the following chapter, where our Authour relates, that the perſecution ceaſed *on the tenth year*. Valeſ.

INdeed, throughout the whole [a] ten years ſpace of the perſecution, there was no intermiſſion of mutual conſpiracies and inteſtine wars amongſt them: the Sea was impaſſible to thoſe that made voyages over it. Neither could any perſons arrive at any Haven whatſoever, but they muſt indure all ſorts of ſcourges, be tormented, have their ſides torn with nails, and be interrogated, by their undergoing all ſorts of tortures, whether they came from the Enemies Country: and at laſt they underwent the puniſhment of crucifixion, or were burnt to death. Furthermore, they provided ſhields, breaſt-plates, darts, ſpeares, and other ſuch like military inſtruments. Alſo, galleys, and weapons for a Sea-fight were every where prepared. Neither did any perſon expect any thing elſe but an incurſion of the enemy. After all theſe [calamities] followed a famine and a peſtilence; of which we will give a relation at an opportune place and time.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the change of affaires to a better poſture.

[a] At theſe words we began the 16th chapter, agreable to the Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. But in the Med. M.S. (which *Rob. Stephens* followed, in the diſtinction of the chapters) there is no new chapter began here. *Valeſ.*

[a] SUch were the preparations during the whole time of the perſecution; which by the grace of God wholly ceaſed in the tenth year; beginning to be ſomewhat remiſs, after the eighth year. For, after the divine and celeſtial grace demonſtrated [it ſelf] in a benigne and propitious inſpection over us, then the Governours in our times, even thoſe very Princes who had formerly waged wars againſt thoſe of our Religion, having moſt miraculouſly altered their minds, founded a retreat: and extinguiſhed the moſt ardent flame of the perſecution by Reſcripts favourable towards us, and by moſt mild Edicts. But, neither was any humane cauſe, nor (which ſome one might conjecture) was the clemency or humanity of the Emperours, the occaſion hereof; no, 'twas far from that. For, from the beginning of the perſecution unto that very time, they daily invented more, and more grievous cruelties againſt us, renewing the tortures [uſed] towards us by divers machines [made uſe of] ſucceſſively, and in a various manner. But the apparent inſpection of the divine providence it ſelf, which was now reconciled to its people, purſued the authour of theſe miſeries, and was angry at the [b] Ring-leader of the wickedneſs [committed] during the whole perſecution. For although theſe things ought to have come to paſs, agreeable to the judgment of the divine [will,] yet * *Woe* (ſays the Scripture) *to that man by whom the offence cometh.* Therefore, a puniſhment ſent from God ſeized him; which, having made its beginning at his very fleſh, proceeded even to his ſoul. For on a ſudden an impoſtume aroſe upon him [c] about the midſt of the privy parts of his body; after that, a [d] *Fiſtula in ano*; both theſe diſeaſes ſpread incurably and did eat into his inmoſt bowels. From them bred an unſpeakable multitude of worms, and a moſt noyſome ſtench proceeded therefrom; [for,] before this diſeaſe, the whole maſs of fleſh upon his body was (by reaſon of the abundance of food he devoured) grown to an immenſe fatneſs: which being then putrified, became an intollerable and moſt horrid ſpectacle to thoſe that approach't him. Wherefore ſome of his Phyſitians, being altogether unable to endure the exceeding noyſomeneſs of the ſtink [that came from him,] were killed: others of them, when they could adminiſter no remedy, (the whole fabrick of his body being ſwelled, and paſt all hopes of a recovery,) were cruelly ſlain.

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[b] He means *Maximianus Galerius*, as 'tis apparent from the following words: for he was the Authour of the perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians. *Rufinus* in the 15th chapter of this book ſpeaks thus concerning *Galerius*; *Ille verò, qui ei ſecundus in honore, poſtmodum etiam in primis ſucceſſor fuit, qui & incentor ac ſignifer noſtræ perſecutionis extiterat, &c.* i. e. *But he, who was the next in honour to him, afterwards ſucceeded him in the firſt and chiefeſt place; who alſo was the incendiary and firſt beginner of our perſecution, &c.* *Cedrenus* atteſts the ſame. *Valeſ.*

* Matth. 18. 7.

[c] Περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς αἰδοίων· He means *his genitals*; which *Victor* (*in his Epitome*) does confirm: *Galerius Maximianus* (ſays he) *conſumptis genitalibus defecit.*

[d] The phraſe in the Greek is, ἕλκος ἐν βάθει συεγγωδές, which, being literally rendred, imports thus much, *an ulcer in the fundament full of holes like a ſponge.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Retractation of the Emperours.

MOreover, whileſt he was ſtrugling with theſe many and great miſeries, he began to be ſenſible of the villanous acts he had performed towards the worſhippers of God: * having therefore ſeriouſly recollected himſelf, firſt he made his confeſſion to the ſupream God. Then, having cal-

* Σωφρονήσας δ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν θεὸν· This expreſſion *Muſculus* renders thus, *ad ſemetipſum reverſus, being come to himſelf: Chriſtophorſon* thus, *mentem igitur recolligens, & tanquam rediens ad ſe, recollecting therefore his mind, and returning as it were to himſelf: Valeſius* thus, *totâ mentis acie in ſemet ipſum converſâ, the whole ſharpneſs of his mind being turned upon himſelf.*

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led together the [a] chief Officers of his Palace, he ordered them without any delay to inhibite the persecution of the Christians, and by his decree and Imperial Edict commanded that their Churches should with all expedition be built, wherein they might perform their usual [solemnities,] and make supplications [to God] for the * Emperour. Therefore, what he had given order for in words being immediately followed by an actual performance, the Imperial Edicts were set forth in every City, containing a revocation of the [persecution] against us, according to this form following.

EMPEROUR CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, GERMANICUS MAXIMUS, ÆGYPTIACUS MAXIMUS, THEBAÏCUS MAXIMUS, SARMATICUS MAXIMUS the Fifth time; [b] PERSICUS MAXIMUS, CARPICUS MAXIMUS the Second time, ARMENICUS MAXIMUS the Sixth time, MEDICUS MAXIMUS, ADIABENICUS MAXIMUS, [c] TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE XX. [d] EMPEROUR XIX. CONSUL VIII. FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROUR CÆSAR FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS: PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, [e] TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE V. EMPEROUR V. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, [f] PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROUR CÆSAR VALERIUS LICINIANUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS; PONTIFEX MAXIMUS; TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE IV. EMPEROUR III. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.

Amongst other things which we have constituted for the profit and utility of the Republick, it was our desire in the first place, that all things should be redressed according to the ancient Laws, and publick Ordinances of the Romans. *And we earnestly endeavoured to effect this, that the* Christians, *who had relinquished the Rites and Usages of their Parents, should be reduced to a good mind and intention. For, so great an* [g] *arrogancy and unadvisedness has (by a considerateness as it were) possest and invaded them, that they would not follow those sanctions of their Ancestours, which even their Parents 'tis likely had before Ratified: but according to their own arbitrement, and as each person had a desire, so they would make Laws, and observe them, and assemble various multitudes, of different factions and dissenting about their opinions. Therefore, when we had published such an Edict, as should [oblige] them to return to the Rites and Ordinances of their Ancestours; many of them having been exposed to imminent dangers, and many having been terrified [with the menaces of punishment,] underwent various sorts of death. But, when many persisted in this madness, and we perceived they did neither exhibite a due worship to the immortal Gods, nor yet to the God of the Christians; having a respect to our humanity and that continued usage by which we have been accustomed to bestow Pardon on all sorts of men: we have thought good that our indulgence should most readily be extended in this matter also; that the* Christians *should again be [tolerated,] and that they may [have licence] to rebuild the houses wherein they used to assemble themselves, that*

GALERIUS.

[a] Τὴς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, which words *Rufinus* renders very well, thus, *Convocatis his qui in officio publico parebant; having called together those who served in any publick office. Eusebius* usually means, by this phrase, *the Grandees of the Palace, whom Amm. Marcellinus* does commonly term, *aulæ summates, & Imperatoris proximos, the chief Court-officers, and those nearest to the Emperour.* Valesius.

* In the original 'tis τῷ βασιλείῳ, *for the Imperial Palace:* But *Nicephorus* reads βασιλέως, *for the Emperour.* Valesius.

[b] We find that the *Persians* were but once conquered by *Galerius*, which was in the year of Christ 297; as 'tis affirmed *in Fastis Idatii*, and in *the Alexandrian Chronicle.* The same is confirmed by *Libanius, in his oration* intitled βασιλικὸς; where he relates that the *Persians*, after that great defeat they received from the *Romans* under the conduct of *Galerius* spent fourty years in preparations to make amends for that overthrow; and that, a little before the death of *Constantine the Great*, they entred upon a war with the *Romans.* Indeed, from that year of Christ we mentioned (i. e. *Anno* 297) to the year wherein *Constantine* dyed, there are fourty years. Therefore, *Eusebius*'s *Chronicle* must be corrected, in which this *Persian* victory is placed on the seventeenth year of *Diocletian*; whereas it should be placed on his thirteenth year; as it is in the *Edition* of *Arnaldus Pontacus.* Seeing therefore we can find no other victory that *Maximianus* obtained over the *Persians*, this place ought to be pointed (as it is in *Nicephorus*, and as we have done in our translation) after this manner: σαρματικὸς μέγιστος πεμπτάκις· περσῶν μέγιστος. *Sarmaticus Maximus* the Fifth time; *Persicus Maximus.* In *Rufinus*'s old copy, there is at this place no distinction by points; but 'tis thus, *Sarmaticus quinquies Persicus bis Carpicus Sexies Armenicus Medorum & Adiabenorum Victor.*

[c] *Rufinus* renders this passage thus, *Tribuniciæ potestatis vicies, having been Tribune of the people twenty times.* This is the reading in the M. SS. From this place we may perceive, that *Galerius* was made *Cæsar*, and Colleague in the *Tribunician power* (or, *Tribune of the people*) at the same time; since in this Edict he accounts the years of his *Tribunician power* from that time when he was proclaimed *Cæsar.* Now, he was made *Cæsar* in the year of Christ 291, *on the Calends of March.* Moreover, he put forth this Edict in favour of the Christians, in the year of Christ 311, in his eighth *Consulate*, as the inscription of the Edict declares: whence it followes, that this Edict was written before *the Calends of March.* For from that time *Galerius* began his *Tribunician Power.* Valesius.

[d] Αὐτοκράτωρ ἐννεακαιδέκατον; i.e. *Emperour the Nintteenth time:* for that's the reading in the most ancient copy of *Rufinus.* *Christophorson* translated this term ill, thus, *Dictator.* He knew not what was the import of the word *Imperator.* *Imperator* signifies one thing in the titles of the Emperours, when 'tis put in the First place like a *Pronoun*; but it imports another thing, when 'tis subjoyned to the rest of the titles. For the word [Emperour] put in the Second place, denotes the victory of the *Emperours*, and shews how often they were stiled Emperours by the Army, after they had obtained a victory; so *Dio* informs us. *Valesius.*

[e] In all copies, there is an omission of the number of times that *Constantine* had born the office of *Tribune of the people*, when this Edict came forth. I have added the figure [V] which denotes *the Fifth time of his bearing the Tribune-ship:* which addition is grounded upon a most certain conjecture. *Valesius.*

[f] After this word [Proconsul,] (in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*) there are these following words [And, *Emperour Cæsar Valerius Licinianus, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus; Tribune of the people* IV. *Emperour* III. *Consul, Father of his Country, Proconsul:* To the Subjects of their own Provinces Greeting.] Which passage, although it occurs not in *Rufinus*, yet is of good authority. And first, as to *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power*, the same must be thought of that which was of *Galerius*'s, to wit, that it is to be begun from the time of his being made *Cæsar.* Now, *Licinius* was made *Cæsar* in the year of Christ 308, *on the third of the Ides of November*, as it appears in the *Fasti of Idatius.* Therefore, the fourth year of *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power* began in the year of Christ 311, *on the third of the Ides of November.* But this disagrees with what we noted before, when we treated concerning the *Tribunician Power* of *Galerius.* Wherefore one of these places must necessarily be false. For if it were then the fourth year of *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power*, it was the twenty first of *Galerius*'s. On the contrary, if this were the twentieth year of *Galerius*'s being *Tribune of the people*, it was but the third year of *Licinius*'s bearing that dignity. As to the consulate of *Licinius*, there is mention thereof in the *Fasti* of *Prosperus, Cassiodorus*, and *Victorius*; where he is placed Consul with *Maximianus Augustus* Cos. VIII. In *my notes* on *Amm. Marcellinus*, I had remarked, that *Licinius* was made *Augustus* by *Galerius*, a little before *Galerius*'s death; which I collected from hence, because in this Edict, we now speak of, *Galerius* had made no mention of *Licinius*'s being his Colleague: but since in our M. SS. and in *Nicephorus Licinius* is stiled *Augustus* in this Edict of *Galerius*, that conjecture of ours is wholly destroyed. *Valesius.*

[g] In the Fuk. Savil, Maz. and Med M. SS. the reading is [πλεονεξία καὶ ἀγνοια καὶεπιλήψει, *So great an arrogancy and unadvisedness — has possest and invaded them.*] Valesius.

Πλεονεξία (which *Valesius* here renders *arrogantia, arrogancy*) is by *Democrates* (in his Τγωμ.) defined to be *speaking all, and not enduring to hear any body else.* Dr *Hammond* has given a large account of the significations of this word, in his note on Rom. i. v. 29.

GALERIUS. *that so [in future they may be forced] to do nothing contrary to their discipline. In a particular Rescript we will signifie to our Judges what it shall behove them to observe. Wherefore, upon account of this our Indulgence they are obliged to supplicate their God for our safety, that of the Republick, and their own; that so both the Publick State of Affairs may in all respects be continued in an entire and safe posture, and they themselves live undisturbed in their own habitations.* These words (which we have, according to our ability, translated out of the *Roman* into the *Greek* Language,) are thus; now therefore it is an opportune time to take a Prospect of what followed hereupon. GALERIUS.

The End of the Eighth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History.*

DIOCLETIANUS.

IN SOME COPIES, THIS OCCURS AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE EIGHTH BOOK.

BUT the * Authour of this Edict, after this Confession, was forthwith Released from his pains, and ended his Life. Report says, that this man was the first beginner of that Calamitous Persecution: for, long before the rest of the Emperours were instigated [to it,] he endeavoured by force to withdraw the *Christians* that bore Armes [from their Religion,] especially those that were his domesticks; some of whom he removed from their Military dignities, most dishonourably abused others; and moreover, punished othersome with death: and at length he moved his Colleagues in the Empire to a General Persecution against the Christians. The manner how these Emperours ended their Lives, we judge unfit to be buried in silence: of the [a] four therefore who had divided the *Roman* Empire between them, those [b] two, that had the precedency in Age and Honour, resigned their Empire, before two years were compleated after the beginning of the Persecution, as we have [c] before manifested. And, having spent the remaining part of their time in a private and retired condition, they concluded their lives after this manner: The [d] one, who in respect of his Age and Honour took place of all the rest, was consumed by a lasting and most painfull distemper of body: the [e] other, who was the next to him in honour, put an end to his life by hanging of himself; undergoing this [punishment,] which was agreeable to a certain Diabolical Prediction concerning him, upon account of those many villanies he had most audaciously perpetrated. Of the remaining two, the [f] last, (who, as we [g] have said, was the Authour of the whole Persecution,) underwent those [misories,] which we [h] have related before. But he who in dignity preceded this man, [I mean] that most favourable and mercifull Emperour *Constantius*, who during the whole time of his Government behaved himself in such sort as befitted an Emperour; who both in other matters represented himself to be most courteous and beneficent, and also was unconcerned in the persecution raised against us, who preserved the worshippers of God living under his Government from all manner of injuries and molestations, who neither demolished the edifices of the Churches, nor attempted any other new design against us: [this Emperour *Constantius* I say] obtained a [i] fortunate and truly thrice happy conclusion of his life: being the onely person that ended his life peaceably and gloriously during his swaying the Imperial Scepter, and left his own Son (in all respects a most sober and pious Prince,) his successour in the Empire. [k] He, being from the very beginning forthwith proclaimed supream Emperour and *Augustus* by the Souldiers, declared himself to be an emulatour of his Fathers reverend regard towards our Religion. Such was the conclusion of their lives which happened to the forementioned four Emperours, at different times. [l] Moreover, of them * he onely (whom we mentioned a little before) [m] made the foresaid confession, and (together with [n] those who were afterwards taken in to be Colleagues with him in the Empire) made it publickly known to all men by an Edict proposed in writing.

* *Id est Galerius.* See the Edict, chap. 17. book 8.

[a] Those four were *Diocletianus, Maximianus, Constantius,* and *Galerius.* See Book 8. Chap. 13. note *(e.)*

[b] That is, *Diocletianus* and *Maximianus.* See Book 8. Chap. 13. note *(e.)*

[c] In chap. 13. book 8.

[d] *Diocletianus.*

[e] *Maximianus.*

[f] *Galerius.*

[g] See Chap. 16. Book. 8. note *(b.)*

[h] See Chap. 16. Book 8.

[i] These following words are taken out of chap. 13. book 8. *Valef.*

[k] *Constantine* the *Great.*

[l] Ἐπ λοιπὸν; So *Rob. Stephens: Valesius,* ἔτι λοιπὸν.

* *Galerius.*

[m] Chap. 17. Book 8.

[n] Who were *Constantinus,* and *Licinius* or *Licinianus:* See chap. 17. book 8.

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GALERIUS.

led together the [a] chief Officers of his Palace, he ordered them without any delay to inhibite the perſecution of the Chriſtians, and by his decree and Imperial Edict commanded that their Churches ſhould with all expedition be built, wherein they might perform their uſual [ſolemnities,] and make ſupplications [to God] for the * Emperour. Therefore, what he had given order for in words being immediately followed by an actual performance, the Imperial Edicts were ſet forth in every City, containing a revocation of the [perſecution] againſt us, according to this form following.

EMPEROUR CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, GERMANICUS MAXIMUS, ÆGYPTIACUS MAXIMUS, THEBAÏCUS MAXIMUS, SARMATICUS MAXIMUS the Fifth time; [b] PERSICUS MAXIMUS, CARPICUS MAXIMUS the Second time, ARMENICUS MAXIMUS the Sixth time, MEDICUS MAXIMUS, ADIABENICUS MAXIMUS, [c] TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE XX. [d] EMPEROUR XIX. CONSUL VIII. FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROUR CÆSAR FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS: PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, [c] TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE V. EMPEROUR V. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, [f] PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROUR CÆSAR VALERIUS LICINIANUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS; PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE IV. EMPEROUR III. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.

Amongſt other things which we have conſtituted for the profit and utility of the Republick, it was our deſire in the firſt place, that all things ſhould be redreſſed according to the ancient Laws, and publick Ordinances of the Romans. *And we earneſtly endeavoured to effect this, that the* Chriſtians, *who had relinquiſhed the Rites and Uſages of their Parents, ſhould be reduced to a good mind and intention. For, ſo great an* [g] *arrogancy and unadviſedneſs has (by a conſiderateneſs as it were) poſſeſt and invaded them, that they would not follow thoſe ſanctions of their Anceſtours, which even their Parents 'tis likely had before Ratified: but according to their own arbitrement, and as each perſon had a deſire, ſo they would make Laws, and obſerve them, and aſſemble various multitudes, of different factions and diſſenting about their opinions. Therefore, when we had publiſhed ſuch an Edict, as ſhould [oblige] them to return to the Rites and Ordinances of their Anceſtours; many of them having been expoſed to imminent dangers, and many having been terrified [with the menaces of puniſhment,] underwent various ſorts of death. But, when many perſiſted in this madneſs, and we perceived they did neither exhibite a due worſhip to the immortal Gods, nor yet to the God of the Chriſtians; having a reſpect to our humanity and that continued uſage by which we have been accuſtomed to beſtow Pardon on all ſorts of men: we have thought good that our indulgence ſhould moſt readily be extended in this matter alſo; that the* Chriſtians *ſhould again be [tolerated,] and that they may [have licence] to rebuild the houſes wherein they uſed to aſſemble themſelves, that*

GALERIUS.

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[a] Τὲς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, which words *Rufinus* renders very well, thus, *Convocatis his qui in officio publico parebant; having called together thoſe who ſerved in any publick office. Euſebius* uſually means, by this phraſe, *the Grandees of the Palace, whom Amm. Marcellinus* does commonly term, *aulæ ſummates, & Imperatoris proximos, the chief Court-officers, and thoſe neereſt to the Emperour.* Valeſ.

* In the original 'tis τῷ βασιλείῳ, *for the Imperial Palace:* But *Nicephorus* reads βασιλέως, *for the Emperour.* Valeſ.

[b] We find that the *Perſians* were but once conquered by *Galerius*, which was in the year of Chriſt 297; as 'tis affirmed *in Faſtis Idatii*, and in *the Alexandrian Chronicle.* The ſame is confirmed by *Libanius, in his oration* intitled βασιλικὸς; where he relates that the *Perſians*, after that great defeat they received from the *Romans* under the conduct of *Galerius* ſpent fourty years in preparations to make amends for that overthrow; and that, a little before the death of *Conſtantine the Great*, they entred upon a war with the *Romans.* Indeed, from that year of Chriſt we mentioned (i. e. *Anno* 297) to the year wherein *Conſtantine* dyed, there are fourty years. Therefore, *Euſebius*'s *Chronicle* muſt be corrected, in which this *Perſian* victory is placed on the ſeventeenth year of *Diocletian*; whereas it ſhould be placed on his thirteenth year; as it is in the *Edition* of *Arnaldus Pontacus.* Seeing therefore we can find no other victory that *Maximianus* obtained over the *Perſians*, this place ought to be pointed (as it is in *Nicephorus*, and as we have done in our tranſlation) after this manner: σαρματικὸς μέγιστος πεμπάκις· περσῶν μέγιστος. *Sarmaticus Maximus* the Fifth time; *Perſicus Maximus.* In *Rufinus*'s old copy, there is at this place no diſtinction by points; but 'tis thus, *Sarmaticus quinquies Perſicus bis Carpicus Sexies Armenicus Medorum & Adiabenorum Victor.*

[c] *Rufinus* renders this paſſage thus, *Tribuniciæ poteſtatis vicies, having been Tribune of the people twenty times.* This is the reading in the M. SS. From this place we may perceive, that *Galerius* was made *Cæſar*, and Colleague in the *Tribunician power* (or, *Tribune of the people*) at the ſame time; ſince in this Edict he accounts the years of his *Tribunician power* from that time when he was proclaimed *Cæſar.* Now, he was made *Cæſar* in the year of Chriſt 291, *on the Calends of March.* Moreover, he put forth this Edict in favour of the Chriſtians, in the year of Chriſt 311, in his eighth *Conſulate*, as the inſcription of the Edict declares: whence it followes, that this Edict was written before *the Calends of March.* For from that time *Galerius* began his *Tribunician Power.* Valeſ.

[d] Αὐτοκράτωρ ἐννεακαιδέκατον; i.e. *Emperour the Nineteenth time:* for that's the reading in the moſt ancient copy of *Rufinus.* *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlated this term ill, thus, *Dictator.* He knew not what was the import of the word *Imperator.* *Imperator* ſignifies one thing in the titles of the Emperours, when 'tis put in the Firſt place like a *Pronoun*; but it imports another thing, when 'tis ſubjoyned to the reſt of the titles. For the word [Emperour] put in the Second place, denotes the victory of the *Emperours*, and ſhews how often they were ſtiled Emperours by the Army, after they had obtained a victory; ſo *Dio* informs us. *Valeſ.*

[e] In all copies, there is an omiſſion of the number of times that *Conſtantine* had born the office of *Tribune of the people*, when this Edict came forth. I have added the figure [V] which denotes *the Fifth time of his bearing the Tribune-ſhip:* which addition is grounded upon a moſt certain conjecture. *Valeſ.*

[f] After this word [Proconſul,] (in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*) there are theſe following words [And, *Emperour Cæſar Valerius Licinianus, Pius, Felix, Inviſtus, Auguſtus, Pontifex Maximus; Tribune of the people* IV. *Emperour* III. *Conſul, Father of his Country, Proconſul:* To the Subjects of their own Provinces Greeting.] Which paſſage, although it occurs not in *Ruffinus*, yet is of good authority. And firſt, as to *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power*, the ſame muſt be thought of that which was of *Galerius*'s, to wit, that it is to be begun from the time of his being made *Cæſar.* Now, *Licinius* was made *Cæſar* in the year of Chriſt 308, *on the third of the Ides of November*, as it appears in the *Faſti of Idatius.* Therefore, the fourth year of *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power* began in the year of Chriſt 311, *on the third of the Ides of November.* But this diſagrees with what we noted before, when we treated concerning the *Tribunician Power* of *Galerius.* Wherefore one of theſe places muſt neceſſarily be falſe. For if it were then the fourth year of *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power*, it was the twenty firſt of *Galerius*'s. On the contrary, if this were the twentieth year of *Galerius*'s being *Tribune of the people*, it was but the third year of *Licinius*'s bearing that dignity. As to the conſulate of *Licinius*, there is mention thereof in the *Faſti* of *Proſperus, Caſſiodorus*, and *Victorius*; where he is placed Conſul with *Maximianus Auguſtus* Coſ. VIII. In *my notes* on *Amm. Marcellinus*, I had remarked, that *Licinius* was made *Auguſtus* by *Galerius*, a little before *Galerius*'s death; which I collected from hence, becauſe in this Edict, we now ſpeak of, *Gallerius* had made no mention of *Licinius*'s being his Colleague: but ſince in our M. SS. and in *Nicephorus Licinius* is ſtiled *Auguſtus* in this Edict of *Galerius*, that conjecture of ours is wholly deſtroyed. *Valeſ.*

[g] In the Fuk. Savil, Maz. and Med M. SS. the reading is [πλεονεξία καὶ ἐχθρήκεια, καὶ ἄνοια καὶ ἐπιλήψει, *So great an arrogancy and unadviſedneſs — has poſſeſt and invaded them.*] Valeſ.

Πλεονεξία (which *Valeſius* here renders *arrogantia, arrogancy*) is by *Democrates* (in his Γνωμ.) defined to be *ſpeaking all, and not enduring to hear any body elſe.* Dr *Hammond* has given a large account of the ſignifications of this word, in his note on Rom. 1. v. 29.

GALERIUS. *that so* [*in future they may be forced*] *to do nothing contrary to their discipline. In a particular Rescript we will signifie to our Judges what it shall behove them to observe. Wherefore, upon account of this our Indulgence they are obliged to supplicate their God for our safety, that of the Republick, and their own; that so both the Publick State of Affairs may in all respects be continued in an entire and safe posture, and they themselves live undisturbed in their own habitations.* These words (which we have, according to our ability, translated out of the *Roman* into the *Greek* Language,) are thus; now therefore it is an opportune time to take a Prospect of what followed hereupon. GALERIUS.

The End of the Eighth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History.*

DIOCLETIANUS.

IN SOME COPIES, THIS OCCURS AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE EIGHTH BOOK.

BUT the * Authour of this Edict, after this Confession, was forthwith Released from his pains, and ended his Life. Report says, that this man was the first beginner of that Calamitous Persecution: for, long before the rest of the Emperours were instigated [to it,] he endeavoured by force to withdraw the *Christians* that bore Armes [from their Religion,] especially those that were his domesticks; some of whom he removed from their Military dignities, most dishonourably abused others; and moreover, punished othersome with death: and at length he moved his Colleagues in the Empire to a General Persecution against the Christians. The manner how these Emperours ended their Lives, we judge unfit to be buried in silence: of the [a] four therefore who had divided the *Roman* Empire between them, those [b] two, that had the precedency in Age and Honour, resigned their Empire, before two years were compleated after the beginning of the Persecution, as we have [c] before manifested. And, having spent the remaining part of their time in a private and retired condition, they concluded their lives after this manner: The [d] one, who in respect of his Age and Honour took place of all the rest, was consumed by a lasting and most painfull distemper of body: the [e] other, who was the next to him in honour, put an end to his life by hanging of himself; undergoing this [punishment,] which was agreeable to a certain Diabolical Prediction concerning him, upon account of those many villanies he had most audaciously perpetrated. Of the remaining two, the [f] last, (who, as we [g] have said, was the Authour of the whole Persecution,) underwent those [miseries,] which we [h] have related before. But he who in dignity preceded this man, [I mean] that most favourable and mercifull Emperour *Constantius*, who during the whole time of his Government behaved himself in such sort as befitted an Emperour; who both in other matters represented himself to be most courteous and beneficent, and also was unconcerned in the persecution raised against us, who preserved the worshippers of God living under his Government from all manner of injuries and molestations, who neither demolished the edifices of the Churches, nor attempted any other new design against us: [this Emperour *Constantius* I say] obtained a [i] fortunate and truly thrice happy conclusion of his life: being the onely person that ended his life peaceably and gloriously during his swaying the Imperial Scepter, and left his own Son (in all respects a most sober and pious Prince,) his successour in the Empire. [k] He, being from the very beginning forthwith proclaimed supream Emperour and *Augustus* by the Souldiers, declared himself to be an emulatour of his Fathers reverend regard towards our Religion. Such was the conclusion of their lives which happened to the forementioned four Emperours, at different times. [l] Moreover, of them * he onely (whom we mentioned a little before) [m] made the foresaid confession, and (together with [n] those who were afterwards taken in to be Colleagues with him in the Empire) made it publickly known to all men by an Edict proposed in writing.

* *Id est Galerius.* See the Edict, chap. 17. book 8.

[a] Those four were *Diocletianus, Maximianus, Constantius,* and *Galerius.* See Book 8. Chap. 13. note *(e.)*

[b] That is, *Diocletianus* and *Maximianus.* See Book 8. Chap. 13. note *(e.)*

[c] In chap. 13. book 8.

[d] *Diocletianus.*

[e] *Maximianus.*

[f] *Galerius.*

[g] See Chap. 16. Book 8. note *(b.)*

[h] See Chap. 16. Book 8.

[i] These following words are taken out of chap. 13. book 8. *Vales.*

[k] *Constantine* the *Great.*

[l] Ἐπ λοιπὸν; So *Rob. Stephens: Valesius,* ἔπ λιπὸν.

* *Galerius.*

[m] Chap. 17. Book 8.

[n] Who were *Constantinus,* and *Licinius* or *Licinianus:* See chap. 17. book 8.

EUSEBIUS

DIOCLETIAN

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S BOOK

DIOCLETIAN

Concerning the MARTYRS of *PALESTINE.*

[a] Before I had looſt into any of the M. SS. I thought theſe words were added by *Rob. Stephens*, who in ſome copies had found theſe two Supplements of the 8th Book. But when I had perceived that the ſame words occurred in all the M. SS. I was eaſily induced to believe, that all thoſe M. SS. were tranſcribed from one and the ſame Copy. Moreover, this 2d Supplement is nothing elſe but *Euſebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*; which appears from the words at the end of this Supplement. For in the Maz. and Med. M.SS. theſe words occur there; Ἐυσεβίε τῦ Παμφίλε περὶ τῶν ἐν παλαισίνῃ μαρτυρησάντων τέλος· i. e. the End of *Euſebius Pamphilus's* [book] *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine.* Valeſ.

[a] *In one Copy, we alſo found theſe following Chapters at the End of the Eighth Book.*

IT was the Ninteenth year of *Diocletians* Empire, the moneth *Xanthicus*, which the *Romans* call *April*; (*Flavianus* being Governour of the Province of *Paleſtine*;) in which year, [to wit,] when the Feaſt of the Salutary Paſſion was near at hand, the Edicts on a ſudden were every where ſet forth, commanding the Churches to be pulled down to the ground, and the Scriptures to be conſumed with fire; and ordering, that ſuch as were promoted to honours ſhould be degraded, and that the ordinary ſort of people, if they perſiſted in a reſolution of retaining the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, ſhould be deprived of their liberty. Such was the vehemency of the firſt Edict againſt us. But not long after, other Reſcripts were brought, wherein order was given, that all Prelates of the Churches every where, ſhould firſt be put in bonds; and afterwards compelled by all ways imaginable to offer ſacrifice.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Procopius, Alphæus, *and* Zacchæus, *Martyrs.*

[a] The ſame Relation is in *the Acts of the paſſion of* Procopius *the Martyr*, which begin thus, *The firſt of the Martyrs that appeared in* Paleſtine *was* Procopius, *&c.* From whence 'tis evident, that thoſe *Acts* were tranſlated out of the Greek Copy of *Euſebius* into Latine. To make this more manifeſtly apparent, it will in no wiſe be unuſefull, to inſert here the entire *Acts*. For many things worth our knowledge are contained in them, which neither *Baronius* nor *Molanus* happened to have a ſight of. We have tranſcribed them from a moſt ancient M. S. belonging *to the Muſciacenſian Monaſtery*, which is now in the hands of that learned perſon *Claudius Foly Canon of the Church at Paris.* Their Contents are theſe;

[a] PRocopius therefore, the firſt of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, [b] before he had experienced a confinement in priſon, was [c] immediately upon his very firſt Arrival brought before the Preſidents Seat of Judicature: and being commanded to offer ſacrifice to thoſe [by the Gentiles] ſtiled Gods, he ſaid that he knew but one onely God, to whom ſacrifice was to be offered, according to that manner which he himſelf had appointed. But when he was bidden to ſacrifice to the four Emperours, having uttered a ſentence which was in no wiſe pleaſing to them (that which he ſaid, was theſe words of the Poet [*Homer*;] *It is not good* [to have] *many Lords, let there be one Lord, one King*) he was

The Paſſion of S. Procopius *the Martyr, who ſuffered under* Fabianus *the Preſident, on the fourth of the* Nones *of* Auguſt.

The firſt of the Martyrs that appeared in Paleſtine *was* Procopius: *a perſon* [full] *of celeſtial grace, who before his Martyrdom ordered his life ſo, as that from his very childhood he applied his mind to chaſtity, and a virtuous converſe. He ſo macerated his body, that 'twas judged to be almoſt dead. But he comforted his mind with ſuch divine words, that he infuſed ſtrength and courage into his body, by this refection of his mind. Bread and water was his food and drink: he fed onely on theſe: which he would forſake for two, or three, ſometimes for ſeven days together, and then return to that his food again. Alſo, a meditation on divine expreſſions had bound up his mind ſo faſt, that he continued indefatigable in it night and day. He made himſelf an high example of courteſie and meekneſs, looking on himſelf to be inferiour to others, ſo great was his ſtudiouſneſs in divine matters: he had alſo attained to a competency in external accompliſhments. His original extract he had at* Ælia [*i.e.* Jeruſalem;] *but by converſe and habitation he was a* Scythopolitan. *He ſerved in three Offices in that Church; one was that of a Reader, another conſiſted in his interpretation of the* Syrian *Tongue; and the third was an impoſition of hands, to caſt out devils. And when he (together with his companions) was ſent from* Scythopolis *to* Cæſarea, *he was led from the very Gates to the Preſident; and before he had experienced the miſeries of impriſonment and bonds, he was upon his very firſt Arrival commanded by* Flavianus *the Preſident, to offer ſacrifice to the Gods. But with a loud voice he atteſted that there was not a multiplicity of Gods, but one Maker and Framer of all things. The Preſident, ſmitten with that expreſſion of his, and being wounded in his own conſcience, aſſented to what he ſaid. And, betaking himſelf to other arguments,* [*perſwaded him*] *to ſacrifice at leaſt but to the Emperours. But the holy Martyr of God, deſpiſing what he ſaid, repeated that paſſage of* Homer—It is not good [*to have*] many Lords, let there be one Lord, one King. *Which words being heard, it being ſuppoſed that he ſpoke ſomething that was of ill conſequence to the Emperours, by the Preſidents command he was led to execution; and being beheaded, had an entrance into a celeſtial life, or found a compendious way into heaven, on the ſeventh day of* Deſius, *that is, the moneth* July, *which amongſt the* Romans *is called the* Nones *of* July, *in the firſt year of the Perſecution againſt us. This was the firſt Martyrdom that was conſummated in* Cæſarea, *our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *Reigning, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.* Theſe *Acts* are alſo extant in two M. SS. belonging to the Library of *Saint Germans.* Valeſ.

[b] The foregoing *Acts* of the paſſion of Saint *Procopius* render this paſſage almoſt word for word, thus; *Priuſquam carceris vel vinculorum experiretur anguſtias, before he had experienced the miſeries of impriſonment and bonds.* By which words the cruelty of the Judge is ſignified. For the *Roman* Preſidents were wont firſt to impriſon thoſe offenders that were apprehended and brought before them, and to interrogate them afterwards at their leiſure. *Valeſ.*

[c] The foregoing *Acts* word this paſſage thus; *in ipſo ingreſſu ſuo à Judice Flaviano ut Diis ſacrificaret impellitur*; i. e. *he was upon his very firſt arrival, commanded by Flavianus the Preſident, to offer ſacrifice to the Gods.* Many things are here omitted in the Greek Text of *Euſebius*, which muſt be made perfect by *thoſe Acts in* Latine (the tranſlation whereof we have before inſerted.) For when *Euſebius* had here ſaid expreſly, that *Procopius* upon his firſt arrival was brought before the Judge, he adds nothing concerning the place from whence he came, where he was apprehended, or to what place he was brought: nothing of which ought to have been omitted. Beſides, *Euſebius* does accurately relate the deſcent and country of other Martyrs mentioned in this book; and if any of them had attained any degree of Eccleſiaſtick honour, he does uſually take notice of that alſo. But of this perſon (who was the chief, and Leader of all the *Paleſtine* Martyrs) we ſee no ſuch remarks made. This, 'tis probable, was not the fault of *Enſebius*, but of his Excribers. For, *in the Latine Acts*, which, as we before evidenced, were tranſlated out of *Euſebius*, all theſe circumſtances are manifeſtly declared. See *the tranſlation of the Latine Acts*, in note (*a.*) in this chapter. *Valeſ.*

DIOCLETIAN was forthwith beheaded, [d] on the eighth day of the moneth [e] *Deſius*, that is (as the *Romans* ſtile it) before the ſeventh of the *Ides* of *June*, on

[d] The Latine Copies of theſe *Acts* doe vary a little here: in *Claudius Foly's* Copy (the tranſlation of which you have in note (*a.*) in this chapter,) the words are, *Deſii Septima Fulii menſis, quæ nonas Fulias dicitur apud Latinos*, i. e. *on the ſeventh day of Deſius* [that is the] *moneth Fuly, which amongſt the* Romans *is called the Nones of Fuly:* in the two M. S. Copies belonging to the Library of S. *Germans*, the reading is thus, *Dies erat Septima Fulii menſis, quæ 7. Idus Fulii dicitur apud Latinos*, i. e. *it was the ſeventh day of the Month Fuly, which amongſt the Romans is called the ſeventh of the Ides of Fuly.* In the greek Text of our *Euſebius* here, the words are theſe, ἑβδόμῃ μηνὸς Δύσιος, ᾗπερ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν ἰανίων λέγουσιν Ἀκόλουθοι Ῥωμαίοις, *on the eighth day of the moneth Deſius, that is (as the Romans ſtile it) before the ſeventh of the Ides of June.* By theſe words in the Latine Copies of the M. SS. in Saint *Germans* Library, the title before *Claudius Foly's* Copy of theſe *Acts* is to be amended, where'tis ſaid *Procopius* ſuffered on the fourth of the *Nones* of *Auguſt*. Notwithſtanding, in all the *Martyrologies*, the Martyrdom of *Procopius* is ſet on the eighth of the *Ides* of *Fuly*. The *Greeks* alſo celebrate the memory of the great Martyr *Procopius* on the ſame day, as may be ſeen in their *Menæum*. But that *Procopius* is a different perſon from ours, although he was born at *Jeruſalem*, and ſuffered at the ſame time almoſt, and in the ſame City, that our *Procopius* did. For our *Procopius* was a *Reader*, and an-*Exorciſt*, as *Euſebius* atteſts. But the other was a Captain of *Egypt*. The firſt *Procopius* was a Chriſtian from his Childhood, the ſecond was at firſt a worſhipper of *Dæmons*. Our *Procopius* was beheaded, having ſuffered no tortures, and ſo obtained the Crown of Martyrdom by a moſt compendious and eaſie kind of death. The other *Procopius* ſuffered a tedious and moſt cruel Martyrdom, having undergone moſt horrid tortures under two Preſidents of *Paleſtine*, *Fuſtus* and *Flavianus*. Upon which account he is reckoned by the *Greeks* amongſt the Μεγαλομάρτυρες, *Great Martyrs:* See book 6. chap. 32. note (*b.*) Laſtly, our *Procopius* was taken at *Scythopolis*, brought to *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, and there beheaded. The other was apprehended in *Egypt*, and Martyred in *Cæſarea* a City of *Phœnicia* (which was alſo called *Pancas*) if we may believe *Simeon Metaphraſtes*. Valeſ.

[e] It is, I perceive, taken for granted amongſt all men, that the months of the *Syro-Macedonians* were wholly the ſame with the *Julian* months, from that time when *Julius Cæſar* publiſht his year. For *Scaliger* and our *Petavius* do in many places affirm this; and the only difference (as they ſay) was, that the *Syro-Macedonians* began their year from *October*. But, there are many things which make me diſſent from their opinion. For firſt, *Bede* (in his *Ephemeris*, and in his book *De ratione Temporum*) ſays, that the months of the *Greeks* began from *Apellæus*, which anſwers to *December*. But *Marcus* (in his *Life of Porphyrius Biſhop of Gaza*) atteſts, that thoſe of *Gaza* began their year from the month *Dius*. For theſe are his words at pag. 1090. *Primo menſe qui ab eis vocatur* Dios, *deinde etiam ſecundo, qui dicitur* Apellæos; i. e. *in the firſt month which they call* Dius, *then alſo in the ſecond which is termed* Apellæus. The Emperour *Julianus* (in *Antiochico*) confirms this, where he expreſly ſays that *Lous* was *the tenth month* amongſt the *Syrians*. Now, if they began their year from *October*, then *Lous* (which anſwers to *Auguſt*) would not have been *the tenth*, but *the eleventh month*. The ſame is manifeſted by *Julianus* (in *Miſopogone*, pag. 70.) in theſe words, ἡ πύρων ἥκει νεωλκία, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὖθις εἰς φιλίου Διὸς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτὴ, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔρχεται τέμενος· ὀπίσω δὲ πάλιν ἀπιὼν πάλιν εἰς φιλίου τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ τὰ πάλαια· i. e. *The Calends of the* Syrians *were come, and* Cæſar *goes to the Temple of* Jupiter Philius *again. Then came the* Calends of *January* (For, in my notes on book 23. of *Ammian. Marcellinus*, pag. 252, I have ſhown that the πάγκοινος ἑορτὴ was the ſame with the *Calends of January*.) *and* Cæſar *goes to the Temple of the God* Genius. (Concerning the Temple of this God *Genius* at *Antioch*, See *Evagrius's* Hiſt. book 1. chap. 16.) *Then paſſing by the ominous day, he renews his vows in the Temple of* Jupiter Philius *according to the cuſtome of his Anceſtours.* Seeing therefore *Julianus* atteſts, that the *New Moon* of the *Syrians* year did a little precede the *Calends of January*; it is manifeſt that the beginning of the *Roman* and *Syrian* year was not the ſame. But, it may be plainly collected from the ſame place of *Julian*, that *Dius* was the firſt month of the year amongſt the *Antiochians:* For *Julian* ſays, that on the Calends of the firſt month of the *Syrians*, he went to the Temple of *Jupiter*, to ſacrifice, becauſe their firſt month was ſacred to *Jupiter*, and received its name from him. For it was called *Dius* ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, *from Jupiter:* and the firſt month was rightly called after his name, who was thought to be the principal cauſe, and origine of all things. Now, if *October* were the firſt month of the *Syrian* year, that paſſage in *Julian* would have been impertinent. For, when the *Antiochians* would deride *Julian*, for his aſſiduity in worſhiping the Gods, they produce this example thereof [The Calends of the *Syrians* were come, and *Cæſar* goes to the Temple of *Jupiter Philius* again: then came the Calends of *January*, and *Cæſar* goes to the *Temple* of the God *Genius*.] There muſt therefore neceſſarily be ſome little ſpace of time between the *Calends* of the *Syrians*, and the *Romans*, that ſo *Julian* might deſervedly be derided by the *Antiochians* for his too frequent offering of ſacrifice. It is therefore neceſſary, that either *Apellæus* muſt have been the firſt month amongſt the *Syrians*, (which is *Bede's* opinion,) or elſe *Dius*. Thus far concerning the beginning of the *Syro-Macedonian* year; which we have demonſtrated to be different from the beginning of the *Julian* year. We will now inquire into the *Syro-Macedonian* months, and ſee whether they began and ended at the ſame time that the *Roman* months did. Indeed, this place in *Euſebius* does plainly ſhew, that the beginning of the months amongſt the *Syrians* and *Romans* was not the ſame: for it makes the eighth day of the month *Deſius* to be the ſame with the ſeventh of the month *June*. Therefore the *Syrian* month *Deſius* began one day before the *Roman* month *June*. Moreover, *Marcus* (in the life of *Porphyrius*) affirms, that the months of the inhabitants of *Gaza* preceded the *Roman* months five days. His words are theſe, *Fluit autem Dominus*, &c. *Our Lord ſent a continued rain from the eighth day of the month* Audynæus *to the tenth. Now* Audynæus *amongſt the* Romans *is* January. *For their months precede the* Roman *months five days. But on the eleventh day we celebrated the Feaſt of the* Epiphany, *praiſing God.* From which words 'tis apparent, that the beginning of the months amongſt thoſe of *Gaza* was almoſt the ſame with the beginning of them amongſt the *Egyptians*. Further, *Epiphanius* (in his book *De Ponderib.* chap. 20.) makes the ſixteenth day of *May* the ſame with the twenty third of the *Grecian* month *Artemiſius*. The form of the months amongſt the *Tyrians* was different from this; they made uſe of the *Macedonian* account of the months. For, in the *Acts* at *Tyre* (which are related in the *ninth Action* of the *Council of Chalcedon*) the tenth day of the month *Peritius* is confounded with the twenty fifth of *February:* and in the *fifth Action Concil. Conſtantinop.* ſub. *Menâ*, the twenty eighth day of the *Tyrian* month *Lous* is ſaid to have been the ſixteenth day of the *Roman* month *September*. From all this it may be concluded, that the account of the whole year, and of the months, was not of one and the ſame form amongſt the *Syrians*. For thoſe of *Gaza* computed them after one way, thoſe of *Tyre* after another, and thoſe of *Cæſarea* after a third manner. But, I am fully perſwaded, that the *Cæſareans* uſed months, wholly compoſed according to the *Julian* form. For, in all places of this book of *Euſebius's*, *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, wherever mention is made of the *Macedonian* months amongſt the *Cæſarians*, (the mention whereof does frequently occur in it;) the days of thoſe months do always agree with the days of the *Roman* months; excepting this only place in this firſt Chapter. Therefore, I think, that the reading in the Text of *Euſebius* here ſhould be thus, ἑβδόμῃ μηνὸς ἑβδόμῃ, *on the ſeventh day of the month* Deſius. *Valeſ.*

the [f] fourth day of the week. This was the DIOCLETIAN * firſt Martyrdom that was conſummated at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine:* but after him, very many Prelates of Churches in that Province, having at the ſame City chearfully undergone moſt grievous tortures, exhibited to the Spectatours a relation of illuſtrious Combats. But others, diſ-ſpirited by reaſon of their fear, were immediately diſcouraged at the very firſt attaque made againſt them. Every one of the reſt underwent various and interchangeable ſorts of tortures: one was ſcourged with innumerable ſtripes, another was racked, had the fleſh of his ſides ſcraped off with iron nails, and was loaded with an inſupportable burthen of

[f] Ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι σαββάτων; that is, on the *fourth feria*, or, (to render it word for word) *on the fourth day of the Sabbath*, or, *of the week*. For the ancient Chriſtians having received a ſet account of the ſeven days of the week from the *Jews*, named them as they did. Therefore they called them *the firſt of the Sabbath*, *the ſecond of the Sabbath*, &c. See *Tertullian* in his Book *De jejuniis*. Sometimes they called them *feriæ: Feria* is the ſame with *Sabbath*. Therefore, as the *Jews* termed the week-days the *firſt*, the *ſecond*, the *third of the Sabbath*; and ſo on to the *Seventh-day*, which they called *the Sabbath:* ſo the antient *Chriſtians* termed them *the firſt, ſecond*, and *third feria*, &c. making an alteration only in this, that they did not keep *the Sabbath-day* holy, as did the *Jews*; but obſerved *their Sabbath on the firſt day of the Sabbath*, which they alſo called *Sunday*, or *The Lord's Day*. So *Iſidorus* in his Book, *De Natura Rerum*, Chap. 3. *Bede* (in his Book *De Ratione Temporum*) ſays the *week-days* were called *feriæ*, becauſe the Clergy-men, by the decree of *Pope Sylveſter*, were ordered to keep every day holy. But this opinion cannot be true; for the days of the week were called *feriæ* long before Pope *Sylveſter's* time, as *Tertullian* informs us. Moreover, not only the *Chriſtians*, but the *Gentiles* alſo received the computation of the week from the *Jews*, as *Joſephus* informs us, in the cloſe of *his ſecond book againſt Apion*. But the *Gentiles* called the days of the week by the names of the ſeven Planets; which names continue ſtill in uſe amongſt moſt Nations, being as it were certain reliques of the ancient errour of the Gentiles. See *Tertullian in his Book Ad Nationes*. Valeſ. The Eccleſiaſtical year of old began at *Eaſter*, the firſt week whereof was all Holyday, the days being diſtinguiſhed by *prima, ſecunda, tertia*, &c. added unto *feria*. From thence the days of any other week began to be called *feria prima, ſecunda*, &c. See Mr *Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, in his Tract *De Æris & Epochis*, Chap. 5. The original of the names, which we in *England* give to the days of the week, may be ſeen in *Verſtegan's Antiquities*, pag. 68, &c. *Edit. Antwerp.* 1605.

* Πρῶτον σημεῖον, we render *primum Martyrium, the firſt Martyrdom:* ſo the *Latine Acts* render it; whence it appears, the Tranſlator thereof did read μαρτύριον. *Valeſ.*

bonds,

DIOCLETIAN bonds, by reason of which some happened to have [the sinews] of their hands weakened and made feeble. Nevertheless they all endured whatever befell them agreeable to the secret judgment of God. For one being taken by the hand by some others, who led him to the Altar and thrust the impure and detestable sacrifice into his right hand, was dismissed, as if he had sacrificed. Another, who had not in any wise touched [the sacrifice,] yet when others affirmed that he had sacrificed, went silently away. A third, taken up half dead, was cast forth as if he had been so really, and being loosed from his bonds, was computed amongst their number who had offered sacrifice. A fourth, crying out, and making protestation that he would not perform what he was enjoyned by them to do, was stricken on the mouth, and being silenced by a great company of persons purposely appointed upon that account, was forcibly thrust out, although he had not sacrificed. * So highly did they every way esteem their being thought to have perfected what they desired! Of all these therefore, who were so numerous, onely *Alphæus* and [g] *Zacchæus* obtained the crown of holy Martyrdom. Who, after they were scourged, and had had their flesh scraped off with torturing irons, when they had endured most grievous bonds and cruciating pains therein, after various other tortures they were put into the stocks, where for four and twenty hours space their feet were distended to the fourth hole, and having confest that there was but one only God, and one King Jesus Christ, as if they had uttered something that was blasphemous and impious, they underwent the same sort of punishment with the first Martyr [*Procopius,*] and were beheaded on the seventeenth day of the month *Dius*, which day amongst the *Romans* is before the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *December*.

* See B. 8. Chap. 3.

g He was a Deacon of the Church of *Gadara*; Concerning whom we have this passage in the *Menologie* at the 18th of *November*: *The commemoration of the holy Martyrs* Michæus, Zacchæus and Zacchæus *was led before the tribunal, having an heavy iron-chain about his neck.* Valesi.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Romanus *the Martyr.*

[1] The *Greeks*, in their *Menæum*, make mention of two *Romanus*'s, both Martyrs; the one, they say, was condemned by *Asclepiades* the *Præfect* at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Galerius*: the other was a Deacon of *Cæsarea* (concerning whom *Eusebius* here speaks) who, as they affirm, suffered under *Diocletian*. But, in as much as they confess, that both of them suffered on one and the same day, (for they affirm that both of them had their tongues cut out, that they both spoke after they were cut out, and that both of them were afterwards strangled in prison,) 'tis plain, that the *Greeks* mistake in their making of them two distinct Martyrs. I wonder that this opinion of theirs should please *Baronius* in *his notes on the Martyrologie*. If there were two Martyrs called by the same name, to wit, *Romanus*, and if they both suffered Martyrdom on the same day at *Antioch*, why does *Eusebius* mention but one here? It will perhaps be answered, that *Eusebius* was resolved to speak of the Martyrs of *Palestine* onely in this book, and therefore that he onely mentioned *Romanus* the Deacon, because he was a *Palestinian*. But *Eusebius* has made mention of this Martyr in another place, to wit, in *his second Book concerning the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ*, where he acknowledges but one *Romanus* who was Martyred at *Antioch*. Valesi.

MOreover, what was done about [a] *Romanus* on the very same day at *Antioch*, does worthily deserve to be commemorated: for he, being born in *Palestine*, was a [b] Deacon and

[b] Amongst the Primitive Christians, especially in the smaller Towns, because the Clergy were few in number, one and the same Clergy-man performed two or three Offices. Hence 'tis, that in the *Acts* of *Procopius* the Martyr, (which we related before) *Procopius* is said to have born three Offices at the same time in the Church of *Scythopolis*, to wit, the Office of a *Reader*, of an *Interpreter*, and of an *Exorcist*. After the same manner therefore *Romanus* was both a *Deacon*, and also an *Exorcist* in the Church of *Cæsarea*. See *Vetus Author Quæstion. Vetr. & Novi Testament*, ch. 101. Valesi.

[c] Exorcist in the Church of *Cæsarea*: coming to *Antioch* at that very time when the Churches were demolished; and having seen many [d] men, women, and children flocking in crouds to the Temples of the Idolls, and offering sacrifice, he judged the sight thereof to be a thing intollerable, and being incited by a zeal for the divine worship, he drew near; and crying out with a loud voice, [began] to rebuke them. Being forthwith apprehended upon account of this his boldness, he demonstrated himself (if ever any other person did) to be a most couragious witness of the Truth. For, when the Judge had condemned him to be burnt to death, having gladly received his sentence of condemnation with a cheerfull countenance and a mind most couragiously disposed, he was led to execution. Then, being bound to the stake, and the combustible matter being laid together, whilst the officers, that were about to kindle the fire, waited for the determination of the [e] Emperour who was then present, he cryed out, *where is the fire* [*provided*] *for me?* When he had said this, he was by command brought before the Emperour, in order to his being punished with a new sort of punishment, [to wit,] the cutting out of his tongue. Having most couragiously endured this punishment, he gave a real demonstration to all men, that the divine power is always present with those who undergo any sort of torture whatsoever for Religion, which does mitigate their pains, and corroborate them with an alacrity of mind. This couragious person therefore being sensible of the newness of his punishment, was in no wise terrified, but willingly put forth his tongue, and with a most ready alacrity produced it to those who cut it out. After which punishment he was put into bonds, and being for a long time afflicted in prison, in conclusion (when the [f] twentieth year

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c There was in former times a twofold use of the *Exorcists* in the Church. For their business was to cleanse both those possessed with devils, and also the *Catechumens*; who were exorcized more than once. For after every examination in their *Catechism*, they were brought to the *Exorcist* ungirt and with their Shoes off, that they might be purged by him. See *Cyril. Hierosolymit. in prolog. catecheses ad Illuminandos*; and *Chrysostom, in his first Homily ad Illuminandos, in his first Tome.* Valesi.

[d] Many of these persons had renounced Christ, as *Eusebius* declares *in his second Sermon concerning the Resurrection*; where he speaks of the tortures inflicted on *Romanus*, which he mentions not here. *Valesi.*

[e] I suppose he means *Galerius Cæsar*: for *Diocletian* made his abode then at *Nicomedia*. The *Cæsars*, like *Apparitours* and *Officers*, went all over the bounds of their own district. Indeed, in that year when the persecution begun, *Diocletian* lived (together with *Galerius*) at *Nicomedia*, in *April*, as *Eusebius* attests *in his eighth book*. Also, a little after the persecution began, when the Imperial Palace at *Nicomedia* was burnt by Lightning, *Diocletian* was at that City, as *Constantine* informs us *in his Oration Ad Cœtum Sanctorum*. Wherefore he could not be at *Antioch*, when *Romanus* was condemned to be burnt; which happened about the beginning of the Persecution. For *Romanus* was strangled on the 15th of the *Calends* of *December*, after he had lain in prison some months, as *Eusebius* here attests. *Valesi.*

[f] This place is in an especial manner to be taken notice of, because it most evidently declares the year wherein *Diocletian*'s Persecution began. For *Eusebius* says, that in the first year of the Persecution the Emperours *Vicennalia* (i. e. the Festivals for his having arrived to the twentieth year of his Reign) were kept; which can only fall on that year, wherein *Diocletian* was the eighth time Consul, and *Maximian* the seventh. For, in this year (which was the year of Christ 303.) *Diocletian*'s twentieth year was begun at the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *October*; that being the first of *Diocletian*'s Reign, *Carinus* II. and *Numerianus* Coss. in the year of Christ 284; as 'tis set forth in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But, there arises no small difficulty from what *Eusebius* here says, to wit, that *Romanus* suffered Martyrdom on the 17th day of *November*, when *Diocletians Vicennalia* were kept. Whence it seemes to follow, that the first day of *Diocletian*'s Reign must have been in the month of *November*, and not in *September*, as the *Alexandrian Chronicle* attests. Wherefore, 'tis necessary, that either in our *Eusebius*, or else in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, the name of the month should be mistaken. Unless we say, that *Diocletians Vicennalia* were kept at *Antioch* not on the same day which was the first of his Empire, but a little later. *Eusebius* indeed says (in his *Chronicon*) that *Constantines Vicennalia* were kept at *Nicomedia*, and in the following year celebrated at *Rome*.

of

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of the Emperours Reign was come, wherein, [g] according to the uſual indulgence, liberty was publickly proclaimed to all perſons in all places that were in bonds,) he onely, lying in the ſtocks, and having both his feet diſtended to the diſtance of five holes, was ſtrangled, and (according to his deſire) was adorned with [the Crown of] Martyrdom. This perſon being a *Paleſtinian*, although he ſuffered [Martyrdom] without the limits of his own Country, yet deſerves to be reckoned amongſt the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*. Theſe things were after this manner performed in the firſt year of the Perſecution, when it raged againſt the Prelates onely of the Church.

g It was uſual amongſt the *Romans*, that, on the fifth and tenth years of their Emperours Reigns, offenders who were guilty of leſs notorious crimes ſhould be diſcharged from their impriſonment; the Emperours Edict being ſet forth for that purpoſe, which they called *an Indulgence*. See the *God. Theodoſ. tit. de indulgentiis criminum.* Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Timotheus, Agapius, Thecla, *and eight other Martyrs.*

AFterwards, in the ſecond year, when the rage of the Perſecution againſt us was become more violent and ſharp, *Urbanus* being at that time Governour of the Province, the Imperial Edicts having been then firſt brought, wherein it was by a general command ordered, that all perſons in all places and Cities whatſoever ſhould publickly offer ſacrifice and incenſe to the Idols; *Timotheus* underwent innumerable tortures at *Gaza*, a City of *Paleſtine*: after all which he was conſumed by a remiſs and ſlow fire, and having exhibited a moſt genuine proof of his ſincere piety towards God, by a patient ſufferance under all his torments, he obtained the Crown belonging to the ſacred and victorious Champions of Religion. *Agapius* alſo, and that *Thecla* [a] who lived in our times, having (together with the foreſaid *Timotheus*) given a demonſtration of their moſt undaunted courage and ſtedfaſtneſs of mind, were condemned to be devoured by wild beaſts. Who is he that would not have wondred at the ſight of what followed hereupon, or that would not have been aſtoniſhed at the hearing a relation thereof? For, when the Heathens celebrated their publick Feſtivals, and [exhibited] their uſual ſhews; there was a great report, that [b] together with thoſe others whom they had a mighty eſteem for, the [Chriſtians] alſo, lately condemned, were to be expoſed to a combat with the wild beaſts [in the Amphitheatre.] This report therefore being increaſed and ſpread every where, ſix youths, whereof one was born in *Pontus*, by name *Timolaus*, another born at *Tripolis* a City of *Phœnicia* whoſe name was *Dionyſius*, the third was Sub-deacon of the *Dioſpolitane* Church, his name *Romulus*; beſides the two *Egyptians*, [c] *Pauſis* and *Alexander*; and another *Alexander*, name-ſake to the former, born at *Gaza*: [theſe ſix young men, I ſay,] having firſt bound their hands together, that they might thereby manifeſt their great readineſs and alacrity to [undergo] Martyrdom, ran in great haſt to *Urbanus*, as he was going to the *Amphitheatre*, and confeſt themſelves to be Chriſtians: and, by their being prepared to [endure] all ſorts of tortures, they demonſtrated, that thoſe who make their boaſt in the worſhip of the ſupream God, can in no wiſe be terrified at the furious aſſaults of the wild beaſts. The Preſident himſelf, and thoſe who ſtood round him, having been forthwith ſtruck with no ſmall amazement, [theſe Confeſſours] were [ordered to be] ſhut up in priſon. Not many days after two others being added to their number, (one whereof, by name *Agapius*, having before them undergone horrid and various ſorts of tortures, had formerly [been ſignallized] for ſeveral confeſſions: the other miniſtred bodily neceſſaries to them, his name *Dionyſius*) all theſe, being now made up eight in number, were beheaded on one and the ſame day at *Cæſarea*, [to wit] on the twenty fourth day of the month *Dyſtrus*, which precedes the ninth of the *Calends* of *April*. At the ſame time happened a change of the Emperours, he that had the precedency of all the reſt and the next to him in place, [having left off their Imperial attire] put themſelves into a private habit: and the affairs of the Empire began to be in an ill poſture. The *Roman* Empire being ſoon after divided, there brake out an implacable war between [the *Romans*] themſelves: neither could the diviſions, and (which were the conſequences thereof) the tumults be made up and appeaſed, before the *Chriſtians* throughout the whole *Roman* Empire had a peace ratified and firmed to them. For, as ſoon as that peace (like light after a cloudy and moſt darkſome night,) darted forth its rays upon all men, the publick affairs of the *Roman* Empire were again reſtored to their priſtine ſtability, amity, and peaceableneſs; all perſons recovering that mutual friendlineſs which had been derived down to them from their Anceſtours. But we will give an exacter account of theſe matters at a more opportune place and time. Now we are to proſecute the ſubſequent ſeries of our narration.

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[a] Theſe words [ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, *who lived in our times*] are, not without reaſon, added by *Euſebius*. For by them it was his intent to manifeſt, that this *Thecla* ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the other *Thecla* who was companion to St *Paul* the Apoſtle. In the *Menæum*, at the 19th of *Auguſt*, this *Thecla* is called, ἡ Βυζῖτις, *Byzitis*; the meaning whereof I know not. For this *Thecla* here ſpoken of was a *Paleſtinian*, not born at *Bizua* a City of *Thrace*. Yet, it may be, this *Thecla* was a *Thracian*: for neither were all thoſe, whoſe Martyrdoms *Euſebius* here relates, *Paleſtinians*; nor does he in this book, treat of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, but of thoſe who ſuffered Martyrdom in *Paleſtine*. Valeſ.

[b] The reading here is, μετ' ἄλλως αὐτοῖς καθαιρουμένων; our rendition whereof is, *together with thoſe others whom they had a great eſteem for*. *Chriſtophorſon* read μετ' ἄλλων, but took it in the *neuter* gender; for thus he has rendred it; *inter alia quæ magnopere ipſis in optatis erant ad contemplandum, amongſt other things, which they had a great deſire to be ſpectatours of.* I ſuppoſe it to be ſpoken in the *maſculine* gender; and that he means thoſe more eminent *Beſtiarii*, who amongſt the *Grecians* were termed θηριόβολοι, i. e. *the ſtouteſt and ſtrongeſt ſort of men, who let themſelves out to combat with the wild beaſts before the people in the Amphitheatre.* Such a one was he, whom the people in the *Amphitheatre* at *Conſtantinople* called for, in theſe words, δεῦν ἕνα θηρῶν θηριόβολον μάχεσθαι; which words *Caſſiodorus* (*Hiſtor. Tripart.* Lib. 2.) thus renders, *crudeli beſtiæ artifex parabolus componatur.* Valeſ.

[c] In the Maz. and Med. M.SS. his name is *Paeſis*. In the *Greek Menology*, (which *Caniſius* publiſhed) at the 15th of *March*, inſtead of *Paeſis*, he is called *Publius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning Apphianus *the Martyr.*

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MAximinus *Cæſar*, [a] from the very time of his coming to the Empire, (as if he would demonſtrate to all men the tokens of his innate hatred againſt God, and of his own impiety,) attempted a more violent perſecution againſt thoſe of our Religion, than the preceding Emperours

[a] *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place thus; he tranſlates it, *Maximinus Cæſar, who by his own power and ſtrength had poſſeſt himſelf of the Empire*: as if αὐτόθεν, which is the Greek term here, ſignified *by his own power and ſtrength*. Indeed, *Maximinus* proclaimed himſelf *Auguſtus*, as our *Euſebius* relates in Chap. 13. Book 8. But he was made *Cæſar* by *Galerius Maximianus*. Moreover, *Euſebius* ſpeaks here of *Maximinus*, whilſt he was only *Cæſar*, and of the time when he had that title firſt conferred on him, *to wit*, in the ſecond year current of the perſecution, immediately after the reſignation of *Diocletianus*, and *Herculius*. The import therefore of *Euſebius*'s words

words is this, that *Maximinus*, as soon as he was made *Cæsar*, shewed a proof of his impiety, by a most cruel persecution of the Christians. Wherefore [αὐτόθεν] must be rendred [*from the very time.*] Now, *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar* in the year of Christ 304, on the *Calends* of *April*, as *Idatius* (*in fastis*) declares: which agrees very well with the account here given by our *Eusebius*. For he relates that *Maximinus* (after the Resignation of *Diocletian*) was created *Cæsar* in the second year of the persecution; immediately after which promotion (that he might shew his power) he renewed the persecution against the Christians. But this must not be understood of that very year, wherein *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar*: for during that year (affairs being then in confusion, and *Galerius* scarce well setled in the Empire) *Maximinus* was quiet. Therefore *Eusebius* mentions no Martyrdoms in *Palestine* during that year. But in the year following, which was the third of the persecution, *Maximinus* set forth his Edicts against the Christians, and renewed the persecution, as *Eusebius* expressly relates in this chapter. *Vales.*

MAXIMINUS [had done.] When therefore no small inquietude was impendent on all persons, and they were dispersed some in one place some in another, every one making it his chief business to avoid the danger, and all the Provinces were involved in a most terrible commotion, what expressions can be sufficient for us deservedly to set forth, the divine love, and the bold and free confession of God, made by that blessed and truly innocent Lamb, *Apphianus* the Martyr, who exhibited an admirable example of piety towards the only God, in the sight of all the inhabitants of *Cæsarea*, [b] before the Gates of that City, when he had not fully completed the twentieth year of his age? Indeed, whilst he resided at *Berytus*, where he had formerly spent much time upon account of [furnishing himself with] [c] secular literature, (for he had his descent from very rich parents:) 'tis wonderfull to relate how, during his continuance in that City, he subdued youthfull lusts: and having in no wise been debauch't in his moralls, either by the vigour and youthfulness of his body, or the society of his young companions, he became a lover of temperance; leading an orderly, chast, and Religious life, according to the [d] prescripts of Christianity, and framing his converse [agreeable thereto.] If it be [supposed] convenient that we should mention his Country, and commend it, because it produced so couragious a champion of piety; we will most readily do it. If any one therefore knows [e] *Pagas*, a City of no mean note in *Lycia*; there this young man was born. After his return from his studies at *Berytus*, (his father being promoted to the chiefest place of honour in his own Country,) he was unable to endure the converse of his father, and those that were his relations, because they refused to live according to the sanctions of Religion: but having been inspired as it were by a divine spirit, and (by reason of his innate desire after Philosophy, or rather after the divine and true wisedom) making small account of the reputed glory of this life, and contemning the delights of the body, he secretly withdrew himself from his relations: and being not at all sollicitous about a daily provision for his subsistance, because of his hope and faith in God, he was led by the hand [as it were] to the City of *Cæsarea*, by the divine spirit, where a crown of Martyrdom for Religion awaited him. Being [f] conversant there with us, having in a short time made a great proficiency by reading the sacred Scriptures, and furnished himself with courage of mind by congruous exercises of a strict and severe abstinence; at length he made such a glorious conclusion of his life, as whoever saw could not but be astonished thereat; and he that shall hear the bare relation of it, cannot but deservedly admire his confidence, his fearlesness, his continued earnestness and constancy of mind, and above all the boldness of his attempt, which [g] contains most evident signs of a zeal for Religion, and of a spirit more than humane. For when *Maximinus* renewed the insolencies practised towards us, in the third year of our persecution [under *Diocletian*,] and when the Tyrants Edicts were first sent abroad over all the Provinces, [ordering] the Governours to make it their chief care and business, that all the inhabitants in every City should publickly offer sacrifice; and when the Criers had made proclamation over all the City *Cæsarea*, that the men, together with the women and children, should by the Governours order go to the Temples of the Idols; and moreover when the *Tribunes* of the Souldiers had summoned every particular person by name out of a written roll; (all the [Christians] every where being put into confusion by this unspeakable storm of afflictions) this foresaid person, (having communicated to no body what he was about to do, it being unknown to us who lived in the same house with him, and even to the whole military guard that stood round the Governour,) fearlesly approach't *Urbanus*, as he was offering sacrifice; and, having with an intrepid mind catch't hold on his right hand, stopt him immediately from sacrificing. Then, with a divine gravity and confidence of mind he prudently advised and exhorted him to desist from that erroneous way [of worship.] For 'tis absurd [said he] to relinquish [the worship] of the one and only true God, and offer sacrifice to *Idols* and *Dæmons*. This the young man attempted, induced thereto ('tis very probable) by a divine power, which openly proclaimed

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[b] It is sufficiently apparent that the Greek Text is here corrupted; ἧς πρὸ πύλων being put instead of πρὸ ἧς πυλῶν; wherefore we have rendred it *before the gates*, &c. *Eusebius* confirms this correction hereafter in this chapter, where he says, that the dead body of *Apphianus*, which had been cast into the Sea, swam to the *Cæsarian* shore, hard by the gates of the City. *Vales.*

[c] He means the *Civill Law*, and the *Latine tongue*, the knowledge whereof was necessary for those that bore Offices in the Magistracy. At *Berytus* there was a School for Civil Law, as many have taken notice from *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Eunapius*, *Nonnus*, and others. Hence 'tis, that *Eusebius* adds the term κοσμικῆς, that is, *secular*, or *mundane literature*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* (*in carm. Nicobuli ad filium*) calls *Berytus* Φοινίκης κλυτὸν ἄστυ, νόμων ἕδος αὐσονίων, *A famous City of Phœnicia, the seat of the Ausonian Laws.* In the *Menologics* of the *Greeks*, at the *second* of *April*, *Amphianus*, with his brother *Ædesius*, is mentioned to have been instructed in the Christian Religion by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, at *Berytus*. Vales.

[d] Κατὰ τὸν εὐθύνοντα χειστιανισμῷ λόγον; which we have rendred, *according to the prescripts of Christianity*: εὐθύνοντα seems to be put for πρέποντα, *congruous* or συμφέροντα, *agreeable*: which way of expression is frequently used by *Eusebius*. Vales.

[e] In the Med. M. S. this City is called *Arpagas*; in the Maz. M.S. *Arapagas*; in the Fuk. M.S. *Harpagas*; but in the margin notice is given that it should be ἅραγας, with an *asperate*. I never met with any thing concerning *Aragas*, a City of *Lycia*; *Araxa*, a City of *Lycia* is mentioned by *Ptolemæus* and *Stephanus*. And, in the *Constantinopolitan Council*, amongst the Bishops of the Province of *Lycia*, who subscribed to that Synod, the last that is recounted is *Theanthinus Araxenus*: also in the Synod of *Chalcedon* there is mention of *Leontius* Bishop of the *Araxi*. In the *Menæum* of the *Greeks*, *Amphianus* is said to have been born in *Lydia*. *Vales.*

[f] *Symeon Metaphrastes*; who professes he transcribed the Martyrdom of *Apphianus* (or, as he calls him, *Amphianus*) out of *Eusebius*, has altered this passage, thus, *And having been conversant with us in divine studies, and instructed in the sacred Scriptures by the great Martyr Pamphilus, he obtained no mean habit of virtue; by which he opened a passage for himself, whereby he procured the crown of Martyrdom.* But *Eusebius* attests here, that *Apphianus* was not instructed in the sacred Scriptures by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, but by himself: which, as I judge, is the truest account. For our *Eusebius* was a person much learneder than *Pamphilus*. But the *Menæa* of the *Greeks*, and the *Menology* set forth by *Canisius*, agree with *Symeon Metaphrastes*: excepting only in this, which *Metaphrastes* relates, that *Apphianus* (after he was returned from his studies at *Berytus*,) when he came to *Cæsarea*, was there instructed by *Pamphilus*. But in the *Menæa*, and in the *Menology*, *Apphianus* (with his brother *Ædesius*) is said to have been instructed by *Pamphilus* at *Berytus*; no mention being made of *Eusebius*. So carefull were the latter *Grecians*, that the blessed Martyr should not be said to have been instructed by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who, as they perswaded themselves, was an Heretick. *Vales.*

[g] The reading I judge, should be [παρέχον τὰ τεκμήρια,] *which contains most evident signs*: for it referrs to the foregoing word [ἐγχείρημα, *attempt.*] Vales.

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claimed as it were by this fact, that the *Chriſtians* (to wit, thoſe who are truly ſuch) are ſo far from being withdrawn from the worſhip of the ſupream God, which they have once imbibed, that they are not only above menaces and (which are the conſequences thereof) tortures, but alſo become more confident and fearleſs in their confeſſions, with a couragious and intrepid voice freely ſet forth the truth, and (if it were poſſible) perſwade their perſecutours to relinquiſh their ignorance, and acknowledge him who is the only true God. After this, the young man, of whom we ſpeak, was immediately (as it was likely [to happen]) torn by the Preſidents guards, in ſuch ſort as if they had been ſavage beaſts, becauſe of the audacious fact he had committed; and having moſt couragiouſly indured an infinite number of ſtripes all over his body, was forthwith committed to priſon. Where after he had lain a night and a day with both his feet diſtended in the ſtocks, on the day following he was brought before the Judge. Then being compelled to offer ſacrifice, he demonſtrated an invincible conſtancy of mind in undergoing all ſorts of pains and horrid tortures; his ſides being not once, nor twice, but many times furrowed to his very bones and entrails: and he received ſo many blows in his face and neck, that they who before had been very well acquainted with him, did not now know him, becauſe his face was ſo much ſwell'd. But, when he yielded not at [the ſuffering of] ſo many and great tortures, the tormentours by the [Preſidents] order wrap't up his feet in flax wetted in oyl, and kindled a fire under them. The pains which the bleſſed [Martyr] was put to thereby, are in my judgment inexpreſſible. For the fire, having conſumed his fleſh, penetrated to his very bones: in ſo much that the whole moyſture of his body being melted like wax, was diſtilled, and deſcended by drops. But being not overcome even by theſe tortures, (although the adverſaries were vanquiſhed, and in a manner wearied out, becauſe of his miraculous fortitude,) he was again put into bonds. On the third day after he was brought before the Judge, and having profeſſed [that he continued in] the ſame reſolution of mind, although he was already half dead, yet he was drowned in the depths of the Sea. What happened immediately hereupon, if we relate it, will, by thoſe who ſaw it not, be diſbelieved as incredible. But although we know aſſuredly this will ſo fall out, yet we can in no wiſe forbear to deliver a full narration hereof to poſterity, becauſe all the inhabitants of *Ceſarea* in a manner were witneſſes of what came to paſs. Indeed there was no perſon [of *Ceſarea*,] of what age ſoever, that was not preſent at this ſtupendious ſpectacle. After therefore they had caſt this truly ſacred and thrice bleſſed perſon into the moſt unfathomable abyſſes (as they ſuppoſed) which were in the midſt of the Sea, on a ſudden there happened an unuſual noiſe and ſhaking, which made the Sea and [h] Air about the earth tremble in ſuch a manner, that the very Earth and City were ſhaken by that motion. And at that very moment wherein this wonderfull and ſudden Earth-quake happened, the dead body of the divine Martyr was caſt up by the Sea (as being unable to containe it) before the gates of the City. Such was the *Exit*, which the admirable *Apphianus* made, on *Friday* the ſecond day of the month *Xanthicus*, which is before the fourth of the *Nones* of *April*.

[h] Τὸ πεδίον ἄπαν is the phraſe in the original; *Metaphraſtes* thought the ſhore was meant by theſe words; and therefore renders it *circumſtans littus*. But the *Greeks* by this expreſſion do uſually mean *the Air that ſurrounds the Earth*. Valeſ.

MAXIMINUS.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Ulpianus *and* Ædeſius *Martyrs.*

AT the ſame time, and almoſt on the ſame days, a young man in the City of *Tyre*, by name *Ulpianus*, after he had been cruelly ſcourged and endured moſt grievous ſtripes, * was ſown up in the raw hide of an Oxe, together with a Dog and a venemous Serpent, and caſt into the Sea: [a] Wherefore we thought it agreeable to make mention of this perſon at [this place wherein we have related] the Martyrdom of *Apphianus*. Some ſmall time after this, *Ædeſius*, brother (not only in reſpect of God, but by a bodily affinity alſo,) by the [b] fathers ſide to *Apphianus*, after [he had made] very many confeſſions, and for a long time had been cruciated in bonds; after he had been condemned to the mines in *Paleſtine* by the Preſidents Sentence; and after he had, under all theſe [tortures,] led a life continually like a Philoſopher, in a Philoſophick habit; (for he had acquired far more learning than his brother, in that he had applied his mind wholly to Philoſophick literature.) at length, when, at the City of *Alexandria*, he ſaw the Judge (who was then examining the Chriſtians) moſt extravagantly inſulting over, and enraged againſt them; one while putting various and moſt reproachful abuſes upon grave men; at another, delivering women moſt eminent for their chaſtity, and [c] Virgins that had devoted themſelves to God, to Panders, that they might be defiled with all ſorts of obſcenity: he attempted the ſame fact that his brother had done. For, becauſe what was thus performed ſeemed to him intolerable, with a valiant boldneſs he approach't the [d] Judge, and having by his words and deeds ſurrounded him with ſhame

* This was the puniſhment, which the *Romans* inflicted on *Parricides*. In *Seneca*'s age (ſee his 5th Book, *Controver.* 4. at the latter end) only Serpents were put into the leathern ſack (which they termed *culeus*) with the Malefactor; afterwards they ſowed up an Ape and a Cock with him, and at laſt a Dog. The offender was firſt whip't with rods till the bloud came, then ſown up after this manner. See *Cæl. Rhod.* B. 11. Chap. 21. The *Grecians* had a way of putting Criminals to death, by drowning them in the Sea, which they termed καταπονησμὸν; but they made uſe of a leaden veſſell only, into which they put the Malefactor; as appears from *Athenæus*, B. 14; his words are theſe, Πάβχλος δὲ ὁ τῆς πολεμαίς γραμματεὺς ἐν κάννῳ τῇ νήσῳ, λαβὼν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰς μολυβδίνην καρδίαν ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ ἀναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος κατεπόντισε, *Patroclus therefore, Ptolemie's Governour in the Iſle Caunus, took him, and put him into a Leaden veſſell, and carried him to the Sea, and drowned him.* Neither was this accounted amongſt the heavieſt ſorts of puniſhment by the *Grecians*, as appears from *Polybius*, B. 2.

[a] Διὸ μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῇς, &c. that is, *Although Ulpianus ſuffered not in Paleſtine, but in Phœnicia, yet becauſe he ſuffered Martyrdom at the ſame time, and died by the ſame ſort of puniſhment that Apphianus had inflicted on him, we judged it not unfit to make mention of him here.* It is therefore apparent from theſe words, that *Euſebius* in this book deſigned to give an account of the Martyrs of the Province of *Paleſtine* only. *Valeſ.*

[b] In the *Greek Menæum*, at the ſecond day of *April*, *Ædeſius* is ſtiled *Apphianus*'s brother *by the mothers ſide*. Valeſ.

[c] In the Med. Fuk. and Maz. M. SS. the term is αὐτοπαρθένους, one entire word; which, in my judgment is the better reading. *Euſebius* does uſually call thoſe Chriſtian Virgins by this name, *who ſpontaneouſly had devoted their virginity to God.* Such perſons the *Latines* called *devotæ*. For ſo *Auſonius* and others term them. *Valeſ.*

[d] The explication of this place is to be had from the *Menæum* of the *Greeks*; where *Ædeſius* is ſaid to have ſtruck *Hierocles* Prefect of *Egypt* (in the interim of his raging againſt the Chriſtians) with his fiſt. The words there are theſe; Ὁ δὲ αἰδέσιος, ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ καθ' αἴγυπτον. τῆς τὸ χαλκᾶ μᾶλλοις παλαιπορέμβρο, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐφορᾶτο πυρούμενον τοὺ χριστιανὺς ἐδεδάλο, ἐωυτὸ ἀφειδήσας, αὐτοχείρως τὸν ἄρχοντα ἔπυξεν; i. e. *But Ædeſius, who was [condemned] to work in the mines of Braſs, having ſeen (at Alexandria in Egypt) Hierocles the Preſident puniſhing the Chriſtians, he accounted him a deſpicable perſon, and ſtruck the Preſident with own hand.* Wherefore, in this place of *Euſebius*, the term ἀπιμία denotes the blows given to the Preſident; and αἰσχύνη imports the reproachful language which *Ædeſius* gave him. Both which are intimated by *Euſebius* in theſe words, λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις, *by his words and deeds*. *Epiphanius* and *Lactantius* mention this *Hierocles*, Prefect of *Egypt*, who was famous for the great ſlaughter he made amongſt the Chriſtians. This was the *Hierocles*, againſt whom our *Euſebius* wrote a book. *Valeſ.*

MAXIMINUS and ignominy, and after that, most couragiously endured various sorts of tortures, he was thrown into the Sea, and ended his life after the same manner that his brother did. These things happened thus to *Ædesius*, although (as I said before) some small time after.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Martyr Agapius.

MOreover, in the fourth year of the Persecution against us, on the twentieth day of the month *Dius*, (which is before the twelfth of the *Calends* of *December*,) being Friday, such [a Martyrdom] was performed in the same City of *Cæsarea*, as worthily deserves to be recorded in writing, *Maximinus* the Tyrant being himself present, and exhibiting publick shews to the people because of his Birth-day. Whereas it was an ancient custom, that (if at any time) in the presence of the Emperours, splendid shews and such as were more pleasing to the mind should be exhibited to the spectatours, (new and strange spectacles, such as were different from the usuall sights [being at such a time procured, which consisted] partly of beasts brought out of *India*, *Æthiopia*, or some other place; and partly of men, who, having before accustomed themselves to certain [a] Artificial exercises of their bodies, entertained the spectatours with sights that created in them a wonderfull delight and pleasure;) then also, because the Emperour himself [was at the charge of] exhibiting those shews, something that was magnificent, and more wonderfull than usual, must necessarily be made use of in those sights. What therefore was this? A Martyr of our Religion was brought forth, to combat for the only true worship of God. His name was *Agapius*, the [b] Second of that name: the first (as we manifested a little before) was, together with *Thecla*, condemned to be devoured by the wild-beasts. He therefore (having before that time been [c] thrice [brought] out of Prison, [wherein he had been confined now three years,] and often times [d] led in pomp about the *Stadium* with those that were Malefactours; the Judge, after various menaces, putting him off to other combats, either out of compassion to him, or because he had hopes that he would alter his resolution,) was then produced, (the Emperour himself being there present,) being reserved as it were on set purpose for that opportunity, that that saying of our Saviour's (which by his divine knowledge he foretold his disciples) might be accomplished in him, *that they should be brought before Kings for their testimony of him.* He is therefore brought into the midst of the *Stadium*, together with a certain criminal; who was said to be guilty of murthering his master. After this, he who had killed his master, being exposed to the wild-beasts, obtained mercy and compassion [from the Emperour,] almost after the same manner that *Barabbas* did in our Saviour's time. At this, the whole Amphitheatre resounded with Shouts and Acclamations of joy, because the Emperour had out of his compassion saved a bloudy murtherer, and vouchsafed him honour and liberty. But this champion of Religion is first called for by the Tyrant; after which, having, with the promise of liberty, desired him to renounce the profession [of Christianity,] he professed with a loud voice; that (not for any crime but) upon account of the worship of the framer of all things, with alacrity and pleasure, he would couragiously undergoe what [punishments] soever should be inflicted on him. And, having said thus, he annexed deeds to his words, ran to meet a Bear which was let loose against him, and most willingly offered himself to be devoured by that beast. After the beast had torn him, having some breath left in him, he was carried back to Prison; where, after he had lived one day, on that following, stones were hanged at his feet, and he was drowned in the midst of the Sea. Such was the Martyrdom of *Agapius*.

[a] He means the *Pantomimi*, *Mimicks that used antick, filthy, and obscene gestures*; the *Pegmatarii*, those that managed the Machines and Images in their Plaies; the *Contigeri*, *Pole-carriers*; and *Funambuli*, *Rope-dancers*; and such other Artists, which were made use of by those that were at the charge to exhibit shews to the people. See *Claudianus* in his book, *De Consulatu Theodori*. Valesius.

[b] At first I thought the reading here should be δευτέρῳ ἔτει, *in the second year*: for so *Eusebius* had said above in Chap. 3. But the vulgar reading [to wit ὁ δεύτερος, *the second of that name*) is best, for he is called *Agapius the Second*, to distinguish him from the former *Agapius*, who had suffered two years before; concerning whom *Eusebius* speaks in the said third Chapter. *Valesius.*

[c] This place is corrupted, and imperfect. *Christophorson* reads [δεσμωτηρίου ἐξαχθείς, *brought out of Prison*,] which reading is not amiss. But I think there is a whole line omitted here; which I thus make up δεσμωτηρίου [ἐξαχθείς, ἐν ᾧ κατείχετο ἤδη τὸ τέταρτον,] [*Brought*] *out of Prison* [*wherein he had been confined now three years.*] *Agapius* was cast into Prison at the beginning of the second year of the Persecution. Therefore, this was the third year of his confinement. *Valesius.*

[d] Concerning this custom of leading the Criminals about the *Stadium*, see book. 5. chap. 1. note (τ.)

MAXIMINUS.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Virgin Theodosia, *and concerning* Domninus, *and* Auxentius, *Martyrs.*

MOreover, the fifth year of the persecution being now current, on the second day of the month *Xanthicus*, which is before the fourth of the *Nones* of *April*, [a] on the very Lords day, the day of our Saviour's Resurrection, and also at *Cæsarea*, a Virgin born at *Tyre*, one that was a believer and a most modest maid, not eighteen years old compleat, approach't some prisoners, (who were Confessours of the Kingdom of Christ, and sate before the [b] *Prætorium*,) both to salute them amicably, and also (as 'tis probable) to request them that they would be mindfull of her when they came to the Lord. Having done this, as if she had committed some nefarious and impious fact, the Souldiers lay hold of her, and carry her before the President. He, in regard he was a furious person and one of a most cruel temper of mind, [ordered] that she should be cruciated with sharp and most horrid tortures, and that her sides and breasts [should be furrowed] to her very bones; [after this] breath being still left in her, having with a pleasant and chearfull countenance undergone all these tortures, by the Presidents command she was drowned in the Sea. After he had done with her, he went upon [the examination of] the other Confessours, all whom he condemned to the Brazen Mines at *Phenos* in *Palestine*. Furthermore, on the fifth day of the month *Dius*, that is (according to the *Roman* account) on the *Nones* of *November*, in the same City, *to wit*, *Cæsarea*, the said President condemned *Silvanus* (who then was a Presbyter and a Confessor, but some small time after was

[a] In the M. S. *Acts of the passion of Theodosia*, she is said to have suffered not on *Easter-day*, but only, on a Sunday. *Valesius.*

[b] ἐπὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ; so the Greek words it. *Christophorson* renders it, *ante tribunal considentibus*, *sate before the tribunal*: which version I do not approve of. I have rendred it, *before the Prætorium*; i. e. *before the palace of the President.* For those prisoners stood before his Palace, waiting, until the President (before whom they were to be brought) came forth to the tribunal. This rendition is confirmed by the following words. *Valesius.*

MAXIMINUS. was honoured with a Biſhoprick, and happened to finiſh his life by Martyrdom) and ſome others that were his companions (after they had given demonſtration of a moſt reſolute courage and conſtancy in behalf of Religion) to labour in the ſame mines of Braſs; having firſt given order, that the flexures of their * feet ſhould be ſeared with a red hot iron, and ſo rendred infirm and uſeleſs. At the ſame time that this ſentence was pronounced againſt them, he condemned *Domninus* (a man very famous for innumerable other confeſſions, who for his ſingular freedom [in ſpeaking] was much taken notice of by all perſons throughout *Paleſtine*) to be burnt alive. After he [had been thus puniſhed,] the ſame Judge, (a crafty inventour of miſchief, and one that ſtudied new devices and deſignes [to extirpate] the doctrine of Chriſt,) found out ſuch ſorts of puniſhments for the worſhippers of God, as were never heard of before. He condemned three [and compelled them] to [c] fight with one another in ſuch a ſort as the Champions uſually did: *Auxentius*, a venerable and holy old man, was by him condemned to be devoured by the wild beaſts. Again, he [gave order] that ſome, who were arrived to the compleat age and ſtature of men, ſhould be cut and made Eunuchs, and then condemned them to the ſame Mines. He ſhut up others in Priſon, after they had undergone the ſharpeſt tortures. Amongſt which number was *Pamphilus*, my deareſt companion, a perſon that was the moſt eminent of all the Martyrs in our age for his ſingular virtue and piety: *Urbanus* firſt made tryall of his skill in Rhetorick and Philoſophick literature, after that he compelled him to offer ſacrifice; which when the Martyr refuſed to do, and [*Urbanus*] perceived that he deſpiſed his menaces, he was exceedingly exaſperated, and gave order that he ſhould be tormented with the acuteſt ſorts of torture. Moreover, this moſt enraged * man, (being in a manner ſatiated with the fleſh of the Martyrs ſides, which he [had cauſed to be torn off] with torturing irons, whereof he made a continued and reiterated uſe, pertinaciouſly deſiring thereby to get the victory [over the Martyr] having after all theſe tortures, procured nothing but ſhame and ignominy for himſelf,) at length ordered him to be caſt into Priſon amongſt the other Confeſſours therein confined. But, what ſort of puniſhment this perſon (who after ſo fierce a manner inſulted over the Martyrs of Chriſt,) was to expect, would be inflicted on him at the divine Tribunal, for his cruelty towards the Saints, is eaſily known from thoſe beginnings [thereof which he underwent] in this life. Immediately after thoſe audacious cruelties which he had practiſed towards *Pamphilus*, the divine vengeance forthwith ſeized him, whilſt he was as yet poſſeſt of the Government. Which on a ſudden, in one nights ſpace, ſtript him (who but the day before ſate as Judge upon a lofty Tribunal, was attended with a Military Guard, governed the whole Province of *Paleſtine*; who alſo was companion to the Tyrant himſelf, for he was his chief favourite, and did uſually eat at the ſame table with him) of all theſe great places and preferments, and reduced him to a diſconſolate and helpleſs condition; clouded him with ignominy and ſhame in the ſight of thoſe very perſons, who had formerly admired him as their Governour; propoſed him to the whole Nation, over which he had been Ruler, as a miſerable and diſ-ſpirited wretch, pouring forth effeminate intreaties and ſupplications; and laſtly, conſtituted *Maximinus* himſelf (of whoſe favour he had in former times bragged and boaſted, having been dearly beloved by him by reaſon of the cruelties he practiſed towards us *Chriſtians*) his inexorable and moſt ſevere Judge in the very City of *Cæſarea*. For, after many reproaches, which he ſuffered upon account of thoſe crimes, of which he was convict, the Emperour himſelf pronounc't ſentence of death againſt him. But thus much we have ſaid by the by. There may happen a ſeaſonable opportunity, wherein we ſhall be more at leiſure to relate the exits and calamitous deaths, by which thoſe impious wretches, (eſpecially *Maximinus* and thoſe about him who were his adviſers,) that were the greateſt ſtickler's in the Perſecution againſt us, finiſhed their lives. MAXIMINUS.

* Τῶν ποδῶν τὰς ἀξυλας, *flexures of their feet*; that's the import of the Greek: *Valeſius* renders it, *pedum juncturæ*, the *joynts of their feet*.

[c] See the following chapter; from whence we are informed, that thoſe who were condemned to ſuch combats, were delivered to the *Procurators* of *Cæſar*, who cauſed them to practiſe and exerciſe daily, that ſo at laſt they might be fit to engage in a combat. *Valeſ.*

* *Urbanus.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning other Confeſſours, and concerning the Martyrdom of Valentina *and* Paul.

WHen the ſtorm [of perſecution] had now without any intermiſſion raged againſt us untill the ſixth year, [there was] a very great number that were Confeſſours of the divine Religion, who [a] heretofore had lived in *Thebaïs*, at *Porphyrites*, a place that had its appellation from the name of the Marble dug out there: of which [company] an hundred men, (wanting three,) together with their wives and very ſmall children, were ſent to the Preſident of *Paleſtine*. Concerning all which perſons, after they had made their confeſſion of God [the Framer] of all things, and of Chriſt, *Firmilianus* the Preſident (who was ſent thither as ſucceſſour to *Urbanus*,) gave order, agreeable to the Emperours command, that they ſhould have thoſe very ſinews of their left legs, by which they bent their knees, ſeared in two with red-hot-irons; and that their right eyes, together with the membranes and balls thereof, ſhould be firſt cut out with ſwords, and after that [their eye-holes] ſeared even to the very bottome with red-hot-irons. After which, he ordered they ſhould be ſent to work in the Mines that were in the Province, that they might be worn out there with labours and miſeries. Nor did we behold theſe perſons only undergoing ſuch puniſhments, but thoſe *Paleſtinians* alſo; (who, as we manifeſted a little before, were condemned to practiſe the Champions exerciſes, in order to their being made fit to engage in the *Gladiatours* Combats;) becauſe they would not endure, either to receive thoſe Proviſions which were allowed them out of the Imperial treaſury, or to practiſe ſuch exerciſes as were neceſſary to render them accompliſh't Combatants. For which reaſon they were brought not only before the [b] Procuratours, but *Maximinus* himſelf: and, having given a demonſtration of their

[a] Πρὸ τότε, *heretofore*, muſt be referred to the verb ἔζησε, *lived*; not to the term [χαλεπώτον, *had its appellation*] as *Chriſtophorſon* thought; who renders this place thus; *in loco* Porphyrite *appellato, qui jam antea ex vend lapidis quæ ibi naſcitur, nomen duxerat*; i. e. *in a place called* Porphyrites, *which had before, gotten its name from a vein of ſtone, which is there dug out.* Valeſ.

[b] He means, as I judge, *the Procuratours of the company of the Gladiatours, and of the morning Exerciſes*; of whom there is frequent mention in the old Inſcriptions. For the *Gladiatours*, that were maintained by ſtipends paid out of the Imperial Exchequer, were committed to their care, and they gave them their allowances out of the Treaſury. *Valeſ.*

MAXIMINUS. invincible constancy in the confession [of Christ,] and of their couragiousness in enduring famine and scourges, they suffered the same punishments with the forementioned persons; some other Confessours in the City of *Cæsarea* being added to their number. Soon after these, others were taken at the City *Gaza*, [c] who were Assembled to hear the sacred Scriptures read, some of whom suffered the same tortures in their feet and eyes with the forementioned persons; but others of them under-went more acute and horrid torments in the sides of their bodies. One of which number, as to her Sex a woman, but a person of a masculine and couragious temper of mind, unable to endure the menaces of ravishment; having uttered some expressions against the Tyrant, (because he committed the Government [of Provinces] to such cruel Judges,) was first scourged: then, being hung up a great heighth on [an Engin of] wood, she was tortured in the sides of her body. But when the officers, appointed for that purpose, did, by the Judges order, apply their tortures to her with a most continued and exquisite vehemency, another woman, who (like the former) had taken upon her the vow of virginity, (as to the composure of her body she was indeed no very taking object, and her aspect was despicable, but she was endowed with a couragious temper of mind, and was corroborated with a valour above her Sex, and far excelled those Championesses amongst the *Grecians* so much famed for their freedom in speaking;) being unable to endure the sight of those merciless, cruel, and inhumane practises, cried out with a loud voice to the Judge, out of the midst of the crowd, *How long will you thus unmercifully torture my Sister?* The Judge, highly exasperated by that expression, forthwith gave command the woman should be laid hold on. She was then haled forth before him: and * having assumed to herself our Saviours venerable appellation, first she was sollicited by kind words to offer sacrifice: which when she refused to do, they drew her by force before the Altar: But she, behaving her self like her self, retained her former alacrity of mind, with an intrepid and undaunted foot trampled upon the Altar, and overturned that, together with [d] what lay upon it. Upon which account the Judge, enraged like a Savage beast, first gave order, that she should suffer more and greater tortures in her sides, than any one had before undergone: [for] he seemed in a manner desirous to gorge himself with her raw flesh. But when his rage was satiated, he ordered they should both (namely this last with her whom she called sister) be fastned together, and condemned them to be burnt to death; the [e] former of these persons, 'tis said, was born in the Country of the *Gazites:* you must understand that the other, well known to most men by the name of *Valentina*, had her original extract at *Cæsarea*. But with what expressions can I deservedly set forth that Martyrdom (which followed immediately hereupon,) wherewith the thrice-blessed *Paul* was adorned? This person, having had sentence of death pronounced against him at that very interim these Virgins were condemned, when he was to be put to death, entreated the Executioner (who stood ready to cut off his head) to allow him a short space of time. Having obtained his request, with a clear and audible voice he first prayed for all those who were professours of the Christian Religion, beseeching God, that he would be reconciled to them, and quickly bestow on them liberty and security: then he supplicated for the *Jews* access to God by [the faith of] Christ: after this, he proceeded in an orderly method, putting up the same petitions even for the *Samaritans*; and besought God for the Heathens, that they, now entangled in errour and an ignorance of God, might arrive to an acknowledgment of him, and undertake the [profession of] the true Religion; neither did he [in his petitions] omit to mention the promiscuous crowd that surrounded him. After all these (O the great and ineffable patience and mildness of his mind!) he besought the supream God for the very Judge by whom he had been condemned to die, for the Emperours, and also for the Executioner (who stood ready to strike off his head,) both in the hearing of him himself, and of all those also that were present, beseeching [God] that the sin they committed [by taking away his life] might not be imputed to them. Having with a loud voice made these petitions, and melted almost all that were present into compassion and tears, because he was unjustly put to death, [f] nevertheless he made himself ready, and, yielding his naked neck to be cut asunder by the sword, he was crowned with divine Martyrdom, on the twenty fifth day of the month *Panemus*, that is, before the eighth of the *Calends* of *August*. Such was the exit of these [Martyrs.] Not long after, an hundred and thirty Champions, of the same country, to wit, *Egypt*, admirable for their confession of Christ, having by *Maximinus*'s order undergone the same calamitous [tortures] in their eyes and feet with those formerly mentioned who suffered in *Egypt*, were condemned and sent away, part of them to the forementioned Mines in *Palestine*, and part to those in the Province of *Cilicia*.

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[c] *Christophorson* supposed these persons to be Priests and Deacons, who had convened the people to hear the sacred Scriptures read: which at that time they were compelled to do in private houses. For, their Churches and Oratories being then demolished, the Christians had only private-houses to Assemble themselves in. *Vales.*

* That is, having acknowledged her self to be a Christian.

[d] He means the *Frankincense*, &c. *Vales.*

[e] This Virgins name is wanting here: But we will supply this defect, from the *Grecian Menology*; where this passage occurs, at the 15th of *July*: *on the same day, the Holy Martyrs,* Valentina *and* Thea, *which were* Egyptians, *being brought to the City* Dio Cæsarea *before* Firmilianus *the Judge, made confession of Christs Name, who is our God; after which, their left feet being burnt, and their right eyes pulled out, they were killed with a sword, and their bodies burnt.* But this account disagrees with our *Eusebius*'s relation here. For he says, the one was born at *Gaza*, the other at *Cæsarea*: and he makes no mention of the burning of their feet, or of the pulling out their right eyes. *Vales.*

[f] In the Fuk. & Savil M. SS. instead of [ὅμως αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐχειρίσατο, *nevertheless he made himself ready*] the reading is [ὃ νόμος, &c. *as the usual manner was*, &c.] which reading, in my judgment, is not to be despised. Mention is made of this *Paul*'s Martyrdom, in the *Menology*, at the fifteenth of *July*. Vales.

CHAP. IX.

That the Persecution was afresh renewed: and concerning Antoninus, Zebina, Germanus, *and other Martyrs.*

NOw, after such Valiant Exploits as these, performed by Christ's noble Martyrs; when the flame of Persecution was somewhat abated, and, as it were, extinguished by their sacred bloud; when those in *Thebais* (condemned for [their confession of] Christ to labour in the Mines there,) were permitted to enjoy rest and liberty; and when we hoped to see some few calme and serene days: then did *He (who had gotten the power of persecuting) reassume his rage against the Christians, upon what account or by what impulse, I know not. For, on a sudden, *Maximinus*'s Edicts against us were sent to all places throughout every Province:

* The Devil.

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Province: and the Preſidents and [a] *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* by injunctions, Letters, and Publick Orders excited the * *Curators* in every City, the *Magiſtrates*, and [b] *Tabularii* to put in Execution the Imperial Edict, [c] which contained an Order, that the decayed Idol-Temples ſhould with all diligence be repaired; that all perſons, men, women, ſervants and young children ſhould be compelled to do ſacrifice, and by all means imaginable forced to eat part of the fleſh which had been offered; that the proviſions expoſed to ſale in the Markets ſhould be defiled with ſuch things as had been ſacrificed; and that ſome ſhould be ordered to ſit and watch before the [Publick] Baths, to the end they might pollute ſuch as came to cleanſe themſelves therein, with the execrable ſacrifices. Whilſt theſe things were after this manner put in execution, the anxieties of the Chriſtians, as it was likely, were renewed and increaſed: yea, the Gentiles that were unbelievers [look't upon] what was done to be intollerable, and condemned theſe barbarities, as abſurd and too outragious: for, even to them ſuch actions ſeemed abominable and odious. When [therefore] ſuch a fierce ſtorm [of perſecution] was impendent on all perſons every where, the divine power of our Saviour did again infuſe ſo great a courage and confidence into his Champions, that, when no body induced or urged them to it, they contemned theſe high menaces of their Adverſaries. Wherefore, three believers with a joynt conſent ruſh in upon the Preſident then offering ſacrifice to Idols, and call out to him to deſiſt from his errour: for there is [ſaid they] no other God, but He that is the Framer and Maker of all things. Being hereupon ask't who they were, they boldly profeſt themſelves to be Chriſtians: at which *Firmilianus* was highly exaſperated, and paſſed ſentence of death upon them, [d] without inflicting on them any previous tortures. One of theſe was a Presbyter, by name [e] *Antoninus*; the name of the ſecond was *Zebinas*, by Country an *Eleutheropolitane*; the third was called *Germanus*. On the thirteenth day of the month *Dius*, that is, on the *Ides* of *November*, all this was done to theſe perſons. On the ſame day they had a fellow-traveller added to their number, a woman of *Scythopolis*, by name [f] *Ennathas*, who was adorned with the [g] Badge of Virginity. She had not indeed done what the former [three] did, but was carried by force and ſet before the Judge. Therefore, after ſhe had been ſcourged and moſt groſly abuſed; (all which injurious uſages were audaciouſly perpetrated, without any order from the ſuperiour Magiſtracy, by one of the *Tribunes* in the neighbourhood, called *Maxys*, a man worſe than his name, one indeed that was ſtout and of an undaunted courage, but as to his Morals, in all reſpects very impious, of a cruel diſpoſition, and odious to all his acquaintance. This fellow ſtript the bleſſed virgin ſtark naked, (in ſuch a manner that ſhe was covered only from her loyns down to her feet, but the reſt of her body was bare;) led her round the City *Cæſarea*, and look't upon it as a piece of gallantry to drag her through all the Market-places in the City, and ſcourge her) after [I ſay] ſhe had endured ſo many ſtripes, having given a demonſtration of her moſt undaunted courage and conſtancy of mind before the Preſidents Tribunal, the Judge commanded ſhe ſhould be burnt alive. This * Man improved his inhumanity and rage, ſhown towards Gods worſhippers, to the heighth, and tranſgreſt even the Laws of Nature; for he was not aſhamed of denying burial to the dead bodies of thoſe ſacred perſons. Upon which account he gave order, that the dead bodies (which were expoſed in the open Air, to be devoured by wild-beaſts,) ſhould be carefully guarded night and day: and you might have ſeen for many days together no ſmall number of men, buſily obeying this beaſtly and barbarous order: ſome of whom (as if this had been a matter of high concern and moment) watched on a Tower, that the dead might not be ſtolen away. Alſo, the wild-beaſts, dogs, and fowls that preyed on fleſh, ſcattered here and there pieces of mens bodies: and the whole City was ſtrewed all over with mens bowels and bones. So that, nothing did ever ſeem more cruel and horrid, even to thoſe who before had been our enemies; all perſons bewailing not ſo much their calamitous condition towards whom theſe things were done, as the abuſe that was put upon themſelves, and on mankind in general. For, even to the very gates [of the City] ſuch a ſpectacle was propoſed to publick view, as ſurpaſſed all the bounds of expreſſion, and exceeded any the moſt tragical relation; [to wit] the fleſh of mens bodies, which were devoured not in one place, but lay ſcattered every where. Yea, ſome affirmed they ſaw limbs of men, whole bodies, and pieces of bowels even within the City. After theſe [horrid butcheries] had been practiſed for many days together, there happened this miracle. The weather was fair, the air clear, and the whole face of heaven moſt ſerene and bright; when, on a ſudden, from all the columns, which under-prop't the publick Galleries throughout the City, there fell many drops, in the form of tears: and the Market-places and ſtreets, (no moiſture having faln from the Air,) were wet and beſprinkled with water which came from an unknown place. In ſo much that a report was immediately ſpread amongſt

MAXIMINUS.

* The Preſident.

[a] I judge, he means the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*: for at that time they took care of Military matters. Indeed, *Euſebius*'s following words are a ſufficient evidence, that the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* is meant here: for he ſpeaks of *the injunctions, and publick orders* given to the *Curators, Magiſtrates*, and *Tabularii* of every City: which Orders were iſſued out by the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* only; as might be made appear from ſeveral places. See Book 9. Chap. 1. & 9. where *Euſebius* ſpeaks of *Sabinus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin*.

* See Book. Chap. 11. note (*b.*)

[b] Theſe Officers had in their cuſtody the *publick Tables*, or *Rolls* of the Cities, and look't after the accounts of the Tribute. They were firſt called *Numerarii*: afterwards *Valens* made a Law, that they ſhould be called *Tabularii*. See *Valeſius*'s notes on *Amm. Marcell.* Book. 28. pag. 348.

[c] Inſtead of [ἀπόταγμα κελεύοντες,] as it is in *Robert Stephens*'s Copy; in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savill: M. SS. the reading is [κελεῦον ὡς ἦν, *which contained an Order that*, &c.] which is the better reading: for *Euſebius* here relates the Contents of *Maximin*'s Edict. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Euſebius* notes this, as a thing new, and unuſual; not that he deſigned to praiſe *Firmilianus* the Preſidents clemency, becauſe he did not torture the Martyrs; but he would hereby ſhew the precipitancy and rage of the man; in regard he commanded, the Martyrs (who had provoked and confuted him) ſhould be immediately led away to be put to death, without ſuffering any tortures before their execution; as the common uſage was. For the *Roman* Judges did uſually torture the *Chriſtian* Martyrs before they diſpatch't them, to the end thoſe valiant Champions might not finiſh their lives by too eaſie a death. Nor was this uſually done to the Martyrs only; but generally as often as any hainous offenders were brought to examination, they were firſt tortured. And although the guilty perſon confes't the fact, yet did not the Judge preſently order him to be releas't from his tortures; but continued to inquire out the conſequences: for example, how often he had done the fact, with what weapons, and in what places: then he queſtioned him about his companions and accomplices. See *Tertullian*, in his book *Ad Nationes*; and in his *Apologetick*, chap. 2. *Valeſ.*

[e] In the *Greeks Menology*, this man is called *Antonius*, where (beſides *Zebinas* and *Germanus*) there is a fourth companion of theirs named, to wit, *Nicephorus*. For the 12th day of *November* this paſſage occurs: *the birth-day of the holy Martyrs* Antonius *and his fellows, who were* [put to death] *in the times of* Maximinus. Antonius *was an old man*; Nicephorus, Zebinas, *and* Germanus *were in the flower of their age. They were taken at* Cæſarea *and after they had boldly confeſſed Chriſt, were ſlain.* Here you ſee, the *Authour* of the *Menology* has rendred πρεσβύτερον *an old man*, not *a Presbyter*. Valeſ.

[f] In the *Greek Menology* ſhe is called *Manatho*. Valeſ.

[g] *Euſebius* means *a little Mitre of purple-coloured-wool*; which was the badge of profeſs't Virginity, as *Optatus* informs us, in *his ſixth book*. Valeſ.

MAXIMINUS.

amongst all people, that the earth, unable to bear the horrid impieties then committed, did shed tears in an inexplicable manner; and that the stones and senseless matter wept at what was done, to reprove the barbarous and unmercifull dispositions of men. This thing will, I doubt not, be lookt upon as fabulous and a ridiculous story by succeeding generations: but they did not account it such, who had the certainty thereof confirmed to them by the authority of those times in which it happened.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Peter *the* Ascetа, Asclepius *the* Marcionite, *and other Martyrs.*

ON the fourteenth day of the following month, called *Apellæus*, which is before the nineteenth of the *Calends* of *January*, some other *Egyptians*, (going to minister to the Confessours in *Cilicia*) were apprehended by those persons, that were set at the gates [of the City] to examine such as passed by: part of whom received the same sentence with those they were going to minister to, having their eyes and feet rendred useless. But three of them were put into bonds at the City *Ascalon*, where after they had given an admirable demonstration of their courage, they finished their lives by a different sort of Martyrdom. One of them, by name *Ares*, was burnt to death: the other two, whose names were [a] *Probus* and *Elias*, were beheaded. On the eleventh day of the month *Audynæus*, which is before the third of the *Ides* of *January*, [b] *Peter* the *Ascetа*, called also *Apselamus*, (who came from *Aneas* a village that lies near to *Eleutheropolis*,) being refined by fire like the purest gold, exhibited an illustrious proof of his faith in God's Christ, at the City *Cesarea*. For when the Judge and those about him intreated him earnestly to be compassionate towards himself, and take pity upon his own youthfullness and vigour; he contemned [their exhortations,] and preferred his confidence in the supream God before all things, yea even life it selfe. Together with this person [suffered] one *Asclepius*, (reported to have been a Bishop of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, out of a zeal to piety, (as he thought,) but such an one as was *not according to knowledge*,) and finished his life in the same fiery pile. These things were performed after this manner.

[a] In the Greek this mans name is *Promus*: but, I suppose, it should be *Probus*. For I never met with such a proper name as *Promus*. This mistake arose from hence; in ancient M. SS. *Beta* is usually written like *My*. In the Fuk. and Savil M. SS. 'tis *Probus*. Vales.

[b] Mention is made of this person in the *Greek Menea*, at the 14th of *October*; although *Eusebius* says he suffered on the 3d of the *Ides* of *January*. In the *Meneum* he is called *Auselamus*: But, in the *Menology* *Anselamus* is, by a mistake, put for *Auselamus*, or *Abselamus*: the import of the passage there is this: *On the same day is the commemoration of the holy Martyr* Petrus Anselamus *of* Eleutheropolis, *who being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous mind, behaved himself most admirably in the conflicts he underwent for Religion; and, having despised earthly things, was by fire offered up as a victim well pleasing to God, in the sixth year of* Diocletian's *and* Maximian's *Empire*. In which passage, this is observable, that the sixth year of *Diocletian*'s Empire is put for the sixth year of the persecution. *Vales.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Pamphilus, *and twelve other Martyrs.*

[a] *Symeon Metaphrastes* has transcribed this whole relation of the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus* and his companions, out of our *Eusebius*; adding some things, and altering others, as he usually does. But he seems to have been furnished with more perfect copies of *Eusebius*, than those we now have which will manifestly appear to the Reader; who may meet with *Metaphrastes*'s account hereof in that Latine version of him, which *Lipomanus* and *Surius* put forth; *Tome* the third, *at the first of June*; pag. 139. *Edit.* Venet. Anno. 1581. *Vales.*

[a] THE time now calls upon me to Record that great and famous spectacle, which they [exhibited] who were perfected by Martyrdom together with *Pamphilus*, [a person] whose name and memory I have a great honour and high esteem for. They were in all twelve, being vouchsafed a [b] Prophetick, or rather Apostolick, grace, and equall to them in number, *Pamphilus* was their Principal, the only person amongst them that was adorned with the honour of a Presbytership in the Church at *Cesarea*: [c] A man eminent for all manner of virtue, even throughout his whole life; [whether we consider] his renunciation and contempt of the world; or the liberal contributions [he made] of his goods to those that were necessitous; or his disregard of worldly preferments and expectations; or lastly, his Philosophick, severe, and *Ascetick* course of life. But, he was most especially eminent, even beyond all men in our times, for his earnest and unwearied studies in the sacred Scriptures, for his indefatigable assiduity about those things he proposed to himself to do, and for the good offices he did to his relations and all other persons that made their addresses to him. This persons other virtues and egregious performances, which require a larger relation, we have already comprized in three books, being a peculiar work which we wrote *concerning his Life*. If therefore any are desirous of knowing these things more fully, we remit them thither; at present [d] let us prosecute our subsequent narration concerning the Martyrs. The second person, after *Pamphilus*, that entred the combat, was *Valens*, a [e] Deacon of *Ælia*, honourable for his holy gray hairs, and as to his aspect a venerable old man; better skilled in the sacred Scriptures than any of the rest. For he had imprinted them in his memory so perfectly, [f] that no difference could be discerned between his reading out of a book, and repeating by heart, whole pages of any part of Sacred Writ. The third person, famous amongst them, was *Paul*, born at the City *Jamnia*, a man very fervent and zealous in acting, and filled with a warmth and ardour of spirit: before his Martyrdom, he had been engaged in the combat of confession, having endured the searing [of his flesh] with red hot irons. After these persons had spent two years time in prison, the arrival of some other *Egyptian* brethren was the occasion of their Martyrdom, who

[b] He means *the Minor Prophets*, who were twelve in number: this passage is more clearly expresst in *Metaphrastes*, thus: *It is worth our while to admire the number of the men, which represents a certain Prophetick and Apostolick grace. For, it happened that they were in all twelve; of the same number with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, as we are informed.* Vales.

[c] This passage also is more perfect in *Metaphrastes*, after this manner: *He was* Pamphilus, *a man truly pious, loving and friendly towards all men, really demonstrating the truth of his name*; [the import of *Pamphilus*, is, *friend to all men:*] *the ornament of the Church at* Cæsarea, &c. See *Lipomanus* and *Surius*'s version of *Metaphrastes*, at the fore-cited place. *Vales.*

[d] In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. M. SS. 'tis [ἐρχώμεθα, *let us prosecute*] in the *Imperative mood*. Moreover, hence we may make this manifest collection, to wit, that this Book *concerning the Martyrs of Palestine* was *Eusebius*'s own work, written by him after his Books *concerning Pamphilus*'s Life, and after *his Ecclesiastick History*. Vales.

[e] There may be a double meaning given of these words. For the import of them may be, either that *Ælia* was *Valens*'s country, or that he was a *Deacon* of the Church of *Ælia*. *Symeon Metaphrastes* followed this latter sence, as appears from his words. The like ambiguity I took notice of before, book 5. chap. 1. note (o) where we spoke concerning *Sanctus* a *Deacon* of *Vienna*. Vales.

[f] 'Tis easily discernable, that the Greek Text is here corrupted; I suppose it may be thus amended; ὡς μὴ ἐνδεῖν τῆς ἀπὸ γραμμάτων ἐκλεύξεως, τὸ ἧς πόθεν ἂν λάβοι γραφῆς διασαφῶν αὐτὸν ἀπομνημονεύσαι δεξόδως· which reading we have followed in our version; and it agrees with *Symeon Metaphrastes*'s interpretation, as 'tis evident from *Gentianus Hervetus*'s translation in *Lipomanus*'s Edition at the month of *February*; see note (a) in this chapter. But *Hervetus* has rendred ἀπομνημονεῦσαι, *to get by heart*; whereas that term signifies, *to recite by heart*, as we observed before. *Vales.*

also

MAXIMINUS. alſo ſuffered with them. Theſe *Egyptians* had accompanied the Confeſſours ſent into *Cilicia*, to the Mines there. As they were returning to their own country, at the entrance of the gates of *Cæſarea* they were examined (in the ſame manner with thoſe before mentioned) by the guard (men of a barbarous diſpoſition) who they were, and whence they came; and, having concealed nothing of the truth, as if they had been Malefactours taken in the very act, they were put into bonds. They were five in number; and when they were brought before the Tyrant, and had ſpoken boldly and freely in his preſence, they were forthwith committed to priſon. The next day (which was the 19th of the month *Peritius*, according to the *Roman* account before the 14th of the *Calends* of *March*,) order was given, that they, together with *Pamphilus* and his forementioned companions, ſhould be brought before the Judge. In the firſt place, he made tryal of the *Egyptians* invincible conſtancy, by all ſorts of torments, and various and new invented engines [of torture.] When [g] he had made uſe of theſe cruelties towards the chief of theſe perſons, firſt he asked him who he was. After he had heard him give himſelf the name of ſome Prophet inſtead of his proper name; (for they made it their buſineſs to call themſelves by names different from thoſe given them by their Parents, which were perhaps the names of Idols; therefore you might have heard them name themſelves *Elias*, *Jeremiah*, *Iſaiah*, *Samuel*, or *Daniel*, repreſenting not only by their actions, but by their proper names alſo, the true and genuine *Iſrael* [h] of God, which [conſiſts] of thoſe that *are* [i] *inwardly Jews.*) After [I ſay] *Firmilianus* had heard the Martyr give himſelf ſuch a name, being wholly unacquainted with the powerfull import thereof, in the ſecond place he enquired, what Countryman he was: the Martyr expreſſed himſelf in this his ſecond reply agreeable to his former anſwer, and ſaid, *Jeruſalem* was his Country; meaning that *Jeruſalem*, of which *Paul* ſpeaks--* *But Jeruſalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all:* and [in another place,] † *Ye are come to mount Sion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem:* the Martyr meant this [*Jeruſalem.*] But the Judge, having his mind depreſſed with low and terrene thoughts, was extraordinarily inquiſitive what City this was, and in what Country it lay. Then he applied tortures, that he might [force him thereby to] confeſs the truth. But he, having both his hands wreſted behind his back, and his feet broken with certain new Engines [of torture,] ſtifly affirmed, that he ſpoke true. Again, being after this often asked, what City that he ſpoke of was, and where it lay, he replied, that that was their Country only, who were Gods worſhippers. For none but they ſhould enter it; and it was ſcituate Eaſtward, and towards the riſing Sun. After this manner did the Martyr *Philoſophize* again, agreeable to his own ſentiments, wholly diſregarding thoſe that on all ſides were tormenting of him: but, as if he had had neither fleſh nor body, ſeemed to be altogether inſenſible of his tortures. But the Judge, doubtful and perplexed in his mind, was in a great rage, ſuppoſing that the *Chriſtians* were about erecting a City that would be an enemy, and in an hoſtile manner oppoſe the *Romans*. Upon which account he was very diligent in his enquiries about it, and in ſearching out that country in the Eaſt ſpoken of [by the Martyr.] But when he perceived that the young man (after he had torn him with innumerable ſtripes, and inflicted on him tortures of all ſorts,) was immutable and firmly perſiſted in what he had ſaid before, he paſſed ſentence of death upon him. Thus were the tragick [cruelties,] uſed towards this Martyr, concluded: and when he had practiſed the like Preface of tortures upon the reſt, he deſtroyed them by the ſame ſort of death. Being then wearied out, and perceiving that he did in vain inflict tortures upon theſe men, [k] when his deſires were ſatiated, he paſſed to *Pamphilus* and his companions. And [although] he had by experience found, that in defence of their faith they had before demonſtrated an alacrity of mind not to be vanquiſhed by tortures; [yet] he again asked them, whether they would now be obedient to the Imperial commands; and when he could get nothing out of any one of them, beſides that laſt confeſſion which is made in Martyrdom, he condemned them to undergo the ſame puniſhment with the forementioned Martyrs. Theſe things being finiſhed, a youth, [l] one that belonged to *Pamphilus*'s family, (in regard he had been educated under the genuine diſcipline and converſe of ſo eminent a perſon;) as ſoon as he underſtood that ſentence [was pronounc't] againſt his maſter, called aloud out of the midſt of the crowd, and requeſted that their dead-bodies might be interred. But [the Judge, (who deſerves not to be called a man] but a wild beaſt, or any creature elſe [that can be thought] more fierce than a wild beaſt) ſhewed no compaſſion towards his youthful years; and, having found, upon his bare asking the young man that he confeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian; ſwelled with rage, as if he had been wounded by ſome dart, ordered the torturers to make uſe of their utmoſt force againſt him. But after he ſaw, that he refuſed to be obedient to his commands in offering ſacrifice, he ordered that his fleſh (as if it had not been the body of a man, but either ſtones, or wood, or ſome ſuch ſenſeleſs thing) ſhould without any intermiſſion be torn even to his very bones and inmoſt receſſes of his bowells. Which being performed for a long time together, the Judge perceived his attempts were vain; [for although] his body was mangled all over with the tortures, [yet] he

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[g] Ἐγγυμνάσας (the term here uſed) ſeems to be taken *paſſively*, for ἐγγυμναθεὶς. For *Euſebius*'s meaning is, that *Firmilianus* the Judge was well verſed in paſſing ſuch ſentences, and in extracting examinations by tortures. But, becauſe the ſame term is taken in an *active ſenſe* hereafter in this chapter, it ought alſo to be taken ſo here. By the term [ἄθλα] *Euſebius* means, *the ſcourges and tortures.* Valeſ.

[h] Theſe words [τῷ Θεῷ, *of God*] are wanting in the Med. M. S. *Euſebius*'s meaning is, that thoſe *Ægyptians* who gave themſelves the names of *Iſraelites*, or *Jews*, did both by their actions and names repreſent the true and genuine *Iſrael*, and thoſe *Jews*, who were inwardly ſuch. *Valeſ.*

[i] *Euſebius* alludes to that paſſage in St *Paul*, (Rom. 2. 28, 29.) where the Apoſtle makes two ſorts of *Jews*: ſome that were *Jews* ἐν φανερῷ, *outwardly*; others that were ſuch ἐν κρυπτῷ, *inwardly*: the former, as he affirms, are not truly *Jews*, becauſe they obſerved the bodily ceremonies only of the Law: the latter are really *Jews*; *whoſe Circumciſion is that of the heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter.* See *Origen*, Chap. 1. *Philocal.* Valeſ.

* Galat. 4. 26. † Heb. 12. 22.

[k] *Euſebius* ſeems to mean *Firmilianus*'s deſire of knowing from the *Egyptian* Martyrs, where that *Jeruſalem* was, which they called their Country. Whence we may make this remark by the by, that 'tis ſufficiently evident, (as we obſerved before, Book 4. Chap. 6. note e.) there was no City upon earth at that time called *Jeruſalem.* Otherwiſe *Firmilianus* Preſident of *Paleſtine*, would never have been ſo earneſt in his enquiries of the Martyrs, where *Jeruſalem* was ſcituated. But, the Greek term [ἐπιθυμία] cannot, I think, be taken in that ſenſe I have mentioned. Indeed, this place is obſcure, and (if I miſtake not) faulty. Therefore *Symeon Metaphraſtes*, when he tranſcribed this paſſage from *Euſebius*, on ſet purpoſe omitted theſe words. *Valeſ.*

[l] At this place *Symeon Metaphraſtes* adds ſome words, which deſerve to be ſet down here. *Nondum autem dictum*, &c. [The Judge] *had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, when a young man, belonging to* Pamphilus's *family, called out at ſome diſtance; and, coming out of the midſt of the crowd into the preſence of thoſe who ſate round in the place of Judicature, requeſted that their bodies might be interred. This was the* B. Porphyrius, *one of* Pamphilus's *own breeding, not full eighteen years old,* [a youth] *well ſkilled in the Art of writing; but one that concealed theſe praiſes by his modeſt behaviour, in regard he had been educated under ſo eminent a perſon.* Valeſ.

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You might therefore have seen *Prophyrius* [for that was his name,] in quality like a valorous champion who had been conquerour in all manner of exercises belonging to the Sacred games, proceeding forth to his death after he had suffered so great tortures, with a body covered all over with dust, but with a chearful countenance, and a mind full of joy and confidence: he was most truly filled with the divine spirit; and, being clad in a * Philosophick habit, (having only a garment wrapt about him, in fashion like unto a [n] cloak,) with a calm and sedate mind he gave commands to those of his acquaintance, and dispatcht whatever he had a mind to do; retaining the serenity of his countenance, even when he was at the very stake. Moreover, when the pile, which lay at a sufficient distance, was kindled round about him, with his mouth he attracted the flame on every side of him: and after this one expression, which he uttered when the flame began to touch him, [to wit,] *invoaking Jesus the Son of God to be his helper*, he most couragiously continued silent even to the very last gasp. Such was *Porphyrius*'s combat: whose consummation *Seleucus* a Confessour that had formerly been a Souldier, having related to *Pamphilus*; as being the conveyer of such a message, he was immediately vouchsafed to be joyned in the same lot with the Martyrs. For he had no sooner related *Porphyrius*'s death, and saluted one of the Martyrs with a kiss, but some of the Souldiers seize him, and carry him before the President. Who, as if he resolved to hasten *Seleucus*, that he might be *Prophyrius*'s companion in his journey to heaven, forthwith ordered he should undergo a capital punishment. This [*Seleucus*] was born in *Cappadocia*, but had attained no mean degree of honour amongst the choisest young men that belonged to the *Roman* Milice. For he far excelled his fellow Souldiers in the [o] fitness of his age for Military services, in strength and stature of body, and in valour: in so much that, his aspect was much discourst of amongst all men, and the shape of his whole body greatly admired, upon account both of his stature and comelines. About the beginning of the persecution, he was eminently famous for his enduring stripes in the combat of confession: but after he had left off his Military course of life, he became a zealous emulatour of those that were [p] *Ascetæ* in their studies and exercises of piety; and, like a father, and a patron, demonstrated himself to be an Overseer as it were, and an helper of desolate orphans and widows that were destitute of assistance, and of those that were reduced to poverty and sickness. Wherefore, by God (who is more delighted with such [performances] as these, than with the smoak and bloud of sacrifices) he was deservedly accounted worthy of that admirable and high calling, [to wit] Martyrdom. This was the tenth Champion, who, after the others before mentioned, ended his life on the very same day; whereon (as it is probable) the great gate of heaven was opened by the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus*, (suitable to the worth of that person,) which gave both him, and his companions, an easie entrance into the Celestial Kingdom. Also, *Theodulus* (a venerable and pious old man, belonging to the Presidents own family, for whom *Firmilianus* had a greater esteem than for all his other domesticks; partly upon account of his age, having seen his children to the third generation; and partly in respect of the singular affection and conscionable fidelity, which he had continually retained towards him;) having followed *Seleucus*'s steps, and performed the same things that he did, was brought before his master, against whom he was more exasperated than against any of the former [Martyrs;] and being forthwith put upon a Cross, he underwent the same sort of Martyrdom our Saviour suffered. Moreover, one being yet wanting, who might render the number of the foresaid Martyrs compleatly twelve, *Julianus* intervened to make up their number. At that very interim he was coming from a remote Country, and had not entred the City; but, being informed [of the slaughter] of the Martyrs, ran immediately (in the same habit he had on) out of the road, to see that spectacle. When he saw the dead bodies of those holy persons lying upon the ground, being filled with an extraordinary joy, he embraced every one of them, and kissed them all. Whilst he was doing this, the [Souldiers] that were the instruments to commit those murders, apprehend him, and bring him to *Firmilianus*. He, doing herein what was agreeable to his [usual cruelty,] ordered that this person also should be consumed by a slow fire. Thus was *Julianus* also accounted worthy [to receive] the crown of Martyrdom, leaping for joy, and being exceeding glad; and with a loud voice giving great thanks to the Lord, who had vouchsafed him so great an honour. This *Julianus* was by country a *Cappadocian*; as to his morals, he was eminently pious and circumspect, and famous for his most genuine and sincere faith: he was very active and diligent in all things, being inspired by the holy Ghost. Such was the file [of Martyrs,] who were vouchsafed to arrive at Martyrdom in company with *Pamphilus*. The holy, and truly sacred bodies of these persons were, by the impious Presidents order, watched for the space of four days, and as many nights, and exposed to be devoured by

MAXIMINUS. [p] *Christophorson* judged amiss, in that he supposed by the term [ἀσκητὰς] *Monks* were meant. For, at that time there were no *Monks*; or, if there were any they differed much from the *Ascetæ*. For *Monks* (as their name, *Monachi*, denotes) affected solitude: but the *Ascetæ* did converse publickly in the Cities. Whosoever therefore lived a more strict and severe course of life according to the precepts of the Gospel, and left all they had, upon God's account, were termed *Ascetæ*: thus one *Peter* is called *Asceta*, and a Virgin is termed *Ascetria*, before in this book of *Eusebius*: should any one term these *Monks*, doubtless he would be much mistaken. St *Jerom* says expressly, that there was no *Monk* in *Palestine* before *Hilarion*. But *Peter*, the *Asceta*, lived in *Palestine* long before *Hilarion*'s time. *Vales.*

[m] Instead of [μακρῷ πυρὶ, *a fire at a distance*] *Christophorson* seemes to have read [μαλθακῷ πυρὶ, *a slow*, or *remiss fire*: see his translation. *Hervetus* also has rendred it thus, *pronuntiat sententiam ut tradatur molli & lento igni, he pronounc't sentence upon him, that he should be set into* [and consumed by] *a soft and gentle fire*. The same is confirmed by *Eusebius*'s following words: for he says, that *Porphyrius* was fastned to a stake, and that the pile, which lay round him, but at some distance, was kindled; that so the Martyr might be consumed by a slack fire. We read of the same sort of punishment in the passion of *Pionius*, and of other Martyrs. *Eusebius* uses [μακρὸν πῦρ] in the same sense hereafter, where he mentions *Julianus*. Further, we must take notice that both *Porphyrius* and *Julianus* were *Catechumens*; as *Metaphrastes* informs us. *Vales.*

* See B. 6. Chap. 19. note (*p.*)

[n] This garment is in the Greek termed Ἐξωμὶς; see its description in A. *Gellius*, Book 7. Chap. 12.

[o] Ἡλικία is the term in the original; it peculiarly imports *that age, which is fit for warfare*; which *Livy* stiles *Militarem ætatem, the Military age*; beginning from the seventeenth year of a mans age, says *Plutarch* (*in Graccho.*)

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[q] In times paſt all Cities had their *Genius*'s, in honour of which *Temples* were erected, which they called τυχεῖα. *Marcus* (in the life of *Porphyrius*) mentions the *Tycheum* of *Gaza*: and there was a *Tycheum* at *Alexandria*, mentioned in *Cod. Theod.* and in *Libanius*'s deſcriptions lately publiſhed by the Learned *Leo Allatius*. Alſo the Temple of the *Genius* at *Antiochia* is mentioned by *Julian* in *Miſopog.* which paſſage we cited before. The *Genius* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* had its Temple; concerning which ſee *Gregor. Naz. in his firſt Invective againſt Julian*, pag. 91. and in his 19th *Oration* pag. 309. The *Genius* was a tutelar God, that (as the Heathens thought) had undertaken the particular protection of any City, or Town. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Prelates of the Churches.

But, what happened to be done in relation to the Prelates of Churches, [a] during this interval of time, and afterwards; how, inſtead of being continued Paſtours of Chriſt's rational flock, which they had not rightly and duly governed, divine juſtice, judging them as it were fit for ſuch Offices, condemned them to be imployed in looking after [b] Camels, a brutiſh ſort of creatures, whoſe bodies are naturally crooked and miſ-ſhapen; and how it adjudged them to be keepers of the Emperours horſes; alſo, what and how great injuries, diſhonours, and tortures they ſuffered from ſuch as during thoſe times were the Emperours *Procuratours*, and Governours of Provinces, upon account of the ſacred veſſels and treaſures belonging to the Church; moreover, the ambitious deſires of many, the inconſiderate and illegal ordinations, and the ſchiſmes amongſt the [c] Confeſſours themſelves; beſides, what thoſe modern raiſers of diſturbances with much earneſtneſs attempted againſt the remaines of the Church, introducing innovations ſucceſſively one after another, being without intermiſſion authours of evils even in the midſt of the calamities cauſed by the perſecution, and heaping miſchiefs upon miſchiefs: all this [I ſay] I think fit to omit, a relation hereof being in my judgment inconvenient, and which (as I ſaid in the [d] beginning of this book) I do altogether diſlike, and am reſolved to avoid Suppoſing it therefore to be moſt accommodate for an hiſtory concerning the admirable Martyrs, to ſpeak, write, and inſtill into the ears of believers what ever is of importance to, and commendable in, our Religion, and thoſe paſſages which are virtuous and praiſeworthy, I thought good to adorn the cloſe of this book with [a relation of] that peace, which afterwards appeared to us from heaven.

[a] These words are very obſcure. *Chriſtophorſon* thought they were to be underſtood concerning the time of the perſecution; I am not of his mind. For *Euſebius* ſpeaks concerning what happened, when the fury of the perſecution was in ſome meaſure abated. Therefore [ὀπὶ τύλοις] ſignifies *poſtea, afterwards*; according to *Euſebius*'s uſual way of expreſſing himſelf, both in other places, and alſo hereafter in this chapter. The following words [χρὶ τὸν ἐν μέσῳ χρόνον] denote *the whole interval of time from the beginning of the perſecution to its ſeventh year*, as *Euſebius* informs us in the following chapter. *Valeſ.*

MAXIMINUS. [b] It was a ſort of puniſhment amongſt the *Romans*, that *free-men* (i.e. thoſe that were free of *Rome*) ſhould be condemned to look after the Emperours horſes and camels, and to ſuch like offices. This employment was called *Camelaſia*, and it is reckoned amongſt the *perſonall offices*, in the *Pandects* (*Tit. de muner. & Honor.*) Although in that place of the *Pandects*, the Emperours Camels are not ſpoken of, but thoſe Camels are meant belonging to every City, which were uſed to fetch wood and other burthens; as appears from the 18th *Law*, in the ſaid *Title*. But *Euſebius* does here ſpeak of the Emperours Horſes and Camels, to the feeding whereof ſome Biſhops were condemned. Now, there is a great difference between theſe two Offices. For the former was a civil Office, to which the *Decurions* of the *white Order* were promoted, as 'tis ſaid in the fore-quoted Law. But the latter was a penal ſervitude, to which criminals were condemned, as may be collected from *Euſebius*'s words here. Moreover, theſe *Camelarii* (keepers of Camels) were under his care and diſpoſe, that was the *Comes rei privatæ*, (i. e. the *Treaſurer of the Privy purſe to the Emperour*; ſee *Valeſ. notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* Book 22. pag. 207.) under whom were the *Maſters of the flocks, and of the ſtables*; as appears from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. See the *Acts* of *Marcellus* the Pope. *Valeſ.*

[c] He means the Schiſm between *Meletius Lycopolitanus* and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; concerning which ſee *Athanaſius* and *Epiphanius*. He means alſo *Donatus*'s Schiſme in *Africa*, againſt *Cæcilianus* the Biſhop. *Valeſ.*

[d] The place *Euſebius* here ſpeaks of is not to be found in this book. Whence 'tis apparent, that this book, *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, is imperfect. Any body may perceive that the beginning of it is wanting. But this defect may be made up from chap. 2. book 8. of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, where *Euſebius* ſays that, which he mentions here, as ſpoken of before by himſelf. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Silvanus, John, *and thirty nine other Martyrs.*

The ſeventh year of the perſecution againſt us was now compleated; and our affairs, (having by little and little obtained ſome thing of a tendency towards a quiet poſture by an abatement of their heats who had been our malicious detractours,) proceeded on to the eighth year, when no ſmall number of Confeſſours were gathered together about the Braſs mines in *Paleſtine*, and enjoyed their liberty to ſuch a degree, that they erected buildings to make Churches of: [But] the Governour of the Province (a cruel and wicked perſon, as he manifeſted himſelf to be, upon account of what he did againſt the Martyrs) making a journey thither, and being informed of their

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This Commander, having asked these men to renounce their Religion, and not obtaining his request, ordered they should be burnt to death. Again, there were others at the same place, (who were allotted a particular country to inhabit in by themselves,) to wit, such of the Confessours, as either by reason of their age, or the mangling of their members, or because of other bodily infirmities, were freed from doing service in those laborious employments. The principal among these was *Silvanus*, [b] a Bishop born at *Gaza*, a person that demonstrated himself to be a truly religious and most genuine example of the Christian profession. This man, after he had been signally eminent in all sorts of conflicts [undergone upon account] of confession, from the very first day (as I may say) of the persecution, and during the whole time it lasted, was reserved for this opportunity, that he might in the last place seal up (as it were) all the Combats [of the Martyrs] in *Palestine*. Many *Egyptians* were with him; amongst whom there was one * *John*, who for strength of memory far surpassed all men of our age. This man had been deprived of his eye-sight before. Nevertheless, in the conflicts of confession (wherein he got great renown) when one of his feet (after the same manner that others were served) was rendred useless by being seared with red hot irons, his eyes also (although he could not then see) were burnt out with searing irons: to such an height of cruelty and inhumanity had the merciless and incompassionate Executioners then arrived in their carriage [towards the Christians!] 'Tis needless to extol this man for his morals, and the Philosophick life he lead, especially since he was not so admirable upon that account, as for his strength of memory; [for] he had whole books of the sacred Scriptures written (not *on tables of stone*, as the divine Apostle says, nor on parchments, or paper, which are devoured by moths and time, but) on the fleshly tables of his heart, that is on his bright soul, [which were legible] to the most clear eye of his mind. In so much that, when ever he pleased, he could produce out of his mouth, as it were out of a treasury of Learning, sometimes the books of the Law and those of the Prophets, another while the Historical parts of Scripture, and again at other times the Evangelick and Apostolick writings. I was, I confess, amazed, when I first saw this man standing in the midst of a numerous Ecclesiastick congregation, and repeating some parts of the divine Scripture. For as long as I could only hear his voice, I supposed him to have read what is usually rehearsed in such assemblies. But when I approached very neer, and saw plainly what was done, to wit, all the rest [in the assembly] standing round and having their eye-sight clear and perfect, and him making use of the eyes of his understanding only, in reality delivering oracles like some Prophet, and far surpassing those that were sound and healthy in body; I could not forbear praising and glorifying of God. And I thought that I really beheld a firm and most evident instance to perswade me to believe, that he is to be accounted truly a man, (not who appears so to be by the external shape of his body, but) who is such in respect of his mind and understanding. For although this person had a mangled and deformed body, yet he demonstrated the strength of his internal faculties to be great and most powerful. Moreover, God himself vouchsafed to allot these forementioned persons (who, living in a place apart by themselves, spent their time according to the usual manner in prayers, fastings, and in the performance of other severe exercises of Religion,) a blessed and salutary death; reaching out to them his propitious right hand. But * that malicious enemy of all goodness, unable to endure them any longer, in regard they were carefully armed against him with their continual prayers to God, resolved to have them killed and removed from off the earth, as being troublesome to him. Which God permitted him to attempt and perform; both that he should not be hindred from doing mischief, agreeable to his own mind and purpose; and that they might at length receive the rewards of their various combats. Thus therefore nine and thirty persons were beheaded on one and the same day, by an order from the most impious *Maximin*. These were the Martyrdomes perpetrated in *Palestine* during the space of ten years, and such was the persecution in our days; which, having been began from those times wherein the Churches were demolished, was much increased in the times succeeding by the Governours insolencies. Amidst which, their various and different combats who were Religious Champions, made an innumerable company of Martyrs throughout every Province; to wit, in *Libya*, and throughout all *Egypt*, *Syria*, and all those Provinces, which reach from the East round to the Country of *Illyricum*. For those regions scituate beyond these now mentioned, that is, all *Italy*, *Sicily*, *France*, and those which lie towards the Sun-setting, *Spain*, *Mauritania*, and *Africa*, having not indured the rage of the persecution full out the space of the two first years, were vouchsafed a sudden visitation from God, and [obtained] peace: divine Providence taking compassion on the simplicity and faith of those men. Further, an accident (a parallel to which the Records from the very first beginning of the *Roman* Empire cannot shew) happened now first in these our days, contrary to all

MAXIMINUS.

[a] His name was *Helias*; who, together with *Patermuthius*, was burnt to death; as 'tis recorded in the *Greek Menæa*, at the 17th of *September*. *Photius* mentions *Patermuthius*, in *his Biblioth.* chap. 118; where he speaks of the Books written by *Pamphilus* the *Martyr*, during his imprisonment, in defence of *Origen*. Valef.

[b] By these words *Eusebius* seems to declare, that this *Silvanus* was not Bishop of *Gaza*: for *Eusebius* only says that *Silvanus* was born at *Gaza*, and made Bishop over those Christians that wrought in the Mines in *Palestine*. The *Greeks* (in their *Menæa*, at the 14th of *October*) seem to have taken these words of *Eusebius* in this sense. For they say that *Silvanus* was *Presbyter* of the Church at *Gaza*; and, after he had suffered most accute tortures at *Cæsarea*, *was condemned to the Mines, where the Office of a Bishop was conferred on him by the Christians*. So the *Menæa*. But *Eusebius* (in book 8. chap. 13.) does expressly call him Bishop of *Gaza*. Valef.

* This *John* is mentioned in the *Menæum*, at the twentieth of *September*. Valef.

* The Devil.

MAXIMINUS. all expectation. For, during the perſecution in our times, the Empire was divided into two parts. Thoſe brethren which were inhabitants of the one part, that juſt now mentioned, enjoyed peace: but ſuch as dwelt in the other part of the Empire, endured innumerable conflicts [renewed againſt them] ſucceſſively. But when divine grace gave ſome indications of its candid and compaſſionate viſitation of us, then thoſe very Governours of ours (who before had been raiſers of the wars waged againſt us in our days,) having moſt miraculouſly altered their minds, ſounded a retreat; extinguiſhing the flame of perſecution kindled againſt us, by Reſcripts publiſhed in favour to us, and by mild Edicts. [c] 'Tis requiſite, that we Record their retractation, to wit, the Retractation, of the Emperours or *Galerius Maximianus*'s Edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to the perſecution. But this defect may be eaſily made up from *the laſt chapter of the eighth Book of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. Valeſ. MAXIMINUS.

[c] The concluſion of this book is wanting;

The End of *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s Book concerning the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*.

THE NINTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS*.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the counterfeited Ceſſation [*of the Perſecution.*]

THIS Revocation contained in the Imperial Edict [a] mentioned before, was publiſhed in all parts of *Aſia*, and [b] throughout the Adjacent Provinces. After which publications thus made; *Maximin*, the Eaſtern Tyrant, (a perſon as impious as ever breathed, and a moſt deadly enemy to the worſhip of the ſupream God;) being in no wiſe pleaſed with theſe Reſcripts, inſtead of the forementioned Edict, iſſues out a verbal Order only to thoſe Governours within his Juriſdiction, that they ſhould ſtop the perſecution againſt us. For, in regard he durſt not in any wiſe oppoſe the Decree of his ſuperiours, * having conceal'd the forementioned Edict, and taken ſuch care, as that it ſhould not be publickly propoſed in the Provinces under his Juriſdiction; he gives order by word of mouth only to thoſe Governours under him, that they ſhould put a ſtop to the perſecution againſt us; of which Order they inform one another by Letters. For *Sabinus*, who was then honoured with the *Prefecture* of the *Prætorium* (the chiefeſt Office [c] among them) in a Latine Epiſtle to the Governours of the Provinces declared *the* [d] *Emperour's pleaſure*; [c] Inſtead of [παρ' αὐτοῖς, *with them*] the reading in *Nicephorus* is [παρ' αὐτῷ, *with him*,] ſhewing, that *Sabinus* was *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin*. But our Copies do all agree in the former reading, that is [*with them*,] in the plural number; which is the trueſt. For, although *Sabinus* bore the *Prefecture* of the *Prætorium* (which we may call the Office of *Lord-chief-juſtice, or of Lieutenant General under the Emperour, to govern Provinces in Civil Cauſes*; See *Pancirol.* in *Notitiam Imper. Orient.* c. 5.) under *Maximinus Cæſar* in the Eaſt; yet becauſe he was made *Præfect* by *Galerius*, therefore he is ſtiled the *Præfect* of the *Emperours*, meaning *Galerius* and *Maximinus*. For the *Cæſars* had not the power of creating *Præfects*; but they were made by the *Auguſti*, as may be ſhown from many places in *Amm. Marcellinus*. Hence 'tis, that *Sabinus* in his Edict (which *Euſebius* does here inſert) always ſpeaks of the Emperours in the plural number, to let the Governours of particular Provinces underſtand, that that was the command of the *Emperours*, to wit, *Galerius*, *Conſtantinus*, *Licinius*, and *Maximinus*. Alſo, by theſe words [παρ' αὐτοῖς] may be meant *the Governours of thoſe Provinces which were under Maximin's juriſdiction*: for *Euſebius* ſpeaks of them in the foregoing ſentence. Indeed, this expoſition ſeems moſt natural to me; but then we muſt render [παρ' αὐτοῖς not *with*, but *amongſt them*; which rendition the Greek will bear. *Valeſ.*

[a] Πεσταλθεὶς (the term here uſed) muſt be taken for προσκεκλεθεὶς, as is frequent in our Author. We have this revocation of the Emperour's Decree in the 8th. book of this Hiſtory, at the latter end. *Valeſ.*

[b] By theſe words [τὰς ἀμφὶ τὰν τὴν ἑσπερίδας] *Chriſtoph.* underſtands all the Provinces of *Aſia*; but *Rufinus* thinks *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia* and the reſt of the Provinces bordering on every ſide are meant, which were under the Emperour *Galerius*'s Government: excepting only the *Eaſtern* Provinces, over which *Maximinus Cæſar* was Ruler. *Valeſ.*

* Ἐν ᾠδείῳ θεὶς, we have tranſlated *having conceal'd*: the Phraſe is borrowed from the *Attick Lawyers*; ᾠδεῖον with them ſignifies *that Court where matters of ſmall importance were adjuſted*, to wit, *not exceeding one drachm*. The Judges of this Court were the *Undecemviri*; This Court ſtood in an obſcure place of the City, and hence ἐν ᾠδείῳ is in *Demoſthenes*, and here alſo in our Authour, us'd metaphorically, for *privily*.

[d] *Rufinus* tranſlates this place thus; *Sed, Sabinus*, &c. *But Sabinus, who at that time was chief of the Provinces; and inſerted the forementioned Imperial Edict, thereby manifeſting to all men that which Maximin had attempted to conceal.* But *Rufinus* has not expreſſed *Euſebius*'s meaning in this rendition of his words. For *Sabinus* did not ſet *Galerius* the Emperour's decree before his own order, as it was uſual for the *Prefects* of the *Prætorium* to do; in regard *Maximin* had made it his buſineſs, that that Imperial conſtitution ſhould be concealed from thoſe Provinces under his Government. For he was highly diſpleaſed at *Galerius*'s Reſcript; both in regard the Chriſtians (whom he had hitherto moſt barbarouſly perſecuted,) were delivered from his butcheries; and alſo becauſe his name was not prefix't before the foreſaid decree. For, after *Galerius*'s and *Conſtantine's* name, *Licinius*'s was ſet before the Reſcript: but *Maximin*'s name, (he being as yet but *Cæſar* only) was not there. Therefore, partly for ſhame, partly out of indignation, *Maximin* ſuppreſſed that Edict. But *Sabinus*

(in this Epiſtle of his to the Preſidents of the provinces) makes very little mention of this Conſtitution, becauſe he would not diſpleaſe *Maximin*. Further, by the word [*Emperour*] *Chriſtophorſon* thought *Maximin* was meant. But I like *Rufinus*'s Verſion better, who ſuppoſed *Galerius* to be underſtood thereby; and beſides, *Euſebius* uſually calls *Maximin* by the name of *Tyrant*, not *Cæſar*. Valeſ.

MAXIMINUS the contents of which Letter we have thus tranſlated:

The Majeſty of our moſt ſacred Lords the Emperours, by their earneſt and moſt devout care, have long ſince determined to render the minds of all men conformable to the true and holy Rule of living; that by this means they who ſeem to have embraced uſages different from thoſe of the Romanes, *might be induced to exhibite due worſhip to the immortal Gods. But the obſtinate and moſt untractable perverſeneſs of ſome mens minds was arrived at ſuch an height, that neither could the juſtice of the* [*Imperial*] *Decree prevaile with them to recede from their own reſolutions, nor the imminent puniſhment annexed ſtrike any terrour into them. Since therefore it might have happened, that upon this account many would have precipitated themſelves into danger; the ſacred Majeſty of our Lords the moſt puiſſant Emperours, (according to their innate clemency) judging it diſagreeable to their own moſt ſacred Intent, that upon this occaſion men ſhould be ſurrounded with ſuch great danger; enjoyned our * devotedneſs to write to your Prudence: that if evidence be brought againſt any* Chriſtian *for his following that way of worſhip obſerved amongſt thoſe of his own Religion, you ſhould ſecure him and ſet him free from all danger and moleſtation, and that you ſhould condemn none to be puniſhed upon account of this pretence. For ſince it has been manifeſtly evidenced that during ſo long a tract of time they could by no means be perſwaded to deſiſt from their perverſe ſtubborneſs; your Prudence therefore is enjoyned to write to the* Curators, *to the Magiſtrates, and to the Preſidents of the Villages* [*belonging to*] *every City, that they may underſtand, that for the future they are not to take any further care concerning* [e] *this affair.*

* I ſuppoſe, theſe are the terms of honour, which theſe great Officers had given to them in all addreſſes; and which they themſelves alſo made uſe of, when they mentioned themſelves in any Letters they wrote to others: the words in the Greek are θεοσέβειαν, which *Valeſius* renders *devotio*; and ἀγχίνοια, by him tranſlated *Solertia*.

[e] I doubt not but inſtead of [τῷ γεγραμμένῳ, *this decree*] it ought to be [τῷ πεφιστημένῳ, *this affair.*] which amendment *Nicephorus* confirms B. 7. Chap. 24. who has expreſt this place thus, *that they ſhould not trouble themſelves any further about the* Chriſtians. *Valeſ.*

Hereupon, all the Governours of Provinces, ſuppoſing that the Letter written to them [by *Sabinus*] contained [*Maximin*'s] true and genuine meaning, did by their Letters communicate the Emperour's pleaſure to the *Curators*, Magiſtrates, and Preſidents of the Villages. Nor did they urge theſe things to them by Letters only, but much more by ſuch deeds, as that the Princes command might thereby be put in execution; bringing forth, and ſetting at liberty thoſe priſoners which they had in hold for Confeſſion of the faith of God; and alſo releaſing them who had been adjudged to the puniſhment of working in the Mines. For they ſuppoſed that this would in reallity be wellpleaſing to the *Emperour, but herein they were miſtaken. Theſe things being thus finiſhed, on a ſudden (like ſome bright ſhining light which darts forth its rays after a thick darkſome night,) you might have ſeen Churches gathered together throughout every City; full aſſemblies; and the uſual [f] ſolemn ſervices performed at theſe meetings. All the Infidels were not a little aſtoniſhed at theſe things, wondring at ſo great and unexpected an alteration of affairs, and crying out, that the God of the *Chriſtians* was the great and only true God. Alſo, thoſe of our Religion, who had faithfully and manfully ſtrove in the Combat of Perſecution, obtained great confidence and freedom amongſt all men. But as many as through weakneſs of faith had made ſhipwrack of their ſouls, with much earneſtneſs ran to ſeek for a remedie; begging and praying for an aſſiſting right hand from them that were ſtrong, and ſupplicating God to be merciful to them. Moreover, ſoon after this, the Noble Champions of Religion, releaſed from their ſervitude in labouring in the Mines, returned to their own Countries; and being glad and jocund, travelling through the Cities, were filled with an inexpreſſible joy, and a confidence unutterable. Thus did numerous companies of perſons that were Chriſtians perform their journies, lauding God with Hymns and Pſalmes in the midſt of the High-ways and Market-places. And you might now have ſeen thoſe, (who but lately had been in bonds, groaning under moſt ſevere puniſhments, and driven from their own Countries) with joyful and pleaſant countenances poſſeſſing their own habitations again: in ſo much that they, who formerly [threatned to] murther and deſtroy us, when they ſaw this miracle which did ſo far ſurpaſs all mens expectation, rejoyced with us at what had happened.

* To *Maximin.*

[f] Συναγωγὰς, aſſemblies, is here uſed

MAXIMINUS. inſtead of σωμάξεις *ſolemn ſervices. Dionyſius Alexandr.* uſed this term in the ſame ſenſe, as we noted before. There was a twofold *Synaxis*; one of the Prayers; the other of the Sacraments. *Athanaſius* mentions the former, in *his Apology to Conſtantius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the change of affairs which did afterwards enſue.

BUT the Tyrant (who as we ſaid before, Ruled in the Eaſtern parts) no longer able to endure theſe things, (he being a profeſſed Enemy to goodneſs, and one who laid wait to inſnare all good men) ſuffered not this ſtate of affaires to continue [a] the ſpace of ſix months complete. But, inventing all the ways imaginable to ſubvert the Peace, firſt he attempted (upon ſome pretence or other) to hinder us from aſſembling in the * *Cœmiteria*. Afterwards [b] he ſends an Embaſie to himſelf againſt us, having ſollicited the *Antiochians*, by the means of ſome impious perſons, that they ſhould petition to obtain this from him (under the notion of the greateſt favour,) *to wit*, that he would impower them to ſuffer no *Chriſtians* to dwell amongſt them: he alſo excited the Inhabitants of other Cities to do the like. The chief of all theſe was one *Theotecnus*, an *Antiochian*; a turbulent perſon, an impoſtor, and a wicked man, (whoſe nature was not anſwerable to his † name;) he was at that time [c] *Curator* of *Antioch*.

[a] *Maximinus Galerius* did not live long after he had made that Decree for the Peace and Liberty of the Chriſtians, but within a few months after, dyed of a wound which had feſtered. See the *Appendix* to the eighth book of this Hiſtory. When *Maximinus Cæſar* heard of his death, he renewed the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and proclaimed himſelf *Auguſtus*; whereas he was only *Cæſar* before, and was compelled to obey the commands of *Galerius Auguſtus*. Valeſ.

* See Book 7. Chap. 11. note *(f.)*

[b] What is meant by this elegant paſſage [αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβεύσεται] neither *Chriſtoph.* nor *Muſculus* underſtood: the meaning of it is this: *Maximin* ſent underhand ſome cunning men to ſollicit the *Antiochians*, to ſend Embaſſadours to his Court, to requeſt of him, that they might have liberty to drive out all *Chriſtians* from amongſt them. Hence *Maximin* who did underhand procure this Embaſſy, may well be ſaid to have ſent this Embaſſy to himſelf, and he himſelf to have been the Embaſſadour, this tranſpoſition of words is frequent and familiar in *Euſebius*. Valeſ.

† The import of *Theotecnus* in the *Greek*, is, *the Son of God.*

[c] See Book. 8. Chap. 11. note *(b.)*

CHAP.

MAXIMINUS.

CHAP. III.

Concerning an Image newly made at Antioch.

WHen this [*Theotecnus*] therefore had several ways made his attacks against us, and had taken all imaginable care to hunt those of our Religion out of their Coverts, (as if they had been Thieves and Malefactours,) and had invented all the ways and methods of calumniating and accusing us, and had been the occasion of putting many men to death: at last he erects an Image of [a] *Jupiter Philius*, and [b] consecrates it with Magick charmes. And, having invented and instituted, in honour of it, impure ceremonies, execrable initiations, and most detestable expiations; he gave the Emperour himself a demonstration of the imposture of his Oracles, by which he effected what he had undertaken. Moreover, this man to please the Emperour by his flattery, stirreth up the *Dæmon* against the *Christians*; feigning that God commanded, that the *Christians* (as being his enemies) should be banished the City, and all the Countries adjoyning to the City.

[a] This Temple of *Jupiter Philius* at *Antioch* is mentioned by *Julianus*, in *Misopogone*, and by *Libanius* (if I mistake not) in *Antiochico*. Vales.

[b] The Ceremonies of the Gentiles, used in the erection and consecration of Images to their Gods, were various. For *Jupiter Ctesius* was consecrated with one sort of Rites, *Herceus* with another, and *Philius* with a third sort. *Jupiter Ctesius*, whose Image they kept in their store-houses, was consecrated with a little tub. *Anticlides* (in Ἐξηγητικῷ, that is, in his B. *De Ritubus Sacris*, *apud Athenæum* B. 11. Cap. 6.) relates the Ceremonies of Consecration. *Jupiter Herceus* was consecrated with Pots: See *Aristophanes in Danaidibus*. After the same manner were those Images Consecrated, which they erected to *Mercury*, and other Gods: and this they termed, χύτρους ἱδρύειν, *to Consecrate with Pots*. In these Pots they boyled all sorts of pulse, of which they offered sacrifice to those Gods they Consecrated, in memory of the food eaten in Old times, and of the frugality of the Ancients. But when they designed to be at greater cost in treating their God, then they killed a sacrifice at the erection of his Image; which they termed ἱδρύειν ἱερείῳ, *to Consecrate with a slain sacrifice*. See *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) and *his Scholiast*, pag. 693. See *Suidas* also, in the word χαλκεῦν. Besides these Ceremonies, they used sometimes *Magical Consecrations*; So *Theotecnus* did here, in the Dedication of an Image to *Jupiter Philius*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Decrees [*of the Cities*] *against the* Christians.

WHen *Theotecnus*, (the first person that acted against us) had had this desired success, all the other Magistrates, inhabiting the Cities under *Maximin*'s Jurisdiction, hastned to establish the same Decree; also, the Governours of Provinces, perceiving that this was acceptable to the Emperour, prompted those that lived within their district, to do the same thing: Moreover, when the Tyrant had by his Rescript most willingly assented to their Ordinances, the flame of Persecution was again kindled afresh against us. At length, Priests of the Images were constituted in every City; and moreover, such men as had been most eminent in State employments and had acquitted themselves honourably in the publick Offices they had born, were by [a] *Maximin* himself created chief Priests. These men were very diligent and earnest about the worship of their Gods. For, (that I may speak briefly) the great superstition of this Emperor had such an influence as well upon the Governours, as the private persons within the limits of his Government, that it induced them all to act any thing against us in compliance to him: and they thought, that to murther us, and to invent some new mischievous stratagems against us, was the most grateful acknowledgement they could pay for the favours they expected to receive from him.

[a] By ἀρχιερεῖς are meant *Sacerdotes Provinciarum*. Concerning whom see B. 8. chap. 14. note (*b*.) *A Sacerdos Provinciæ* was created by the votes of the *Decuriones*, i. e. the *Senators*, or *Aldermen* of the City. Now those men especially were advanced to this dignity, who had with honour acquitted themselves in the discharge of all Offices belonging to the Court; as we may see in *Cod. Theod. Tit. De Decurionibus*. *Eusebius* here takes notice of it as a thing new and unusual, that *Maximinus* himself should elect the *Sacerdotes Provinciæ*. Vales.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the forged Acts

HAving therefore forged some [a] Acts of *Pilate* concerning *our Saviour*, which were stuffed with all manner of Blasphemie against Christ; by [*Maximin*] the Emperour's order they send them throughout all his Dominions; commanding by their Letters that these Records should be posted up in all places, both in the Country and in the Cities; and that such as were School-masters should give them to their Scholars in stead of their lessons, and make them study them, that so they might have them imprinted on their memories. Whilst these things were done after this manner, the chief Commander in the Army at *Damascus* a City of *Phoenicia* (whom the *Romans* call *a Captain*) having haled some infamous women out of the Market-place, compelled them by threatning them with tortures, to [b] testifie by subscribing the said publick Records, that they were formerly *Christians*; and that they were conscious to their profane practices; and that in their very Churches they performed obscene and lascivious actions; and what ever else he would have them say that might bring a scandal upon our Religion. The testimonies of these women he inserted into the said Acts, and sent them to the Emperour. By whose order these very Records were published in every City, and in all other places.

[a] Concerning the falseness of these *Acts*, see what *Eusebius* has remarkt B. 1. chap. 9. These *Acts* are mentioned in *Act. Præsidial. Tarachi, probi, & Andronici*, cap. 9. where *Maximus* the President says these words, *Wretch, knowest thou not, that that* Christ, *whom thou callest upon, was a man committed to custody by* Pontius Pilate, *and punished by him; the Acts of whose passion are extant?* Moreover, these *Acta Præsidialia Tarachi*, &c. were performed when *Diocletian* was Consul the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third, as the inscription of the first interrogatory sheweth. Whence 'tis plain, that these *Acts* of *Pilate* were forged long before the persecution; the contrary to which *Eusebius* affirms in this place. But, that I may freely speak my sense, the inscription of these *Acta præsidialia* is in my judgment false; and it should be corrected thus, *when Diocletian was Consul the ninth time, and Maximian the eighth*: For (1) there is, in those *Acts*, mention of the Imperial command, whereby 'twas ordered that all men should sacrifice to the Gods. Now this command was issued out on the nineteenth year of *Diocletian*'s Empire. (2) In *the ninth chapter* these words occur. *The President said, you curse the Princes, who have secured a lasting and continued Peace. Andronicus said, I have cursed the Plague, and the bloud thirsty, which destroy the world.* That expression [*concerning the securing a lasting and continued Peace*] cannot agree with the fourth Consulate of *Diocletian*; for at that time the *Barbarians* attacked the *Roman* Empire on every side. Besides, I can't see how *Diocletian* and *Maximian* can be termed, *Blood thirsty*, till after the 19th year of *Diocletian*, when the Persecution began. Lastly, which is another argument, *Eusebius* affirms, that these Acts of *Pilate* were forged in the time of this persecution. *Vales.*

[b] *Rufinus* has rendred the Greek phrase here (which is λέγειν ἐγγράφως) thus, *alia profiteri, to attest the truth of the said Acts by signing of them*: for an evidence may be given both by word of mouth, and in writing also. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning them that suffered Martyrdom in those Times.

BUt not long after, this Captain was his own Executioner, suffering a condign punishment for his malicious wickedness. And now

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baniſhments and moſt horrid Perſecutions were a freſh raiſed againſt us; the Preſidents in every Province renewing their cruel inſurrections againſt us: in ſo much that ſome of the moſt eminent aſſerters of the divine faith were apprehended, and without any commiſeration had the ſentence of death pronounc't againſt them. Three of them having profeſſed themſelves *Chriſtians*, were caſt to the wild beaſts and devoured by them at *Emeſa*, a City of *Phœnicia:* amongſt them there was a Biſhop, one [a] *Silvanus*, a very old man, who had born that Office forty years compleat. At the ſame time alſo, [b] *Peter*, that moſt eminent Prelate of the *Alexandrian* Church, (the chiefeſt ornament and glory of the Biſhops, both for his virtuous life, and his ſtudy and knowledge in the ſacred Scriptures) being apprehended for no crime at all, was beheaded (contrary to every bodies expectation) by *Maximins* order on a ſudden, and without any ſpecious pretence. Likewiſe many other *Ægyptian* Biſhops ſuffered the ſame death that he did. [c] *Lucianus* alſo, Presbyter of the Church at *Antioch*, a very pious man, much famed for his continency, and his knowledge in the ſacred Scriptures, was brought to the City of *Nicomedia*, [d] where the Emperour then kept his Court; and after he had made his Apology, in defence of that Doctrine which he aſſerted, before the Preſident he was committed to priſon and murthered. In fine, *Maximin*, that profeſſed Enemy of all virtue, did in a ſhort time load us with ſuch burthens of afflictions, that this latter ſtorm of Perſecution raiſed by him ſeemed to us far more grievous then the former.

[a] This *Silvanus* is a different perſon from that *Silvanus* which *Euſebius* mentions in his book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, chap. the laſt. For this was Biſhop of *Emeſa*; the other was Biſhop of *Gaza*. The firſt was beheaded in the Mines at *Paleſtine* with 39 other Martyrs; in the eighth year of the Perſecution. But this *Silvanus* was caſt to the wild beaſts at *Emeſa* on the ninth year of the Perſecution. Concerning this man's Martyrdom *Euſebius* has ſaid ſomething before, in his eighth book, although not in its proper place; ſee B. 8. Chap. 13. Valeſ.

[b] *Euſebius* mentioned this man's Martyrdom before in the eighth book chap. 13. but not in its proper place. For the eighth book does not go beyond the eighth year of the Perſecution. But *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was Martyr'd in the ninth year of the Perſecution (which *Euſebius* expreſly affirmeth in the end of the ſeventh book) upon the ſeventh of the Calends of *December*, as we read in the *Excerpta Chronologica* publiſhed by *Scaliger*. *Uſuardus* ſays the ſame; and ſo does *Ado*, and the *old Roman Martyrology*. The *Greeks* celebrate his birth day on the 24th of *November*. The *Acts* of his Paſſion are extant in a M.S. in Greek, which the Reverend Father *Franciſcus Combefiſius* has, and will ſhortly publiſh, with many other things. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Euſebius* has mentioned this man's Martyrdom at book 8 chap. 13. though not in its due place. But here he remarks the time more diſtinctly, wherein *Peter* and *Lucianus* ſuffered; to wit, under *Maximin*; not in the Reign of *Galerius Maximianus* as *Baronius* would have us believe, at the year of Chriſt 311. cap. 3. Alſo, *Baronius* is miſtaken in placing the Martyrdom of *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* on the year of Chriſt 310. for he ſuffered in the year of our Lord 311, on the ninth year current of the Perſecution. *Baronius*'s errour aroſe from his beginning the Perſecution a year too ſoon; which miſtake we have ſufficiently confuted before, at book 8. chap. 2. note (*c.*) Moreover, in regard *Lucianus*'s Martyrdom happened under *Maximin*, the Martyrdom of *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* ſhould, in my judgment, be placed under *Maximin* alſo. Indeed, *Anthimus* ſuffered a little before *Lucianus*, as *Lucianus* informs us *in his Epiſtle* to the *Antiochians*, which I made mention of in Book 8. chap. 13. note (*a.*) we may alſo make the ſame concluſion from *the Acts* of *Lucianus* the Martyr; where, inſtead of *Maximinus*, we read *Maximianus*, which is a common errour in the *Greeks*. Valeſ.

[d] When *Galerius* was dead, *Maximinus* took poſſeſſion of *Aſia* and *Bithynia*; which Provinces (together with *Illyricum*, and *Thracia*) were governed by *Galerius*. For *Galerius* kept theſe Provinces for himſelf, as *Eutropius* informs us; the ſame is aſſerted by the *old Author of the Excerptions*, which I publiſhed at the end of my *Amm. Marcelinus*. *Maximinus* therefore made his abode at *Nicomedia*, which was the chief City of *Bithynia*; where the Emperours had a pallace ever ſince *Diocletians* time. Further, the following words do evidently manifeſt, that by the term [*Emperour*] *Maximinus* muſt be meant. Wherefore I wonder at *Baronius*, for aſſerting that *Lucianus* ſuffered under *Galerius*, not under *Maximin*; when as *Euſebius*, contemporary with *Lucianus*, affirms he was killed by *Maximin*. Valeſ.

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CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Edict againſt us, which was [ingraven on Brazen plates and] hung up on the Pillars.

MOreover, in the midſt of every City ([a] which was never ſeen before) the Decrees of Cities, and alſo the Imperial Edicts againſt us were ingraven on Brazen plates and propoſed to open view. And the boyes in the Schooles had nothing in their mouths * all day long but *Jeſus* and *Pilate*, and the Acts which were forged to diſgrace us. I judge it pertinent to inſert here this very Reſcript of *Maximin*'s, which was ingraven on plates of Braſs: both that the proud and arrogant inſolency of this mans hatred towards God may be manifeſted: and ſo that it may hence be made apparent, that divine juſtice (which hates the impious, and keeps a continual watch againſt them) did within a very ſhort time purſue and overtake him: by which Divine juſtice he was inforced to alter his ſentiments ſoon after concerning us, and to confirm them by his Edicts in writing. But theſe are the Contents of his Reſcript.

[a] Any man may juſtly wonder why *Euſebius* ſhould affirm here, *that this was never ſeen before.* Were the Decrees of the Cities, or the Edicts of the Emperours, never publiſhed before now? This cannot be denyed: nor is it denyed by our *Euſebius*. But that which he aſſerts *to have never been ſeen before*, is, the ingraving of theſe Edicts upon plates of Braſs. For (as we obſerved before, Book 8. chap. 5. note *b.*) the Imperial Edicts were written on paper. *Valeſ.*

* Καθ' ἡμέραν, *all day long*; ſo *Rufinus* and *Langus* render it: *Chriſtopherſon* and *Muſculus* tranſlate it, *quotidie*, *daily*. Valeſ.

A COPY OF THE TRANSLATION OF MAXIMIN'S RESCRIPT IN ANSWER TO THE DECREES OF THE CITIES AGAINST US, TRANSCRIBED FROM A BRAZEN PLATE AT TYRE.

Now at length the infirm Confidence of mans mind, having ſhaken off and diſperſed the cloud and miſt of errour (which heretofore inveſted the ſenſes of men, not ſo much wicked as wretched, being involved in the fatal night of ignorance,) may diſcern, that it is undoubtedly governed and ſtrengthened by the indulgent providence of the immortal Gods. It is incredible to expreſs how grateful, how pleaſing and acceptable a thing it was to us, that you gave ſuch a proof of your Pious reſolution towards the Gods. Indeed, before this time no perſon was inſenſible of the obſervancy and religious worſhip you ſhewed towards the immortal Gods; [b] *for your faith is made known to them not in bare and empty words, but by uninterrupted and miraculous eminent Acts, upon which account your City may deſervedly be ſtiled the Seat and Manſion of the immortal Gods. For it is manifeſtly evident by many inſtances, that She flouriſheth by the* [c] *Arrival and preſence of the celeſtial Deities in Her: But lo! Now your City (careleſs of all its own particular concerns, and having no regard to the Petitions, which in times paſt it did uſually make [to us] for the welfare of its affairs,) when it was ſenſible that the Promoters of that accurſed vanity*

[b] *Chriſtoph.* and *Muſculus* thought that this clauſe ought to be referred to *Deos* (*the Gods:*) but we make it to be referred to the *Tyrians* themſelves. *Maximin* does attempt to blacken the faith of the Chriſtians by theſe words; he calls it, κενῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν πίστις, *a faith of bare words:* as if the Chriſtian faith had nothing in it but words, and were void of all reality. *Valeſ.*

[c] The antients believed, that on ſet days the Gods deſcended into thoſe Cities for which they had a kindneſs: hence it is that the inhabitants of *Delos* and *Miletum* ſolemnized the coming of *Apollo*: and the *Argivi*, the advent of *Diana*. This coming of the Gods we find mentioned up and down in the Poets, as in *Virgil*. Hence it is, that upon old Coins and in the Calendar, we find written *Adventus Impp.* Valeſ.

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vanity did begin to creep again, and [perceived] *that (like fire which is carelessely left and raked up,) it brake forth into violent flames, the brands thereof being rekindled, immediately without the least delay made its addresse to our piety, as to the* Metropolis *of all Religion, petitioning for a redress and an assistance. 'Tis evident that the Gods have instilled into your minds this wholesome advice upon account of your constant and faithful perseverance in your Religion. For the most High and Mighty* Jupiter, *(who presides over your most famous City, and preserveth your Country Gods, your wives and children, your families and houses from all manner of destruction and ruine) hath breathed into your minds this salutary resolution; whence he hath evidenced and plainly demonstrated, what an excellent, noble, and comfortable thing it is, to adore him, and to approach the sacred Ceremonies of the immortal Gods with a due observancy and veneration. For what man can there be found so foolish and so void of all reason, who perceives not that it comes to pass by the favourable care of the Gods towards us, that neither the Earth does deny to restore the seeds committed to it, frustrating the hopes of the husbandmen with vain expectations, or that the aspect of impious War is not* [d] *immoveably fixed on the earth; or that mens bodies are not hurried away to the grave being tainted by an infection in the temperature of the Air: or that the Sea, tossed with the blasts of tempestuous winds does not swell and overflow: or that storms breaking forth on a sudden and unexpectedly do not raise a destructive tempest: or lastly, that the Earth (the nurse and mother of all things,) shaken by an horrid trembling arising from its own internal caverns,* [e] *does not raise vast hills out of its own bowels; or that the mountains which lie upon it are not swallowed up by its unexpected scissures and rents. There is no man but knowes that all these calamities, (yea far more horrid than these) have happened heretofore. And all these evills fell upon us, because of that pernitious errour and most vain folly of those wicked men, at such time as it abounded in their souls, and burthened the whole earth almost with shame and confusion:* After the interposition of some words, he continues. *Let men now look into the open fields and see the flourishing corn, waving its weighty ears; let them view the Medows gloriously bedecked with flowers and grass caused by the seasonable springing showers: Let them consider the constitution of the aire how temperate and calm it is again become. In future let all men rejoyce for that by your Piety, by your sacrifices and Religious worship, the fury of that most Potent and strong God* Mars *is appeased; and for this reason, let them securely solace themselves in the quiet enjoyment of a most prosperous and serene Peace. And, as many as have deserted that blind errour, and wholly relinquished those impertinent wandrings, by returning to a right and sound temper of mind, let them rejoyce the more upon that account; in regard, (being delivered as it were from a storm unforeseen, and from a fatal disease,) they shall in future reap the sweet enjoyments of an happy life. But if any shall willfully persist in that their execrable vanity and errour, let them be banished and driven far from your City and its vicinage (according to your request:) that by this means your City, being (agreeable to your commendable diligence in this affair) freed from all pollution and impiety, may wholly devote it self (according to its natural inclination) to attend upon the sacrifices and worship of the immortal Gods with all due veneration. Now, that you may be sensible how acceptable your address in this case was to us, and how ready and forward our mind is voluntarily to comply with and reward good desires even without any decrees, or supplication; we permit your devotedness to ask the greatest favour you have a mind to, upon account of this your Religious attempt. And now therefore make it your business to ask this and have it granted. For you shall obtain it without any delay. And this great boon granted to your City shall endure throughout all ages, both as a testimony of your most Religious Piety towards the immortal Gods; and shall also be an evidence to your children and descendants, that for this your good course and resolution of life you have received due rewards from our Gracious Goodness.*

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This Rescript against us was fixed up on the Pillars throughout every Province, and did utterly exclude us from all hopes of safety, as far as it lay in humane power to do. In so much that (according to that divine oracle) * *Even the elect themselves, were it possible, would have been offended at these things.* But now, when all expectation [of assistance from above] was amongst most of us in a manner expired and extinct; while they, who were commissioned to publish the aforesaid Edict against us, were in some Countries yet on their journey; God the Protector of his own Church, (repressing the outragious insolence of the Tyrant against us, by stopping his mouth as it were;) did on a sudden demonstrate his celestial assistance in defence of us.

* He alludes to Matth. 24. 24.

[d] Πεῤῥυν σκεῖσθαι. He aludes to that Aspect of the Planets called σκεῖσιν; which term is used concerning the Planets, *when they seem to move neither backward, nor forward in their Epicycles; but are stationary.* Vales.

[e] In the Greek Text the term is [χασμοδυομένην, parts [not] *in sunder*] but it should be [ἀναδυομένην, *does* [*not*] *raise vast hills* out of *its own bowells.*] For two sorts of Earthquakes (contrary to each other) are here spoken of by *Maximin*; to wit, (1) βεβιασμένας; which (as *Amm. Marcellinus* describes them book 17. pag. 98. Edit. *Paris.* 1636) *humum molestius suscitantes sursum propellunt immanissimas moles, raise the ground after an horrid manner, and drive forth vast quantities of earth:* (2) χασμαίας, which (according to *Amm. Marcellin.* description, *loc. citat.*) *grandiori motu patefactis subito voratrinis, terrarum partes absorbent, having on a sudden made vast scissures in the ground by a most violent motion, swallow up parts of the earth.* See *Valesius's* notes on these words of *Amm. Marcellinus*; pag. 142. *Maximin* means here that earthquake which afflicted the City of *Tyre*, in that year before *Diocletian's* Persecution, as our *Eusebius* relates in his *Chronicon.* Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning what afterward hapned, in the time of the Wars, of the Famine, and of the Pestilence.

* FOR Showers and Rains which would then have been seasonable (it being Winter) withheld their wonted streams from the Earth: upon which hapned a Famine not so much as thought of or expected, which was followed by a Pestilence. There raged also another violent disease, (it was an Ulcer, which was properly call'd a *Carbuncle*, upon account of its violent burning.) This Ulcer spread it self over all the parts of the body, and was very fatal and dangerous to them that were afflicted with it. And because its chief seat was for the most part longest about the eyes, it blinded a great many men, women, and children. Besides all these Calamities, the Tyrant did now ingage in a War against the *Armenians*, who had been old friends and Allies of the *Romans*. This * person hated by God, endeavoured to compell these men (who were also *Christians*, very studious and industrious about the service of God,) to sacrifice to Idols and *Damons*, and so rendred them foes

* The most ancient Maz. M. S. begins the chap. 8. at these words; to which agrees the Fuk. M. S. and *Rufinus.* Vales.

* *Maximin.*

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inſtead of being friends, and bitter enemies inſtead of confederates. All theſe calamities therefore, hapning on a ſudden at one and the ſame time, did curb and confute the arrogant boaſting of the inſolent Tyrant againſt God; who had impudently bragg'd that in regard of his care in worſhipping Idols, and perſecuting us, neither War nor Famine, nor Peſtilence, had happened in his Reign. Therefore all theſe Calamities coming to paſs together, and at the ſame inſtant were as Prologues and forerunners of his imminent ruine. Both he and his Armies ſuffered much in the expedition againſt the *Armenians:* And the reſidue, who inhabited the Cities under his Government, were miſerably oppreſſed with the Plague and Famine: ſo that one meaſure of wheat was ſold for two thouſand five hundred * *Attick drachms.* Innumerable were they that died in the Cities, but more in the Countries and Villages; ſo that now the † *Cenſor's Tables* which were formerly filled with the names of Countrey men, wanted but little of one continued blot; allmoſt all perſons being deſtroyed either by the want of ſuſtenance, or the Peſtilential diſeaſe: ſome did not refuſe to ſell to the wealthier ſort, even thoſe things which were moſt dear to them, for a little morſel of food. Others ſelling their eſtates by parcels, were reduced to the greateſt want and extremity. Other-ſome chewed in pieces little handfulls of graſs which they had plucked up, and making no diſtinction, but eating poiſonous herbs together therewith, which corrupted the healthful conſtitution of their bodies, they periſhed. Alſo in every City divers women of good families, being reduced through want to ſhameleſs neceſſity, came forth to begg in the Market-place: their modeſt countenances and neatneſs of dreſs were an evidence of their gentile education: ſome were pined away and dryed up like the Ghoſts of perſons departed, ſo that they went reeling and tottering this way and that way, and being not able to ſtand, fell down in the midſt of the ſtreets, and lying ſtretched out upon the ground with their faces downward, they craved that even the leaſt morſel of bread might be given them: and at their very laſt gaſp cried out, that they were hungry; being only ſtrong enough to utter this moſt doleful expreſſion. But others that ſeemed to be rich, aſtoniſhed at the multitude of beggars, when they had given away a great deal, afterwards became uncompaſſionate and inexorable, expecting that they themſelves ſhould erelong ſuffer the ſame extremities with thoſe that now begged of them. So that now, the dead carkaſſes which lay in the midſt of the Market-places and by ſtreets naked and unburied for many days, were a moſt lamentable ſpectacle to the beholders. Moreover, ſome were devoured by doggs, upon which account thoſe that ſurvived, betook themſelves to killing of doggs; being afraid leaſt they ſhould run mad, and devour them who were yet alive. Neither did the Plague more leiſurely deſtroy whole houſeholds and families; but more eſpecially thoſe whom the Famine could not diſpatch, becauſe they were furniſhed with great ſtore of proviſion. Therefore the rich Preſidents of Provinces, the Prefects, and a great many that were of the Magiſtracy, (as if the Famine had purpoſely reſerved them to be devoured by the Peſtilential diſtemper) ſuffered an accute and ſudden death. All places, by-lanes, the Markets, and ſtreets, were full of lamentations. There was nothing to be ſeen but mournful ſongs at burials, [a] together with their uſuall pipes and other funeral-muſick. Thus death fighting with the two forementioned weapons, to wit, the Peſtilence, and the Famine, did in a ſhort time deſtroy whole families; In ſo much that you might have ſeen two or three dead bodies carried out of the ſame houſe together to the [b] grave. Such were the rewards of *Maximin's* arrogance, and of the Decrees which the Cities iſſued out againſt us. During theſe ſad times all the Heathens had evident demonſtrations of the care and piety of the *Chriſtians* exhibited towards all men: for only they (amidſt ſo many and great calamities on all ſides) in reality declared their true compaſſion, and good nature: ſome of them imployed themſelves, every day in taking care of and in burying the dead (for vaſt numbers died whoſe funerals no body took care of.) Others gathered together into one body all thoſe in the City who lay under the preſſures of the Famine, and diſtributed bread to them all. So that, when the fame of this action was divulged amongſt all men; they all glorified the God of the *Chriſtians*, and did acknowledge them to be pious, and the only true worſhippers of God, being convinced ſufficiently by their works. Affaires being in this poſture, God the great and celeſtial defender of the *Chriſtians*, (having by the aforeſaid calamities manifeſted his wrath and indignation againſt all men, becauſe of their barbarous cruelties ſhown towards us,) did again reſtore to us the gracious and glorious ſplendour of his Providence; darting forth upon us (involved in the thickeſt darkneſs) the moſt miraculous light of his peace: and made it apparent to all men, that God himſelf was always the Overſeer and inſpectour of our affaires; who does ſometimes indeed chaſtiſe and correct his people with the ſcourges of affliction: but after ſufficient chaſtiſement, he does again ſhew himſelf gracious and merciful to thoſe that confide in him.

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[a] It was cuſtomary amongſt the *Heathens* to attend their dead to the grave with *muſick upon pipes, and ſinging of mournful ſongs:* in this Ceremony were imployed certain *old Women*, called *præficæ* and *ſtiticines*; ſee our *notes upon the 14th book of Amm. Marcell.* Wherefore *Chriſtoph.* miſtakes who inſtead of [ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων αὐλῶν, &c.] reads [ἀντὶ τῶν, &c.] as if this were the ſence; *there was nothing now to be ſeen, but mournful cryes, inſtead of their pipes,* &c. thus he erroneouſly tranſlates the place. But all our M. SS. and *Nicepho.* keep to the common reading. *Valeſ.*

[b] By what is here related concerning the burial of the dead, we may gather that the cuſtom of burning dead bodies was at that time wholly diſuſed amongſt the *Romans.* But, when this cuſtom was firſt aboliſh'd 'tis difficult to determine. The *Romans* ſeem to have taken up this cuſtom of *burying in graves* from the *Jews*, and *Chriſtians:* concerning which we have a place very obſervable in *Macrobius:* for (ſays he in his *Saturnal.* B. 7. Cap. 7.) *although in our days the cuſtom of burning the dead is antiquated and diſannulled: yet Hiſtory teacheth us that in thoſe days, when they burned the dead, they pay'd great reſpect and honour to them.* Valeſ.

* See B. 1. Chap. 8. note (*b.*)

† See B. 1. Chap. 5. note (*b.*)

CHAP. IX.

* *Concerning the death of the Tyrants, and what expreſſions they uſed before their deaths.*

[a] In all our M. SS. the Titles of the Chapters are tranſpos'd; that which ought to be the Title of the tenth Chapter is given to the ninth, and on the contrary that which ought to be prefixt to the ninth is ſet before the tenth. This miſtake we had corrected in our tranſlation, but becauſe we would do nothing without the Authority of the M. SS. we did therefore chooſe rather to follow the miſtake, reſting ſatisfied in having advertiſed the Reader of the miſtake. *Valeſ.*

CONSTANTINE therefore (who, as we ſaid before, was an Emperour born of an Emperour, the Pious ſon of a moſt Religious, ſober, and prudent Father [b]) and *Licinius* (who was next to him in Authority, both honoured for their Wiſdom and Piety;) two moſt Pious [Emperours] having been encouraged by God the ſupream King and Saviour of all men, againſt two

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[b] After theſe words, in the moſt antient Maz. and Med. M. SS.

follows this clause [λιμένις τε τῶ μὴ αὐτὸν σώσασθαι καὶ ἐυσεβείᾳ τεθαρρηκότι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παμβασιλέως Θεὸν τε καὶ ὅλων καὶ σωτῆρος δύο θεοφιλῶν καὶ δύο διατεθεσπίσθαι τυραννίδων ἀναγορευμένων, &c. *And Licinius (who was next to him in Authority, both honoured for their wisedom and piety;) two most pious [Emperours] having been encouraged by God the Supream King and Saviour of all men against two most impious Tyrants,* &c.] which we have here inserted, judging it to be genuine and penned by *Eusebius* himself, as 'tis apparent from what follows. For in the end of the period *Licinius* is mentioned as well as *Constantine:* whence 'tis plain, that *Eusebius* had spoken of both of them at the beginning of the period. But the Transcriber designedly expunged *Licinius*'s name here, upon account of the impieties he committed afterwards. The Fuk. and Savill M. SS. does also agree with the Maz. and Med. M. SS. in inserting this clause here. *Valef.*

a lawful War, (God assisting them;) *Maxentius* was most miraculously vanquished at *Rome* by *Constantine*; and *Maximin* the Eastern Tyrant, not long surviving *Maxentius*, dyed a most ignominious death, being conquered by *Licinius*, who had not yet done any extravagant action. Moreover, *Constantine* the former of these two (who was the chiefest person, both in respect of honour, place, and degree in the Empire) took compassion upon those who were oppressed with Tyranny at *Rome*; and having by prayers humbly called upon the God of Heaven, and his Word Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men, to be his helper, he marcheth with his whole Army in vindication of the antient Liberties of the *Romans*. Now *Maxentius*, confiding more in his Magick devices, than in the love and favour of his Subjects, durst not so much as stir out of the City gates; but with an innumerable host of Souldiers, and with Ambushes, he fortified all Places, Towns, and Cities whatsoever about *Rome*, and within the compass of all *Italy*, which were under the pressures of his Tyranny: the Emperour [*Constantine*] depended upon divine assistance, and having attacked the Tyrant's first, second, and third Battalion, and with ease routed them all, he made himself a passage through the greatest part of *Italy*, and was now come up to the very gates of *Rome*. But least he should be constrained to assault all the *Romans* for the Tyrant's sake only, God himself drew the Tyrant (as it were with cords) a great way out of the Gates: and did effectually confirm the truth of the miracles he wrought in times past against the wicked (recorded in the everlasting monuments of the sacred Scriptures, which though they are accounted fabulous by some and not credited, are nevertheless believed by the faithful) to all in general, Believers as well as Infidels, who saw this miracle we are about to relate. For as God in the days of *Moses* and the old Religious Nation of the Hebrews, overwhelmed the Chariots and forces of *Pharaoh* in the Sea; and drowned his [c] chosen Captaines in the Red Sea, and covered them with the waves: after the very same manner *Maxentius* with the Souldiers and guards that were about him were cast into the deep like a stone; at such time as he fled before the divine power, which did always assist *Constantine*'s Armes, and designed to pass a River that was in the way before him: over which he laid a very artificial bridge made of Boats joyned together, and so became instrumental to his own destruction. Upon which account these words may be pertinently spoken concerning him;

[c] These words occur at Exod. 15. 4. The phrase in the Hebrew is מִבְחַר שָׁלִשָׁיו, which the *Septuagint translation* renders ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τεσσάρας; our *English translation, his chosen Captains.* Expositours differ in their explications of these words. *Valesius* thinks the *Vulgar translation* is truest; 'tis there rendred *ternos ex curribus pugnantes*, that is, *The Three fighting out of the Chariots.* The true import of the *Hebrew* is, *The valiantest*, or (as the *Caldee* renders) *the fairest, Captaines*; called *The Three* or *Third*, from their being the third sort of Governours in the Kingdom of *Egypt*. See *Ainsworth. Exod.* 14. 7. and 15. 4.

* *He hath graven and digged up a pit, and is fallen himself into the destruction that he hath made. His travel shall come upon his own head, and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.* The joynings therefore of the bridge laid over the River being after this manner separated, the passage began to sink; and the Boats together with the men in them descended on a sudden to the bottom of the River. Thus, this most impious Tyrant in the first place, and after him his Guards (according to what was foretold in the sacred Sctiptures) sunk down like lead into the deep waters. So that [*Constantine*'s Souldiers] who at that time by divine assistance obtained the victory, in such sort as the *Israelites* heretofore did who were lead by *Moses* that eminent servant of the Lord, [d] ought in all reason to have sung and repeated the same expressions (though not in words exactly the same, yet in reality) that they heretofore did against that impious Tyrant [*Pharaoh*,] after this manner: * *Let us sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and the rider hath he thrown into the Sea. The Lord is my helper and defender,* [e] *he is become my salvation,* And again: *who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods: who is like unto thee? Glorious art thou amongst the Saints, wonderful in glory, working miracles.* When *Constantine* had in reality sung these Hymns, and Songs like unto, and of the same sort with, these, in praise of Almighty God Governour of all things, and Authour of victory, he entred *Rome* with all triumphant Pomp and Splendour: and immediately the whole Senate, [f] those that were of the *Equestrian Order*, and all the people of *Rome*, together with their wives and children, received him (with a joy in their countenances which proceeded from their very hearts) as a Redeemer, a Saviour, a publick Father, and Benefactour, and with acclamations, and a gladness insatiable. But he, possessing a piety towards God that was naturally implanted on him, was not in the least elevated in mind at these popular acclamations, nor puffed up with these commendations, but being sufficiently sensible of the divine assistance in this his enterprise, he presently gave command, that the Trophy of our Saviour's passion should be put [g] into the hand of a Statue erected to him. And when they had erected his Statue in the most publick place of all *Rome*, holding in its right hand the salutary sign of the Cross, he commanded an inscription to be

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* Psal. 7. 17, 18.

[d] I mislike *Christophorson*'s Version of these words [ὥσε πως ἀνυμνεῖν] which he translates [*canere potuisse*, *could have sung:*] he ought rather to have rendred it [*cecinerit*, *should have sung:*] For *Eusebius* says, that *Constantine* did sing so, though not in exact words, yet really and truly. *Valef.*

* Exod. 15. 1, 2, 11.

[e] In the Maz. and Savil. M.SS. this place is thus written [βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπαστής μου γέγονέ μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν, *The Lord my helper and defender is become my salvation:*] which reading is confirmed by *Rufinus*'s Version, who translates it thus [*Adjutor & protector meus, & factus est mihi in salutem:*] This passage occurs at *Exod.* 15. 2; where the *Roman* Edition of the *Septuagint* has not these two words [μοῦ κύριος] which I wonder at: for I am very certain that *Eusebius* made use of the *Septuagint* translation. *Valef.*

[f] Τῶν ἄλλων διατιμοτάτων. The *Greeks* call them διατιμότατοι whom the *Latines* call [*Perfectissimi, most Perfect*] This Title *Perfectissimi* was appropiated to them of the *Ordinis Equestris*, or *Roman Knights*; as *Clarissimi* was a title peculiar to them of the *Senatorian Order*. The Emperour's *Prefects* and *Treasurers*, who were always *Knights*, had the title of *Perfectissimi* given them. This dignity or title in antient inscriptions is signified by these Characters P. V. (i. e.) *Vir. Perfectissimus*: see *Gruter*, pag. 1098; and my notes on *Amm. Marcell.* p. 202. *Valef.*

[g] Instead of τῶν χειρὶ ἱδρυσάμενος εἰκόνα we chose to Read τῶν χεῖρα, *over*, or *into the hand:* which *Rufinus* confirms and explains thus, *Vexillum Dominicæ crucis in dexterâ sud jubet depingi.* Valef.

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Engraven upon the basis of it in Latine, containing these very words:

BY THIS SAVING SIGN WHICH IS THE COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT, AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANTIENT SPLENDOUR AND DIGNITY.

After this, *Constantine* the Emperour and *Licinius* his Collegue, (who was not then faln into that extravagant madness which afterwards depraved his intellectuals) having both together worshipped and reconciled themselves to God the author of all the good which had hapned to them, did with an unanimous accord and consent enact a most compleat and full Law in behalf of the *Christians*. And they sent a relation of the miracles which God had done for them, and an account of their victory over the Tyrant, together with this their law, to *Maximin* who as yet was Emperour in the Eastern parts, and pretended friendship towards them. But he, like a Tyrant, was discontented and dejected at this news: yet being afterwards unwilling to seem to yield to others, and also out of fear to them who had confirmed the Edict, daring not [h] to suppress and conceal it, he directs this his first Rescript in behalf of the Christians, to his Ministers, as it were of his own accord and by his own authority, though he was forced to it; Wherein with much artifice he feigneth concerning himself such things as were never done by him.

[h] Παρεκτὸς τοῦ κελεῦσαι (though otherwise rendred by some translatours) signifies the same as ἐν ἀδιάστῳ δείσῃ, a phrase before used in the first chapter of this ninth book. The import of it is *seponere, occultare*; *to conceal*, or *suppress the Edict*, as *Maximin* did before in the first Chapter of this ninth book, when *Galerius*'s Rescript was sent him. But when *Constantine* and *Licinius*, after the overthrow of *Maxentius*, sent their Decree to him in favour of the *Christians*; he durst not conceal it *metu superiorum, fearing them, as being his superiours*. Vales.

A Copy of the Translation of *Maximin* the Tyrant's Rescript.

[i] JOVIUS MAXIMINUS AUGUSTUS, *to* SABINUS. *I suppose it well known to your Gravity, and to all men, that our Lords and Fathers* Diocletian and Maximian (*when they perceived that almost all men, deserting the Religious worship of the Gods, joyned and applied themselves to the Sect of the* Christians,) *did rightly and duly decree, that all those persons who had Apostatized from the worship and service of their Gods, should be re-called to the worship of the Gods by a publick punishment and chastisement. But when with an happy* Omen *I first came into these* [k] *Eastern Provinces, and found that very many men (who might be serviceable to the Republick) were exil'd and confin'd by the Judges, for the reason aforesaid, to certain places appointed them; I gave a charge to all the Judges, that none of them should for the future treat the Subjects of their Provinces so barbarously; but that they should rather regain them to the service of the Gods by courteous perswasives and kind exhortations. During the time therefore that our Commands were, according to our Injunction, strictly observed, it happened that there was not one in all our Eastern Provinces either confin'd, or injured: but, in regard no trouble or disquietude happened to them, they were the rather reduc'd to the worship of the Gods. After this, in* [l] *the last year, when I successfully made a journey to* Nicomedia, *and there abode, the Citizens of that City came to me with the Images of their Gods, begging of me with much earnestness that those sort of men might by no means be permitted to inhabite amongst them. But in regard I understood that a great many men of that Religion liv'd in those parts, I gave them this answer: that I was very well pleased with, and thankful to them for, their address, but did not perceive that that was the desire of all men in general. If therefore, any do persist in the* [Christians] *superstition, every one of them may have his free liberty; to choose what pleases him; and if they will embrace the service of the Gods, they also may do that. I thought it requisite to return a kind reply to the* Nicomedians, *as well as to the other Cities, who with much importunity had presented me with the same Petition, to wit, that no Christian might dwell in their Cities;* [m] *for so the preceding Emperours (as I observed) had always done; and it now so pleased the Gods, (by whom all men are preserved, and the publick state of affairs continued in a sedate posture,) that I should grant that earnest address of theirs which they presented me with concerning the divine worship of their Gods. Wherefore although I have very frequently before this time, as well by Rescripts as* [n] *Commands, ordered your devotedness, that the Presidents of Provinces should not be rigid or severe in their proceedings against those within their districts, who are studious about the observation of the Rites and usages of the Christian Religion; but that they patiently tollerate and with moderation comply with them: of the chief of their charges given them (to wit,) that they should be careful of their health. The Civilians speak much concerning these mandata Principum.* Vales.

[i] *Diocletian* was the first that assumed to himself this firname, *Jovius*; as his Collegue *Maximian* did that of *Herculius*. Afterwards when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were created *Cæsar*'s, *Galerius*, by marrying *Diocletian*'s daughter, and living with him in the East, came to be called *Cæsar Jovius*; and *Constantius*, by marrying *Herculius*'s daughter in law; and living with him in the Western parts, was called *Cæsar Herculius*. Afterwards when *Galerius* died, *Maximin*, who was by him created *Cæsar*, assumed to himself the firname of *Jovius*; which *Eusebius* here takes notice of. See the *Chronicon Alexandrian*. Vales.

[k] Under the name of the *East*, *Egypt* also is contained. For the Government hereof was committed to *Maximinus Cæsar*. For *Maximinus* (after he was made *Cæsar* by *Galerius*) received the jurisdiction over all those Provinces, which *Diocletian* had reserved to himself. And hence it came to pass, that *Egypt* was reckoned amongst the Eastern Provinces a long while after. So *Amm. Marcellinus* (B. 14. where he recounts the Provinces of the East,) reckons *Egypt* and *Mesopotamia* amongst them. Further, *Egypt* was originally under the *Comes* of the *East*, as we are informed from an antient inscription; the Contents whereof are these; M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBURIO CÆCILIANO PLACIDO C.V. COMITI ORIENTIS, ÆGYPTI. MESOPOTAMIÆ. CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. *Vales.*

[l] Ἐνιαυτῷ παρελθόντι, *the year past*, (i.e.) the year of Christ 311. when *Maximian* was the eighth time Consul, for in this very year (wherein *Galerius* died, *Maximin* seized upon *Bithynia*, which *Galerius* (together with *Illyricum* and *Thrace*) had reserved for himself. *Vales.*

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[m] This place is very intricate and obscure: and first, there is a difficulty in these words [ὅτι δὴ καὶ τοῦτο] which some translated *propterea quòd, because*, but the adverb [ὅτι δὴ] may be rendred *ita, so*, and then this is the meaning of the place. (*viz.*) *I return'd a kind reply to the* Nicomedians, *which the Emperours my predecessours always were careful to do.* The next difficulty is in these words [ἤρεσεν ἂν, *it therefore pleased the Gods*, &c.] But we rather read ἤρεσε νῦν, *and it now so pleased the Gods*, &c. By this means [νῦν] is fitly oppos'd to the preceding words [ἀρχαῖοι αὐτοκράτορες, *the antient Emperours*, &c.] according to this emendation we have translated the place. *Vales.*

[n] *Maximin* does here make a distinction betwixt γράμματα and ἐντολαὶ, *Letters* and *Commands*. *Letters* or *Rescripts* were sent by the Emperours to the Magistrates or Presidents into their Provinces when they were absent from Court: *Mandata* or *Commands* were given them by the Emperour when they were with him, before they went to their Provinces, all which commands were bound up in a short *Libel*. And this was one

yet,

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yet, least they should suffer any affronts or molestations, from the [o] Beneficiarii, *or any others, I thought it agreeable and opportune to remind your Gravity by these Letters, that you should rather win the Subjects of our Provinces to embrace the worship of the Gods, by flatterings and exhortations. Wherfore if any shall voluntarily take upon him to embrace and acknowledge the worship of the Gods, it is convenient that you should receive and treat such persons with the greatest kindness imaginable. But if any chuse to adhere to their own Religion, you are to permit them to take their Liberty. It is therefore required, that your devotedness observe what you are hereby injoyned; and that no person be impowered to injure, or exercise violence towards any of the Subjects of our Provinces: since it is rather convenient (as we said before) to re-call our Subjects to the worship of the Gods by fair words and kind exhortations. Moreover, that this Injunction of Ours may come to the knowledge of all our Subjects, let it be your care to* [p] *publish this Our Order by an Edict proposed by you.*

[o] Those Souldiers were called Βενεφικιάριοι, or *Beneficiarii*, that were promoted by the favour of the Tribune; they were priviledged from several Duties and Military hardships (as says *Vergetius.*) Vales.

[p] It was usual that the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* should, immediately upon Receipt of the Emperour's Law, publish it to the Subjects by their Edict. Sometimes they did promulge the Emperours Law before their own Edict; sometimes they Proclaimed their own Edict, and only mentioned in it the Emperour's Law. Thus did *Sabinus*, in the next chapter of this ninth book. But *Rufinus* says that he Proclaimed the Emperour's Law before his own Edict. True it is, we must confess, that the Emperours Laws were published before the Edicts of the Presidents most commonly. Of this we have a notable instance in the Conference at *Carthage*, where after the Reading of the Emperour's Letter to *Marcellinus* the *Tribune* and the *Notarius*, *Marcellinus*'s Edict was read. We must suppose the same thing concerning the Emperour's Rescripts: which were always placed before the Edicts of the Magistrates. So did *Himerius Rationalist* of *Egypt*, in his Epistle to the Governour of *Marcotis*; which *Athanasius* has related in *his Apology*. Vales.

When *Maximin* had issued out this Precept (being necessitated to it, and having not done it of his own accord) for all this he was not lookt upon by all men to mean unfeignedly, or worthy to be confided in, because formerly (after the like Indulgence) he had demonstrated himself to be of a mutable and perfidious disposition. None therefore of our Religion durst either [q] meet together in their Ecclesiastick assemblies, or shew themselves in publick; for the Rescript did not in expres words allow of this; it only contained an order that we should be preserved secure from violence and abuses: but it permitted us not either to celebrate our assemblies, or to build Churches, or to perform any of those solemnities usual with us: although *Constantine* and *Licinius*, the Patrons of Peace and Piety, [r] had by their Letters acquainted him, that they had both permitted us to doe these things, and also had granted the same to all under their Government by their Rescripts and Decrees. But the most impious Tyrant was resolv'd not to yield thus, till such time as, having been prosecuted by divine justice, he was at length forced to it, whether he would or no.

[q] By σύνοδον συνχεῖν us'd in this place, we must not understand a *Council of Bishops*, but an *Ecclesiastick Congregation*, for σύνοδος is sometimes us'd in that sence, and *Niceph.* in this place uses [συνάγειν i. e. *to meet together in their assemblies*] instead of σύνοδον συνχεῖν. which word I greatly approve of as explaining the place. *Vales.*

[r] These words [ἀυτῷ τε ἐπιτρέπειν ἐπεκάλεσαντο] *Musculus* and *Christoph.* render thus; *Maximino, ut ista concederet, scripserant, they had written to Maximin that he should grant it.* But I think *Eusebius*'s meaning was otherwise, (to wit,) *Constantine* and *Licinius* wrote to *Maximin* that they had given free liberty to the *Christians* to exercise their Religion, to celebrate their assemblies, and to build Churches, &c. For it seems unlikely and some thing arrogant, that *Constantine* and *Licinius* should command *Maximin*, their Collegue, to grant these Priviledges to the *Christians*. Vales.

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CHAP. X.

Concerning the Victory [obtained] by the Pious Emperours.

THis was the reason which [a] did press him on every hand. When he was no longer able to support the weight of the Government, which was unworthily confer'd upon him, but through want of a moderate prudence of mind, such as is required in a Prince, did insolently and undecently manage publick concerns; and moreover, was vainly puffed up with haughtiness of spirit, even against his Collegues in the Empire, who were far his superiours in Birth, Education, desert, prudence, and (which is the chiefest accomplishment of all) in humility and piety towards the only true God. Through confidence and insolency he arrived to such a degree of audaciousness, as to [b] challenge the Precedency, and placed his name first in all Titles and Honours. Then [c] his madness breaking forth into utter desparation, having violated the league which he had made with *Licinius*, he raised a bloudy and implacable War. Afterwards in a short time he * put all things into confusion; and every City into a strange consternation; and having gathered together all his forces being a very great Army, he marched forth to fight against *Licinius*; being extraordinarily puffed up in mind with a confidence of the assistance of *Dæmons* which he supposed to be Gods, and with his innumerable Army of men. But when he came to engage in a Battel, he was destitute of divine care and protection; and the victory was by the one, only and supream God given to *Licinius*. First of all his [d] Foot forces were routed, in which he did most confide; then his Guards deserted him, revolting to *Licinius* the Conquerour, and he forthwith, unhappy wretch, threw off his Royal Robes, (which did not become him,) and timerously, ignobly and unmanfully shrowded himself amongst the crowd [of common Souldiers.] Afterwards he fled; and (being very sollicitous about making provision for his own safety) hid himself in the fields and villages, hardly escaping the Enemies hands; by which he did truely verifie those firm, unerring, and divine Oracles which say; *There is no king that can be saved by the multitude* Psal. 33. 16.

[a] I wonder Translatours did not understand the force of this word [ἐπιφέρεσθαι, i. e. *to surround*] when as the *Common Lexicons* do sufficiently explain it: Moreover, the old Maz. M. S. does here begin this chapter, and I am not a little glad that my conjecture is confirm'd by its authority. For before I had procured that M. S. I begun this tenth chapter at the next period, The King's and Fuk. M. SS. do agree with the Maz. *Vales.*

[b] By these words [πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ἀναγορεύειν] is meant, *to place his name first in all Titles of Laws and Decrees.* Also, in all inscriptions on publick works, Statues and Images, *Maximin* plac'd his name before his Collegues, *Constantine* and *Licinius*: although they were *Augusti* before him. But *Maximin* challenged the first place, because he was created *Cæsar* before them. *Vales.*

[c] *Niceph.* changes these words [ἐπῆρεν εἰς ὑπόνοιαν τὰ τῆς μανίας] thus [ἐπῆρεν εἰς τὸ μανίαν τὰ τῆς ὑπονοίας, *extending his pride to utter madness*] which rendition is not amiss. For ὑπόνοια is, in *Chrysostome*, taken for *pride* in many places. *Vales.*

* In all our M. SS. 'tis χυχήσας; and we translate accordingly the term. *Vales.*

[d] By [ὁπλιτικὸν] the term here us'd, *Eusebius* means *Maximin's Foot forces.* Of all Historians only *Zosimus* mentions any thing of this Battel between *Maximin* and *Licinius* in *Illyricum*; in his second book: he says, that *Licinius* at first suffered some loss; but afterwards, renewing the fight, he put *Maximin* to flight, who fled towards the East, thinking to raise a new Army. This relation does well agree with this of *Eusebius* here, for he says that *Maximin* having lost his Army fled into his part of the Empire, that is, into the East. This Battel therefore was fought in *Europe*; in the year of Christ 313. *Constantine* and *Licinius* being the third time *Consuls*; as *Sigonius* well observes, in his third book *De Occidentali Imperio.* Vales.

of

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Pſal. 33. 17,18,19.

of an hoſt, neither is any mighty man delivered by his great ſtrength. A horſe is counted but a vain thing to ſave a man, neither ſhall he deliver any man by his great ſtrength. Behold the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that put their truſt in his mercy; to deliver their ſouls from death. Thus therefore did the Tyrant return with diſgrace into his own Provinces; and firſt of all in a mad paſſion he deſtroyed many Prieſts and Prophets belonging to thoſe Gods he had formerly admir'd, (by whoſe Oracles he had been excited to engage himſelf in this War) as Cheats, Impoſtor's, and alſo, betrayers of his own ſafety. Then, when he had given thanks and praiſe to the God of the *Chriſtians*, and had enacted a full, perfect and moſt compleat Law for their Liberty, he was forthwith ſtruck with a mortal diſtemper, and (without the leaſt delay allowed him) finiſhed his life. Now this was the Law which he publiſhed.

* Ἀντίγραφον ἐρωμαϊκῆς i.e. *A Copy of the Verſion*, &c.

* A Copy of the Tyrants Decree in behalf of the *Chriſtians*, tranſlated out of Latine into Greek.

EMPEROUR CÆSAR CAÏUS VALERIUS MAXIMINUS GERMANICUS, SARMATICUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS AUGUSTUS. *We are confident no man can be ignorant, but that every one does know and is fully ſatisfied (if he does recollect himſelf and reflect upon what is done,) that at all times and by all means We do conſult the utility of the Subjects of our Provinces, and do willingly grant them ſuch things as may prove moſt advantagious to them in general, all that may be moſt conduſive to their common good and profit, whatever is agreeable to the advantage of the publick, and is moſt grateful to the minds of every one of them in particular. At ſuch time therefore as it came to Our knowledge, that (upon occaſion of a Law made by Our Parents, their moſt ſacred* [*Majeſties*] Diocletian *and* Maximian, *whereby it was Decreed that the Aſſemblies of the* Chriſtians *ſhould be utterly aboliſhed*) *many Extortions and Rapines were committed by the* * Beneficiarii, *and that theſe abuſes of our Subjects, (whoſe peace and quiet is our chiefeſt care) increaſed exceedingly, their eſtates being* [*upon this pretence*] *waſted: by Our* [e] *Letters written the laſt year to Our Preſidents of every Province, we Decreed: that if any one had a deſire to follow that Sect, or adhere to the Preſcripts of that Religion, he might without impediment perſiſt in his reſolution, and not be hindred or prohibited by any man: and that every one ſhould freely do what pleas'd him beſt without the leaſt fear or ſuſpition. But it could not now eſcape our knowledge that ſome of Our Judges did* [f] *miſapprehend Our Commands, and cauſed Our Subjects to diſtruſt and doubt of our Decrees, and made them more ſlow and fearful in their acceſſes to thoſe Religious performances which they approved of as beſt: Now therefore that all jealouſies, ambiguities, and fears may for the future be removed, we have Decreed that this Our Edict be publiſhed; whereby all men may know, that they who deſire to follow this Sect and Religion, are allowed by this Our Gracious Indulgence to apply themſelves to that Religion which they have uſually followed, in ſuch a manner as is acceptable, and pleaſing to every one of them. We do alſo permit them to rebuild their Oratories. Moreover, that this Our Indulgence may appear the larger and more comprehenſive, it has pleaſed us to make this Sanction; that if any houſes or eſtates (which formerly belonged to and were in poſſeſſion of the* Chriſtians) *are by the Decree of Our Parents devolved to the Right of the Exchequer, or are ſeized upon by any City, or ſould, or* [g] *beſtowed upon any one as a gratuity: We have Decreed that they ſhall all be reſtored to the antient tenure and poſſeſſion of the* Chriſtians; *that ſo all men may hereby be ſenſible of our Piety and providence in this concern.*

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* See the foregoing chapter. note (*c.*)

[e] He means his Reſcript to *Sabinus* Preſect of the *Pretorium*; which *Euſebius* has inſerted at the foregoing Chap. B. 9.

Maximin ſays 'twas written *in the year paſt*, or *the laſt year*, i. e. in the year of Chriſt 312. *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* being both then in their ſecond Conſulate. Whence it follows that this laſt Edict of *Maximin* was written in the year of Chriſt 313; *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* being the third time *Conſuls*. Further, theſe are the principal differences between the Emperours *Reſcripts* and *Edicts*. (1.) Their *Reſcripts* had their names annext to whom they were ſent; the *Edicts* ſpoke to all men in general. (2.) The *Edicts* were publickly propoſed; the *Reſcripts* were given to thoſe to whom they were ſent; as may be ſeen from *Geſt. Purgat. Cecilian.* p. 28 nor was it uſual to publiſh them, unleſs this word was expreſly added in the end of the *Reſcript*, *proponatur, Let it be publiſhed*. Laſtly, in their *Reſcripts* the name of the Emperour was prefixt only with ſome few of his Titles: but in their *Edicts*, none of their Titles were omitted, but all were carefully and proudly mentioned. *Valeſ.*

[f] This word [παρεννοέομαι] is by *Langus* rendered *malè accepiſſe, miſapprehended, miſinterpreted*: which Verſion I approve of: for παρεννοεῖος, in its genuin ſenſe ſignifies *malè interpretari*. But *Muſculus* (and *Chriſtoph.* in imitation of him) tranſlates it, *negligere to neglect, pro nihilo habere, not to value*: which is not ſo well. The Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. read [παρ' ἐδὲν ἐπέθεντο *diſregarded*] which words ſeem to have been written in the margin as a *Scholion* at firſt; but afterward crept into the Text. *Valeſ.*

[g] That is by the Emperours, who us'd to give thoſe Eſtates which fell to the Exchequer to thoſe that begged them. See the *Code*, in the *Title De petitionibus*. Valeſ.

These are the expreſſions of the Tyrant, which came from him not a full year after thoſe Edicts he had publiſhed againſt the *Chriſtians* [engraven on plates of Braſs and] fix't up on the Pillars. And now he, who but a little before looked upon us as impious, Atheiſtical Perſons, and the very peſt of mankind, (in ſo much that we were not permitted to dwell in any City, Countrey, or even in the deſerts,) this very perſon [I ſay] made and publiſhed Laws and Decrees in favour of the *Chriſtians*. And they, who but lately were deſtroyed by fire and ſword, and were devoured and torn by beaſts and birds in the very preſence of this Tyrant; they, who underwent all ſorts of puniſhments, tortures and death, in a moſt miſerable manner, like Atheiſts and irreligious perſons, even theſe men are now acknowledged by this very Tyrant to profeſs Religion, and are permitted to rebuild their Oratories; nay further, the Tyrant himſelf does acknowledge and atteſt that they ought to be partakers of ſome Rights and Priviledges. Moreover, when he made this publick acknowledgment, (as if he had hereby obtained ſome favour) for this very reaſon, his ſufferings were leſs calamitous than he deſerved they ſhould be, [for] being ſmitten by God with a ſudden ſtroak, he died in the ſecond Engagement [that happened in] that War. But he ended his life not like thoſe Martial Generals, who (after they had often demeaned themſelves gallantly in the field in defence of their honour and their friends) happened couragiouſly to undergo a glorious death. But he (like an impious perſon, and a Rebel againſt his Creatour,) whilſt his Army ſtood in the field drawn up in *Battalia*, ſtaying at home and hiding himſelf, ſuffered a condign puniſhment, being ſmitten by God with a ſudden blow over his body. For, being tortured with grievous and moſt acute paines, he fell upon his face on the ground, and was deſtroyed by want

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want of food, all his flesh being melted away by an invisible fire sent upon him from heaven. In so much that, when his flesh was wholly wasted away, the entire shape and figure of his former beauty quite disappeared; his parched bones (which lookt like a skeleton that had been long dried) being all that was left of him. So that those about him judged his body to be nothing else but the grave of his soul buried in a body already dead and wholly putrified. And when the violent heat of his distemper scorched him with a greater vehemency even to the very marrow of his bones, [h] his eyes leaped out of his head, and, having deserted their proper station, left him blind. After all this he yet drew his breath, and having given thanks, and made his Confession to the Lord, he called for Death. At last, acknowledging these his sufferings due for his contempt and presumption against *Christ*, he gave up the Ghost.

[h] *Chrysostome* attests the same, in *his Oration concerning Saint* Babylas *against the Gentiles*; in these words, Ὡς τῶ μὲν τὰς κόρας ἔπι ζῶντ& αὐτομάτως ἐκπηδῆσαι ἀφ' ὀφθαλμῶν, μαξιμῖνον δεῖν· τὸν δὲ μανέντα. *The eye-balls of one of them leapt out of his eye holes of their own accord, while he was yet alive; this was* Maximin: *The other ran mad.* *Diocletian* was the Emperour that was distracted; which is attested by *Eusebius*, and by *Constantine*. We have also an account of *Maximins* blindness, in *Epiphanius*'s piece *De Ponderib.* Vales.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the final Destruction of the Enemies of Religion.

Maximin therefore being thus taken out of the world, (who was the only Enemy of Religion that hitherto surviv'd, and declared himself the worst of them all;) the Churches by the grace of God Almighty were rebuilt and raised from the very foundation, and the Gospel of Christ darting forth its beams of light to the great glory of the all-ruling Deity, enjoyed greater liberty than it formerly had. But the wicked, and the Enemies of Religion were clouded with the highest disgrace and greatest shame immaginable. For first of all *Maximin* himself was proclaimed by the Emperours a [a] publick Enemy, and was termed in the publick Edicts which were fixed upon Pillars, a most impious, detestable Tyrant, superlatively odious to God. Also the Pictures which were placed in every City in honour of him and his children, were some of them broke in pieces and thrown down from on high to the very ground; and others were defaced, having their visages blackned with dark colours. In like manner, all the Statues which had been erected in honour of him were also thrown down, broken in pieces, and exposed as subjects of derision and scorn to all those that would abuse and insult over them. After this the other Enemies of Religion were divested of all their dignities. Moreover, all *Maximin*'s party, more especially those whom he had preferred to places of the greatest power in the Provinces within his Empire (who to flatter him had been insolently abusive towards our Religion) were put to death. One of this number was [b] *Picentius*; a person that was a great favourite of his, highly esteemed by him, and his dearest intimado: whom he created Consul a second and a third time, and also made him [c] *Prefect* and *Rationalist*. Another was one [d] *Culcianus*, who had born all Offices of dignity in the Magistracy and in the Government of Provinces; he also was famous for his innumerable Massacres of the *Christians* in *Ægypt*. There were a great many more beside these, by whose endeavours most especially the barbarous Tyranny of *Maximin* was maintained and extended. Further, Divine vengeance required justice to be executed upon [e] *Theotecnus*, being in no wise forgetful of his practises against the *Christians*. For he was look't upon as a deserving and successful person upon account of his consecration of the Image at *Antioch*, and besides, the Emperour *Maximin* conferred on him the Presidency of a Province. But when *Licinius* came to *Antioch*, and was resolved to make inquisition for the Impostours, [amongst others] he tortured the Priests and Prophets of the New contrived Image, enquiring of them how they palliated and put a mask upon their Imposture: when they could no longer conceal the truth, being by their tortures compelled [to disclose it] they declared, that the imposture of the whole Mystery was compos'd by the cunning of *Theotecnus*:

[a] Though in the common Editions the term here is [πολεμιώτα]& yet we read πολέμι&. For *Eusebius* here means, that *Maximin* was proclaimed a *Common Enemy*. This was done very solemnly, by the Decree of the Senate, as the Compilers of the *Historia Augusta* inform us in many places, and especially where they treat of *Maximin*. Vales.

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[b] Him, whom the Greeks name πάν& we have termed *Picentius*: that there was a *Sycophant* of this name in the time of *Constantine*, *Zosimus* attesteth in the end of his second book. Certain we are that those persons whom the *Greeks* call ποινὰ the *Latines* term *Ficentes*.

[c] He seems to mean the *Prefect of the Prætorium*. For the term [ἔπαρχ&] is never used but to denote either the *Prefect* of the *Prætorium*, or the *Prefect of the City*. Besides, whenas *Eusebius* affirms that *Picentius* was advanced to great honour and made *Consul* twice by *Maximin*, it would be absurd for him to say, that he was made *Rationalist* by him, that being a place of small honour in respect of the *Prefecture* of the *Prætorium*. But, there are these arguments to confute this opinion: (1.) by these words [ἀφ' καθόλ λόγων] *Eusebius* does always mean the *Rationalist*, as we have frequently observed before. (2.) *Sabinus* was *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin* (as we noted before) in the year of Christ, 311, and 312. Neither (3.) is the dignity of the *Rationalists* Office to be lookt upon as mean and low. For even *Macrianus* (he that seized on the Empire in the times of *Gallienus*) bore that Office: and *Eusebius* himself (book 8. chap. 9.) calls it ἀρχὴν ὐ πῶ τυχοῦ, *no mean Office*; speaking of *Philoromus* the Martyr. But that which *Eusebius* says, to wit, that *Picentius* was made *Consul* thrice by *Maximin*, is very intricate and difficult to be made out. We have observed before, that after *Galerius*'s death, *Maximin* took upon himself the Title of *Augustus*, in the year of Christ 311. Therefore, before this time, when he was *Cæsar* only, he could not make *Picentius Consul*. For the *Augusti* only had a right of creating the *Consuls*. Therefore, after *Galerius*'s death, *Maximin* declared himself and *Picentius Consuls* in that very year. On the year following *Maximin* and *Picentius* bore their second Consulate in the East, when *Constantine* and *Licinius* were the second time *Consuls* in the West. But in *Italy* and *Africa* *Maxentius* was the fourth time *Consul* alone. Then, on the year after, which was the 313 year of Christ, the same *Maximin* and *Picentius* were *Consuls* the third time in the East, as is evidently collected from this famous passage in *Eusebius*. For 'tis improbable that *Maximin* should give a third Consulate to another, and not declare himself *Consul* once. Indeed, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, *Galerius Maximinus* is put *Consul* with *Maximianus* being in his eighth Consulate, which is the year of Christ 311. Although in that Chronicle he is called *Galerius Maximus*. We therefore are the first that have taken notice, that *Maximin* bore three Consulates. Whence it may be gathered that *Maximin* was *Augustus* about two years, having before been *Cæsar* seven years, and that he lived till the 313 year of Christ, which we have also demonstrated from his Rescripts. Wherefore I wonder how so notorious a mistake should creep into *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, as to place *Maximin*'s death before *Maxentius*'s: It seems to have been committed by Saint *Jerome*; for he added many things of his own to *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*. Vales.

[d] He was President of *Thebais*, as *Epiphanius* attests in his 68 *Heres.* which is the Heresie of the *Meletiani*, where he is called [κυλιανὸς, *Culcianus*;] but it should be *Culcianus* as 'tis evident from this place in *Eusebius*. Yet *Rufinus* translates it *Quintianus*: in *Nicephorus* 'tis *Lucianus*; both names are false. For this President was called *Culcianus*, as (besides *Eusebius*) the Acts of *Phileas* the Martyr's passion do affirm. *Vales.*

[e] *Eusebius* speaks of this *Theotecnus* before, in this ninth book. *Cedrenus* asserts that this *Theotecnus* perswaded *Galerius Maximianus* to raise a persecution against the *Christians*. But he is mistaken, in that he takes *Galerius Maximianus* for *Galerius Maximinus*, which is a common errour amongst the modern Greek Authours. *Vales.*

when

CONSTANT. & LICINIUS. when therefore *Licinius* had inflicted condign puniſhment on them all; he gave order that *Theotecnus* himſelf ſhould firſt be executed, and afterwards the reſt of his Aſſociates that were conſcious to, and accomplices in the Cheat, having firſt ſuffered innumerable tortures. To all theſe were added *Maximin*'s Sons, whom he had now made Colleagues with himſelf in the Empire, and partakers of the Pictures, and Inſcriptions dedicated to his honour. In fine, all the Tyrants relations, (who but juſt before had made their proud boaſts, and inſolently exerciſed authority over all men,) moſt ignominiouſly underwent the ſame ſufferings with thoſe perſons forementioned, for they received not inſtruction, nor did they know, or underſtand this ſeaſonable admonition uttered in the holy Scriptures; *O put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the children of men, for there is no health in them. The breath of man ſhall go forth, and he ſhall return again to his earth: in that day ſhall all their thoughts periſh.* Thus therefore the impious being like filth wiped away [from off the earth,] the Empire, which by right belonged only to *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* continued firm, and unobnoxious to Envy. Theſe perſons (after they had firſt of all cleanſed the world from all impiety) being ſenſible of thoſe great benefits they had received from God, did ſufficiently demonſtrate their love of vertue and of the Deity, their piety, and gratitude towards God, by the Laws they made in favour of the *Chriſtians*.

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The End of the Ninth Book of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

THE

THE TENTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

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CHAP. I.

Concerning the Peace, which was procured by God for us.

THerefore, glory be to God the Almighty and ſupream King, for all things: and manifold thanks to the Saviour and Redeemer of our ſouls, *Jeſus Chriſt*, through whom we pray that we may have always preſerved to us a firm and inviolable peace, both from outward troubles, and alſo from all internal moleſtations of mind. Having (by the aſſiſtance of your prayers) added this tenth book of our Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory to thoſe foregoing books at this place finiſhed, we have dedicated it to you (moſt ſacred [a] *Paulinus!*)

[a] He means *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, to whom our *Euſebius* dedicated his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory. For by his perſwaſion he undertook this work, as he does here plainly intimate. *Euſebius* deſignedly omitted the dedication of his books to *Paulinus* at the beginning of this his work, (which is uſually done,) upon account of *Paulinus*'s modeſty (if I miſtake not:) but was contented to make an honourable mention of him at the end of his Hiſtory. For he ſuppoſed it ſignified not much, whether he dedicated his books to him at the beginning, or at the end of them. *Euſebius* dedicated to the ſame *Paulinus* two books περὶ τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων, *concerning the names of places:* the former of theſe (which contained the diviſion of the 12 Tribes, the deſcription of the City *Jeruſalem*, and the *Hebrew* appellations of extraneous nations) is now loſt. But the latter (which treats of the *Hebrew* names of places) was above twenty years ſince put forth in *Greek* by the *Reverend Father Bonfrerius*, to which there is prefixt an Epiſtle to *Paulinus*. Wherein *Euſebius* atteſts, that by *Paulinus*'s perſwaſion he attempted that work; and he gives him this title [ἱερὲ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε παυλῖνε, *O Paulinus, thou ſacred man of God!*] *Paulinus* therefore was our *Euſebius*'s ἐφορμώτης, *Inſtigator to compile his books*, as *Ambroſius* heretofore was *Origen*'s.—Further, this *Paulinus* was at firſt a Presbyter of *Antioch*. Afterwards, being preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Tyre*, he was much commended for his Preſidency over that Church. And at length when *Euſtathius* was diveſted of the See of *Antioch*, he was by the *Antiochians* preferred to the Government of their Church: ſo *Euſebius* informs us, in *his book againſt Marcellus*, chap. 4. in theſe words, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, &c. *Afterwards he inveighs againſt the man of God* Paulinus, a moſt bleſſed perſon; *who was adorned with the dignity of a Presbyter at* Antioch: *and was ſo famous for his Government of the* Tyrian *Church, that the* Antiochians *challenged him as their own proper goods.* *Philoſtorgius* (book 3. chap. 15.) ſays expreſly, that *Paulinus* ſucceeded *Euſtathius* in the See of *Antioch*, and that ſix months after his tranſlation he died.—*Paulinus* therefore died in the year of Chriſt 328, after he had born the Epiſcopate of *Antioch* ſix months. Wherefore *Gothofredus* is much miſtaken, who (in his notes on *Philoſtorgius*) ſuppoſes *Paulinus* to have died in the year of Chriſt 324; and blames *Philoſtorgius* for being inconſtant to himſelf. But *Philoſtorgius* agrees very well with himſelf; which *Gothofredus* does not, in aſſerting that *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* died on the year of Chriſt 324. undoubtedly *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* was preſent at the *Nicene Council*, and ſurvived that Synod ſometime; as *Theodoret* informs us book 1. chap. 6. and *Sozomen* book 2. chap. 18.—*Baronius* indeed ſays that *Paulinus* died in the year 324, and that *Euſtathius ſucceeded him.* But *Baronius* affirms not, that that *Paulinus*, whom he makes *Euſtathius*'s predeceſſour, was Biſhop of *Tyre*. *Valeſ.*

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hereby publiſhing you to be the ſeal and cloſure as it were of this our whole work. Nor will it be incongruous (as we ſuppoſe) to place here * in its due order, a compleat Panegyrick concerning the Re-edification of the Churches: obeying herein the holy Spirit, which exhorteth us in theſe words:

* The phraſe in the original is [ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ] which *Valeſius*, *Chriſtophorſon*, and *Grynaus* render *in perfecto numero*; and we, *in its due order.*

O ſing unto the Lord a new ſong; for he hath done marvellous things. With his own right hand, and with his holy arme hath he gotten himſelf the victory. The Lord hath declared his ſalvation: his righteouſneſs hath he openly ſhewed in the ſight of the Heathen. Therefore, ſince the Scripture injoyneth us [to begin] a new ſong, let us agreeable thereto ſing together; becauſe, after ſuch terrible, black, and horrid ſpectacles and relations; we are now vouchſafed to ſee ſuch happy days, and to celebrate ſuch Feſtivals, as many of our Anceſtours, who were truly juſt and Gods Martyrs, deſired to ſee upon earth, but have not ſeen them; and to hear, but have not heard them. But theſe perſons, haſtning away with all poſſible ſpeed, obtained far more excellent things, being taken up into Heaven, and into the Paradiſe of divine joy and delight: And we, confeſſing theſe preſent enjoyments to be greater than our deſerts, ſtand amazed at the bounty of the Donour of ſuch munificence: We alſo juſtly admire and adore him with the utmoſt vigour of our ſouls, atteſting the truth of his Predictions by his Prophets contain'd in the Scriptures, in which 'tis ſaid: *O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what miracles he hath done upon the earth; He maketh warrs to ceaſe in all the world. He ſhall break the bow, and knap in ſunder the ſpear, and burn the ſhields with fire.* Let us therefore rejoyce Pſal. 98. 1, 2, 3. Pſal. 46. 8, 9.

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at the perfect and effectual completion of theſe things in our days, and with gladneſs proſecute the ſeries of our narration. After the ſame manner therefore that we have related, did the whole race of thoſe enemies of God vaniſh, and was ſuddenly taken away out of mens ſight; ſo that that divine Oracle was again compleated, which ſays; * *I have ſeen the wicked exalted, and lifted up like the Cedars of Libanus, I went by, and lo, he was not: I ſought his place but it could not be found.* Now therefore a bright and glorious day, no cloud overſhadowing it, doth enlighten, with raies of heavenly light, the Churches of Chriſt over all the earth. Neither were there any of thoſe that were ſtrangers to the community of us *Chriſtians*, and to our Religion, [b] but (although they did not enjoy them in the ſame degree that we did, yet at leaſt in ſome meaſure) might together with us partake of the ſtreams and effluxes of thoſe good things, which had been procured us from God.

* Pſal. 37. 35, 36.

[b] This place (which neither *Muſculus* nor *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood) muſt be thus mended; συναπολαύειν ἡμῖν εἰ μὴ σφῶν ἴσων, ἀπορρήτων δ' ἓν ὅμως, &c. *But (although they did not enjoy them in the ſame degree that we did, yet at leaſt in ſome meaſure) might together with us partake of the ſtreams*, &c. Valeſ. In *Stephens* Edit. the reading is, συναπολαύειν ἡμῖν σφῶν ἴσων, &c.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Re-edification of the Churches.

ALL mankind was now free from the ſlavery and oppreſſion of Tyrants; and being releaſed from their former miſeries, (although ſeveral ways, yet) all acknowledged as well as they could, that it was the only true God, who was the Defender of the pious. But more eſpecially amongſt us (all whoſe hopes were fixed ſolely upon God's Chriſt) there was an inexpreſſible joy, and a kind of celeſtial gladneſs; when we ſaw all places, which through the irreligion of the Tyrants were a little while ago totally deſtroyed, reſtored to life as it were, and recovered from a tedious and fatal ruine; and [when we beheld] the Temples erected again from the ground to a vaſt height, and in ſplendour far excelling thoſe which had formerly been deſtroyed. Moreover, the Emperours themſelves, in whoſe hands the ſupream power was, by their continual enacting of Laws in favour of the *Chriſtians*, did enlarge, augment, and confirm the magnificence of the Divine bounty towards us. There were Reſcripts alſo frequently ſent from the Emperour particularly to the Biſhops, their honours were increaſed, and ſums of money were beſtowed on them. The Contents of which Reſcripts (being tranſlated out of Latine into Greek,) it may not be impertinent to record in this book (as in a ſacred Table) at a proper and fit place, that they may be had in continual remembrance by all ſucceeding generations.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Conſecrations of Churches every where [ſolemniz'd.]

AFter thoſe things, a ſpectacle earneſtly prayed for, and much deſired by us all, appeared; [to wit,] the Solemnization of the Feſtivals of Dedication [of Churches] throughout every City, and the Conſecrations of the new builded Oratories; the frequent aſſemblies of Biſhops, the concourſe of Strangers from Countries far remote, the mutual love and benevolence of the people; the union of the members of Chriſts body joyned together in an intire harmony and conſent: therefore, (agreeable to that * Prophetick prediction, which has myſtically foreſignified what is to come,) *bone was joyned to bone, and joynt to joynt*; and what ever elſe that Divine Prophecy has ænigmatically but truly declared. There was one and the ſame power of the holy Ghoſt which paſſed through all the members: one ſoul in all: the ſame alacrity of faith: one common concent in chaunting forth the [a] praiſes of God. Indeed, the Ceremonies of the Prelates were moſt intire, the Presbyters performances of Service exact, the Rites of the Church, decent and majeſtick; [b] on the one hand was a place for the ſingers of Pſalms, and for the reſt of the Auditors of the expreſſions ſent from God: on the other was a place for thoſe who performed the divine and myſtical Services: there were alſo [delivered] the [c] myſtical Symbols of our Saviour's Paſſion. And now people of all Ages, and Sexes, men and women, with the utmoſt vigour of their minds, with joyful hearts and ſouls, by prayers and thankſgiving, worſhiped God the author of all good. All the Prelates then preſent made publick Orations, every one (as well as he was able,) endeavouring to ſet forth the praiſes of thoſe aſſembled.

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* Ezek. 37. v. 7.

[a] Θεολογία is here (as 'tis frequently in this *Hiſtorian*) us'd to ſignifie *the praiſing of God*: ſo alſo is Θεολογεῖν, *laudare Deum, to praiſe God.* Valeſ.

[b] *Rufinus's* Verſion of this place may ſerve inſtead of a comment; he tranſlates it thus; *Jam verò ingens in Sacerdotiis & miniſteriis, atque in omnibus quæ ad religionis obſervantiam pertinent, gratia reſulgebat. Adſtabant hic pſallentium chori, juvenes & virgines, ſenes cum junioribus laudabant nomen domini. Hic myſtica miniſteria ordinatis & diſpoſitis vicibus agebantur; And now an exceeding great glory and beauty appeared in the performances of the* Presbyters, *and in the Eccleſiaſtick Services, and in all things belonging to the obſervances of Religion. In one place, the company of thoſe that ſung Pſalms, youths and virgins, old men and young, praiſed the name of the Lord. In another, the myſticall ſervices were performed by ſet courſes orderly appointed.* The terms [ὧδε μὲν] therefore denote the people of the congregation, who ſang Pſalms in the Church, and hearkned to the ſacred Leſſons: which is confirmed by theſe words [φωνῶν ἀκροάσεσι, *auditours of the expreſſions*] which can be underſtood of the *Laicks* only. The words [ἄλλοθι δὲ] point out to us the *Presbyters*, who performed the myſtical ceremonies. *Valeſ.*

[c] By theſe [ἀπόῤῥητα σύμβολα σωτηρίου πάθους, *the myſtical Symbols of our Saviour's paſſion*] is meant *Baptiſm*; which is a ſign of our Saviour's ſuffering. For, *by Baptiſm we die, and are buried with Chriſt, and we riſe again through the ſame Chriſt by faith.* See *Coloſ.* 2. 12. Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

A Panegyrick concerning the ſplendid poſture of our Affaires.

AND a certain perſon, that had been indifferently well educated and was deſerving, having made this Oration, came forth into the preſence of a great many Biſhops, (that were then preſent as at an Eccleſiaſtick aſſembly) who gave him Audience quietly and decently; then turning himſelf towards one who was the eminenteſt of them all, (a Biſhop acceptable to God, by whoſe care the Church of *Tyre*, the ſtatelieſt Fabrick amongſt all the Churches within the Country of *Phœnicia*, was gloriouſly erected,) he ſpake thus.

A Pane-

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A Panegyrick upon the building of the Churches, spoken to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*.

You the Friends and Priests of God, who are wrapt in the sacred long Vesture, Crowned with the celestial diadem of glory, anointed with the holy Unction, and clothed in the Sacerdotal Robe of the holy Spirit: and You, the Grace and Ornament of this New-erected and sacred Temple of God, You who are adorned by God with a prudence befitting an hoary head, but have exhibited many glorious evidences of a vigorous and Juvenile Vertue; You to whom God, (who comprehendeth the whole world,) [a] hath granted the special prerogative of building and renewing this terrestrial Temple for Christ his only begotten and his first born word, and for his holy and sacred Spouse: [You] whom one may term either a new Beseleel, *the Architect of the holy Tabernacle; or another* Salomon, *King of a new, and far more excellent* Jerusalem; *or a second* Zorobabel, *in regard You have added a far greater splendour to the Temple of God, than it had before. Also, You, the Sheep of Christ's sacred flock; the Seat and Mansion of good Doctrines; the School of modesty; and the Reverend and [b] Religious Auditory of piety! We (who have long since heard, by reading the holy Scriptures, the Miraculous works of God, and the loving kindness of the Lord [declared] by his wonders towards mankind,) may now sing Hymns and Psalms to God, being instructed to say,* * O God, we have heard with our ears; our fathers have told us the work which thou didst in their days, in the times of old. *But now, having not barely by hearing and reports only, perceived the exalted Arm, and celestial right hand of our all good and supream God and King; but in reality and (as we may say) with these very eyes seen the truth and verity of those things which were heretofore recorded; we may sing a second triumphant Hymn, and breake forth into these expres words, saying,* Like as we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts; in the city of our God. *But in what City, except in this new built, and framed by God?* * Which is the Church of the living God, the Pillar and ground of the truth. *Concerning which another divine Oracle speaketh thus:* † Very excellent things are spoken of thee thou city of God. *In which Church since God the giver of all good, by the Grace of his only begotten Son hath convened us, let every one here assembled cry out with a loud voice as it were, and say;* * I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord. *And again:* † Lord I have loved the beauty of thine house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth. *And not only every particular person, but let us all together rejoyce and shout forth praises with one spirit, and one mind, saying,* * Great is the Lord and highly to be praised, in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill. *For he is truly great, and his house is great, lofty and spacious, and more beautiful than the sons of men. Great is the Lord who only doth marvellous things. Great is he who doth magnificent things, and such as are past finding out, glorious and stupendious, of which there is no number. Great is he who altereth times and seasons; who deposeth and constituteth Kings: who raiseth up the poor from the earth, and exalteth the beggar from the dunghil: He hath thrust down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted the humble from the earth. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and hath broken in pieces the armes of the proud. Not only amongst the Faithful, but amongst the Infidels also he hath confirmed the authority of those relations heretofore recorded of him of old. 'Tis he who worketh miracles: 'tis he that doth great things: 'tis he who is Lord of all: he, who is the framer of the whole world: he, who is Almighty: All-good: he that is the one and only God. In obedience to whom let us sing a new song; to him, who only doth wonderful things; for his mercy endureth for ever. Who smote great Kings and slew mighty Kings; for his mercy endureth for ever. For the Lord remembred us when we were in a low condition, and hath redeemed us from our Enemies. And let us never cease thus to praise God the Father of all. Also him, who is the [c] second Author of all good to us; who is our Master in instructing us in the knowledge of God, the Teacher of true piety, the destroyer of the wicked, the slayer of Tyrants, the reformer of our lives;* Jesus *our Saviour, when we were in despair, him let us extol, having his name always in our mouth. For he alone, who is the only and Best Son of the Best and greatest Father, in complyance with his Father's love to mankind, most willingly cloathed himself with our nature who were buried in Corruption; and like a careful Physician (*[d] *who for the healths sake of his Patients looks into the wounds, lightly stroketh the sores, and from other mens calamities attracteth grievances upon himself;) he himself hath by himself saved us (who were not only diseased and oppressed with foul ulcers and wounds already putrified; but also lay amongst the dead) from the very Jaws of death. For there was no other in heaven that had so much power, as inoffensively to minister health to so many; it was he only therefore who after he had touched our burdensome corruption, he alone, who after he had endur'd our labours, he alone who, after he had taken upon himself the punishment of our impieties; raised us (when we were not only half dead, but lay altogether impure and stincking in the Graves and Sepulchers) and both in times past and now*

[a] These words [χάριν ἐξαίρετον δεδώρηται] which we render [*to whom God hath given this special and particular privilege*] *Christoph.* understands as if this were the sense of them. (*viz.*) *That this Church, which was founded by* Paulinus, *was a special ornament or honour to Christ*, and *his Church*: but *Musculus* follows the same sense that I do. *Vales.*

[b] In the Greek Text, the term is [θεοσεβὲς] which we have translated *Religious*; but doubtless *Eusebius* wrote [θεοπρεπὲς, *majestick*] for it would be a simple way of expressing ones self thus, θεοσεβείας θεοσεβὲς ἀκροατήριον, *the Religious Auditory of Religion.* Vales.

* Psal. 44. v. 1.

[c] In the Med. M.S. I found this *Scholion* written at these words; καὶ· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ θεολογεῖς Εὐσέβιε πρὸ τῆς σωναιρχίας καὶ σωταιδίας, καὶ συμπαντὸς τοῦ ὅλων υἱοῦ τῷ Θεῷ. δεύτερον αὖτον ἀποκαλῶν ἄπιον καὶ ἀγαθῶν, σωτῆρα ἄπιον ὄντα καὶ συνδημιουργὸν τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὅλων, καὶ ὡσαύτως; i. e. *Thou deliverest no good divinity here (O* Eusebius *!) concerning the Son of God, who is coëqual in dominion, coëternal, and con-Creatour of all things* [with the Father:] *Thou stilest him the second Authour of all good, when as he is the same Authour and Framer of all things with the Father, and of the same substance with him.* Also in the Maz. M. S. we met with this *Scholion* here, in a later hand, wherein *Eusebius* is also reproved, in regard he subjects the Son to the Father, and attributes to him the second place. Τί πρὸς ἄνθρωπε ὅτι κακῶ τῆς σωτῆρ θεολογεῖς κεφαλῆς. Τὸν δεξῆ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ οὐσία καὶ πάντα ὅμοιον τῷ πατρὶ ὑποβιβάζων καὶ ὑποπόδιος, καὶ τὰ διάφορα τὰ παντὸς ὀνείδων· ἐγκλία φρενῶν καὶ γεφύρων τοῖς ὁμοίοις τῷ πατρὶ τὸ υἱὸν δοξαζίσασιν ἄλλοις παλαιοῖς· ὧν συνήροφ ὑπ, εἰ ὡς περφανῶς ψεύδεται οἱ τὰς πρόξεις συγγεγραφότες αὐτῶν, that is; *why doest thou utter this divinity (O man!) to thine own destruction? detracting from and subjecting him, who in glory, power, and essence is every way like the Father; and attributing to him the second place from the Father. Thy sentiments and writings do herein contradict those holy Fathers, who determined the Son to be coëssential with the Father. To whose opinion thou didst subscribe, unless they who wrote their Acts do declare a palpable untruth.* Vales.

[d] In the Greek, these following lines (the translation whereof is contained within this parenthesis) seem to be Iambicks taken out of some *Tragedian*. The words are these;

Τῆς δ' ἐν κακοῖσιν εἶνεκεν σωτηρίας·
Ὀρᾷ τὰ δεινὰ δυστυχῆ δ' ἀνδρῶν·
Ἀλλοίας τε συμφορῆσιν ἰδίας
——κεφαλῆς) λύπας.

which verses are undoubtedly very elegant, and smel something of *Æschylus*, or *Sophocles*. But I think they ought rather to be blotted out of this place, for they disturb the sence. *Vales.*

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through his earneſt compaſſion towards us (even beyond our hopes and expectations) preſerveth us, and imparteth to us an exuberancy of his Fathers good things. Tis he who is the Authour of life, the Introducer of light; our great Phyſician, King, Lord, and the Anointed of God. [e] *But even then, when all mankind (by the wiles of deteſtable Devils, and the operations of ſpirits hated by God) lay buried in an obſcure night, and thick darkneſs, he* [f] *only by his appearance, with the rayes of his light diſſolv'd the manifold chains of our ſins, like melting wax. And now, when by reaſon of his ſo great love and beneficence* [towards us] *the* † *envious Devil, Enemy to all that is good, and the favourer of evil was in a manner burſt* [with grief,] *and marſhalled all his fatal forces againſt us; and when at firſt having (like a mad Dog who with his teeth gnaws the ſtones that were thrown at him, ſpending the fury he was put into, againſt thoſe that provoked him, upon the liveleſs things thrown at him,) turn'd his beaſtly rage upon the ſtones of the Oratories, and upon the ſenſleſs piles of the buildings, he thought with himſelf, that he had procur'd the utter deſolation of the Churches; alſo, when afterwards he ſent forth terrible hiſſings, and his ſerpentine expreſſions, one while by the menaces of impious Tyrants, at another time by the blaſphemous Decrees of profane Preſidents, and moreover belched forth the virulency of his death, and with his venemous and deadly potions, poiſoned thoſe ſouls that were captivated by him, and had in a manner deſtroyed them by the pernicious ſacrifices of dead Idols; when laſtly he had incited againſt us all thoſe that under the ſhape of men masked their ſavage cruelty, perſons of a diſpoſition every way barbarous and fierce: Then again the Angel of the great Council, that* [g] *Chief Commander of Gods Hoſts (after a ſufficient exerciſe in the Combat, which the moſt valiant Champions of his kingdom exhibited, by undergoing the ſevereſt hardſhips with patience and fortitude,) appearing on a ſudden, ſo utterly deſtroyed and reduc'd to nothing, all his Enemies and Adverſaries, that they ſeem as if they had never been named. But his friends and dependants he exalted to the higheſt pitch of glory, not only amongſt all men, but amongſt the celeſtial powers alſo, the Sun, the Moon the Stars, the whole Heaven, and the World. So that now (which thing never hapned before) the ſupream Emperours, ſenſible of that honour they have received from God, ſpit in the faces of the dead Idols, trample under foot the prophane Rites and ſervices of Devils, and deride that antient errour handed down to them by tradition from their Anceſtours: they acknowledge one only God, the common Benefactor to all men, and to them in particular; and they profeſs Chriſt the Son of God to be the ſupream Ruler of all things, they proclaim him Saviour in their inſcriptions upon Pillars, ingraving in Royal Characters his valiant exploits and victories (in order to their indelible Remembrance) over the impious, in the very midſt of that City which is Queen of the whole Earth. So that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is the only perſon amongſt all thoſe who have been ſince the world began, that is confeſſed to be (even by the Emperours themſelves, who are ſupream here upon earth,) not an ordinary King made ſuch by men, but is worſhipped as being the genuine Son of the ſupream God, and is* [adored] *as being* [h] *truly and in himſelf God; and that deſervedly. For what King had ever ſuch power, as that he could fill the tongues, and ears of all men upon earth* [i] *with his name? What King ever conſtituted ſuch pious and prudent Laws, and was able to confirm them in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould be perpetually read in the audience of all men from the one end of the whole earth to the oppoſite extremities thereof? What King hath ever by his mild and indulgent Laws, melted and ſoftened the ſavage and barbarous diſpoſitions of the inhumane Heathens? What King oppoſed by all men during the ſpace of ſo many whole Ages, ever demonſtrated ſuch a more than humane valour and ſtrength, that he flouriſhed dayly, and ſeem'd to grow young in every ſucceeding age? who hath planted a Nation (which heretofore was not ſo much as heard of) not in ſome ſecret unknown corner of the earth only, but even throughout the whole world* [which lies] *under the Sun? Who ever armed his Souldiers with the Arms of godlineſs in ſuch a manner, that in their conflicts with their Adverſaries they made it apparent that their minds were firmer than an Adamant? What King was ever ſo potent as to lead an Army after his death, and to erect Trophies againſt his Enemies, and to fill every Place, Countrey, and City, Grecian and Barbarian, with his Royal Palaces, and with the* [k] *Conſecrated fabricks of holy Temples, ſuch as are thoſe ſplended ornaments and conſecrated gifts belonging to this very Church. Which are in themſelves truly auguſt and magnificent, worthy of amazement and admiration, in regard they are* [l] *evident repreſentations of our Saviour's Kingdom.* *For he now ſpake and they were made; he commanded, and they ſtood faſt: *for what could withſtand the beck and will of the Word, who is the ſupream King and Governour of all things, and is himſelf God? But an accurate contemplation, and explication of theſe things particularly, require a peculiar diſcourſe and leiſure. Moreover, a peculiar leiſure would be requiſite to relate what, and how great the alacrity of the workmen was that laboured in this building, and how it was*

[e] Here he firſt relates what *Chriſt* did in the days of old, for the ſalvation of mankind. Afterwards he ſets forth what miracles he lately wrought. *Valeſ.*

[f] In the Text we read [αὐτὸς μόνῳ ἐπιφανείς,] but we ſhould rather read [αὐτὸ μόνον] as we find it in the Med. Fuk. and Maz. M.SS. αὐτὸ μόνον ſignifies *ſolummodo, only*, or *alone*; which phraſe is frequent in *Euſebius*, and thus he is here to be underſtood: That *Chriſt* only, by his appearance and incarnation in times paſt, delivered men, who were enſlav'd by the Devil, from that grievous yoke of ſervitude. *Valeſ.*

† Τῷ μισονήλῃ φθόνῳ καὶ φιλοπονήρῳ δαίμονι; the import whereof, if rendered word for word, is this; *Envy the hater of that which is good, and the Devil the lover of miſchief.* But by the following words in the period he ſeems to ſpeak of the Devil only: upon which account we render it *The envious Devil*, &c. agreeable to *Valeſius*'s Verſion.

[g] Upon theſe words in the Med. M. S. we find this *Scholion* in the margin. (vit.) *this is wicked, Atheiſtical, and Blaſphemous, to call the Saviour Chriſt and God, the great Commander in chief of God's Hoſt.* Valeſ.

[h] We ought to take ſpecial notice of this place; for it is the firſt wherein *Euſebius* calls Chriſt αὐτοθεὸς. This one place I think ſufficient to confute all their malicious calumnies, who believe that our Authour *Euſebius* was infected with *Arianiſme*. This word [αὐτοθεὸς] is made in imitation of *Plato*'s word αὐτοαγαθὸν, which ſignifies *that which in it ſelf is truly good*: ſo αὐτοθεὸς is he *who is truly originally and in himſelf God.* Valeſ.

[i] By theſe words [τῆς ἀπὸ εὐσεβείας] may be meant *the Chriſtians*, who are called τῆς ἀπὸ εὐσεβείας *after his own name*: which name of *Chriſtians* was ſpread over all Nations, and known not amongſt the *Romans* only, but alſo amongſt the *Barbarians*. But if any would have theſe words [τῆς ἀπὸ εὐσεβείας] ſignifie *Chriſt's own name*; I will not much contradict it; for a little after our Authour ſpeaks of the *Chriſtians*: which certainly he would not have done, had he ſpoken of them before. *Valeſ.*

[k] Ἀφιέρωμα the term here, does not ſignifie *the Conſecration of Churches*, as *Muſculus* here tranſlates it; but rather the *Donaria, things Offered and Conſecrated to God*, and thus the following words [κοσμήματα καὶ ἀναθήματα, *Ornaments and Dedicated* (or *Conſecrated*) *gifts*,] declare. Certainly if *Euſebius* had here meant *Conſecration*, he would have us'd ἀφιέρωσις and not ἀφιέρωμα in this place; as he does in the third chapter of this tenth book. *Valeſ.*

[l] In the Kings M. S. at the ſide of this line I found this mark [ωρ.] ſet: which is an abbreviation of the word [ὡραῖον, i. e. *polite, elegant.*] In antient M. SS. 'tis uſually found placed at the more elegant paſſages. *Valeſ.*

* Pſal. 33. v. 9.

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was look't upon and esteemed of by that God himself, whom we extoll, who inspects the living temples of us all, and views the house built of living and [m] firm stones, well and securely placed upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone: who was rejected not only by those who were the Framers of that antient building, which endures now no longer, but also by those Architects of that Fabrick which now is, consisting of many persons; who were wicked Framers of evil works. But the Father having tryed [this stone] and approv'd of it, in times past, and now also, layed it as the head of the Corner of this Church which is common to us all. Into this living Temple therefore of the living God, which is made up of us, (I mean that most stately sacred Fabrick, truly worthy of God, whose inmost recesses are invisible to the vulgar, and are truly holy, and the holiest of holies) what man is he that dares look and divulge [what he there beholds?] Yea who is he that can with his eyes penetrate its sacred inclosures, but he alone, the great high Priest of all; whose only right and priviledge it is to make researches into the secrets of every rational soul? And perhaps the same is granted to [n] one other person in the next place after him, to wit, to this chief leader of his Host; whom the first and great high Priest himself hath honoured with the second place of the Priesthood in this sacred Temple, and has himself constituted him the shepherd of your holy flock, having this your people committed to his charge by the allotment and determination of the Father, as being his own Minister and Interpreter: a new Aaron, or Melchisedeck, made like to the Son of God, remaining, and by the publick prayers of you all preserved for ever by him. Unto this person alone therefore be it lawful next after the chief and principal High Priest, if not to have the first, yet at least the second place in looking into, and taking care of the very inmost recesses of your souls: for by [the help of] experience and length of time he hath both made accurate inquiries into every particular person amongst you; and also by his care and industry, hath instructed you all in modesty, and in the doctrine which is according to godliness: and he is abler than any one else to give such accounts of those [o] works (which by the assisting power of God he hath perfected) as are answerable to the works themselves. Indeed, our first and chief High Priest saith, * What things soever he seeth the Father do, these also doth the Son likewise. But this person, looking upon the first [High Priest,] as it were upon a Master, attentively with the unpolluted eyes of the mind; whatsoever things he seeth him do, them he maketh use of as his original patterns, and hath wrought the representations thereof into such a form, that they do express (as neer as 'tis possible to be done) an exact likeness thereto. Being nothing inferiour to that * Beseleel, whom God himself (having filled him with the spirit of Wisedom and understanding, and of other artificial and skilful knowledge,) made choice of to be the Framer of a Structure of celestial types of a † Temple by certain shadowed representations. After the same manner therefore, this our [Bishop] [p] bearing in his mind the perfect, whole, and intire representation of Christ, who is the Word, the Wisedom and the Light; it cannot be expressed with what a greatness of soul, * with what a rich and inexhaustible hand of his understanding, and with what an emulous liberality [proceeding from] you all, (who by your nobleness in contributing to the charge did most ambitiously contend, that you might in no wise seem to be inferiour to his vast design) he hath erected this magnificent Temple of the most high God which may be seen, naturally resembling (as neer as may be) the Model of that more glorious Structure which is invisible. And this very place, (for it is fit we should speak of this first,) which by the treacheries of our Enemies was overwhelmed with all manner of impure rubbish, he neglected not; nor did he in the least yield to the wickedness of them who had been authors of it; whenas he could have found out another place (whereof there are great numbers in this City) where he might have been eased of much of his labour, and freed himself from many troubles: yet, having first made ready himself to undertake this work; and afterwards corroborated all the people with an alacrity of mind, and gathered them all together into one great Band, he attempted this [q] first laborious enterprize: supposing it fitting that this very Church (which had been most battered by the Enemies, which had heretofore undergone great sufferings [upon our account,] which had endured persecutions both with and before us, which like a mother was bereaved of her children,) ought to enjoy together with us the magnificent bounty of our most good and gracious God. For, in as much as that great Shepherd hath vouchsafed to gather his children together again into one place, having driven away the wild beasts, Wolves, and all the savage and fierce kind of creatures, and (as the divine Scriptures say,) having broken the jaw-bones of the Lions, with good reason he reedified the Fold for his Flock, * That he might put to confusion the enemie and the avenger, and might bring a reproach upon the audacious and rebellious attempts of the impious against God. [r] Now therefore these persons, hated by God, are not, nor were they then. But after they had for a short space of time raised disturbances, and were

[m] I have translated these words [Ϛεϛηκότων λίθων] firm stones: Musculus translates them crescentes lapides, growing stones. Christoph. renders them incedentes in terra lapides, walking stones: but I cannot conceive, how the foundation could be firm, if the stones mov'd. Of these Versions the Reader may take which best pleaseth him; I do not here reject Christoph. version. But whereas Christoph. supposes these words [τοῦ θεολογικοῦ] which we translate [that God whom we praise] do signifie Christ; I cannot at all commend him: For our Authour speaks afterward of Christ; saying, that he is the chief corner stone of this Temple. Wherefore by [τὸ θεολογικὸν] it meant God the Father, the Overseer of this work. Hieronym. translates [Ϛεϛηκότας λίθους] in the second chapter of Haggai, lapides viventes qui nunc volvuntur super terram, living stones which are rolled upon the earth. Vales.

[n] After these words there is an Asterisk set in the Med. M. S. and in the margin are these words written [καὶ τοῦτο ἀσεβές. This also is blasphemous.] The Scholiast, who set this note here, seems to have thought that in this place Eusebius spake concerning Christ: but he speaks of Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, who (says he) has obtained the next place to Christ in the Government of believers. Now this cannot be stiled an impious expression, seeing that all Prelates do resemble Christ, and are his vicegerents in the Government of the Church. We confess indeed, that Eusebius attributes too much to Paulinus, in regard he gives him the second place, as if he were Christs Equal and Colleague; and in regard he terms him Melchisedech. Vales.

[o] He means as well the spiritual as material Fabrick of the Church at Tyre; of the form and model whereof Paulinus (says he) can give the best account, in regard by the assistance of divine power he framed that Structure. Vales.

* Jo. 5. 19.

† Eusebius here us'd Ναὸς improperly, making it to signifie a Tabernacle; whereas Ναὸς signifies properly, a Temple: we read in Exod. chap. 38. that Beseleel built the Tabernacle of the Lord, not the Temple. Vales.

[p] This word [ἀρχιμαστοφορέων] is a Metaphorical term, taken from the Heathen Priests, who carried the Images of their Gods upon their shoulders. Vales.

* Πλουσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπλήστῳ διανοίᾳ χρεῖ. So 'tis worded in the original.

[q] He alludes to the Herculean Labours, or Combats. Vales.

* Psal. 8. v. 2.

[r] The phrase here is [καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰσὶν οἱ θεομισεῖς, ἔτι μὴ δὲ ἦσαν] which Valesius renders thus, [Itaque illi deo invisi, nunc amplius non sunt, quando ne tum quidem erant:] and we thus, [Now therefore these persons, hated by God, are not, nor were they then.] It seems to be an imitation of Dionysius Alexandrinus his expression; who in his Epistle to Harmammon (part whereof is quoted by our Eusebius, at book 7. chap. 23.) speaks thus concerning Macrianus [ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ ἦν, now he is not, for he never was.] Vales.

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themſelves alſo diſturbed, they ſuffered a moſt juſt puniſhment inflicted on them by divine vengeance, and irrecoverably ruin'd themſelves, their friends and families. So that thoſe predictions heretofore recorded in the Sacred Monuments [of the Scriptures] may now be acknowledged to be really certain, in which the word of God does both truly declare other things, and alſo ſpeaks expreſly concerning them, thus: * The ungodly have drawn out the ſword, they have bent their bow, to caſt down the poor and needy, and to ſlay ſuch as are of an upright converſation. Their ſword ſhall go through their own heart, and their bows ſhall be broken. *And again,* * Their memorial periſhed with a ſound, and † thou haſt put out their name for ever and ever. || For when they were in troubles they cryed, and there was none to ſave them, even unto the Lord did they cry, but he heard them not. ‡ They were bound and fell, but we aroſe and were ſet upright; *This alſo which was foretold in theſe words* (* Lord, thou in thy city ſhalt bring their image to nought) *is manifeſted in the ſight of us all to be moſt true. Theſe men, who like the Giants rais'd a war againſt God, procured for themſelves the ſame fatal end of their lives that they did: But* † *She which was deſolate, and whoſe ſafety was deſpaired of by all men, has arived to ſuch a concluſion of her patient ſufferance upon God's account as we now behold, ſo that theſe words of the Prophecie of* Iſaiah *may ſeem to have been ſpoken to Her.* * Rejoyce thou thirſty deſert; let the ſolitary place rejoyce, and flouriſh like a lilly: the deſerts ſhall flouriſh and be glad: be ye ſtrengthened ye languid hands, and feeble knees: be comforted you faint hearted, be ſtrong, and fear not: Behold our God doth repay judgment, and will repay it: he will come and ſave us. *For (ſaith he)* Water hath broke out in the deſert, and a valley in a thirſty land. The parched ground ſhall be changed into mooriſh places, and the fountain of water into a thirſty land. *All this was formerly predicted in words, and laid up in the ſacred books; but the things themſelves, are now no longer delivered to us by hear-ſay, but [are exhibited] by actual performances. This ſame dry deſert, this* diſconſolate Widow (* whoſe very gates they have *cut down at once with Axes, like wood in the Forreſt,* having broken Her in peices with the axe and the hammer: *whoſe books they have ſpoiled,* and have burnt the ſanctuary of God with fire: they have defiled the dwelling place of his name even unto the ground; * Whoſe grapes all that go by plucked of, (having firſt broken down her hedges,) *whom the* wild bore out of the forreſt hath rooted up, *and the* wild hog devoured;) *by the miraculous power of Chriſt (it having now pleaſed him ſo to do) flouriſheth again like a lilly. Yea, at ſuch time as She was chaſtened, that [chaſtizement was inflicted on Her] by his appointment, as it were by a careful and indulgent Father.* ‡ For whom the Lord loveth he chaſtiſeth, and ſcourgeth every Son whom he receiveth. *When therefore She had been moderately and ſufficiently chaſtized, She is again commanded from Heaven to rejoyce; and She flouriſheth as a lilly, and breaths forth upon all men, a divine ſweet ſavour: for ſaith he,* * Water guſhed out in the deſerts, [*to wit,*] *the* † *fountain of that ſalutary laver of divine regeneration.* And now, that land which a little before was deſolate, is changed into pools: And the fountain of living water hath guſhed out plentifully upon a thirſty land: *thoſe hands which were formerly weak, are really ſtrong: And thoſe works [which you behold] are great and powerful inſtances of this ſtrength of the hands: moreover, thoſe knees which were formerly enfeebled and weak, having, now recovered their uſual firmneſs and faculty of walking, go ſtraight on in the way of divine knowledge of God, haſtning towards the genuine flock of that moſt good and gracious ſhepherd. And if any of them have had their ſouls benummed and ſtupified through the menaces of Tyrants, even theſe the ſaving Word doth not diſpiſe as incurable, but heals them carefully and tenderly, and excites them to be partakers of the divine conſolation, ſaying;* Be comforted, ye faint hearted: be ſtrong, fear not. *When therefore this our new and excellent* Zorobabel *(by the accuteneſs of his underſtanding) perceived that, according as the divine Word had foretold, She which had been brought to deſolation for God's ſake, ſhould enjoy theſe good things, after that bitter Captivity, and abomination of deſolation: He diſpiſed not this dead corps, but having in the firſt place with ſupplications and prayers (together with the joynt conſent of you all) propitiated the Father, and taking for his aſſiſtant, and fellow-labourer the only reviver of the dead, He raiſed up this fallen Church, having firſt purified Her, and healed Her of her Maladies. And now he hath put a Robe about Her, not that Old one, but ſuch a one as he had again received inſtructions about, from the divine Oracles, which expreſly teſtifie thus:* * And the latter glory of this houſe ſhall far excell the former. *Upon which account, having taken in a far larger compaſs of ground, he fortified the outward circuit with a wall on every ſide, which might ſerve for a ſtrong fence to the whole Structure. Then he raiſed a ſpacious, lofty, and ſtately* Portico *againſt the rayes of the riſing Sun, which, to thoſe who ſtand at a ſufficient diſtance without the ſacred incloſure, does yield a full proſpect of this Structure within; and as it were, attracts the eyes of Infidels to look upon the firſt entrances, that ſo no perſon might paſs by, who ſhould not feel ſome pricks in his mind, both at the remembrance of the former deſolation, and alſo at [the ſight of] the ſtupendious miracle of the preſent Fabrick. Hence he hoped, that he who upon that account felt ſuch a compunction, might peradventure be drawn [towards it,] and at the very ſight thereof would be perſwaded to enter in. But after you are come within the gates, he has not permitted you to enter immediatly into the holy place, with impure and unwaſhen feet. But, having left a large vacancy betwixt the Temple, and the* Portico, *He beautified this vacant ſpace* (ᵗ *having incloſed it in the figure of a* Quadrangle) *with four oppoſite Cloyſters ſupported on every ſide with Pillars. The* ᵗ *intermediate ſpace betwixt theſe Pillars, he filled up with partitions made of wood, reſembling* Net-work, *which reach up an indifferent height, but the* ᵘ *middle ſpace*

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* See Hag. 2. 9.

ᶜ *Chriſtoph.* thought that theſe words [περαδεχθεις τον τοπον] were ſpoken concerning *the Temple*; whereas by them is meant the *ſpace betwixt the Porch and the Temple.* This ſpace was incloſed (ſays He) in

* He alludes to Pſal. 74. v. 7.

* See Pſal. 80. v. 12, 13.

‡ Heb. 12. v. 6.

* Iſai. 35. v. 6.

† We read [τὸ νᾶμα, *the fountain*] not [τὸν ἄ-μα.] The Fuk. & Savil. M. SS. confirm our reading. *Valeſ.*

* Pſal. 37. v. 14, 15.

* Pſal. 9. 6. Their memorial is periſhed זכרם *with them*; in the Septuagint the reading is μεθ' ἤχους *with a ſound.*

† Pſal. 9. 5.

|| See Pſal. 18. 41.

‡ Pſal. 20. v. 8.

* Pſal. 73. v. 19.

† The Church of God.

* Iſai. 35. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7. Our Authour quotes this Text, as it is in the Verſion of the 72; according to which we tranſlate.

figure of a Quadrangle, and beautified with four oppoſite Cloyſters by *Paulinus.* Valeſ.

ᵗ This [μέσα τῶν κιόνων] very well rendred, [*intercolumnia, the ſpace betwixt the Pillars,*] was fill'd up with latticed bars of wood, which reached upwards an indifferent height: here alſo *Euſebius* uſeth [μήκει] to ſignifie [*height*] which is not taken notice of by Tranſlatours. *Valeſ.*

ᵘ He means *that middle ſpace in the open air,* which was encompaſſed on every ſide with the four Cloyſters; it was of the ſame figure with thoſe which in the modern Monaſteries are called *Pratella.* For that which the Monks call *a Cloyſter* is nothing elſe but four *covered walks,* within which is *that vacancy in the open air,* by them termed *Pratellum.* Moreover, in ſome Monaſteries, this *vacancy in the open air* is fenced in with rails, after the ſame manner that *Euſebius* ſays the *Atrium,* [the *Court,* or *Yard*] was, wherein the Church of *Tyre* ſtood; which is done to hinder boys from going into *that open place,* which is uſually planted with flowers. This vacant place is in *Latine* properly termed *Atrium.* Valeſ.

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he left open, that a view of Heaven might be taken, and that by it might be let in the clear air filled with the rays of Light. Here also he placed the Mysterious Symbols of the sacred Purgations, to wit, fountaines built opposite to the front of the Church, which afforded plenty of water for those who entred the sacred walls to wash in. And this first place of reception to those that entred, yielded both a beautiful and splendid prospect to all men, and also afforded a very commodious Mansion to those who yet wanted instruction in the first principles of Religion. Moreover, † *after a view taken of these* [*buildings,*] *he made passages opening into the Church* [*adorned*] *with a great many more inward* Porticoes. *And again at the rays of the rising Sun he placed three gates in one and the same side. On the middlemost of which he thought fit to bestow much more of magnificence and spaciousness than on the other two placed on either side of it; and, having adorned it gloriously with plates of Brass bound on with Iron, and with variety of Sculpture, he adjoyned the other two as the Guards to Her, being as it were a Queen. When he had after the same manner made the number of the Porches equal to the Cloysters on both sides of the Church, over these Porches, he invented other copious conveyances of Light into the House, and adorned them with various and exceeding fine and small wooden Sculptures: but the Royal House it self he furnished with richer and more costly materials, liberally bestowing thereon most magnificent and vast expences. I think it here superfluous for me to describe the length and breadth of this building, and to treat particularly of the splendour* [*of the Structure,*] *of its unspeakable greatness, of the glittering show of the Works, of its height which equals heaven, and of the costly Cedars of* Libanus *that are laid hereupon: the mention of which even the holy Scripture hath not passed over in silence; wherein tis said* * The trees of the Lord shall rejoyce, even the Cedars of Libanus which he hath planted. *To what end should I make an exact narration here of the most ingenious and artificial composure of the whole Structure, and of the incomparable beauty of every particular part of it, when as the testimony of the Eyes excludeth all knowledge which entreth at the Eares? Moreover, after he had thus finished the Temple, and decently adorned it with the highest thrones in honour of the Prelates of Churches, and also with* ‡ *benches orderly placed all over the Church, at last he placed the Holy of Holies, the Altar, in the middest, and that the multitude might not come within these* [*sacred places,*] *he enclosed them with wooden rails made like Net-work, which were so curiously and artificially framed and carved, that they entertained those that viewed them with a wonderful and surprizing sight. Neither was the very Pavement neglected by him, but after he had beautified it most gloriously with Marble-stone, he proceeded to the out-buildings of the Temple; and with great Art and Skill erected most spacious* * Exhedræ *and* Oeci *on each side which in an uniform manner were joyned together at the sides* (y.) *of the Cathedral, and united to the* y *doors which lead into the middle of the Church. These buildings our most peaceful King* Solomon *(who erected this Temple of God) made for them, who want the Purification, and the sprinkling by water and the Holy Ghost. So that, that Propheſie before quoted is no longer a wordy Prediction, but is really accomplished: For now it is come to pass, that the glory of this latter House is truly greater than the former. For it was requisite and agreeable that (since her Pastor and Lord, for her sake once suffered death, and after his Passion changed that vile body, which for her sake he had put on, into brightness and glory; and translated that very corruptible flesh from corruption to immortality,) she also should likewise enjoy the* z *Dispensations of her Saviour. For although she (having received from him a promise of far more excellent things than she doth at present enjoy,) incessantly longeth to be for eternal ages partaker of a far greater glory of a Regeneration, at the Resurrection of the incorruptible body, with the Quire of the Angels of light, in the Palaces of God above the Heavens, together with* Jesus Christ *the Donour of all good things, and her Saviour: Yet during the interim of her abode in this present world, she (who was heretofore a widow and desolate,) being by the grace of God surrounded with these flowers, is (as the Propheſie saith) truly become like unto a Lilly. And, having put on her wedding Robe, and being encircled with a Crown of beauty, let us hear her Herself relate how she is taught to dance by* Esaias, *and with pleasant expressions to shout forth thanksgivings to her God and King:* * Let my soul rejoyce in the Lord. For he hath cloathed me with the Garment of salvation, and the coat of gladness He hath encircled my head with a diadem like a bridegroom, *and hath* bedecked me like a bride with ornaments. And as the earth which multiplieth its flowers, and as a garden that causeth its seeds to spring forth; so the Lord hath caused righteousness to rise up, and joy in the sight of all

† Παρεμπεσὼν τῶν τοιούτων ἴσαν, *after you have seen these things, or after you have entertained your self with beholding these things. Musculus's* version of it is, *horum conspectu præterito, after you have passed seeing these things*, which Version of *Musculus's* is rather to be follow'd then that long circumlocution of *Christophorson's*, by which he translates this place thus, *Quinetiam quo ista res ad oculos capiendos magnâ operum varietate concinnè illustrarent*: which translation agrees not with *Eusebius's* words. *Vales.*

* See Psal. 104. v. 16.

‡ For whom these βάθρα, *benches or seats* were made, 'tis some difficulty to resolve, (that is,) for what degree of order of men they were intended. *Leo Allatius* in his *second Epist. De Templis Græcor*: supposes these *benches* were made for the common use of the *Laity*, The same says *Clemens*, in his *Constitut. Apost.* B. 2. cap. 57. But *Eusebius* means another thing. For afterwards, where he explains the whole Fabrick of this Church Allegorically, he says that by the *Thrones*, the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were meant: but by the *Benches*, the *Deacons*, and others that served in the Church. Wherefore these *benches* were rather designed for those who served in the Church, than for the *Laicks*. Indeed the *Laity* were not permitted to sit in the Church. So says *Optatus* in his fourth book, and which words of his we must so understand, that in a congregation in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, *the Laicks were not permitted to sit down*; but when the Service was ended, they had liberty to sit. So also says *Athanas.* in his Epist. *Ad Solitar.* Vales.

y *Christophorson* renders this place thus; *atque adeo ad fenestras inferioris templi affixit, and therefore joyned them to the windows of the lower temple*: the meaning of which Version I understand not. For I can't apprehend how the *Exhedræ* (i. e. *the Vestries, or Lower buildings which stood on the sides of the Cathedral and were joyned to it*) could be fixed to the windows. *Christophorson* supposed that εἰσόδοις (the term here used in the Greek) did signifie *windows*. Indeed, *Eusebius*, speaking a little above concerning the windows through which the light was conveyed into the *Porches*, uses this term [εἰσόδοις,] which *Christophorson* translates *windows*. But in this place, where εἰσόδοις is put by its self, without being joyned to any other word, it can't signifie *windows*. Either therefore *Eusebius* means, by this term here used, *the doors of the Cathedral*, which a little before he calls [παρόδους;] or else *certain walks, through which there was a passage to the Cathedral*; which *Paulinus*, in his twelfth Epist. calls *Transennæ*. But 'tis my judgment that *the doors of the Cathedral* are hereby meant. Further, by those *Oeci*, and *Exhedræ*, *Eusebius* means the *Baptistery*, the *consistory*, and *the place where they saluted one another*; which were joyned to the Cathedral. *Vales.*

z We observed before (see Book 1. Chap. 1. note *b.*) that οἰκονομία (the term that occurs here) signifies *not only Christ's Incarnation*; but that, *whatever our Saviour did in the flesh in order to the procuring man's salvation*, is in general termed οἰκονομία. See the authorities there quoted. This place also evidently demonstrates the same, where *Eusebius* terms not only *the Death*, but *the Resurrection* also of Christ, οἰκονομίας, *dispensations*, in the plural number. *Vales.*

* Esaias 61. 10, 11, Our Author quotes the words of the Septuagint; and we translate accordingly.

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all the Heathen. *Thus doth ſhe ſing and dance. But in what expreſſions the Bridegroom, the celeſtial Word, Jeſus Chriſt Himſelf anſwereth her, hear the Lord ſpeaking:* * Fear not becauſe thou haſt been ignominiouſly treated, neither be thou aſhamed, becauſe thou haſt ſuffered reproach. For thou ſhalt forget thine everlaſting ſhame, and thou ſhalt no longer remember the reproach of thy widowhood: the Lord hath called thee, not as a woman forſaken, and dejected in ſpirit, nor as a woman hated from thy youth: thy God hath ſaid; For a little while I have forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion I will have pitty upon thee. I turned my face from thee when I was a little angry; but with everlaſting mercy I will have mercy upon thee, ſaith the Lord who hath † redeemed thee. † Ariſe, ariſe, thou who haſt drunk from the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath. For thou haſt drunk of, and emptied the cup of Deſtruction, the cup of my fury: and there was none of all thy ſons, whom thou haſt born to comfort thee: neither was there any to take thee by the hand: Behold I have taken out of thy hand the cup of deſtruction, the cup of my wrath, and thou ſhalt no longer drink it. And I will put it into the hands of them who have * injured thee, and debaſed thee. * Ariſe, ariſe, put on ſtrength, put on thy glory. Shake off the duſt, and ariſe: ſit down: looſe the chain of thy neck. ‖ Lift up thine eyes round about, and view thy children gathered together. Behold, they are gathered together, and come to thee. As I live ſaith the Lord, thou ſhalt put them all on as an ornament, and thou ſhalt put them about thee as a bride doth her bravery. For thy deſolate places, and thoſe that were waſted, and ruinous, ſhall now be too narrow for thy inhabitants. And they ſhall be removed far from thee, that devoured thee: for thy ſons which thou hadſt loſt ſhall ſay in thine ears: The place is too ſtraight for me: make a place for me that I may dwell. And thou ſhalt ſay in thine heart: who hath begotten me theſe? I am childleſs and a widow. Who hath nouriſhed theſe for me? I was left deſolate: theſe where had they been? *All this* Eſaias *hath predicted. Theſe things were in times paſt recorded in the holy Scriptures concerning us. And it was requiſite that we ſhould now at length receive the truth of theſe words really and actually fullfilled. In regard therefore the bridegroom, the Word, hath ſpoken in this manner to his ſpouſe, the ſacred and holy Church, agreeably hereto hath this* [a] *Dreſſer of the Bride, (with the prayers of you all in common, reaching out to her your helping hands, by the appointment of God the ſupream King, and by the appearance and preſence of Jeſus Chriſt's power) raiſed and erected this deſolate* [Church,] *lying like a dead carcaſs* [on the ground,] *and deſpaired of by all men. And, having lifted her up after this manner, hath made her ſuch an one, as he was inſtructed to do by the delineation of the ſacred Scriptures. This* [Fabrick] *is indeed a ſtupendious miracle, and doth ſurpaſs all the degrees of admiration, eſpecially to them, who are only intent upon the outward appearance of things. But the original Examples and Primitive forms hereof, the ſpiritual and truely divine patterns are more admirable then all miracles, I mean, the reparations of that divine and rational building in our ſouls. Which* [Structure] *when the Son of God himſelf had framed according to his own Image, and had freely granted, that in all parts it ſhould bear the reſemblance of God, he beſtowed upon it a nature incorruptible, incorporeal, rational, different from all terrene matter,* [and gave it] a [b] *ſubſtance originally and of its ſelf intelligent; after he had once thus created it at the beginning out of nothing, He made it an holy Spouſe, and* [framed it into] *a moſt ſacred Temple for Himſelf and his Father. This he himſelf in expreſs words acknowledgeth, ſaying;* * I will dwell in them and walk amongſt them, and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. *Such indeed is the perfect and purified ſoul, which was ſo framed at the beginning that it bore the perfect Image of the celeſtial Word. But when through the envie and emulation of the malitious Devil, by its own voluntary choice, it began to be a follower of its own paſſions, and was inamored with vice, (God having withdrawn himſelf out of it,) being left deſtitute as it were of a Defender, it was eaſily captivated, and remained expoſed to their treacheries who for a long time had been enviers* [of its glory,] *and being now utterly battered down by the Engines and Machines of its inviſible Adverſaries, and ſpiritual enemies, it ſunk down into ſuch a total ruine, that not one ſtone of vertue was left ſtanding upon another: all the parts of it lay proſtrate on the ground, as dead, utterly deprived of all thoſe notions concerning God, which were naturally imprinted on it. But this ruinated building, which was framed after the Image of God, was not laid waſte by that wild bore out of the wood which is viſible to our eyes, but by ſome deſtructive Devil, and by intelligent and ſpiritual wild beaſts. Who, having put it into a flame by wicked paſſions (as it were with the* [c] *fiery darts of their malice) have burnt with fire the truely divine ſanctuary of God, and deſtroyed the tabernacle of his name even to the ground. Afterwards they buried it miſerable wretch under a vaſt heap of earth which they caſt up, and reduced it to an utter deſpaire of all manner of ſafety. But its Patron, the Divine and ſalutary Word (obeying the love of his moſt gracious Father ſhown towards mankind,) reſtored it again after it had ſuffered condign puniſhment for its ſins. In the firſt place therefore, having united to himſelf the minds of the Emperours, by means of thoſe moſt pious Princes, he cleanſed the whole world from all impious and pernicious men, and alſo from thoſe cruel and barbarous Tyrants, hated of God. Afterwards, he brought to light men very well known to him, perſons that*

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* Eſai. 54. 4,5,6,7,8.

† Eſai. 51. 17,18,22, 23.

* Eſai. 52. 1,2.

‖ Eſai. 49. 18,19,20, 21.

* Levit. 26. 12.

[a] Νυμφοστόλος is here very well rendred by *Chriſtoph. Exornator ſponſæ, the Dreſſer of the Bride. Muſculus* renders it not amiſs *Paranymphus,* (i. e.) *one who is to take care of all things that appertain to the Bride.* Valeſ.

[b] *Euſebius* here calls the ſoul of Man, οὐσία αὐτοκινητὸς (i. e.) *a ſelf intelligent ſubſtance,* becauſe naturally and of it ſelf it underſtandeth. So the Philoſophers call *ſpiritual ſubſtances,* νοερὰς οὐσίας, ſuch as we call *Intelligentias, Intelligences.* But *Chriſtoph.* being groſly miſtaken, takes νοερὰ οὐσία in this place to be the ſame with νοητὴ οὐσία; and accordingly renders it, *Subſtantia Solâ mentis intelligentiâ cognita, a ſubſtance which can only be comprehended by the underſtanding of the mind.* But there is a difference betwixt νοητὸν (i. e.) *intelligible, that which may be comprehended,* or, *underſtood,* and νοερὸν (i. e.) *intellectual, that which does underſtand, or comprehend.* For example's ſake, *Chimæra,* and all ſuch Fictions of the underſtanding are νοητὰ, *intelligible,* but not νοερὰ, *intellectual* or *intelligent. Nebridius* in his 71 Epiſt. *to both Auguſtines,* doth very well diſtinguiſh betwixt theſe words. *Valeſ.*

[c] By περιεχλωμένα βέλα, *Euſebius* means *malleoli,* darts beſmeared with wild-fire, and ſuch fire-balls as are flung from the walls, upon Enemies; here he imitates that place of Saint *Paul,* where he makes the Devil to be armed *with fiery darts* with which he fights againſt men. See *Epheſ. 6. 16. Valeſ.*

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that heretofore had been [d] *consecrated Priests to him for ever, and were secretly concealed, and secur'd by his defence during the storm of Persecution, whom agreeable to their deserts he honoured with the magnificent gifts of the spirit: by these men he hath again purified and cleansed (by their poinant and reprehensive Preaching of the divine Precepts, as it were with shovels and spades,) those souls which a little before were defiled, and totally covered over with all manner of filthiness, and heaps of impious Injunctions. And when he had made the place of all your minds bright and clear, he delivered it up to this most prudent Prelate, most acceptable to God. Who being a man endowed with great judgment and reason in other things, and also, most acute in discerning and* [e] *distinguishing the disposition of the souls allotted to his care; from the very first day (as I may say) even to this present, he hath not ceased to build: cementing together in you all one while glistering gold, at other times purified and tryed silver, and precious and rich stones. So that by his workes towards you he hath again compleated that sacred and mystical Propheſie, the words whereof are these:*

* Esai. c. 54. v. 11, 12, 13, 14. * Behold I prepare Carbuncle for thy stone, and Saphire for thy foundations, and for thy Bulwarks Jasper, and for thy gates stones of Christal, and for thy wall choice stones: and all thy children shall be taught of God, and great [shall be] the peace of thy children: and thou shalt be built in righteousness.

He therefore building in righteousness hath aptly and fitly differenced the strength of all the people. Some he hath incloſed with the outward wall onely, that is, he hath fortified them round with an unerring and strong faith; of this sort there is a great multitude, who cannot bear a more excellent structure. To others he committeth [the custody of] *the entrances into the Temple, giving them in command* [f] *to watch at the Gates, and to conduct those in, that come thither; these may fitly be compared to the Porches of the Temple. Other some he hath set to support the chief Pillars, which are without, about the* [g] *Court quadrangular-wise. Bringing them within the first* [h] *Bolts of the literal sense of the four Gospels. Some he hath also placed about the sanctuary* [i] *on both sides, these are such as are* * (atechumens *as yet, and do make a good progress and increase in the faith;* [k] *but yet they are not far from inspecting those most secret Mysteries, which* [priviledge] *only the perfect believers do enjoy. Out of this number he hath taken those, whose immaculate souls have been purified like gold in the sacred Laver; some of whom he hath set to support Pillars far more noble then those outward ones, even the most intricate and Mysterious sentences of sacred Scripture; others of them he illuminateth to be* [as it were] [l] *windows to transmit light into the Temple. He hath also beautified the whole Temple with one most spacious* Portico, *that is, with the glorious worship of the one and only God, the supream King. He hath represented Christ and the Holy Ghost on each side of the Fathers preeminence and authority, as the* [m] *second rays of light. And he demonstrateth throughout the whole Cathedral a most copious and excellent light and evidence of the truth particularly* [coucht] *in the remaining* [*Articles of our faith.*] *Moreover, when he had from all parts selected living, firm, and strong stones of souls, of all them he framed a stately and Royal sanctuary, full of light and splendour both within and without:* [n] *in as much as not only in their souls and minds, but their bodies also, they are beautified with the glorious ornaments of Chastity and Modesty. There are also within this Temple, Thrones, a great many Benches, and Seats; which are in all those souls, whereon reside such gifts of the Holy Ghost, as were heretofore seen by the holy Apostles:* † *To whom appeared cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sate upon each of them. But on him that presides over all these, Christ himself ('tis likely) does entirely and wholly reside: and upon* [o] *those who are next to him in dignity, on every one of them proportionably, according as he is capable of receiving the distributions of the power of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. The Benches also are the souls of certain Angels, the instruction and custody of every one whereof is committed to them. But the August, Great, and only Altar, what*

[d] What was here meant by [διὰ βίε ἱερωμένοι αὐτῷ] which we render [*Priests consecrated to him for ever*] Translatours understood not; and have therefore misinterpreted it. There were two sorts of Priests, some *annual*; such were those the *Jews* had, under the *Roman* Governours; and such were almost all the Gentile Priests. Others were *Perpetual*, which they call'd διὰ βίε. This an old inscription in *Gruter*, (pag. 313.) does manifest. And also the old Coins of the *Perpetui*; which *Jac. Sirmondus* publish'd; where we met with 'IEPETΣ ΔIA BIOT *Sacerdos perpetuus, a perpetual Priest.* Hence 'tis that *Eusebius* calls the *Priests* of the *Christians*, ἱερωμένοι διὰ βίε· because their Priesthood was not *yearly*, but *Perpetual*: like the Priesthood of Christ: *who is a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech*; as saith the *Prophet*. The word [ἱερωμένοι] our Authour uses frequently to signifie *Priests*: see the third chapter of this book; where we have ἱερεργίαι καὶ ἱερωμένων, *the sacred Duties or performances of the Priests*. In our Version of διὰ βίε we follow *Velleius Paterculus*, who calls those *Magistrates, Perpetui*, which the *Athenians* call διὰ βίε. *Munatius Felix* (in *Gestis Purgationis Cæciliani*) is call'd *Flamen Perpetuus*. This Dignity for brevities sake was commonly noted by these Characters, F L. P P. i. e. *Flamen Perpetuus, a Perpetual Priest*. These *Priests* are mentioned in the *second Law Cod. Theod.* Vales.

[e] Instead of φιλοκεινῶν we should rather read φυλοκεινῶν· as the old Maz. M. S. does (that is,) *adjudging* or *attributing to every one his place*. Mark what follows in the Chapter. But should any desire to retain the common reading I would not resist it much: for φιλοκεινεῖν (in *Hesychius*) is explain'd by διαιρεῖν, *dividere*, to *divide*. Vales.

[f] By συναυλεῖν καὶ πυλωρεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας (to watch at the Gates and conduct those that come in,) *Eusebius* here meanes the Sub-Deacons, who kept the Gates of the Church, and conducted all that came in to their particular places: (viz.) The *Catechumens*, *Penitents* and *Possessed with evil spirits*, into the *Narthex* (or *Church Porch*,) or into the *Catechumenium*, (or place where they Catechised;) but the believers into the *Quire*. See the 22 Canon of the *Council of Laodicea*, and *Zonaras's* and *Balsamo's* notes upon it. *Vales.*

[g] We have before noted in note (*u*,) of this chapter, that that void open place betwixt the *Portico* and the Church is call'd by the *Latines Atrium* the *Court*. The Greek's (as here) call the same place αὐλὴ: this word [αὐλὴ] frequently occurrs in the *Gospel*, and is always by the old Translatour render'd *atrium*. Vales.

[h] 'Tis difficult to render this word [περιβολαὶ] here used by any Latine word. *Musculus* renders it *Propugnacula, Bulwarks*. *Christoph. Repagula, Bars*. I have translated it *Obices, Bolts*. Vales.

[i] The word [περιβολαὶς] must be blotted out; for it troubleth the sense; it crept in here out of the upper line. *Vales.*

[k] By these words [ὑ μὴν πόρρω πω τῆς θεωρίας ἔτι πεφῶν not far removed from that clear inspection into the Mysteries which the believers enjoy] I say by these words *Eusebius* means those who amongst the antient *Christians* were called *Competentes*. These were certain holy *Candidates* of Baptism as it were. *Eusebius* here makes three degrees or ranks of the *Catechumeni*. The first were those who had learned the Creed: (i. e.) the Principles of Christian Religion. These he compares to the out wall of the Church. The second were those to whom a short Expositon of the Gospels was delivered. These he compares to the Pillars which were placed in the Court made like a Quadrangle. The next are the *Competentes*, who were next to the *Perfect Believers*. But if any one by the first rank would rather understand *the promiscuous multitude of the Laicks*, and by the second rank *those of the Laity which were the more learned*: I will not be much averse to that Explication. *Vales.*

[l] Ἀναίσματα, the term used at this place, may be render'd *Gates*, as well as windows. *Vales.*

[m] At these words we have (in the Maz. M. S.) a long *Scholion* in the Margin, inveighing against this Authour as being Heretical, and against this passage as being blasphemous, in regard it makes the Son inferiour to the Father, and attributes *the* [τὰ πρῶτα] *first place* to the Father, and *the* [τὰ δεύτερα] *second* to the Son. In the Med. M. S. we meet with this short *Scholion* at the Margin here [ᾗ τὸ δὲ Βλάσφημον,] *and this also is Blasphemy.* Vales.

[n] This place is eminent for the commendation of the *Chastity* and *Continency* of the Clergy: But its excellence lay heretofore undiscovered, because of the erroneous Version of Translatours: The cause of the mistake in them was the false punctation in *Steph. Edit.* and in the Kings M. S. but the Maz. and Med. M. SS. do with good reason reject that punctation. *Vales.*

† Acts c. 2. v. 3.

[o] He means the *Presbyters*, who had the second degree of the Priesthood. Here he compares the *Bishop* and *Presbyters* to the *Thrones* of the Church: and the *Deacons* to the *Benches*. Vales.

* See note (k.)

what can it be else but the most pure soul and holy of Holies of the Common Priest of all. On his right hand standeth the great High Priest of all, Jesus himself, the only begotten Son of God, who with a chearful countenance and * stretcht-forth hands receiveth from all that sweet smelling incense, and those unbloudy and immaterial sacrifices of prayers; and transmits them to his heavenly Father the supream God: whom in the first place he himself worshippeth, and he only exhibiteth due veneration to the Father; afterwards he beseecheth him for ever to continue favourable and propitious towards all us. Such is that August Temple, which the great Creatour of all things the Word [of God] hath built throughout all that world under the sun; he himself hath again framed upon earth this intellectual representation of those things beyond the Arches of Heaven: that by every creature, and by rational souls upon the earth his Father might be duely honoured and adored. P But that Region above the Heavens, and the things there, which are the originalls of what we here behold, that Jerusalem which is above, that * Celestial mount Sion, and that City of the living God, far above the world, in which are innumerable companies of Angels, and the Church of the first born which are written in heaven, who with praises unutterable, which we cannot understand, laud their Creatour and supream Prince; [the Blessedness of this Region, I say, and of its inhabitants] † no mortal is able deservedly to set forth. For * eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him. Of which things since we are now vouchsafed to be partakers in part, let us, both men, women and children, small and great, all together, with one spirit and one soul never cease to give thanks and praise to the Author of these our so great good things: † Who hath mercy on all our iniquities, and healeth all our infirmities. Who redeemeth our life from destruction, and crowneth us with mercy, and loving kindness; who filleth our desire with good things. For he hath not dealt with us according to our sins, neither hath he rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as far as the East is from the West, so far hath he removed our sins from us. As a father pittieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful to them that fear him. *Keeping these things fresh in our memories both now, and throughout all succeeding times, and moreover setting before* [the eyes of] *our mindes God the cause of this present days joyful solemnity, and the Master of this feast, both day and night, every hour, and (as I may say) every moment wherein we fetch our breath; let us love him and worship him, with all the strength of our souls. And let us now rise up, and with the loud voice of our affection beseech him, that he would continually save and defend us within his sheepfold, and that he would afford us his everlasting peace entire and immoveable in* Jesus Christ *our Saviour, by whom be glory to him throughout all Ages, Amen.*

* Ὑπτίας χερσὶ, supinis manibus; so *Valesius*: pronis manibus; so *Christophorson*.

P Here *Eusebius* (having spoken largely concerning the double Fabrick of the Church (that is) the *material* and *spiritual*; and compared them together,) elegantly makes a transition to that heavenly *Hierusalem* which is the *idea* and original pattern of this Church on earth. But the translatours through their inadvertency took no notice of this elegant *Apostrophe*. Vales.

* See Heb. 12. 22, 23.

† Instead of [ὅ τις θνητὸς] the reading should undoubtedly be [ὅτις or οὐδεὶς θνητὸς, *no mortal*, &c.] *Vales.*

* 1 Cor. c. 2. v. 9.

† Psal. 103. 3, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13.

CHAP. V.

Copies of the Imperial Laws.

Let us therefore now annex the Copies of Constantine's *and* Licinius's *Imperial Decrees translated out of Latine.*

A Copy of the Imperial Edict translated out of Latine.

Having long since perceived, that a liberty of Religion ought not to be denied, but that licence should be permitted to every ones will and arbitrement of being careful about their Religious performances according to their own mind and judgment, We have Decreed, that as well all other persons, as those that are Christians *should retain the faith* [*and observances*] *of their own Sect and Religion. But because in that Rescript wherein this liberty was granted them,* [a] *many and different sorts of Sects seemed to be expresly set down, for which reason peradventure some of them not long after desisted from such an observance. Wherefore when We* Constantine, *and* Licinius, Augusti, *came fortunately to* Mediolanum, *and had in debate all matters which might conduce to the good and utility of the publick; amongst other things which to us seem'd several ways profitable to all in general, (or rather which we judged ought to be decreed before any thing else) we supposed such constitutions were to be made, as therein should be contained the worship and veneration of the deity: that is, that we should allow a free choice both to* Christians *and all others of following what way of worship they please: that so by this meanes that Godhead and heavenly being, whatever it is, might be propitious to us, and to all that live under our Government. We have therefore proclaimed this our will and pleasure, after we had taken a most wholesome and deliberate consideration thereupon, that licence be denied to none at all of following or choosing the observances or Religion of the* Christians: *and that free power be granted to every one to apply his mind to that Religion, which he judgeth most congruous and agreeable to himself: that so God may in all things manifest his usual care and loving kindness towards us. It was also convenient that we should signifie to you this our pleasure; that all those Sects which were included in our former Rescript to your Devotion concerning the* Christians *should be quite left out, both that whatever seems hurtful and disagreeable to our clemency should be wholly removed, and also that in future all that have resolved to make choice of, and keep the observances of the Christian Religion, might observe them freely*

[a] Because that first *Rescript* or *Letter*, mentioned here by *Constantine*, is lost, we cannot easily resolve what *Constantine* meanes when he says, that in that Edict were named many and several sorts of αἱρέσεις, *Sects*; *for which reason many desisted from professing Christianity*. *Christoph.* translates [διαφόρους αἱρέσεις] *doubtful and controverted opinions*; as if the sense or meaning of this first Edict had been ambiguous. So also *Baronius* understands *Christoph.* his words at the year of Christ 313. *Langus* and *Musculus* translate [αἱρέσεις] *opiniones & hæreses, Heresies and opinions*; far better then *Christoph.* For αἱρεσεις cannot signifie *the sense*, or [διανοια] *meaning* of a place: but it signifies *an Opinion* or *Sect*. When the Emperour *Constantine* therefore had in that former Edict permitted this Liberty of Conscience to all, he added, that that priviledge was not granted to the *Christians* only, but to all men of every Sect, (that is) to *Jews*, *Samaritans*, *Marcionists*, &c. and to all Sects of all Religions. This the Christians took to be no small injury to their Religion, that it should be reckon'd amongst Schismaticks, and unbelieving *Jews*. *Constantine* being advertised hereof by the Catholicks, corrected it in this latter Edict; that clause, which mention'd all Sects, being taken out: and this is that which is meant by these words a little further, ἵν' ἀφαιρεθεισῶν παντελῶς τῆς αἱρέσεων ἐκείνες τοῖς πρότερόις ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις ἐνέχοιτο. (i. e.) *that all those Sects which were in our former Rescript should be quite left out*. Vales.

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freely and firmly, without any molestation. These things we therefore determined fully to signifie to your carefullness; that you may be certified, that we have granted to the Christians *a free and absolute liberty of being careful about the exercise of their Religion.* [b] *In as much as we have already freely and absolutely granted them this, your devotedness does hereby perceive that we have allowed a liberty to others also, who are desirous of following their own observances and Religion: Which, 'tis apparent, is agreeable to the tranquillity of our times, to wit, that every one should have a liberty and power of choosing and being careful about worshiping whatever Deity he has a mind to. And this we therefore did, that we might seem not in the least to have lessened or detracted from any manner of divine worship or Religion whatsoever. We have also further Decreed in favour of the* Christians; *that those their places (wherein they used to convene in times past (concerning which places there was* [c] *another Rule or Form appointed in our Rescript formerly sent to your devotedness,) in case it appears that they have been purchased by any persons, either of our Exchequer, or of any one else) be immediately and without all hesitancy restored to the Christians themselves, without money, and without any exaction of an* * *additional price or value: and if any have received these places by way of gift, that they in like manner forthwith restore them to the* Christians. *But if those, who have purchased, or had the grants of these places, have a desire to demand any thing of our goodness, let them make their Address to the Governour that presides as Judge in that Province, that by our bounty provision may be made for them: all which places it shall behove you to see forthwith restored to the Society of* Christians *by your care and diligence without the least delay. And in as much as the said* Christians *are known to have had possession not only of those places wherein they usually assembled themselves, but of others also, which did not particularly and apart belong to any private persons amongst them, but were the Right of a Society of them, that is, of the* Christians; *you shall give order that all these places (according to the* [d] *aforesaid Law) be without all manner of hesitancy restored to the said* Christians, *that is, to every Society and Assembly of them: The Rule aforesaid being observed, (viz.) that such as shall restore those places [to the Christian,] without a restitution of the price they gave for them, as we have said, may expect to be indemnified by our Gracious Liberality. Now it is your duty to act most vigorously in all these things in behalf of the aforesaid body of the* Christians; *both that our Mandate may with all speed be fulfilled; and also that in this matter provision may be made by our goodness for the common quiet and tranquility of the publick. For by this means, as is aforesaid, the divine care and goodness towards us, which we have already experienced in many affairs, will continue firm and lasting for ever. Moreover, to the end that the definitive determination of this our Law, and of our gracious indulgence may come to all mens knowledge, 'tis expedient that this Rescript of ours be proposed to publick view, and made known to all persons, that so no body may be ignorant of the establishment of this our gracious indulgence.*

[b] This was *Constantin's* second Edict, directed to the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, the same person to whom was sent *Constantin's* first Edict for the *Christians*. The first Edict was signed or dated at *Rome*, *Constantine* II. and *Licinius* II. *Coss.* and it was immediately sent into the East, to *Maximin*; see book 9. chap. 9. But this second Edict was dated at *Mediolanum* on the year following. *Vales.*

[c] Concerning the Restitution of the publick places and *Cœmiteria* of the *Christians*, there is extant an Edict of *Gallienus's* in book 7. chap. 13. of this History, in which these places are commanded to be restored to the Christians. In the first Decree therefore, which *Constantine* and *Licinius* (after *Maxentius* was conquered,) published in favour of the *Christians*; a Copy of which they sent to *Maximinus* the Emperour into the *East*, they only Decreed that all places where the *Christians* used to assemble themselves, which had been heretofore taken from them, should be restored to them again; but they said nothing expresly concerning the restitution of the price: Neither in the Edict of *Maximin*, which was published soon after the Decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, was there any caution concerning repaying of the price, as we may see in book 9. chap. 9. of this History. It was necessary therefore that *Constantine* should Decree something more distinctly concerning that point. That the *Christians* might recover those places which had been taken from them or sold, or given by the Treasury, without repaying the price. *Vales.*

* Τῆς τιμῆς ὑποθέσεως. So he terms *adjectiones*, i. e. *the additions to the prices in sales of Goods or Estates*. These *adjectiones* (which *Civilians* in other words call *additamenta* pretii, *accessions to the price*) we in *France* call *encheres*. Vales.

[d] Ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὃν προεθέμην (according to the Decree aforesaid) (i. e.) according to that Edict signed at *Rome*. *Constantine* II. and *Licinius* II. *Coss.* which Edict *Constantine* mention'd before. That was *Constantine's first Decree* for the *Christians*. But *Constantine*, having in that Law shew'd himself too favourable towards the *Christians* in that in it he had extolled their Religion, and condemn'd all other Sects and Ceremonies, was forced in *this second Edict* to explain his mind, for fear, least the Heathens shou'd murmur at the prohibiting and abolishing the worship of their Gods. Wherefore *Constantine* saies, that he granted free liberty to every one to worship what Gods, and follow what Sect and Religion he pleased. This *second Decree* therefore is nothing else but an explication of *the first*. For in *the first Edict* there were some words with which the Gentiles and also the Schismatical *Christians* were not a little offended; in that they saw themselves named Hereticks. The Catholick Christians also resented it, because they were joyned in the same Decree with the Gentiles and Hereticks. Wherefore *Constantine*, that he might shew himself kind to all, desired that those words might be razed out. And this is the sense of those former words, ἵν' ἀγαιρεθεισῶν παντελῶς τῶν αἱρέσεων, &c. *That the names of these Sects in our former Rescript might be wholly taken out, &c.* *Vales.*

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A Copy of another Imperial Edict which the Emmperours published again, to declare, that this their Beneficence was granted only to the Catholick Church.

God save You, dearest Anulinus! *This is the manner of Our Goodness, We desire, that those things which appertain to anothers right should not only not be infested with inquietude, but should also be restored, dearest* Anulinus! *Wherefore our pleasure is, that, as soon as you receive this our Rescript, if any of those [estates] (which did belong to the Catholick Church of the* Christians, *in all our Cities, or in other places,) are now detained by the* [c] Decurions, *or by any other Persons, you cause them to be forthwith restored to their [respective] Churches: In as much as we have resolved that those [estates] which the said Churches have formerly possessed, shall revert and become their right again. Since therefore your Devotedness understandeth that this is the most evident purport of our Command, take care, that all [estates] which did formerly belong to the right of the said Churches, (whether gardens, houses, or whatever else) be immediately restored to them again: whereby we may be informed that you have with all diligence and accuracy obeyed this our Command. Farewell, dearest, and Our most beloved* Anulinus.

[c] Instead of πολιτῶν, i. e. *Citizens*, in this place we read πολισυλῶν. The πολισυλαὶ are call'd by the *Latines Decuriones*; concerning whom see my notes on *Amm. Marcellin.* B. 22. p. 225. These *Decurions* in the time of persecution seized upon the places and Farmes which belonged to the Catholick Church, as being vacant. *Vales.*

A Copy of the Emperour [*Constantine's*] Rescript, by which he summoneth a Synod of Bishops at *Rome*, for the uniting and reconciling of the Churches.

Constantinus Augustus, *to* Miltiades *Bishop of* Rome,

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Rome, *and to* [f] Mark. *In regard ſeveral ſuch* [g] *Libels as theſe have been ſent me from the moſt Eminent* Anulinus, *Proconſul of* Africa, *wherein* 'tis *declared that* Cecilianus *Biſhop of the City of* [h] Carthage *is accuſed of many things by ſome of his Colleagues ordained* [*Biſhops*] *throughout* Africa: *and this matter ſeeming not a little grievous to us, that in thoſe very Provinces (which the providence of God delivered to our ſacredneſs by a* [i] *voluntary ſurrender, and where there is a great multitude of people) the populace being in a manner divided, ſhould be found to degenerate and become worſe, and differences ſhould be nouriſhed even amongſt Biſhops: It ſeemed good to us, that* Cecilianus *himſelf (together with ten Biſhops his ſuppoſed Accuſers, and ten other Biſhops, whom he ſhall judge neceſſary in behalf of his cauſe,) ſail to* Rome; *that there in your preſence, and alſo in the preſence of* Reticius, Maternus, *and* Marinus *your Collegues, (whom for this reaſon we have commanded to haſten to* Rome) *he may be heard in ſuch manner as, you know, is moſt agreeable with the moſt ſacred Law. Moreover, that you may have a moſt compleat and perfect knowledge of all theſe things, we have ſubjoyned to this our Reſcript Copies of the Libels which were ſent to us by* Anulinus, *and have tranſmitted them to your aforeſaid Collegues. Which Libels when your Gravity ſhall have read, you ſhall deliberate how the aforeſaid controverſie may with the greateſt accuracy be examined, and determined according to equity. For it is not unknown to your Aſſiduity that we bear ſo great a Reverence* * *to the moſt Legitimate Catholick Church, that we would have you leave no Schiſme or diſſenſion at all in any part of it. The Divinity of the ſupream God preſerve you (*[k] *Deareſt) many years.*

* Τῇ ἐνθέσμῳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

A Copy of an Imperial Reſcript, by which [*Conſtantine*] Summons a ſecond Synod, to put an end to all Diſſenſion amongſt the Biſhops.

CONSTANT. & LICINIUS.

Conſtantinus Auguſtus, *to* Chreſtus *Biſhop of* Syracuſe. *When as heretofore ſome began wickedly and perverſly to ſeparate from the holy Religion, the celeſtial power, and the Catholick Opinion; We deſirous that ſuch pertinacious contentions as theſe ſhould be pared off, took ſuch order that (ſome Biſhops being ſent out of* France, *and alſo thoſe ſummoned out of* Africa, *who being of contrary factions, pertinaciouſly and continually quarrelled* * *amongſt themſelves, the Biſhop of* Rome *being alſo preſent,) this* [*diſſenſion*] *which ſeemed to be raiſed after a moſt careful examination, might in their preſence be compoſed. But in regard (as it commonly happens) ſome perſons, forgetful both of their own ſalvation, and of the veneration due to the moſt holy Religion, ceaſe not as yet to improve their private grudges and animoſities, being unwilling to acquieſce in the ſentence already paſſed, but poſitively aſſerting, that they were but a few* [*Biſhops*] *who gave their Sentiments and Opinions; and that (before they had carefully enquired into all things which ought to have been firſt inſpected) they proceeded with too much haſt and precipitancy to paſs a definitive ſentence. From all this it happens that even they, whoſe duty it is to preſerve a brotherly and unanimous unity of mind, unworthily or rather impiouſly create Schiſmes amongſt one another; and alſo give an occaſion of ſcorn and deriſion to thoſe men, whoſe ſoules are alienated from the moſt holy Religion. Wherefore it was our chiefeſt care, that theſe* [*diviſions,*] *(which ought, after ſentence already given to have been terminated by a voluntary aſſent) might now at laſt be concluded in the preſence of many Biſhops. Since therefore we have ſummoned many Biſhops out of divers and innumerable places, to aſſemble themſelves on the* Calends *of* Auguſt, *at the City* Orleans: *we thought good to write to you alſo, that having received a publick Chariot from the moſt eminent* Latronianus [l] Corrector *of* Sicily, *and taking into your company two* [m] *of the ſecond Order, whom you ſhall think fit to chuſe, and alſo bringing along with you three ſervants which may miniſter to you in your journey, you meet on the very day appointed at the place aforeſaid, that both by your Gravity, and alſo by the unanimous and concordant prudence and perſpicacity of the reſt there aſſembled, this diſſenſion (which has ſhamefully been continued hitherto by certain deteſtable quarellings, after all things have been heard which ſhall be ſaid by the now diſagreeing parties, whom we have ſummon'd to appear alſo,) may now at laſt be reſtored to a fit and congruous* [*obſervancy of*] *Religion and faith, and to a Brotherly union. God Almighty preſerve you in health many years.*

* In ſtead of [καλαλλήλως, *mutually, it ſhould be undoubtedly* καὶ ἀλλήλων, *amongſt themſelves:*] ſo 'tis corrected in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition:* and alſo Sir *Henry Savill* had mended it, in the margin of his copy. *Valeſ.*

[l] The Maz. Fuk. and Med. M. SS. read κονσήκλορος· but without doubt we ſhould read κονσηκλοτ-ῳ (that is) from *Latronianus Corrector of Sicily*, we find mention of this *Latronianus* in an old inſcription at *Panormus*, which is atteſted by *Gualtherus*, *in Tabulis Siculis*, number 164. D. N. FL. VALERIO LICINIO AUG. DOMITIUS LATRONIANUS V. C. CORR. P. S. DEVOTUS N. M. QUE EJUS. *Gualtherus* alſo in his Annotations upon this inſcription, quoteth and correcteth this place of *Euſebius*. Valeſ.

[m] By theſe words [ὁι ἐκ δευτέρου θρόνου] *Euſebius* meaneth the *Presbyters*, who were commonly called *Sacerdotes ſecundi ordinis*, (*Prieſts of the ſecond order*) which may be collected out of ſeveral good Authours, as *Optatus Milevitanus*, and *Jacobus Sirmondus in his notes upon Sidonius* page 78. *Hieronymus, in his Epitaph* on the bleſſed *Paula*, ſays, *There were preſent the Biſhops of Hieruſalem and other Cities, and an innumerable company of Prieſts* [*inferioris gradus*] *of the lower order*, &c. So alſo ſays *Gregor. Nazianz. in Carm. Famb. de vitâ ſuâ* pag. 6. Hence comes this diſtinction; the Biſhops in the Church, ſate in more lofty thrones, the *Presbyters* ſitting on both hands

[f] It is much controverted amongſt the Learned who this *Mark* is, whom *Conſtantine* here joyneth with *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*. *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 313. Chap. 23. thinks the Text of *Euſebius* is faulty, and inſtead of [μάρκῳ] he would read [ἱερεῖ.] But this emendation cannot be admitted of, for whereas *Miltiades* is before call'd ὁπίσκοπος, *Biſhop*, 'tis ſuperfluous to adde ἱερεῖ, *ſacred Magiſtrate*. Moreover, Titles of honour are common words, but this here is an affected and unuſual term. Wherefore, rejecting this conjecture of *Baronius*'s, I think this *Mark* was a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Rome*, whom *Conſtantine* had a deſire ſhould be preſent at this Synod with *Miltiades*. This alſo I think was that *Mark* who was Biſhop of *Rome* after *Silveſter*. This Epiſtle of *Conſtantine* to *Miltiades* was extant in the third *Conference at Carthage*; Chap. 319. But the latter part of *this third Conference*, which in my opinion is the moſt uſeful, is loſt. *Valeſ.*

[g] By τοιοῦτοι χάρται are meant two *Libels*, which contained the faults of *Cecilianus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, which being ſubſcribed by the faction of *Majorinus*, they gave them to *Anulinus* the *Proconſul* at *Carthage* on the 17th of the *Calends* of *May*. *Conſtantine* the Emperour being the third time, and *Licinius* the third time *Conſuls*. Theſe *Libels Conſtantine* calls [χάρτας,] becauſe they contained in them many papers, and many publick Acts, to prove the faults of *Cecilianus*. *Chriſtoph.* calls theſe χάρτας, *Epiſtles* but that is an ill term: for there was but one Epiſtle ſent by *Anulinus* to *Conſtantine* the Emperour, but there were ſeveral χάρται, or *papers*. *Conſtantine* alſo a little further calls them *Libelli*: ſo does *Auguſtine* alſo, in his 48 Epiſtle to *Vincentius*, call it *Libellus*: and ſaies it was thus ſuperſcribed; *The Libell of the Catholick Church containing the faults of Cecilianus, put in by the faction of Majorinus*. Valeſ.

[h] In our Text it is, χαρταγωνέων; in *Niceph.* χαρταγωνίων; in the Maz. and Med. M. SS. 'tis written χαρταγωνιῶν by a tranſpoſition of the *aſpirate*, which the Greeks uſually do in turning *Latine* proper names into *Greek*. Valeſ.

[i] Inſtead of [αὐθαιρέτῳ] we ſhould undoubtedly read [αὐθαιρέτως] in this place, thus, ἃς τῇ ἐμῇ καθοσιώσει αὐθαιρέτως ἡ θεία προνοια ἐνεχείρισε (i. e.) (*thoſe Countries which Divine Providence gave into our hands by a voluntary ſurrender.*) For when the head of *Maxentius* was ſent into *Africa*, all *Africa* at the ſight of the Tyrant's head, yielded to *Conſtantine*. And alſo before the overthrow of *Maxentius* ſome *African* Cities yielded themſelves voluntarily to *Conſtantine*, when he ſent ſome Sea-forces thither. *Valeſ.*

[k] Inſtead of [πιωτάτε] the reading in *Nicephorus* is [πιωτάτοι, *deareſt*] *in the plural* number. For ſince the Reſcript was written to *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*, and to *Mark*, and ſince he always ſpeaks to them in the plural number; 'tis reaſonable that in the cloſe of the Reſcript it ſhould be [πιωτατοι.] Further, the *Acts* of this Synod at *Rome* are extant in *Optatus*, B. 1. *The Authour* of the *Synodicon* (whom we have often quoted) ſays this Synod was convened by *Miltiades* and *Mark* at *Rome*; he joyns *Mark* to *Miltiades*, as ſoon as he perceived from this Reſcript that *Conſtantine* mentioned them joyntly. *Valeſ.*

hands on lower seats, and the *Deacons* standing by in white garments, saith the same *Greg. Naz.* in *his dream De Ecclesiæ Anastasiâ* pag. 78. *Eusebius* also, in his description of the Church of *Tyre*, alloteth the thrones which were in the Church next the Altar, to the Bishop and Presbyters, but the benches to the Deacons, where also he calls the Presbyters, τοὺς μετὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καθεζομένους, i. e. *those which have the second places next the Bishop.* See St *Augustin's* 148th Epistle. *Vales.*

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CHAP. VI.

[a] *Concerning the Estates belonging to the* Christians.

[a] This Title [περὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν πατρωνίων· *Concerning the Estates of the Christians*] is here put in a wrong place: for the Epistle which follows, says not a word concerning the Estates of the *Christians*. This Title might better have been prefix't before Chap. 5. where we have two several Decrees of *Constantin's* concerning the Estates of the Christians. Therefore very well do the old Maz. and Fuk. M.SS. make no distinction of a Chapter in this place. *Vales.*

A Copy of the Emperour's Rescript, by which he granteth money to the Churches.

CONstantinus Augustus, *to* Cecilianus *Bishop of* Carthage. *For as much as it was our pleasure that through all the Provinces of* Africa, Numidia, *and both* Mauritania's, *some thing should be allowed for necessary Expences to some Ministers of the most Holy and Legitimate Catholick Religion, who were expresly named, We wrote to the* * most perfect Ursus Rationalist *of* Africa, *and have intimated to him that he take care to pay to your Gravity three thousand* [b] Folles. *Therefore when you shall have received the sum aforesaid, command that it be distributed to all the forementioned Ministers according to a* Breve *directed to you from* Hosius. *But if you shall perceive there will be any thing wanting towards the fulfilling of our desire to all in this point, without making any scruples or delays you shall demand of* Heraclas *the Steward of our Estates whatsoever you shall judge requisite. For we ordered him when he was with us, that if your Gravity demanded any money of him, he should without the least hesitancy take care it should be told out to you. And because we have been informed that some men who are of an unsetled mind, make it their business to pervert the members of the most Holy Catholick Church by a certain impious and clancular falshood and corruption; We would have you understand, that We gave such orders to* Anulinus *our* Proconsul, *and also to* Patricius [c] Deputy *of the* Prefects, *when present, that amongst all other things they take an effectual and sufficient care about this business more especially, and that if any such thing be done, they should by no means suffer it to be neglected. If therefore you shall see any such men persisting in this madness, without any further doubtings you shall make your Address to the foresaid Judges; and disclose the matter to them, that they may correct them according to our Orders to them when present. The Deity of the Supream God preserve you many years.*

* See B. 9. Chap. 9. note (f.)

[b] Φόλλις. *Epiphanius* mentions these *Folles*, at the close of his book *De Mensur. & Ponderib.* He speaks of two sorts of *them*; the first he calls the *small Talent*, consisting of 208 *denarii*. The value of the other, he says, is δύο λεπτὰ, *duo minuta*, two *minutes*, or *mites*. See the Learned *Petavius's Diatriba concerning the Follis*, at the *end of his notes* on *Epiphan.* pag. 431, &c. Edit. *Paris.* 1622.

[c] Concerning these *Vicarii prætorum*, Deputies of the Prefects, we have treated in *our notes on the* 14th *book of Amm. Marcellinus*; pag. 17. where we shewed that there was a difference between *acting for a Prefect*, and *acting for the Prefects*. He may be said *to act for a Prefect, whom the Prefect of a City, or Prefect of the Prætorium orders to supply his place in any special business*. But *he may be said to act for the Prefects, who exercises a Deputies power ordine Codicillorum*. See the place now cited in those notes. The title given to these *Vicarii* at this time was *Perfectissimus*, (see book 1. chap. 9. note f.) not *Clarissimus*, or *Spectabilis*. This we are informed of from *Constantine* the Emperours Rescript to *Probianus Procunsul* of *Africa*, which *Augustine* relates in his 68th Epistle; and in his 3d book *against Cresconius*, cap. 70. *Vales.*

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CHAP. VII.

[a] *Concerning the Immunity of the Clergy.*

[a] In the most ancient Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. this is called the *Sixth Chatter*; which is true, if I mistake not. See the foregoing chap. note (a.) *Vales.*

A Copy of the Emperour's Rescript by which he commandeth, that the Prelates of Churches be freed from bearing all Civil Offices.

WE *Greet you most Honoured* Anulinus. *Since it is apparent from several circumstances, that the contempt of that true Religion, by which is preserved the Highest veneration of the Celestial Majesty, has brought imminent dangers upon the affairs of the publick; but when it was lawfully and rightly admitted and preserved, it conferred the greatest prosperity upon the* * Roman *Empire, and an eminent felicity on all humane affairs; (the divine Beneficence being the Donour hereof:) it seemed good to Us, ([b] Dearest* Anulinus,) *that those men, who with a due sanctity and an assiduous observance of this law give themselves wholly to the ministrations and services of this Sacred Religion, should receive the rewards of their labours. Wherefore Our pleasure is that those men within the Province committed to your care, who in the Catholick Church, over which* Cecilianus *Presides, do service to this Sacred Religion, commonly call'd by the name of Clergy-men, be always preserved exempt from all manner of Civil Offices: lest by any errour or sacrilegious misfortune, they should be drawn away from the service due to the Deity; but* [our will is] *that they should rather serve their own law without any the least inquietude. For when they performe the highest* [acts of] *worship to God, the greatest advantage seems to accrue to the publick Affairs. Farewell most Honoured and Dearest* Anulinus.

* τῷ Ρωμαίκῳ ὀνόματι, *nomini Romano, upon the Roman name.*

[b] In the Med. Maz. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. we read [πιστώτατε καὶ ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν Ἀνυλῖνε, most honoured and our dearest *Anulinus.*] We have the Relation of *Anulinus* in answer to this Rescript of *Constantine's* in *Augustin's* 68 Epistle. But *Eusebius* inserts these Rescripts in a preposterous kind of Order. For Constantin's Letter to *Cecilianus* the Bishop, and his Rescript to *Anulinus* ought in order to precede *Constantin's* Letter to *Miltiades*, Bishop of *Rome*. For all those Letters have a relation to the *Roman Synod* which was summoned upon the account of *Cecilianus*, when *Constantine* and *Licinius* were both the third time Consulls; in the year of Christ 313. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Licinius's *exorbitancies which afterwards ensued, and concerning his death.*

SUch [gifts] therefore did the Divine and celestial Grace of our Saviours presence bestow upon us: and such an exuberance of prosperous successes was procured to all men by reason of the peace [restored] to us. This was the posture of our affairs, we spent the time in joy and publick festivities. But this spectacle was intollerable to the malice of the Devil, that hater of all goodness, and industrious Patron of mischief. Nor were the calamitous misfortunes which befell the forementioned Tyrants sufficient to instill a sober consideratenes into *Licinius*, who being honoured with a prosperous and successfull Government, and with the second place of dignity, that next to *Constantine the Great*, and innobled with an affinity contracted by marriage, and with a neer relation to a most August family, relinquished the imitation of good men; and became a zealous emulatour of the improbity and wickedness of impious Tyrants.

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And he made choice of following their Councels, whoſe calamitous end himſelf had beheld with his own eyes, rather than to continue in the friendſhip and affection of the beſt of Princes. For being ſtimulated with Envie againſt his great Benefactour, he raiſed a moſt impious and nefarious war againſt him, in no wiſe revering the Laws of nature, forgetful of all oathes, affinity, and leagues. For *Conſtantine*, like a moſt curteous Emperour, that he might ſhew him the moſt convincing tokens of his ſincere kindneſs, envied him not his own affinity, nor did he deny him the illuſtrious marriage of his Siſter: but vouchſafed to make him partaker of the [a] Nobility he derived from his Anceſtours, and [communicated to him] his own antient lineage and Imperial blood; he alſo allowed him to enjoy an Authority over all the Roman Empire, as being his kinſman and colleague in the Empire; nor had he given him a leſs portion of the Roman Provinces to Rule over and Govern, [than he reſerved to himſelf.] But on the other hand, [*Licinius*] acted quite contrary hereto, daily inventing all kinds of ſtratagems againſt him that was his Better, deviſing all ways how to inſnare him, that with miſchiefs he might reward his Benefactour. At firſt therefore attempting to conceal his treacheries, he counterfeited a friendſhip, and having ſeveral times aſſailed [*Conſtantine*] by guile and deceit, he hoped to have eaſily obtained what he expected. But God was [*Conſtantin's*] Friend, Guardian, and Protectour: he brought to light and detected the intregues which were clancularly and ſecretly contrived againſt him. So powerfull a ſtrength is that great Armour of Godlineſs [endowed with,] that it is both prevalent to repulſe the enemy, and has alſo a power ſufficient for its own preſervation. With this Armour our moſt pious Emperour being fortified, eſcaped the many intricate ſnares of that accurſed Man. *Licinius* therefore, perceiving that his ſecret Plots did not ſucceed according to his expectation, (becauſe God diſcovered all his deceit and treachery to his beloved Emperour,) and knowing that he could lie no longer concealed, raiſeth open war. But in that he determined to war againſt *Conſtantine*, he likewiſe reſolved to Marſhal an army againſt Almighty God, whom he knew *Conſtantine* worſhipped. Afterwards he begun ſecretly and by little and little to attack thoſe pious men who lived under his Government, who never intended the leaſt moleſtation to his Dominions. And this he did [in regard] he was miſerably induced thereto, being blinded by his innate malice. Therefore he did not ſet before his eyes the Examples of thoſe who had been Perſecutors of the *Chriſtians* before him; nor yet of thoſe whoſe deſtroyer and puniſher he himſelf had been appointed, becauſe of the height of thoſe Impieties, to which they were arrived: but, declining from the way of ſober and right reaſon, or rather running perfectly mad, he reſolved upon engaging with God himſelf (becauſe he was *Conſtantin's* Aſſiſtant,) inſtead of [*Conſtantine*] who was aſſiſted by him. And firſt of all he baniſhed all *Chriſtians* out of his family, leaving himſelf deſtitute (miſerable wretch!) of their prayers to God for him; it being their commonly receiv'd Doctrine that prayer ſhould be made for all men. He afterwards gave command that all the Officers in the [b] *Civil Milice* ſhould be disbanded and turned out of their military preferments, except they were willing to ſacrifice to Devils. But theſe are but ſmall things, if compared with his greater villanies, which enſued. To what end ſhould we recount all and every particular fact, which this man, hated of God, committed? how he, who was the greateſt law breaker invented impious laws? For he made an Order, that no one ſhould charitably relieve the poor diſtreſſed Priſoners with meat, nor ſhow the leaſt compaſſion to thoſe, who through hunger pined away in their fetters: that is, that there ſhould no good man live, and that they who were led by [the dictates of] nature it ſelf to have compaſſion on their neighbours, ſhould be intapable of doing them any good. And this was clearly the moſt impudent, and cruel of of all laws, by far ſurpaſſing all that mildneſs and clemency implanted by nature: to which Law alſo there was a penalty annexed, that they who ſhewed compaſſion upon the [criminals] ſhould ſuffer the like afflictions with thoſe towards whom they ſhew'd mercy: and that ſuch as charitably miniſtered to thoſe in bonds and confined to priſon, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment with them. Such were *Licinius's* Ordinances. What need we reckon up his innovations concerning marriages, or his new laws about [c] dying perſons; whereby he preſumptuouſly abrogated the ancient, good and wiſely eſtabliſhed *Roman* Laws, and inſtead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane ordinances, and truly unjuſt and illegal? he alſo invented ſeveral ſorts of [d] Taxes to the great oppreſſion of the Subjects of his Provinces; and all ſorts of exactions of Gold and Silver; [e] ſurveying of lands; and that curſed way of getting lucre from Coun-

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[a] Here we follow that emendation of this place which is ſet at the Margin of *Turnebus's* M. S. who inſtead of [συγγενείας affinity] in this place reads [εὐγενείας nobility.] For *Conſtantine* was extracted from a Royal deſcent; he derived his pedigree from *Claudius* the Emperour. *Valeſ.*

[b] The beſt Comment upon this place is the 54th chap. of book 1. of *Conſtantin's Life*. The *Militia* amongſt the *Roman's* was twofold: the *Militia Caſtrenſis*, or, *the Militia imploy'd in all Martial Affaires*; and the *Militia civilis* (which in *Theodoſius's Code*, is called the *Militia Cohortalis*, *the militia imploy'd in Civil Affaires*. Thoſe that were liſted into this Militia *Cohortalis*, were by the *Latines* commonly call'd *Officiales*, or *Apparitores*: and by the *Greeks* generally ὑπηρέται. See *Themiſt.* 1. *Orat.* pag. 38. *Chryſoſt.* Homily 1. upon the firſt Epiſt. to *Corinth.* pag. 8. and pag. 10. Moreover [ὑπηρεσία] by *Chryſoſt.* Hom. 1. upon Saint *Matthew* is us'd for *Apparitoris Officio fungi, to execute an Apparitours Office*. But the *Greeks* (ſometimes for diſtinction's ſake of the *Militia Caſtrenſis*) called theſe *Apparitores*, ὑπηρέται τῆς πόλεως, *City Apparitours*. So *Euſebius* in the place above quoted; and *Themiſtius*, in his 17th *Orat.* pag. 457. makes uſe of [ἀστικὸς ὑπηρέτης] which has the ſame import with [ὑπηρέτης τῆς πόλεως] here in *Euſebius*, (i. e.) *the Apparitours of the Preſidents and Prefects of the Prætorium*, who gathered the *Tributes*, which belonged to the *Treaſury*. Valeſ.

[c] This paſſage ὅτι τοῖς τὸν βίον μεταλλάξασιν is by *Chriſtoph.* and *Langus* render'd *mortuos*, *the dead*; but I cannot admit of this verſion. What Law this of *Licinius's* was, 'tis difficult to reſolve. It ſeems to have belonged *to the Teſtaments of Dying people*: it was abrogated by *Conſtantine* after *Licinius* was overcome by him. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Euſebius* uſes this terme [ὀπτικὴ ψῆφος] which occurs here, at book 8. chap. 14. (ſee note *c.* there) where he treats concerning *Maximinus* the *Eaſtern Tyrant*: but in his firſt book *De vita Conſtant.* he terms it σκήψεις, (i. e.) *ways of getting money*. The *Ancient Greeks* us'd πόροι and ποριαμοὶ in this ſence. There is extant a book of *Xenophon's* entitled περὶ πόρων. The modern Latine Authours call theſe *taxes*, *tituli*. Valeſ.

[e] The phraſe here us'd (viz.) ἀναμετρήσεις τε γῆς is very well rendred by *Langus*, *iteratæ agrorum menſiones*, *the re-meaſuring of Lands*. This Verſion *Rufinus* confirm's, who renders it *cenſus innovare*, *to renew the Cenſus*, or *the prizing of every mans Eſtate*. This *Cenſus* could not be renewed without the remeaſuring of Land. For the *Cenſus* amongſt the *Romans* conſiſted of two things, (i. e.) *the meaſuring of Lands*, and *the numbering of the People*, as I have elſewhere noted. We have the teſtimony of *Aurel. Vict.* and of *Victor's Epitome* in confirmation of what *Euſebius* ſays concerning *Licinius's avarice*. But what *Euſebius* ſays concerning *Licinius's exactions*, and *oppreſſions* of his Subjects, is confuted by the Teſtimony of two ancient Authors, (viz.) *Aurel. Victor* and *Libanius*: *Victor* ſays of *Licinius* that he was, *Agrariis plane ac ruſticantibus, quia ab eo genere ortus altuſque erat, ſatis utilis*, i. e. *To the common ſort of people and Ruſticks, becauſe he was extracted from and maintained by that ſort of men, He was uſeful enough*. *Libanius* in *his Oration Pro Templis Gentilium*, ſays ἐπ ἐκείνου ἀνθεῖν τὰς πόλεις, *that the Cities flouriſhed under him* (viz.) *Licinius*. Valeſ.

trey

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trey men which were not alive, but long since dead. Besides these things, why should we reckon up the [f] proscriptions of innocent men which he, the Enemy of mankind, was the Inventer of? and the Imprisonments of men [g] nobly descended, and of an honourable repute? Whose youthfull wives he forced from them by violence, and delivered them to some of his impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? What need we number the married Women, Virgins, and Maids, whom in his [h] decrepid age he abus'd, to the fulfilling of his own soul's insatiable lust? What need is there [I say] of enlarging upon these things, whenas the exorbitant grosness of his last actions evinceth his first to be trivial and almost nothing? In fine, he arrived to such an heighth of madness, that [he made an attempt] upon the Bishops: and looking upon them (in regard they were the servants of Almighty God) to be enemies to his practises; (but [daring not] as yet to use open violence, fearing his superiour,) he privily and craftily plotted against them: and by the treacheries of his Presidents destroyed the eminentest of them. The manner how he murthered them is strange, and such as was never before heard of. But his Actions at *Amasia* and the rest of the Cities of *Pontus* do far exceed the most superlative cruelty. Where some of Gods Churches were again thrown down from their vast height to the very ground, and others were shut up, least any of those that did usually frequent them should meet there, and render a due worship to God. For he did not suppose that prayers were offered up for him, being perswaded to entertain such thoughts as these by a consciousness of his own impieties. But he was of opinion that all we did was in behalf of the Pious Emperour, and to render God favourable to him. Upon which account he resolved to assail us with his utmost rage. Therefore, those Presidents that were his flatterers, being fully perswaded that this would be grateful to the Tyrant, [inflicted] the same punishment upon some Bishops that they usually imposed upon Malefactours. So that harmless and innocent men were haled away, and without the least pretext punished like murtherers. But others of them underwent a new kind of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces; and after this barbarous and most horrid spectacle, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for the fishes. After this therefore, the worshippers of God betook themselves to flight; and the Fields, the Deserts, the Woods, and Mountains were the receptacles of Christ's servants. When the impious Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained some thoughts of raising a general Persecution against all the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle to hinder him from effecting of it, had not God the Protectour of his own servants, (that he might prevent what would immediately have ensued,) caused *Constantine* his servant suddenly to appear as a Saviour and a great Light to all that were in a thick darkness and an obscure night, conducting him with a mighty Arm into these parts.

[f] I doubt not, but instead of [ἐξορκισμούς,] we should read [ἐξοδεισμούς, *proscriptions:*] for in the first book, *De vita Constant.* cap. 55. (where *Eusebius* repeats all these passages almost in the same words) instead of this term, he uses this phrase [ζημείας, *punishments of exile.*] Vales.

[g] *Christoph.* translates the term εὐπατριδῶν here used, *Patricios*, erroneously, as we before signified. They were termed *nobiles*, who were descended from those that had born any Office in *Rome*, or in the *Towns incorporate*. Vales.

[h] But *Licinius* died in the *Sixtieth year* of his age, as *Victor* affirms in *his Epitome*. Wherefore *Eusebius*, like an Oratour, aggravates the matter here. *Vales.*

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CHAP. IX.

Concerning Constantin's *Victory, and concerning the prosperity procured by him to all those that live under the power of the* Romans.

[a] ON this man therefore did [God] from above bestow Trophies of Victory over the ungodly, as being the worthy fruits of his piety. But the impious Tyrant, together with all his Counsellours and friends, he laid prostrate on their faces before the feet of *Constantine*. For when * he was arrived at the highest degree of Madness, the pious † Emperour supposing he was not to be longer born with, [b] entring into a prudent and sober consideration with himself, and having tempered the severity of Justice with [his own natural] clemency, resolves upon succouring of those that were oppressed by the Tyrant; and prepares to save a great part of mankind, by cutting off and removing out of the way a few Pestilent and destructive persons. For having before this made use of clemency only, and shewing pity on him who deserved no compassion; he did not profit him at all; for he desisted not from [the practise of his pristine] impieties, but rather increased his fury against the Subjects of his own Provinces. There was no hope of deliverance now remaining to those that were oppressed and afflicted by this cruel Beast. Wherefore [*Constantine*] the Protector of all good men (having tempered his hatred of impiety with his love of virtue) together with his Son *Crispus* a most mild and courteous *Cæsar*, marches forwards upon this expedition, reaching out a helping hand to all that were in distress. Both the Father therefore and the Son, having for their Captain and Assistant the supream King, and the Son of God the Saviour of all men, divided the Armie so, as on every side to encompass God's Enemies, and got an easie Victory; all things in that action having been rendred facil, and successfully expedited for them by God according to their wish. Immediately therefore even in the twinkling of an eye, they who yesterday and the day before breathed forth Death and menaces, became wholly extinct, the remembrance even of their very names not in the least surviving them. Their pictures also and other monuments [dedicated to their honour] received the deserved [spots of] ignominy; and the same [disgrace] which *Licinius* had with his own eyes beheld the impious Tyrants heretofore involved in, even he himself in like manner suffered. For he himself received not instruction, nor was he amended by his Neighbours stripes: but walking on in the same path of wickedness with them, deservedly wandred into the same precipice they did. Thus

[a] At these words we began the 9th chap. which conjecture of ours is confirmed by the old Mss. and Fuk. M. SS. And in those M. SS. this chapter is rightly call'd the eighth chapter as we remark't before. *Vales.*

* *Licinius.*

† *Constantine.*

[b] Τὸν σώφρονα σωφρονισμὸν λογισμῶν: these are the words in the original; which *Valesius* renders thus, *modestam ac sobriam in se colligens mentem: Grynæus* thus, *rem hanc sapienter expendit:* and we translate it after this manner, *entring into a prudent and sober consideration with himself.* 'Tis a phrase usual with our *Eusebius*. For so he expresses himself book 3. *De Vita Constant.* chap. 5. and 11.

* Or *Prince*; the term in the *Greek* is Βασιλεῖ.

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was this perſon ſmitten and proſtrated. But *Conſtantine* the mighty Conquerour, gloriouſly adorned with all the vertues of Religion (together with his Son *Criſpus*, a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recovered his own *Eaſt*, and reunited the *Roman* Empire into one entire body as it heretofore was: ſubjecting under [c] their Peace the whole world [which reaches] from the riſing Sun to the utmoſt Weſtern Regions, together with the Provinces that lie round about as well towards the North as the South. Men therefore were now ſecure from all fear of them who formerly had oppreſſed them, and celebrated ſplendid and ſolemn days of Feſtivity. All things ſeemed to abound with fulneſs of light, and they who heretofore beheld each other with dejectedneſs and ſorrow, then lookt upon each other with ſmiling countenances, and chearful eyes. In [d] Dances alſo and Songs, in every City and in the Fields they firſt of all glorified God the King of Kings, (for thus they were inſtructed to do) and in the next place the pious Emperour, together with his children which were beloved of God. There was an oblivion of paſt afflictions, no remembrance of any impiety, but only an enjoyment of the preſent good things and expectations of more in future. In all places the Edicts of the Victorious Emperour, full of kindneſs and clemency, and his Laws containing manifeſt tokens of his great bounty and true piety, were proclaimed. All Tyranny therefore being thus extirpated, the Empire which did by right belong to *Conſtantine* and his Sons, was preſerved firm and ſecure from envie. Who (after they had cleanſed the world from the impiety of their Predeceſſours) being ſenſible of thoſe great benefits which had been procured for them by God, [e] did by a moſt apparent and convincing teſtimony of their deeds declare to all men their love of vertue and of the Deity, and alſo their piety and gratitude towards God.

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[c] By this Phraſe here uſed [εἰρήνην αὐτῶν, *their Peace*] is meant *the Peace which they reſtored*. So *Seneca* in his book *De Clementia* brings in *Nero* ſpeaking thus: *Hæc tot millia gladiorum quæ pax mea comprimit, ad nutum meum ſtringentur.* Where by [*pax mea*] he means *the Peace he had procured*. So alſo *Velleius Paterculus* uſes this Phraſe, and on ſome *Old Coines* we find this inſcription; *Pax Auguſti*, i. e. *the Peace procured by the Emperour*. But *Pax Romana* is by the ſame *Seneca* (in his book *De Clementia*, and in that *De Providentia*) uſed in another ſence, to wit, *pax ea quâ fruitur imperium Romanum*, (i. e.) *that Peace which the Roman Empire enjoyeth*. Valeſ.

[d] This word [χορεῖαι *dances*] here uſed, when the diſcourſe is concerning the Chriſtians praiſing God, did not pleaſe *Nicephb.* And therefore inſtead of χορεῖαι he uſes παιᾶνες. *Euſebius*, in his ſecond book, *De vita Conſtant.* inſtead of χορεῖαι uſes χοροὶ which term indeed is more tolerable. But we may eaſily bear with this word χορεῖαι. For the *Chriſtians* uſed to dance on their Feſtivals of the Martyrs, which they kept in honour of them; and thus they celebrated their Conflicts and Victories as *Greg. Naz.* relates (in *Carminibus ad mulieres ſeſe curioſius exornantes*, pag. 152.) *Baſilius Magnus* (in his 14th *Homily againſt drunkenneſs*) has a ſharp invective againſt theſe *Choreas*, or *Dances*. Valeſ.

[e] The reading in the Kings M.S. (which *Stephens* almoſt every where follows) is this [διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐνδείξασθαι νομοθεσίας, *declared by their Law* [*publiſhed*] *in favour of the Chriſtians.*] But in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. this place is written far otherwiſe, thus [δι' ὧν εἰς πρῶτον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις παρέσχον ὄψιν, ἐπιδείξασθαι, *did by a moſt apparent and convincing teſtimony of their deeds declare to all men*:] which reading, being confirmed by the conſent of more, and thoſe ancienter copies, we with good reaſon ſuppoſed ought to be preferred before the other. *Valeſ.*

The End (by God's Aſſiſtance) of the Tenth Book of *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

THE

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

Socrates Scholaſticus,

Tranſlated out of the GREEK according to the Edition ſet forth by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1668.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the ſaid Hiſtorian; which are alſo done into ENGLISH, and ſet at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto alſo is annexed an account of the Life and Writings of the foreſaid Hiſtorian, Collected by VALESIUS, and Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed by *John Hayes*, Printer to the Univerſity. 1680.

VALESIUS'S PREFACE

To the Studious READERS.

AFter *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* (whom we may deſervedly Stile *the Father of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*,) many inflamed with a Pious Emulation, undertook to Treat of the ſame Subject. But *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* are in the Judgment of all Antiquity far more famous than all the other Writers: who beginning from thoſe times wherein *Euſebius* concluded his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, brought their work down to the Times of *Theodoſius Junior*. And at firſt I was reſolved to have publiſhed theſe three Writers together, that as they had proſecuted one and the ſame Subject in their Writings, ſo they might have alſo been comprehended and read in one and the ſame Volume. But in regard this would hereby have been too large a Volume, therefore I was forced to defer the Edition of *Theodoret* to another time. To which I will add *Evagrius Epiphanienſis's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, as alſo the *Excerptions* of *Philoſtorgius* and *Theodorus Lector*; that the Studious may in future read over the whole body of *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, publiſht and explained by our Labour. In the *interim* you have here (Reader) joyned together in this Volume *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. Concerning what I have done about the Edition of theſe Authours, take this account in ſhort.

Above Eight years ſince, when by the Command and advice of the moſt Illuſtrious Prelates belonging to the *Gallican* Clergy, I publiſht *the Hiſtory* of *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, I made it my buſineſs to perform three things moſt eſpecially in that Edition. For firſt, having from all places procured thoſe Manuſcript-Copies that were moſt remarkable and eminent, I amended and differenced thoſe paſſages which in the former Editions had been corrupted and diſguiſed. Secondly, in regard the former Tranſlatours had, either by reaſon of their want of Manuſcript-Copies, or on ſome other account, erred in many places, that their Verſions might not induce the Readers into miſtakes, I my ſelf have Elaborated a new Tranſlation, with which the Studious will, I hope, be in future content. Laſtly, I have added Annotations, that I might therein both give an account of mine Amendments, and alſo explain and illuſtrate all the more obſcure and difficult places. And this Edition being candidly received by all, is now in the hands of the Learned. Therefore, what I then (by the Divine Aſſiſtance) performed in *the Hiſtory* of *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, the ſame I have attempted now to do *in the Hiſtory* of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, by the Command and advice of the ſame Prelates I mentioned. For (that I may in the firſt place ſpeak concerning *Socrates*, who firſt betook himſelf to write) I have amended *his Hiſtory* by the help and aſſiſtance of three Manuſcript-Copies, to wit, the *Sfortian*, the *Florentine*, and the *Allatian*. The *Sfortian*-Manuſcript (which is the beſt and ancienteſt,) is at this time kept in the *Vatican* Library. This Copy the Learned *Lucas Holſtenius* had ſometime ſince (in favour to the moſt illuſtrious *Carolus Monchallus* Arch-Biſhop of *Tolouſe*) compared with the *Geneva Edition*; and had tranſmitted the various readings (together with the Emendations of *Philoſtorgius* tranſcribed from the *Scoriacenſian* M. S.) to the ſame Prelate, at ſuch time as the *Gallican* Clergy had committed to him the care of ſetting forth a new Edition of the *Ancient Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; ſo the ſaid *Holſtenius* informs us, in *his Epiſtle* to *Peter Poſſinus* a Divine of the Order of the *Jeſuites*. But afterwards, when by the entreaty of the ſame Arch-Biſhop of *Tolouſe* (who underſtood, that by reaſon of his too much other buſineſs, he could not be at leiſure to take care of this Edition) the *Gallican* Clergy had injoyned me that Province; the ſame *Holſtenius* ſent me the various readings of the fore mentioned *Sfortian*-Manuſcript, written out with his own hand at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, together with thoſe amendments of *Philoſtorgius*; and had ſent me more, had a longer life been granted him. For a little before his death he ſent me ſome *diſſertations* concerning certain paſſages in the *Nicene* and *Chalcedon* Councills, and concerning *Syneſius's* Epiſcopate. Which *diſſertations* ſhall (God willing) be publiſhed by us in the third Tome of our *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, that the Learned part of the world may be no longer defrauded of that moſt Accompliſhed Perſons Labours. The *Florentine*-Manuſcript follows, tranſcribed about five hundred years ſince, which is now kept at *Florence*, in Saint *Laurence's Library*. The diſcovery and uſe of this Manuſcript I owe to *Emericus Bigotius* a moſt skilfull ſearcher into Old Libraries: by whoſe diligence it is contrived, that we ſitting ſtill and idle here enjoy the riches and treaſures of many and moſt remote Libraries. For at his entreaty, *Michael Erminius*, a *Senatour* of *Florence*, compared that Copy with the *Geneva-Edition*, and tranſmitted the various readings thereof to me; upon which account I do profeſs my ſelf much oblieged to both of them. The third Manuſcript belongs to *Leo Allatius*, a perſon every way learned, and one that has deſerved well of Eccleſiaſtick antiquity. This Copy contains the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* of *Theodorus Lector*, comprized in two books; which *Theodorus Lector* had gathered out of three Writers of Eccleſiaſtick affairs, to wit,

Socrates, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, after the ſame manner that *Caſsiodorus Senator* has compoſed his *Tripertite Hiſtory*. But this *Tripertite Hiſtory* of *Theodorus Lector* comprehends only the affairs tranſacted in the Church during the Reign of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*: whether the reaſon be, that *Theodorus Lector* continued *his Collection* no further, or that the other books of that work are loſt by the negligence of Antiquity. Out of this Copy therefore *Leo Allatius* had ſome time ſince Collected the various readings in the two former books of *Socrates*, and tranſmitted them being written out with his own hand to the moſt Illuſtrious Prelate *Carolus Monchallus*. Which I afterwards procured by the aſſiſtance of the moſt Eminent *Dionyſius Talæus Advocate General* to the *Moſt Chriſtian King* in *the ſupream Court* at *Paris*. Beſides theſe three *Manuſcript Copies*, I made uſe of the Kings M. S. (which is no very ancient one,) which *Robert Stephens* made uſe of only in his Edition. Upon which account it is leſs to be wondred at, that the common Editions of *Socrates* have hitherto been ſo faulty, ſeeing they were all derived from one only Copy, which alſo is a very modern one. Moreover, this Copy was taken out of the *Kings Library*, and courteouſly lent me by the moſt Illuſtrious and Reverend Prelate *Nicolaus Colbertus* Biſhop of *Luſſon*, a perſon endowed with eminent Learning, Virtue, and Dignity. Concerning whoſe praiſe I would ſpeak more in this place, did not his ſingular modeſty hinder me, who am very deſirous thereof. And theſe are the aſſiſtances of the Manuſcript Copies by the ſupports whereof I attempted this Edition of *Socrates*.

But in the Correcting of *Sozomen*'s *Hiſtory* I had the benefit of fewer Manuſcript Copies. For beſides that Copy in the *King*'s *Library*, which *Robert Stephens* followed in *his Edition*, and beſides that Copy belonging to *Leo Allatius* (whereof we made mention before,) which was an aſſiſtance to us only in the four firſt books of *Sozomen*, and in the beginning of the fifth; I had only the *Fuketian* Manuſcript. This Copy did at firſt belong to *Carolus Monchallus Arch-Biſhop* of *Toloufe*, a perſon very ſtudious of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory. But afterwards it was put into the *Fuketian Library*, and lent to me by the moſt worthy *Nicolaus Fuketius*. Upon which account in *my Annotations* I have called this the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. But at length, when our Edition was compleated, this Copy (together with the other Manuſcripts belonging to the *Fuketian Library*) was transferred into the right and poſſeſſion of the moſt Illuſtrious and eminent perſon, on account both of his own and his fathers deſerts, *Carolus Mauricius Tellerius*, *Abbot* of *Saint Benignus*, who at this time is *Coadjutor* in the *Arch-Biſhoprick* of *Rheimes*. Indeed this is no very ancient Manuſcript, but 'tis of the beſt note, and is tranſcribed from a moſt correct Copy. The Titles of the Chapters, which in the *King*'s Manuſcript, and in *Robert Stephen's Edition*, are prefixt before *the Hiſtory* of *Sozomen*, are wanting in this Copy. Nor is there any diſtinction of the Chapters throughout all the Books. From whence may be diſcerned the excellency and antiquity of that Manuſcript. For *the Titles* or *Contents* of the Chapters were made by *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, or rather by ſome other more modern Authour, and are wholly impertinent, and barbarouſly expreſſed. In ſo much that after I had lookt thereon with a greater accuracy, they ſeemed to have been compoſed by ſome other hand, rather than by *Nicephorus*. Moreover, that I may not defraud any perſon of his due praiſe, I acknowledge my ſelf indebted to *Samuel Tennulius* (a very Learned perſon, and one that is a great lover of me, at preſent an eminent Profeſſour of Litterature at *Nimmeghen*) for the various Readings in the Hiſtory of *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, Collected out of the fore mentioned *Allatian* Manuſcript, that is, out of the *Tripertite Hiſtory* of *Theodorus Lector*. For whilſt he was at *Rome*, he tranſcribed them with his own hand from *Leo Allatius*'s Copy, a perſon never praiſed enough; who by my entreaty and for my ſake had delivered thoſe various Readings to the ſaid *Tennulius*, that he might write them out. By the help of theſe Copies therefore I have amended, innumerable places both in *Socrates* and alſo in *Sozomen*, which were very corrupt before, I have ſupplied many defects, reſtored many punctations and diſtinctions, and laſtly I have added a new Verſion. Concerning which I will now ſpeak briefly.

What I have heretofore ſaid concerning *Muſculus*'s and *Chriſtophorſon*'s Tranſlation in *my Preface to the Illuſtrious Prelates of the Gallican Church, which is prefixt before the Edition of our Euſebius*, I need not now repeat. I will only add this; if after thoſe Tranſlatours now named the Hiſtory of *Euſebius Cæſarienſis* wanted a new Interpreter, a new Verſion of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* was much more neceſſary. For their Hiſtories have come to our hands far more faulty than *Euſebius*'s. And that the judicious Reader will eaſily diſcern from *Robert Stephens*'s Edition. For *Robert Stephens*, in *his Edition* of *Euſebius*, had the uſe of many Manuſcript Copies, which were taken out of the King's Library: but in his Impreſſion of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s Hiſtory, he had but one Copy of each of them. Therefore at the end of his Edition, he remarkt the various readings in the books of *Euſebius* taken out (as he ſays) of moſt ancient Copies. But at the cloſe of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s Hiſtory he put no various readings, becauſe he had gotten but one Copy of each of thoſe Writers. Alſo, the Copies of *Euſebius*, which *Stephens* made uſe of, were the beſt and ancienteſt, as he himſelf atteſts. But each Copy, as well that of *Socrates*'s as the other of *Sozomen*'s Hiſtory, which *Robert Stephens* followed in *his Edition*, was, as we perceive, very new, and did alſo abound with many faults. 'Tis therefore no wonder, that Learned men have been ſo often miſtaken in their Verſions of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s books, ſince they had ſuch faulty and maimed Copies before them, and were deprived of the aſſiſtance of Manuſcripts. For *Muſculus* had ſeen *Robert Stephen's* Edition only. *Chriſtophorſon* had indeed inſpected ſome Manuſcript Copies of *Euſebius*

and

and *Theodoret*. But he had no Manuscripts of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, as I have frequently observed in *my Annotations*. He had only seen the various readings and conjectures of Learned men set at the margin of *Robert Stephens* his Edition: of which sort many Copies came to our hands. But those readings were almost of no weight or authority at all, in as much as they had no remark annext of the ancient Copy out of which they were transcribed. But I, having got the best and ancientest Manuscripts, as well of *Socrates*, as *Sozomen*, and with great labour and industry compared them with the common Editions; afterwards took an easier and plainer way to their Translation. This Edition of ours therefore will (we hope) equally satisfie all persons, as well those that are skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, as them that are not. For, both those that are knowing in the *Greek* Language will read *Socrates* and *Sozomen* amended and throughly purged by our Labour; and such as are less skilled in the *Greek* will easier understand those Authours done into *Latine* by us.

Our *Annotations* follow; wherein, in the same manner as in *our Notes* on *Eusebius*, we have attempted to perform two things. The first is, to give an account of our Emendations, and to propose to the Readers judgment the various readings taken out of the Manuscript Copies. Then secondly, to illustrate (according to our ability) the more obscure and difficult places, which seemed to be able to involve the Readers judgment in doubts. Nor am I ignorant, that there are many delicate and fastidious persons, who may think that they have exhibited to them some exquisite observations onely, and *common Places* (as they are called,) composed for shew and ostentation; and who may suppose that that part of *our Annotations*, which contains emendations and various readings, is altogether trivial and despicable. To which persons I would make this return: although *those Emendations* and *various Readings* (which the *Greeks* term διπλοσεαφιας) may frequently be insipid, and seem troublesome to the Readers, yet they are highly usefull, and altogether necessary, especially in these Writers, whose books have come to our hands less correct. Now that *Socrates*'s and *Sozomens*'s Books are such, we have before mentioned And indeed *our observations* doe bear a greater shew of Learning: but *an Emendation* in my opinion requires more of wisedom and judiciousness. Neither is it for every man to give his opinion concerning the true and genuine reading of antique Writers: but he only is able to do this, who is furnished with a manifold stock of Learning, and has been long and much exercised in this art of judging.

And these are the particulars I thought necessary to advertize the Readers of in the beginning of this Work, that they might know at first sight what they were chiefly to expect in this Edition of ours, which could not be met with in the former Editions of this History. It remaines now, that we speak something concerning *Socrates* and *Sozomen*: who and what manner of persons they were, what course of Life they followed, what Religion they professed, and which of them first wrote his History.

CON-

CONCERNING THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF Socrates and Sozomen.

OUR *Socrates* therefore, for we will begin with him, had *Cönſtantinople* for his *Countrey*. In *the fifth Book of his Hiſtory*, Chap. 24. he atteſts that he was born and educated in that City, and that he therefore Recorded thoſe matters chiefly which hapned in that City. When very young he was inſtructed in the *Rules of Grammer*, by *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians*, who at that time had left *Alexandria*, and betook themſelves to *Conſtantinople*. He that is deſirous to know the reaſon why theſe *Grammarians* departed from *Alexandria*, will find it related by *Socrates*, in *the fifth Book* and *ſixteenth Chapter* of *his Hiſtory*. For when the Heathen-Temples were demoliſhed at *Alexandria*, by the care and induſtry of *Theophilus* Biſhop of that City, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians* (the one of whom was *Jupiter*'s Prieſt, and the other *Simius*'s at *Alexandria*,) diſpleaſed at the ignominy their Gods were expoſed to, having left the City *Alexandria*, went to *Conſtantinople*, and there took up their habitation. Moreover, the Heathen-Temples at *Alexandria* were deſtroyed when *Timaſius* and *Promotus* were *Conſuls*, (according to *Marcellinus*'s relation in his *Chronicon*,) which was the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s eleventh year. Whence it is apparent, that our *Socrates* was born about the beginning of *Theodoſius*'s Reign. For boyes were uſually ſent to be inſtructed by *Grammarians* when they were about ten years old. After this *Socrates* ſtudied *Rhetorick* under the tuition of *Troilus* the *Sophiſta*, who about that time was an eminent Profeſſour of Eloquence at *Conſtantinople*. Our *Socrates* does not indeed ſay thus much in expreſs words. But the attentive and diligent Reader will eaſily collect from his words that which I have affirmed. For he does make ſuch frequent, and ſo honourable a mention of him, that he may ſeem to pay a reward to his Maſter. For he names his Country, *Side*, a City of *Pamphylia*. He alſo mentions not a few of his Schollars, to wit, *Euſebius Scholaſticus*, and *Silvanus* and *Ablabius* who were Biſhops. Laſtly, in *his Seventh Book* he relates that *Anthemius* the *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* (who, whilſt *Theodoſius Junior* was yet a *Minor*, was the chief Miniſter of State in the Empire) did chiefly make uſe of the Councels of *Troilus* the *Sophiſta*. Where he alſo gives him this Elogue: Ὃς μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἀκριβοῦς Φιλοσοφίας (for that muſt be the Reading, as we have intimated in our * notes) καὶ τὰ πολιτικὴν φρόνησιν τῷ Ἀνθεμίῳ ἐφάμιλλος ἦν; that is, *who beſides the Philoſophy that was in him, was Anthemius's Equal in Political Knowledge*. By theſe reaſons I have been induced to think that our *Socrates* had *Troilus* for his *Rhetorick-Maſter*. But concerning this matter we permit every one to determine according to his own arbitrement. Further, you muſt know that the Ancients were not ſo ſpeedy and haſty in [their learning the Rules of] Eloquence, as is now a daies uſual, but they applied their minds to thoſe Studies for a long time together. *Gregory Nazianzen* atteſts (*in his Poem concerning his own Life*) that he left *Athens* in the thirtieth year of his Age, as ſoon as he had learned the Precepts of the *Art* of *Oratory* in that City. After this, *Socrates* having left *Troilus*'s School, betook himſelf to the *Forum*, and pleaded Cauſes at *Conſtantinople*. Whence he got the Surname of *Scholaſticus*. For ſo the *Advocates* were at that time called, as it has long ſince been remarked by others: * not becauſe they were reduced into Schools: but in regard, being young-men that had left the Schools of the *Rhetoricians*, they profeſſed this Art. But at length, having left off his practice in the Law, he applied his mind to Writing of his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. In which work he has made uſe of a ſingular judiciouſneſs and diligence. His judiciouſneſs is manifeſted by his remarkes and ſentiments interwoven every where throughout his Books: than which there is (in my opinion) nothing more excellent. But his diligence is declared by many other inſtances, chiefly by this, in regard he frequently annexes a note of the times,

* See *Socrat. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.* Book. 7. Chap. 1. note (*c*.)

* *Non quod in Scholas relati eſſent*; ſo he words it; the expreſſion is ambiguous.

times, that is, the *Conſulates* and *Olympiades*, eſpecially where he mentions ſuch matters as are more momentous. Nor has he careleſly or negligently written his Hiſtory, as *Rufinus Aquileienſis* did, who ſeems to me to have compoſed *his two Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* (which he annexed to *Euſebius*'s) without looking into any Records. Our *Socrates* did far otherwiſe, for having from all places got together the beſt monuments, that is, the Epiſtles of Prelates, the *Acts* of *Synods*, and the Books of Eccleſiaſtick Writers, agreeable to their authority he compoſed *his Hiſtory*. And whereas in the firſt Edition of his Work, having therein followed *Rufinus*, he had placed the *Synod* of *Tyre*, and the baniſhment of *Athanaſius* into the *Gallia*'s in the Reign of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, upon reading of *Athanaſius*'s Books afterwards, he perceived his Errour. Wherefore he was neceſſitated to ſet forth a new Edition of his Hiſtory, wherein he both mended the miſtake I have mentioned, and alſo made an addition of ſome other things, which were wanting in the former Edition, as he himſelf atteſts at the beginning of *his Second Book*. Whence it appears how highly we ought to value *Socrates*'s *Hiſtory*, to which the Writer himſelf put his laſt * hand. In the compoſure of his Hiſtory *Socrates* has made uſe of a plain and mean Stile; which was done by him on ſet purpoſe, that he might the eaſier be underſtood by all perſons, as himſelf atteſts at the beginning of his *First* and *Third Book*. For he lookt upon that Sublime and Eloquent manner of expreſſion to be more agreeable for *Panegyrick-Orations*, than an Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtick affairs. Moreover, he has dedicated *his Hiſtory* to one *Theodorus*, whom in the beginning of *his Second Book* he Stiles *a ſacred man of God*, which is the ſame appellation our *Euſebius* gives to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* at the beginning of *his Tenth Book*. But who this *Theodorus* was, it is to me unknown. For I cannot believe it was *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, in regard *Socrates* wrote *his Hiſtory* after the death of *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus*. But it is now time for us to inquire concerning his Sect and Religion, as we promiſed at the beginning.

* That is, he himſelf Reviſed, and Corrected it.

Baronius in *his Annalls*, and *Philippus Labbæus* in *his Book De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, do affirm that our *Socrates* was by Sect a † *Novatian*. The ſame was *Nicephorus*'s opinion before it was theirs, who in the *Proeme to his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* ſays thus: ὁ τὴν παροικίαν, ὃ μὴν δὲ γε κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν καθαρὸς Σωκράτης. That is, *That Socrates ſurnamed* * *Catharus, but as to his mind he was not pure.* Which words are not ſo to be underſtood, as if *Socrates* were Surnamed *Catharus*, but that it might be ſhown he was a *Novatian*. For the *Novatians* termed themſelves *Cathari*, as we are informed from the *Eighth Canon* of *the Nicene Councill*. The ſame *Nicephorus* (in his 11th Book and Chap. 14.) writes thus concerning *Socrates*: *Socrates* (*who in this place plainly ſhews himſelf not to be a deteſter of the Novatian Principles*) *relates that theſe things were told him by a certain old man*, &c. Now, why our *Socrates* was by many accounted a *Novatian*, the reaſons are not few, nor trivial. For firſt, he carefully Records the *Series* of the *Novatian*-Biſhops, who Preſided over their Church at *Conſtantinople* from the times of *Conſtantine*, and alſo remarks the *Conſulates* wherein every one of them departed out of this life. Secondly, he highly extols them all, eſpecially *Agerius*, *Siſinius*, *Chryſanthus*, and *Paulus*. By whoſe prayers, as he relates, a certain miracle was wrought at *Conſtantinople*. Laſtly, he proſecutes all matters belonging to the *Novatian Sect* with ſo great a care and diligence, that he may ſeem to have been addicted to this Sect. But ſhould any one examine theſe particulars with a greater accuracy, he will find nothing in them, that may evince our *Socrates* to have been a *Novatian*. For with the like diligence he enumerates the *Arian-Biſhops*, who governed their Church at *Conſtantinople*; and yet it is not ſaid he was an *Arian*. With no leſs carefulneſs alſo has he related all things that hapned to the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians* at *Conſtantinople*, than he has Recorded what befell the *Novatians*. The reaſon hereof he himſelf has given, in *Chap.* 24. of *his Fifth Book*. Where he ſays, it was his deſign to Record thoſe things moſt eſpecially which hapned at *Conſtantinople*; both becauſe he himſelf lived in that City, wherein he had been born and educated; and alſo in regard the affairs tranſacted there were more eminent, and worthier to be Recorded. But ſhould any one object, that the *Arian*-Biſhops are not extolled by *Socrates* at the ſame rate that the *Novatian*-Biſhops are; the anſwer hereto is eaſie. For the *Arian*-Biſhops, who then lived at *Conſtantinople*, were far inferiour to the *Novatian*-Biſhops. For the Church of theſe Hereticks did in thoſe times abound with many and thoſe eminent Prelates: which *Sozomen* alſo confirms by his teſtimony, who Records their Elogues, exactly like thoſe given them by our *Socrates*. Wherefore, it muſt either be ſaid that *Sozomen* was alſo a *Novatian*, or elſe our *Socrates* muſt be diſcharged from that calumny. But 'tis manifeſt *Sozomen* was not a *Novatian*. For (to omit *Theodorus Lector*'s teſtimony, who, in *his Epiſtle prefixt before his Tripertite-Hiſtory*, Stiles him Μακαριώτατον *a moſt bleſſed perſon*,) he himſelf in his 9th book relates, that he was preſent at a publick proceſſion, celebrated at *Conſtantinople* in honour of fourty Martyrs, at ſuch time as *Proclus* Preſided over the Church of that City. Whence 'tis manifeſtly concluded, that *Sozomen* was a perſon of the Catholick Communion, in regard he was preſent at the publick prayers together with the Catholicks. I confeſs indeed, that our *Socrates* does frequently favour the *Novatians*; for inſtance, when he recounts the Ringleader of the *Novatian*-Hereſie amongſt the number of the Martyrs; when he affirms, that the *Novatians* were joyned to the Catholicks in the ties of a moſt intimate friendſhip and love, and that they prayed together with them in the Church of God; and laſtly, when he commends *Siſinius*'s Oration, which he made againſt this ſaying of Saint *Cryſoſtom*, *Although thou haſt repented a thouſand times, approach.* But

† See *Euſebius*'s Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 6. Chap. 43.

* That is, Pure.

'tis

'tis one thing to favour the *Novatians*; another to be a *Novatian*. Our *Socrates* might indeed be a favourer of the *Novatians*, either becauſe he was engaged in a friendſhip and familiarity with them, or in regard he approved of their diſcipline and abſtinence. For, as far as we can Collect from his Books, he was ſomething ſevere. But I can hardly perſwade my ſelf, that he was a *Novatian*; eſpecially when as I ſeem to have found the contrary from ſome places which occur in *his Hiſtory*. For firſt, in Chap. 38. of *his Second Book*, he frequently calls the Catholicks τὲς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *thoſe of the Church*; and oppoſes them to the *Novatians*. Therefore he acknowledges that the *Novatians* were without the Church. Which he would certainly never have done, had he embraced that Hereſie. Beſides, in the 20. and 23. *Chapters* of *his Fifth Book* he reckons the *Novatians* amongſt the Hereticks, to wit, amongſt the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and *Eunomians*. Laſtly, from *Chap.* 19. of the *ſame Book* it may be apparently concluded that *Socrates* was not a *Novatian*. For firſt, he always calls the Church ſimply and abſolutely the Catholick-Church: oppoſing it to the Churches of other Sects, concerning which he treats in the following Chapters, to wit, of the *Arians*, *Novatians*, and *Eunomians*. Then, he does not obſcurely reprehend that advice of *Nectarius* who abrogated the † *Panitentiary-Presbyter*. For he ſays that hereby Licence was given to Sinners, whenas there was no body that might reprove offenders. Which Opinion could not proceed from a *Novatian*, in regard thoſe Hereticks admitted neither of Repentance [after Baptiſm,] nor of a *Penitentiary-Presbyter*, as *Socrates* does there atteſt. Add hereto the teſtimony of *Theodorus Lector*, who, in *his Epiſtle* prefixt before *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, calls *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret* ἀνδρας θεοφιλεῖς, that is, *men that were pious and acceptable to God*. Moreover, *Theodorus Lector* lived in the ſame City, and almoſt at the ſame time that *Socrates* did, to wit, in the Reign of the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*. Laſtly, *Petrus Halloixius* (in *his notes on the life of Saint Irenæus*, pag. 664.) is of the ſame Opinion with us. For, diſputing againſt *Baronius*, who at the year of Chriſt 159. had written thus; *Theſe things Socrates the Novatian, who with the Jews celebrated Eaſter on the fourteenth day of the Moon*, &c. he utters theſe words. *And whereas Socrates is termed a Novatian, that may be taken in a double ſence: The one is, that he ſometimes favoured the Novatians; which alſo Bellarmine affirms (in his Book de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis, at the year of our Lord 440.) both concerning him, and likewiſe concerning Sozomen. The other is, that he was [a follower] of the Novatian-Hereſie. In the now cited Chapter he neither ſhews himſelf to be a Novatian, nor a favourer of them. For he blames them, and detects their diſſenſions and vices; in ſo much that he may ſeem not to have been a friend, but an enemy, or rather neither of the two, but a declarer of the truth, which is the buſineſs of an Hiſtorian.* Thus far concerning *Socrates*, we muſt now ſpeak of *Sozomen*.

† See *Socrates*'s Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book. 5. Chap. 19. note (a.)

Hermias Sozomen was alſo a practiſer in the Law at *Conſtantinople*, at the ſame time with *Socrates*. His Anceſtours were not mean, they were originally *Paleſtinians*, Inhabitants of a certain Village neer *Gaza* called *Bethelia*. This Village did in times paſt abound with a numerous company of Inhabitants, and had moſt ſtately and ancient Churches. But the moſt glorious Structure of them all was the *Pantheon*, Scituated on an artificial Hill, which was the Tower as it were of *Bethelia*, as *Sozomen* relates in *Chap.* 15. *of his fifth Book*. The Grandfather of *Hermias Sozomen* was born in that Village, and firſt converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith by *Hilarion* the *Monk*. For when *Alaphion* an inhabitant of the ſame Village was poſſeſſed with a devil; and the *Jews* and Phyſitians, attempting to cure him, could do him no good by their Inchantments, *Hilarion* by a bare invocation of the Name of God caſt out the Devil. *Sozomen*'s Grandfather, and *Alaphion* himſelf, amazed at this miracle, did with their whole families embrace the *Chriſtian* Religion. The Grandfather of *Sozomen* was eminent for his expoſitions of the ſacred Scriptures, being a perſon endowed with a polite wit, and an acuteneſs of underſtanding. Beſides, he was indifferently well skilled in Literature. Therefore he was highly eſteemed of by the *Chriſtians* inhabiting *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, and the places adjacent, in regard he was uſefull and neceſſary for [the propagating of] Religion, and could eaſily unlooſe the knots of the ſacred Scriptures. But *Alaphion*'s deſcendants excelled others for their Sanctity of Life, kindneſs to the indigent, and for their other Virtues: and they were the firſt that built Churches and Monaſteries there, as *Sozomen* atteſts in the place before cited. Where he alſo adds, that ſome holy perſons of *Alaphion*'s Family were ſurviving even in his days, with whom he himſelf, when very young, was converſant, and concerning whom he promiſes to ſpeak more afterwards. Undoubtedly he means *Salamanes*, *Phuſco*, *Malchio*, and *Criſpio* brothers, concerning whom he ſpeaks in *Chap.* 32. of *his Sixth Book*. For he ſays that theſe brethren, inſtructed in the *Monaſtick diſcipline* by *Hilarion*, were during the Empire of *Valens* eminent in the Monaſteries of *Paleſtine*: and that they lived neer *Bethelia*, a Village in the Country of the *Gazites*. For they were deſcendants of a Noble Family amongſt them. He mentions the ſame perſons in *his Eighth Book* and *Fifteenth Chapter*, where he ſays *Criſpio* was *Epiphanius*'s *Arch-Deacon*. 'Tis apparent therefore, that thoſe brethren I have mentioned were extracted from *Alaphion*'s Family. Now *Alaphion* was related to *Sozomen*'s Grandfather. Which I conjecture from hence, Firſt, becauſe the Grandfather of *Sozomen* is ſaid to have been converted (together with his whole Family) to the Chriſtian Religion upon account of *Alaphion*'s wonderfull cure, whom *Hilarion* had healed, by calling on the name of the Omnipotent God. Further, this conjecture is confirmed by what *Sozomon* relates, to wit, that he, when very young, was familiarly converſant with the aged Monks that were of *Alaphion*'s Family. And laſtly, in regard *Sozomen* took his name from thoſe perſons who were either the Sons or Grandchildren of *Alaphion*.

For

For he was called *Salamanes Hermias Sozomenus* (as *Photius* atteſts in *his Bibliotheca*) from the name of that *Salamanes*, who, as we obſerved before, was *Phuſco*'s, *Malchio*'s, and *Criſpio*'s brother. Wherefore that miſtake of *Nicephorus*'s, and others, muſt be amended, who ſuppoſe that *Sozomen* had the ſurname of *Salaminius*, becauſe he was born at *Salamine* a City of *Cyprus*. But we have before demonſtrated from *Sozomen*'s own teſtimony, that he was not born in *Cyprus*, but in *Paleſtine*. For his Grandfather was not only a *Paleſtinian*, as is above ſaid, but *Sozomen* himſelf was alſo educated in *Paleſtine*, in the boſome (as I may ſay) of thoſe Monks that were of *Alaphio*'s Family. From which education *Sozomen* ſeems to me to have imbibed that moſt ardent love of a monaſtick life and diſcipline, which he declares in many places of his Hiſtory. Hence 'tis, that in his Books he is not content to relate, who were the Fathers and Founders of Monaſtick Philoſophy; but he alſo carefully relates their Succeſſours and diſciples, who both in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and alſo in *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and *Oſdroëna*, followed this way of Life. Hence alſo it is, that in the *Twelfth Chapter* of the *Firſt Book* of *his Hiſtory*, he has propoſed to be read (in the beginning as it were) that gorgeous Elogue of Monaſtick Philoſophy. For he ſuppoſed, that he ſhould have been ungratefull, had he not after this manner at leaſt made a return of thanks to thoſe, in whoſe familiarity he had lived, and from whom, when he was a youth, he had received ſuch eminent examples of a good converſe. For that he himſelf intimates, in the Proeme to *his Firſt Book*. But it is collected that *Sozomen* was educated at *Gaza*, not onely from this place which I have mentioned, but alſo from *Chap.* 28. of *his Seventh Book*, where *Sozomen* ſays that he himſelf had ſeen *Zeno* Biſhop of *Majuma*. This *Majuma* is a Sea-Port belonging to the *Gazites*. Which Biſhop, although he was almoſt an hundred years old, yet was never abſent from the Morning and Evening Hymns, unleſs it hapned that he was detained by a diſeaſe. After this *Sozomen* applied himſelf to the profeſſion of the Law. He was a Student in the *Civil Law* at *Berytus*, a City of *Phœnicia*, not far diſtant from his own Country, where there was a famous *Civil-Law-School*. But he practiſed the Law at *Conſtantinople*, as himſelf atteſts in *his Second Book* and *third Chapter*: And yet he ſeems not to have been very much employed in pleading of Cauſes. For at the ſame time that he was an *Advocate* in *Conſtantinople*, he wrote *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; which may be concluded from his own words. For thus he ſays (Book 2. Chap. 3.) οἷον δὲ Ἀκυλίνῳ ξυνήρξει, ἀνδρὶ εἰσετι νῦν ἡμῶν συνδιατρίβοντι, καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς δικαστηρίοις δίκας ἀγορεύοντι τὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκούσας· τὰ δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος, ἀναγκαίως ἐρῶ· *but what hapned to Aquilinus, a perſon at this time converſant with me, and one that Pleads Cauſes in the ſame Court of judicature, I will neceſſarily relate, partly as I heard it from him, and partly as I my ſelf ſaw it.* Further, before he wrote *his Nine Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, *Sozomen* compoſed a *Breviary* of *Eccleſiaſtick affairs*, from our Saviours aſcenſion to the depoſition of *Licinius*. Which work was comprized in two books, as himſelf atteſts in the *Proeme* to *his Firſt Book*. But thoſe two Books are loſt by length of time. In the compoſure of *his Hiſtory*, *Sozomen* has made uſe of a Stile neither too Low, nor too High, but between both: which Stile is moſt agreeable to a Writer of Eccleſiaſtick Affairs. *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*) prefers *Sozomen*'s Stile before *Socrates*'s. With whom we agree. But by how much *Sozomen* is ſuperiour for the Elegancy of his expreſſion, by ſo much *Socrates* exceeds upon account of his judiciouſneſs. For *Socrates* judges incomparably well, both of men, and alſo of Eccleſiaſtick buſineſs and affairs. There is nothing in him but what is grave and ſerious. Nothing that you can expunge as ſuperfluous. But on the contrary, ſome paſſages occur in *Sozomen* that are trivial and childiſh. Of this ſort is his digreſſion in *his Firſt Book* concerning the building of the City *Hemona*, and concerning the *Argonauts*, who carried the Ship *Argo* on their ſhoulders ſome furlongs. Alſo his deſcription of *Daphne* without the walls of the City *Antioch*, which occurs at *Chap.* 19. of *his Sixth Book*. And that obſervation of his concerning the beauty of the body, where he Treats of that Virgin, with whom the bleſſed *Athanaſius* abſconded a long while. Laſtly, *his Ninth Book* contains little elſe beſides warlike events, between which and an *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* there is no agreement. Beſides, *Sozomen*'s Stile, which *Photius* prefers before that of *Socrates*, wants not its faults. For I have obſerved, that the Periods are by *Sozomen* no otherwiſe joyned together, than by theſe particles δὲ and τέ; than which there is nothing more troubleſome. Should any one attentively read *that Epiſtle wherein* Sozomen *Dedicates his Work to* Theodoſius *Junior*, he will find that which I have ſaid to be certainly true, to wit, that *Sozomen* was no great Oratour.

It remains, that we inquire which of theſe * two Authours Wrote firſt, and which of them borrowed, or rather ſtole from the other. Certainly, in regard both of them Wrote almoſt the ſame things of the ſame Tranſactions, in as much as they both began at the ſame beginning, and concluded their Hiſtory at the ſame boundary, (both beginning from the Reign of *Conſtantine*, and ending at *the Seventeenth Conſulate* of *Theodoſius Junior*;) it muſt needs be true, that one of them robbed the others Desk. Which ſort of theft (as *Porphyrius* atteſts in *Euſebius*'s *Tenth Book of Evangelick Preparation*) was committed by many of the *Grecian* Writers. But which was the Plagiary, *Socrates* or *Sozemen*, 'tis hard to ſay, in regard both of them Lived in the ſame times, and both Wrote their Hiſtory in the Empire of *Theodoſius Junior*. Therefore, in the diſquiſition of this queſtion, we muſt make uſe of conjecture. In ſuch a caſe as this *Porphyrius* in the before quoted book (when it was uncertain whether *Hyperides* ſtole from *Demoſthenes*, or *Demoſthenes* from *Hyperides*, becauſe both of them Lived at the ſame time,) openly declared that conjecture was to

* *Socrates* and *Sozomen.*

be made uſe of. Let us therefore ſee upon which of them falls the ſuſpicion of theft. Indeed this is my ſentiment, I do ſuppoſe that the inferiour does frequently ſteal from the Superiour, and the Junior from the Seniour. But *Sozomen* is in my judgment far inferiour to *Socrates*; and he betook himſelf to Writing *his Hiſtory* when he was younger then *Socrates*. For he Wrote it whilſt he was yet an Advocate, as I obſerved before. Now, the profeſſion of the Advocates amongſt the *Romans* was not perpetual, but temporary. Laſtly, He that adds ſomething to the other, and ſometimes amends the other, ſeems to have Written laſt. But *Sozomen* now and then adds ſome paſſages to *Socrates*, and in ſome places diſſents from him, as *Photius* has obſerved, and we have hinted *in our Annotations*. *Sozomen* therefore ſeems to have Written laſt. And this is the Opinion of almoſt all modern Writers; who place *Socrates* before *Sozomen*. So *Bellarmine* in *his Book De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*; who is followed by *Miræus*, *Labbæus*, and *Voſſius*: Amongſt the Ancients, *Caſſiodorus*, *Photius* and *Nicephorus* name *Socrates* in the firſt place. Although *Caſſiodorus* is found to have varied. For *in his Preface* to *the Tripertite Hiſtory*, in a clean contrary order he names *Theodoret* in the firſt place, *Sozomen* in the ſecond, and *Socrates* laſt. So alſo does *Theodorus Lector* recount them, in his Epiſtle which he prefixt before the *Tripertite Hiſtory*. Thus far concerning *Sozomen*.

THE

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

The Preface to the whole Book.

CONSTANT.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS Having compil'd an Ecclesiastick History in Ten entire books, concluded it in the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperour: at which time also the [a] Persecution against the *Christians* ceased, [which had been begun] by *Diocletian*. The same Authour, in the books he wrote concerning the life of *Constantine*, has made but a [b] slight relation of the matters relating to *Arius*: for he was more carefull about the praises of the Emperour, and about a panagyrical sublimity in his expressions, as it is usually done in [the composition of] an *Encomium*, than about an accurate and exact account of what was done. But we, purposing to commit to writing the Ecclesiastick affaires from those times to these our own days, will begin our History [c] from those things which he has left untouch't: we shall not be over curious about the grandeur of our stile, but what things soever we have found upon Record, or have heard from such as were present at the transactions thereof, we will particularly relate. And because it is conducive to our designe, to declare after what manner *Constantine* was converted to the Christian Religion, according to our ability we will speak something of that matter. CONSTANT.

[a] In the Kings M.S. and *Robert Stephens's* Edit. it is [πόλεμος, *the war*:] but in the *Florent.* and *Sfort.* M. SS. we found it written [διωγμὸς, *persecution*.] *Vales.*

[b] Μετρίως here us'd does not (as usually) signifie *singillatim*, *one by one, apart*, but ἐν μέρει, *partly*: for *Eusebius* (in his books *De vitâ Constantini*) does indeed but *partly* touch the history of *Arius*; he prosecutes it not *wholly*, and *particularly*. Vales.

[c] *Musculus* renders these words [ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέλιπε] thus, *we will begin our History where he left off*: *Christoph.* does translate it almost after the same manner, but more barbarously, as to his *Latine*. We have rendred these words thus [*ab iis rebus quas ille intactas reliquit, operis nostri sumemus exordium*, i. e. *we will begin our History from those matters which he has left untouch't*] For *Socrates*'s meaning is, that he will begin from the History of *Arius*, which *Eusebius* had but partly touch't upon, *in his books concerning the life of Constantine*: for *Eusebius* (says he) made it his business *in those books*, to enlarge upon the Emperours praises, rather than to give an exact account of the *Ecclesiastick Affairs*: but he himself, resolving to commit to writing the Affairs transacted in the Church, promises to give a more accurate relation of the *Arian-Heresie*, and to begin his History from those things which *Eusebius* had either purposely omitted, or but slightly touch't upon as not conducive to his design in hand. Indeed *Socrates* has not begun his History, where *Eusebius* left off. For *Eusebius* continues that work of his *concerning Constantines Life* to the death of *Constantine*. But *Eusebius* has continued the *Series* of his *Ecclesiastick History* down to the tumults raised by *Arius*, and to those affairs which preceded the *Nicene-Council*. If therefore we have a respect onely to *Eusebius's Ten Books of his Ecclesiastick History*, we may say that *Socrates* began where *Eusebius* ended. But if we also add *his Books concerning the life of Constantine* (*as Socrates* here does,) then that will not be true. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

After what manner Constantine *the Emperour was converted to the* Christian Religion.

[a] WE will begin from those times, wherein *Diocletian* and *Maximian* sirnam'd *Herculius*, having by a mutual compact resign'd their Empire, embrac'd a private life: and *Maximian* sirnam'd *Galerius*, who had been Colleague in the Empire with them, came into *Italy*, and created two Cæsars, *Maximin* in the Eastern parts [of the Empire,] and *Severus* in *Italy*. [b] But in *Brittaine Constantine* was proclaimed Emperour, in the room of *Constantius* his Father, [c] who died in the first year of the two hundredth seventy first *Olympiad*, on the five and twentieth day of the month *July*. [Lastly] at *Rome*, *Maxentius* the Sun of *Maximianus Herculius* was by the Pretorian Souldiers advanced to be a Tyrant rather then an Emperour. Hereupon *Herculius* passionately desirous of reassuming his Imperiall Authority, endeavoured to destroy his Son *Maxentius*. But he was hindred from doing that by the Souldiers. Afterwards [d] he died at *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia*.

[a] *Vales.* in his Latine translation begins this period not as *Musculus* and *Christoph.* do, and we have followed his judgment, as more agreeable with the continuation, and connexion of the sense.

[b] *Socrates* seems to have been of opinion, that *Constantine* and *Maxentius* began their Reign in the same year that *Diocletian* and *Maximianus Herculius* did Resign the Empire. This also was the opinion of the Authour of the *Chronicle* of *Alexandria*, and of others who attribute the years of *Constantius*'s Reign to *Constantine* his Son. And hence it is that *Constantine the Great* is reported to have Reigned 32 years, when as really he Reigned but 30 years, and 10 months. *Vales.*

[c] *Socrates* does in the end of his Seventh Book (where he concludes his History) repeat this, in which place he says that he began his History in the first year of the 271 *Olympiad*, in which year *Constantine the Great* was proclaimed Emperour. This *Olympiad* does begin at the Solstice of the CCCV. year, being the year after the resignation of *Diocletian*. But *Constantius* died not this year, but in that following, when he was the sixth time *Consul* with *Galerius Augustus*, as we may read in *Fastis Idatii*. And therefore *Constantius*'s death is to be reckoned on the second year of the aforesaid CCLXXI. Olympiad. *Vales.*

[d] *Socrates* is here in an error, for *Maximianus Herculius*, who was otherwise called *Maximian the Elder*, was by *Constantin*'s command slain in *Gallia*, in the year of Christ 310. But *Maximinus* Cæsar, being two years after conquered by *Licinius*, died at *Tarsus*, as *Aurelius Victor* relates, and *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* and other Authours. This is the common mistake of the *Greek Historians*; they make a confusion betwixt *Maximianus* and *Maximinus*, using them promiscuously. *Vales.*

CONSTANT. *Severus Cæſar* being ſent to *Rome* by [c] *Galerius* [c] Although in the Greek it be *Galerius Maximinus*; yet we muſt read *Maximianus*: the Greeks uſually confound theſe two names. In the beginning of this chapter (where the words are, *Maximianus ſurnamed Galerius*) the Sfort. M.S. has it written *Maximinus*. Valeſ.

Maximianus to take *Maxentius*, was betrayed by his own Souldiers and put to death. Laſt of all died *Galerius Maximianus* alſo, who was now [f] the ſupream perſon in the Empire, having before his death conſtituted *Licinius* Emperour; he was a Native of *Dacia*, and had for a long time been *Galerius*'s fellow Souldier, and Confident. *Maxentius* in the mean while treated the *Romans* ſeverely, behaving himſelf like a Tyrant rather than an Emperour towards them: impudently debauching the wives of perſons gentilely extracted; killing many, and perpetrating ſuch like facts as theſe. Whereof when *Conſtantine* the Emperour had notice, he made it his buſineſs to deliver the *Romans* from that ſervitude he had preſſed them with; and immediately became ſollicitouſly inquiſitive how he might deſtroy the Tyrant: whilſt he was in this deep cogitation, he conſidered with himſelf what Deity he ſhould invoke to be his aſſiſtant and Tutelar God in this Expedition. It came into his mind that the ſtrict worſhip of the heathen Gods had not in the leaſt availed *Diocletian*; and he found that his Father *Conſtantius* having relinquiſhed the ſuperſtition of the *Grecians*, had led a more fortunate and proſperous life. Whilſt therefore he was [engaged] in this doubtfull deliberation, and upon the march with his Army ſome whither, there hapned to appear to him a wonderfull and unexpreſſible Viſion. For about noon, when the day began now to decline ſomewhat towards after noon, he ſaw in [the face of] the heavens a pillar of light, in figure like unto a Croſs, with this inſcription on it, *By this be thou Conquerour*. The Emperour ſtood amaz'd at this apparition. And, almoſt disbelieving his own eyes, he asked them that were preſent, whether they alſo ſaw the ſame ſight; which when they all had unanimouſly agreed in, [the mind of] the Emperour was corroborated by that Divine and wonderfull apparition. The night following *Chriſt* appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſaid unto him, *make a ſtandard in figure like that which appeared* [*to thee*] *and make uſe of it, as an infallible and ready Trophy, againſt thine Enemies*. In obedience to this [Heavenly] Oracle, he orders a Trophy to be made, in figure like a Croſs, which is kept in the Pallace to this day. After this he proceeded in the diſpatch of affairs with a greater vigour and alacrity of mind, and having engaged the Enemy before the very Gates of *Rome*, neer the Bridge called *Milvius*, he got the Victory; *Maxentius* being drown'd in the River. This was now the [g] ſeventh year of *Conſtantin*'s Reign, when he got the Victory over *Maxentius*.

[f] This paſſage [πρῶτα Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλέριος, *Maximianus Galerius, who was now the ſupream perſon in the Empire*] muſt be underſtood favourably, for *Galerius* was not really chief and ſole Arbitratour of all things, whenas there were at the ſame time two other *Auguſti*, to wit, *Conſtantine* in the *Gallia*'s, and *Maxentius* at *Rome*. But nevertheleſs he may be ſaid *ſummam imperii adminiſtraſſe*, becauſe he was the *ſeniour Auguſtus*, and was reſpected by the *junior Auguſti*, as a father. *Valeſ.*

[g] *Conſtantine* got this Victory over *Maxentius* in the year of Chriſt 312. when he and *Licinius* were in their ſecond Conſulate, this was the ſixth year of *Conſtantin*'s Reign: for he begun his Reign on the 25th day of *July*, in the year of Chriſt 306. But if we ſay that *Maxentius* was conquered on the eighth of the Kalends of *October* in the year 312, (as *Onufrius* reckons in his *Faſti*, and *Sigonius* in *his Second Book concerning the Weſtern Empire*) then that which *Socrates* here affirms may be true; that *Conſtantine* ronted *Maxentius* in the ſeventh year of his Reign. But it ſeems ſomething odd to me, that *Maxentius* ſhould (in the *Panagyrick* of *Nazarius*) be ſaid to be ſlain in the end of his ſixth year, juſt the day before he began his ſeventh. *Maxentius* begau his Reign ſome days after *Conſtantine*, therefore if *Maxentius* died on the eighth of the *Kalends of October*, he muſt neceſſarily begin his Reign on the 7th. And by this computation *Conſtantine* came to the Empire two months before *Maxentius*. Which indeed does not ſeem probable to me. But *Socrates* does here accord with his own opinion. For whereas *Conſtantine* (according to him) began his Reign in the 305 year of Chriſt, he very well reckons this Victory in the ſeventh year of his Reign. *Valeſ.*

CONSTANT. After theſe [Atchievements] whilſt *Licinius* his Collegue (who was alſo his brother in law, by the marriage of his Siſter *Conſtantia*) reſided in the Eaſt, he alſo having received ſo many and ſuch great favours from God, offered thankſgivings to him his great benefactor; Which were of this ſort, he put a ſtop to the Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*; he recall'd thoſe that were in exile; he releaſed ſuch as were confined in Priſon, and reſtored their Eſtates to thoſe that had been proſcribed; he repaired the Churches, and all theſe things he did with great alacrity of mind. [h] About this time *Diocletian*, who had reſigned his Imperial power, died at *Salona*, a City of *Dalmatia*.

[h] *Diocletian* died at *Salona* the 3d of the *nones of December*, in the year of Chriſt 316. as *Idatius* does very well write *in his Annals*. The ſame alſo ſays the Authour of the *Chronic. Alexand.* but inſtead of *Diocletian* there is crept into the Text, *Galerius Maximianus*; 'tis alſo confirm'd by the authority of *Zoſimus* in the ſecond book *of his Hiſtory*, where he ſays that *Diocletian* died 3 years after the 3d Conſulſhip of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*. For, having ſaid, that from the *Conſulſhip* of *Chilon* and *Libo* (in which the *ſecular Games* were celebrated) to the third Conſulſhip of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, it was above 110 years, he adds Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν τελευτᾷ τρισὶν ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον (i.e.) *three years after died Diocletian*. But *Joſeph Scaliger in his notes upon Euſebius*, underſtood this paſſage of *Zoſimus* ſo, as if *Zoſimus* ſhould ſay that *Diocletian* died three years after the reſignation of his Empire, or after his *ninth Conſulſhip*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

How whilſt Conſtantine *augmented* [*the proſperity of*] *the* Chriſtians, Licinius *his Collegue perſecuted them.*

NOw *Conſtantine* the Emperour profeſſing himſelf a *Chriſtian*, did all things beſeeming his profeſſion; he erected the Churches and adorn'd them with moſt magnificent conſecrated gifts; Moreover, he ſhut up and demoliſhed the Temples of the Heathens, and † expoſed the images placed therein. But *Licinius* his Collegue, adhering to the Opinions of the Heathens, hated the Chriſtians: he forbore raiſing an open perſecution againſt them, becauſe he fear'd the Emperour *Conſtantine*: but in a clandeſtine manner he enſnared many of them: And at length proceeded to open violence againſt them. This Perſecution was locall: for it raged in thoſe parts only * where *Licinius* made his reſidence. But in regard *Conſtantine* was in no wiſe unacquainted with theſe, and other ſuch like his Tyrannous outrages, *Licinius* being ſenſible that he highly reſented theſe proceedings, betook himſelf to the making of his Apology before him; and having appeaſed him by his obſequiouſneſs, he hypocritically made an amicable league with him, binding himſelf by many oaths, that in future he would never attempt any thing that was Tyrannical. But at the ſame time that he ſwore, he was alſo perjured. For he deſiſted not from his Tyrannick [conſpiracies againſt *Conſtantine*] nor ceaſed he from perſecuting the *Chriſtians*. For by a Decree he prohibited the Biſhops from frequenting the houſes of Heathens,

† Δημοσιευων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα, *made common, or expoſed the Images placed therein*; that is (as we ſuppoſe) *he cauſed them to be deſecrated.*

* Ἐνθα γὰρ ἦν Λικίνιος, ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐχώρει. the import whereof rendred word for word, is this, *it hapned there only, where Licinius was*: *Valeſius* renders the words thus, *in iis enim duntaxat partibus graſſata eſt, quæ ſubditioni erant Licinii, it raged in thoſe parts only, which were under Licinius's juriſdiction.*

CONSTANT. thens, that there might be no pretence of propagating the Christian Religion. This Persecution was at the same time open and secret. It was concealed and disguised in words; but in reality and deeds it was apparent. For those that lay under its pressures, endured most deplorable afflictions [and losses] in their bodies, and as to their Estates.

CHAP. IV.

That there was a War raised betwixt Constantine *and* Licinius *upon account of the* Christians.

THese proceedings rais'd the highest indignation in the Emperour *Constantine* [against *Licinius*:] and, the feigned league of friendship which was betwixt them being broken, they became enemies to each other. Not long after they entred into an actual War against one another: and having fought several set-battels both by Sea and Land, at length *Licinius* was vanquished at *Chrysopolis* of *Bithynia*, a Port-Town of the *Chalcedonensians*, and yielded himself. *Constantine* having taken him alive, treated him kindly: and would in no wise slay him, but commanded him to reside at *Thessalonica* peaceably and without making any disturbance. But having liv'd quietly a while, he afterwards gathered into a body some of the *Barbarians*, and attempted to recover his overthrow, and renew the War. *Constantine* being informed hereof, commanded that he should be put to death, and accordingly he was slain. *Constantine* having now the sole power and command over the whole [*Roman* Empire] and being proclaimed [a] Emperour and *Augustus*, endeavoured again to augment the affairs of the *Christians:* which he effected divers ways: and by his means Christianity enjoyed a profound and secure Peace. But an intestine War amongst the *Christians* themselves succeeded this so firm a Peace. What manner of War this was, and how it began, in the sequel according to my ability I will relate.

[a] In the Kings and *Florentine* M. SS. the particle [καὶ, *and*] is wanting; which *Christoph.* inserted. To me it seems not very necessary. If we do retain it, then [βασιλεὺς] must signifie [*Augustus*,] not *King*, as *Christoph.* renders it. *Socrates* alludes to the Souldiers acclamations, who after a signal Victory were wont to stile their Prince *Emperour*, and *Augustus*. The Citizens did the same, when the Victorious Prince made his entry into the City. *Vales.*

CHAP. V.*

Concerning Arius's *Contest with* Alexander *the Bishop.*

AFter *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, who suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of *Diocletian*, *Achillas* succeeded in that See. After *Achillas* [succeeded] *Alexander*, in the time of the forementioned Peace. He living in times that were more calm and secure, adorned and set his Church in order. Discoursing one day in the presence of his Presbyters, and the rest of his Clergy, too curiously concerning the [mystery of] the holy Trinity, he asserted this point of divinity, that there was an Unity in the Trinity. But *Arius* one of the presbyters placed under *Alexander* (a man of no mean skill in the faculty of reasoning, supposing that the Bishop design'd to introduce the opinion of * *Sabellius* the *Libyan*, desirous to be perverse and contentious, deflected to an opinion that was diametrically opposite to that of *Sabellius*, and as he thought, sharply and nimbly opposed the Bishop's assertions, arguing thus. If the Father begot the Son, he that was begotten hath a beginning of his existence. And from hence it is apparent, that there was a time, when the Son was not. Whence this is a necessary consequence; that he derives his existence from nothing. CONSTANT.

* See *Eusebius*'s Ecclesiastical History book 7. chap. 6. note (*b.*)

CHAP. VI.

How from this contention there arose a division in the Church; and how Alexander *Bishop of* Alexandria *deposed* Arius *and his Complices.*

Arius having drawn this Conclusion from these new assertions, excited many to that question; and from this small spark was kindled a great fire. For the mischief having been begun in the Church of *Alexandria* overran all *Ægypt*, *Libya* and the upper *Thebais*; and at length consumed the rest of the Cities and provinces. Many there were that did patronize *Arius*'s opinion, but more especially *Eusebius* was a maintainer of it, (not that *Eusebius* who was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, but another, who formerly had been Bishop of the Church of *Berytus*; but was then surreptitiously crept into the Bishoprick of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia.*) *Alexander* hearing and seeing what was done, became highly enraged, and having convened a Council of many Bishops, he degraded *Arius* and those that embraced his Opinion; and wrote to the [Bishops] of every City, as followeth.

The Letter of *Alexander* [Bishop] of *Alexandria.*

To Our well Beloved and Dearest Fellow-Ministers of the Catholick Church in all places, Alexander [*wisheth*] *health in the Lord.* [a] *Whereas there is one body of the Catholick Church, and 'tis commanded in the holy Scriptures that we keep the bond of Peace and Concord, it is requisite that we should Write, and inform one another of what things are done amongst us, to the end, that if one member suffer, or rejoyce, we may either joyntly rejoyce, or suffer together. In our Dioceſs therefore there are lately started up men that are impious and enemies of Christ, who teach such Apostacy, as any one may judge, and justly term the fore-runner of Antichrist. And this I would most gladly have buried in silence, that the mischief might have been consumed by being included amongst the Apostates only, least haply by its further progress into other places it should have infected the ears of the simple. But because* Eusebius *now Bishop of* Nicomedia, *supposing that the affairs of the Church are wholly at his dispose, (in regard, having deserted the Church of* Berytus, *he has sordidly coveted that of* Nicomedia, *and has not been prosecuted by any,) does Patronize even these Apostates, and has boldly attempted to write Letters up and down in commendation of them, that thereby he might seduce some ignorant persons into this worst and most displeasing Heresie to Christ: I thought it therefore necessary, being sensible of what is written in the Law, to be no longer silent, but to*

[a] *Lucas Holstenius*, a very learned person, heretofore wrote a dissertation *upon this Epistle of Alexander's*, which (together with some other pieces of his) he sent me a little before his death. In *that Treatise* he remarkes in the first place, that interpreters had not well rendred these words of *Alexander* [ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας,] which they had translated thus [*Cum unum sit Catholicæ corpus Ecclesiæ, whereas there is one body of the Catholick Church.*] But he asserts, that the place should rather have been thus rendred [*whereas the Catholick Church is one body*, &c. or, *consists of one body.*] For that learned person is of opinion, that *Alexander* alludes to Saint *Paul's Epistles*, wherein the Church is frequently called *Christ's body.* But (by the favour of that great man and heretofore my dearest friend) this Version cannot be born with. For, if *Alexander* had thought, as *Holstenius* means, he would doubtless have expressed himself thus [ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.] which in regard he has not said, it is apparent, there can be no other sense of the words, than that expressed by Translatours. Besides, if *Alexander* would have said *that the Church is the body of Christ*, he would not have worded it thus [ἑνὸς σώματος, *one body*] but rather thus [σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *the body of Christ.*] Vales.

CONSTANT. *give you all notice, that you might know thoſe that are the Apoſtates, and likewiſe the deteſtable expreſſions of their hereſie, and that if* Euſebius *write to you, you ſhould give no heed to him. For he, at this time deſirous to renew his Priſtine Malevolence which ſeemed to have been ſilenced* [*and forgot*] *by length of time, pretends indeed to write Letters on their behalf, but in reality he declares, that he uſes his utmoſt diligence to do this upon his own account. Now theſe are the names of thoſe which are turn'd Apoſtates*; Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carpones, *another* Arius, Sarmates, Euzoïus, Lucius, Julianus, Menas, Helladius, *and* Gaius; Secundus *alſo and* Theonas, *who were ſometimes ſtiled Biſhops.* [b] *And theſe are their Tenets which they have invented and do aſſert contrary to the authority of Scripture. God, they ſay, was not always a Father; but there was a time when God was not a Father. The word of God was not from everlaſting, but had his beginning from nothing. For God, who is, made him, who was not, of nothing. Therefore there was a time when he was not: for the Son is a Creature and a Work: neither is he like to the Father as to his Eſſence, nor is he by nature the genuine Word of the Father, nor his true Wiſdom.* [c] *But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures: and is only improperly ſtiled the Word and the Wiſedom:* [d] *for he himſelf exiſts by the proper Word of God, and by the Wiſedom that is in God, by which God made all things and him alſo. Wherefore he is by nature mutable and ſubject to change, as well as all other rational beings. So that the Word is different, diſagreeable, and ſeparate from the Eſſence of God; and the Father cannot be declared or ſet forth by the Son, and* [e] *is inviſible to him. For the Son does not perfectly and accurately know the Father, neither can he perfectly behold him: for the Son knows not his own Eſſence, what it is. For our ſakes he was made, that God might make uſe of him, as an inſtrument, in order to our Creation, nor had he ever exiſted, had it not pleas'd God to Create us. And when one asked them, if the Word of God could be changed, as the Devil was, they were not afraid to anſwer, yes certainly he may: for he is of a Nature ſubject to change,* [f] *in that he is begotten and created. We therefore with the Biſhops of* Ægypt, *and* [g] Libya, *neer a hundred in number, being met together, have* * *anathematized* Arius, *for theſe his Principles, and for his impudent aſſertion of them, together with all his adherents. But* Euſebius *has given them entertainment, endeavouring to mix falſhood with truth, and impiety with piety: but he ſhall not prevail: For truth getteth the victory: and light has no communion with darkneſs, nor hath Chriſt any agreement with* Belial. *For who ever heard the like? or what man if he ſhould now hear them would not be amazed thereat, and ſtop his ears, leaſt the filth of this Doctrine ſhould penetrate and infect them? What man is he, that when he hears theſe words of Saint* John, In the beginning was the Word, *will not condemn thoſe that affirm, there was a time when the Word was not? Or who is he that, when he hears theſe words of the Goſpel,* The only begotten Son, and by him all things were made: *will not abominate theſe men that ſay, the Son is one of the Creatures.* [h] *But how can he be one of thoſe things that were made by him? Or how can he be termed the Only begotten, who (according to their ſentiments of him) is reckon'd amongſt all the other creatures? How can he be made of nothing, whenas the Father himſelf ſaith,* * My heart hath indited a good matter, *and* † Before the morning I have begotten thee in the womb? *Or how can he be unlike the Father in Eſſence, whenas he is the* ‡ perfect Image, and * the brightneſs of the Father, *and whenas he himſelf teſtifieth,* || He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father? *Now if the Son be the Word and the Wiſedom of the Father, How can there be a time when he was not? For 'tis the ſame* [*abſurdity,*] *as if they ſhould ſay, there was a time when God was both without his Word and his Wiſedom. How can he be mutable and ſubject to change, who ſays concerning himſelf,* * I am in the Father, and the Father in me, *and* † I and the Father are one? *He* [*ſpake alſo*] *by the Prophet,* || Behold me, for I am the Lord, and am not changed. *And though ſome one may ſay, that this was ſpoken in reference to the Father, yet it will be more accommodate, to underſtand it now to be ſpoken in relation to the Word: becauſe although he became man, yet was he not changed: but, as the Apoſtle ſays,* † Jeſus Chriſt the ſame yeſterday and to day, and for ever. *But what motive could they have to ſay, that he was made for us, whenas* Paul *ſaith,* * For him are all things, and by him are all things? *But concerning their Blaſphemy in affirming, that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it ought not to be wondred at. For having once reſolved to fight againſt*

CONSTANT.

[b] In the *Florence* M. S. after theſe words [ὅτι ταῦτα, *theſe are*] follow theſe [πῶς φρονοῦσιν αἱρετικοὶ, *the Tenets of the Arians,*) which words ſhould rather be placed in the margin. In *Gelaſius* there occur likewiſe at this place theſe words, Ἄρειος αἵρεσις, *Arius's Opinion.* Valeſ.

[c] After theſe words [*nor his true Wiſdom*] there was a whole clauſe wanting, which from our three M. SS. the *Florentine, Sforzian,* and *Allatian,* and from *Gelaſius Cyzicenus* we have made good, thus, [ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ἦν πνεύματος καὶ ἓν σοφίας. [*But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures,*] which words *Epiph. Scholaſticus* had found in his Copy, as it is apparent from his Verſion. For he has Tranſlated this whole place thus: *Creatura eſt enim, & factura filius, neque ſimilis eſt patri ſecundum ſubſtantiam: neque verus eſt, neque vera ſapientia ejus eſt, neque verum naturaliter patris verbum eſt, ſed unus quidem creaturarum & facturarum eſt: For the Son is a Creature and a Work, neither is he like the Father as to his Eſſence: nor is he genuin, nor his true Wiſedom: nor is he by nature the true Word of the Father, but one of his Creatures and one of his Works.* Hence it appears, that that Greek Copy of *Socrates*, which *Epiph. Scholaſticus* uſed, differed ſomething from our Manuſcripts. And yet *Leo Allatius*'s Copy agrees exactly with that which *Epiphanius* followed. For thus it words this paſſage: ὅτε δὲ ἀληθινός ἐστιν, ὅτε ἀληθινὴ σοφία αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν· ὅτε ἀληθινὸς καὶ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς υἱός ἐστιν· ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ἦν πνεύματος καὶ ἓν σοφίας, ἐκτὸς δὲ λέγεται υἱός, καὶ, &c. So exactly do the Authours of the *Greek* and *Latine Tripertite Hiſtory* agree amongſt themſelves, that they ſeem to have borrowed from one another. *Valeſ.*

[d] In *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. Copy, the reading of this place is thus, γνώσιμος καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὢν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίᾳ. which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſt.* has followed; who tranſlates it thus; *factus & ipſe & exiſtens in proprio Dei verbo, & in Dei ſapientia, be himſelf is made and exiſts in the proper Word of God, and in the Wiſedom of God.* But we have rather followed the reading of the Kings, the *Florentine*, and the *Sfortian* M. SS. which is alſo confirmed by *Gelaſius*. Valeſ.

[e] In *Leo Allatius*'s M.S. (which contains *the Tripertite Hiſtory* that *Theodorus Lector* compoſed in Greek out of *Socrates, Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*) theſe words are added, καὶ ἀόρατός ἐστι, *and is inviſible.* So *Epiph. Scholaſt.* reads it, as appears from his verſion. *Valeſ.*

[f] Inſtead of γνωσὸς καὶ τρεπτὸς in the Greek, we with *Gelaſius* chuſe to read γνωπτὸς καὶ κτιστὸς, and accordingly Tranſlate it thus, *begotten and created.* This paſſage is thus Tranſlated by *Epiph. Factus aiunt, & convertibilis eſt, they ſay that he is made, and is mutable.* Valeſ.

[g] In *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. the reading is καὶ λιβύην but in *Gelaſius* καὶ τὰς λιβύας which reading does pleaſe me. For there are two *Libya*'s, we may alſo here take notice of this number (to wit) 100 Biſhops in *Ægypt*. The ſame number I remember I met with in *Athanaſius's Second Apology*, againſt the *Arians*: pag. 788. ἐπίσκοποι εἰσὶν ἐν αἰγύπτῳ καὶ λιβύῃ καὶ πενταπόλει, ἐγγὺς ἑκατὸν; *there are in Ægypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, neer an hundred Biſhops.* Valeſ.

[h] In *Leo Allatius*'s M.S. and in *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*, this place is truer written, thus; πῶς γὰρ δύναται εἷς ἓν ἦν ἐξ οὗ ἐστὶ γνωσμάτων; which reading we have expreſſed in our Tranſlation. The reading in the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. is πῶς δὲ δύναται εἷς ἐστὶ τῶν ἓν ἦν ἐξ οὗ ἐστὶ γνωσμάτων, *How can he be equal with thoſe things made by him.* Valeſ.

* Pſalm 45. v. 1.

† Pſalm 110. 3. Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. So *the Septuagint* words that Text; and we Tranſlate accordingly; the very words of the 72 being here quoted.

† Coloſ. 1. 15. * Hebr. 1. 3. || John 14. 9. * John 14. 10. † John 10. 30. ‖ See Mal. 3. 6. † Heb. 13. 8. * Heb. 2. 10.

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† Prov. 18. 3. ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἀσεβὴς εἰς βάθος κακῶν, καταφρονεῖ· So the *Septuagint* words this Text; which words occur here in the original. But in our *English* Version of the *Bible* (which agrees with the *Hebrew*) this Text is thus rendred, *when the wicked cometh, then cometh also contempt.*

[i] The reading in *Leo Allatius*'s M.S. and in *Gelasius* (which is thus, ἐπιχειρήσαντες τὰ εἰς ἀναίρεσιν, *have attempted the subversion*) pleases me better than this [ἐπιχειρήσαντες τῶς ἀναιρέσει.] *Vales.*

Alexander, having Written such Letters as this to all the Bishops in every City, the mischief grew worse; those to whom the Contents thereof were communicated, being hereby inflamed with a pertinacious contention. Some were of the same Opinion with, and subscrib'd to the Contents of these Letters; but others did the contrary. But *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* was in the highest degree incited to dissent, because *Alexander* had in his Letters made a reproachfull mention of him in particular. At that time *Eusebius* was a man of great interest, because the Emperour did then keep his Court at *Nicomedia*: for *Diocletian* had not long before built a Pallace there. For this reason therefore many Bishops were very obsequious to *Eusebius*. And he himself wrote frequently, sometimes to *Alexander*, [advising him] to suppress [k] the controversie raised [amongst them] and to readmit *Arius* and his Adherents into the Church: at other times [he wrote] to the Bishops of every particular City, [perswading them] that they should not consent to *Alexander*. Hence it came to pass that all places were filled with tumult and disturbances. For now a man might have seen not only the Prelates of the Churches in words contending with one another, but the populace also divided, some inclining to one party, some to another. And this matter grew to that height of indignity and insolency, that the Christian Religion became a Ridicule even in the publick Theaters. Those that were at *Alexandria* did * pertinaciously contend about the chiefest points of the Faith: they also sent Embassies to the Bishops of every particular Province. Likewise, those that were of the other party, were authours of the like stirs and discords. [l] There were mixed amongst the *Arians* the *Melitians*, who not long before had been separated from [the communion] of the Church. Now who these *Melitians* are, we must relate: one *Melitius* a Bishop of one of the Cities in *Egypt*, had been deposed by *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* (who suffered Martyrdom under *Diocletian*,) for several other reasons, but most especially for this, that in the time of Persecution he had denied the Faith and sacrific'd. This person being divested [of his Bishoprick,] and having got a great many followers, constituted himself the Ringleader of their Heresie, who in *Ægypt* are to this day from him called *Melitians*. Moreover, having no reasonable excuse at all for his separation from the Church, he barely said thus much, that he was injured, he did likewise revile and speak reproachfully of *Peter*. *Peter* having suffered Martyrdom in the Persecution, ended his life. But [*Melitius*] withdraws his reproaches [from *Peter*] and casts them first upon *Achillas*, *Peter*'s successour, and afterwards upon *Alexander* who succeeded *Achillas*. During their being engaged in this dissention, *Arius*'s controversie was started; and *Melitius* and his Complices became favourers of *Arius*, joyning with him in a conspiracy against the Bishop. Now those who lookt upon *Arius*'s Opinion as absurd, approved of *Alexander*'s condemnation of *Arius*, and thought the sentence pass'd against all that favour'd that Heresie was just and equitable. But *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and as many as embraced

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[k] Instead of [τὸ κινούμενον ζήτημα, *the controversie raised*] the reading in *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. is [τὸ κινῶν τῶν παρόντων ζήτημα, *the question that raised the disturbance.*] A little after this, in the same M.S. instead of [*consent to Alexander*] the reading is [*consent to those whom Alexander wrote to.*] Vales.

* Neatinacious, chiefly.

[l] Here, I am confident, *Socrates* mistakes, For the *Melitians* did not side with the *Arians* till after the *Counsel of Nice*: being then solicited, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* to cast scandalous aspersions upon *Athanasius*, as he himself does testifie in *his second Apology against the Arians*. If the *Melitians* had joyn'd themselves with the *Arians* before the *Council of Nice*, the Fathers of that Council undoubtedly had not treated them so kindly as they did. *Vales.*

*See 2 Epist. Joh. v. 10, 11.

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CHAP. VII.

How Conſtantine *the Emperour, griev'd at theſe diſturbances in the Church, ſent* Hoſius *a* Spaniard *to* Alexandria, *to exhort the Biſhop and* Arius *to a reconciliation.*

WHen the Emperour had notice of theſe things, he was greatly perplexed in mind, and looking upon this as his own calamitous concern, without delay he made it his buſineſs to extinguiſh the miſchief newly hatch't, directing his Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius* by a perſon of known fidelity, nam'd *Hoſius*, who was Biſhop of *Corduba* a City in *Spain*; which man the Emperour had a great love and eſteem for. Part of this letter, 'tis not unſeaſonable to inſert here; the whole Letter [a] is extant in *Euſebius's Books concerning the life of Conſtantine.*

[a] In the Greek after theſe words, κεῖ) ἐν βιβλίοις, ὃ *extant in the Books*, the *Florent.* M. S. reads μέρος ἐπιστολῆς, *part of the Letter*; which words although they may be written in the margin, yet ſometimes are put into the Text by Authors; as for inſtance in *Athanaſius's Apology againſt the Arians.* Valeſ.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to ALEXANDER and ARIUS.

We underſtand that this was the ground of the preſent controverſie. For when You, Alexander, *enquired of your Presbyters, what every particular man's* [b] *Opinion was concerning a certain Text of Scripture, or rather concerning a part of a fruitleſs controverſie: and whereas you* Arius, *inconſiderately vented ſuch ſentiments as you ought either not to have conceiv'd at firſt, or if you had had ſuch conceptions, it had been your duty, to have let them been buried in ſilence: upon this a diſſention has been raiſed between you, communion is refuſed: and the moſt Religious populace rent into two factions, is ſeparated from the harmonious unity of the whole body. Wherefore let both of you, mutually pardoning each other, quietly accept of what your fellow-ſervant doth reaſonably adviſe you to. But what is that? it was your duty neither to have asked ſuch queſtions at firſt, nor if propoſed, to have made any return thereto. For ſuch queſtions, as no law does neceſſarily limit or preſcribe, but are propoſed by the contentiouſneſs of an unprofitable vacancy from buſineſs (although they may be framed to exerciſe and imploy our natural parts about, yet) we ought to confine within our own breaſts, and not inconſiderately divulge them in publick aſſemblies, nor imadviſedly commit them to the ears of the vulgar. For what perſon amongſt a thouſand is ſufficiently qual fi'd either accurately to comprehend the full efficacy and nature of things ſo ſublime and profound, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or ſhould any man look upon this to be an eaſie performance, how ſmall a part of the Vulgar will he induce to be fully perſwaded hereof? Or what man can without danger of falling into groſs errours inſiſt upon the accurate diſcuſſions of ſuch nice controverſies? In queſtions therefore of this nature loquacity muſt be bridled and reſtrained; leaſt either through the frailty of our nature (we being not able to explicate what we propoſed,) or through the ſlowneſs of our Auditors underſtanding what they are taught (being unable accuratly to apprehend our diſcourſe,) leaſt [we ſay] from one of theſe cauſes the people be reduced to a neceſſity of Blaſphemy or Schiſme. Wherefore let an unwary queſtion, and an inconſiderate anſwer with both of you mutually pardon each other. For this conteſt is not kindled upon an occaſion of any principal or chief commandment of our law: neither have you introduc'd any new Hereſie concerning the worſhip of God. But you both hold one and the ſame Opinion; ſo that [you may eaſily cloſe in a] conſent of communion with each other. For whilſt you thus pertinaciouſly contend about trifles and things of no importance,* [c] *'tis not convenient that ſo numerous a people of God ſhould be under your care and government, becauſe of your diſſention with one another: nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis alſo judged to be altogether unlawfull. Now that I may advertiſe your prudence by a ſmaller inſtance, I will tell you: you know even the Philoſophers themſelves, how that they are all united in [the profeſſion of] one Sect, whenas notwithſtanding they frequently diſagree in ſome part of their aſſertions; but although they do ſometimes jarre * in the very perfection of knowledge, yet becauſe of the agreement and union of their Sect, they do again cloſe in a mutual conſent. Now if it be ſo [amongſt them,] it will certainly be much more reaſonable that you, who are the Miniſters of the moſt high God, ſhould in like manner be unanimous in the profeſſion of the ſame Religion. But let us now with more accuracy and greater attention inſpect and deliberate upon what has been ſaid: whether it be juſt and equitable, that becauſe of the trivial, vain, and pertinacious conteſts between you about words, brethren ſhould be ſet in array [as it were] againſt brethren; and that that venerable aſſembly ſhould upon your account, who contend with one another about things ſo ſlight and in no wiſe neceſſary, be rent aſunder by an impious variance. Theſe [conteſts] are poor and mean, and do become a childiſh ignorance, rather than agree with [the gravity] of Presbyters, and prudent men. Let us of our own accord depart from the tentations of the Devil. Our great God, the Saviour of all men, hath reached forth a light common to all men. By the aſſiſtance of whoſe providence, give*

[b] After theſe words in the Greek: (to wit,) τὶ ἤποτε ἔχεις ὦ αὐτῶν. *Leo Allat.* M. S. and *Gelaſ. Cyzicen*: add φρονεῖ; the import of which we have alſo made uſe of in our Tranſlation; though 'tis not expreſt in the common Edit. *Valeſ.*

[c] In *Leo Allatius's* M. S. this place is thus written [πρέπον τὸ θεῖον λαὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑμετέροις εὐχαῖς καὶ φρεσὶν εὐδυνείαις φερόμενον, ἀκροᾶσθαι ἔτε πρέπον, ἔτε ὅλως πιστεύεσθαι ἢ πιστεύειν; i. e. 'Tis neither decent, nor is it in any wiſe to be believed, that ſo numerous a people of God (which ought to be governed by your prayers and prudence) ſhould be at variance.] *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* followed the ſame reading: for thus he tranſlates this place: [tantum Dei populum, quem veſtris orationibus & prudentiâ convenit gubernari, diſcordare nec decet, nec omnino fas eſſe credibile eſt.] Valeſ.

* Τῇ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀρετῇ; *in ipſâ ſcientiæ perfectione*: So *Valeſius*, whom we follow. *Muſculus* renders it, *in virtute ſcientiæ, in the virtue of knowledge*: *Grynæus*, *diſciplinæ cauſâ*, &c. *upon account of their diſcipline*, &c.

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CONSTANT. *us leave, who are his servant that we may successfully finish this our endeavour, that by our exhortation, diligence and earnest admonitions, we may reduce you to an unity of assembly. For in regard, as we have already said, you hold the same faith, and have the same sentiments of our Religion; and since the commandment of the law doth in all its parts inclose all in general in one consent and purpose of mind: Let not this thing, which has raised a mutual division between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to the power and efficacy of Religion in general) by any means make a separation and a faction amongst you. These things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one Opinion concerning this foolish idle controversie, of what sort soever it be. For the pretious value of the assembly may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same Communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a great diversity of sentiments in things of the smallest import. For we do not all * mean the same in all things, neither is there one disposition or opinion in all of us. Therefore, concerning the Divine Providence, let there be amongst you one faith, one meaning, and one covenant of the Deity. But as for these slender and light questions, which with so much niceness you dispute of and make researches into amongst your selves, although therein you do not all agree in the same opinion, yet 'tis your duty, to confine them to your own thoughts, and keep them within the secret repositories of your own minds. Let therefore an unutterable and excellent common friendship, a belief of the truth, the honour of God, and a Religious observance of his Law, remain amongst you firm and immoveable; return ye to a mutual friendship and charity: restore to the whole body of the people their usual embraces. And be you your selves (having as it were purifi'd your own souls,) acquainted again [and renew your familiarity] with one another. For friendship is frequently more sweet and pleasing, after the* [d] *occasion of the enmity is laid aside, return to a reconciliation again. Restore therefore to us peaceable and serene days, and nights void of sollicitude, that during the residue of our Life we may have the pleasure of the pure light, and the joy of a quiet life reserved for us. Which if [we shall not obtain] we must necessarily groan, and be wholly surrounded with tears: nor shall we finish the residue of our Life without great disquietude. For whilst the people of God, (we mean our fellow servants,) are rent asunder by this pernitious and indiscreet dissention which they are now involved in, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of mind? And that you may be sensible of our excessive sorrow for this thing, be attentive [to what we shall tell you.] When we lately came to the City of* Nicomedia, *we had resolv'd forthwith to have made a journey into the East. But while we were hastning towards you, and had performed above half our journey, the news of this affair quite altered our resolution: least we should be necessitated to be a spectator of these things, which we could not endure even to hear. Do you therefore by your unanimity for the time to come, open the way for us into the East, which by your mutual discord you have stopped up. Give us leave with joy speedily to see you, and all the rest of the people, and that with an unanimous consent of praises we may offer up to God due thanks for the publick agreement and liberty.* CONSTANT.

* Βελόμεθα, *will, wish, or desire.*

[d] In *my Annotations at the second book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*, instead of [ὐπὸ τὸν τῆς ἔχθρας ἀποθέσιν, *after the occasion of the enmity is laid aside*] I have noted that the reading should be [τῆς ἔχθρας ἀποθέσιν, *after the removing of the enmity*;] as it is in some Copies. But, in as much as our M. SS. to wit, the *Florent. Sfortian*, and *Allatian* change not the reading here, we may bear with the common reading; which is also confirmed by *Epiph. Scholasticus*'s Version: for thus he translates this passage; *suaviores crebrò sunt amicitiæ post inimicitiarum causas ad concordiam restitutæ.* Valef.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Council held at Nicæa *a City of* Bithynia, *and concerning the Faith there published.*

SUch admirable and prudent advice did the Emperours Letter give them. But the mischievous difference was grown so strong and potent, that neither the Emperours industry, nor the authority of the Person who brought the Letters was able to do any good. For neither *Alexander* nor *Arius* were in the least mollifi'd by the Letter: amongst the populace also there was an irreconcileable discord, and a great disturbance. Moreover, before this broke out, there was another distemper in that place, which had caus'd disturbance in the Church, (to wit) a disagreement concerning the Feast of *Easter*; but this was only in the Eastern parts: where some made it their business to celebrate that Festival after the Jewish manner, others [in their solemnization thereof] imitated the rest of the *Christians* throughout the whole world. But though they differ'd thus concerning the Feast, yet they did not refrain from a mutual Communion. However, they clouded the joy of the Feast by this their dissention. The Emperour therefore seeing the Church disturbed by these two evils, convened a General Council, by his Letters requesting the Bishops from all parts to meet together at *Nice* a City of *Bithynia*. Accordingly the Bishops out of divers Provinces and Cities assembled; concerning whom *Eusebius Pamphilus, in his third book of Constantin's Life*, writeth thus word for word. *The most eminent therefore amongst Gods Ministers of all those Churches which filled all* Europe, Libya *and* Asia, *were conven'd. And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as it were by God himself, included at the same time within its walls both* Syrians *and* Cilicians, Phœnicians *and* Arabians, Palestinians, *and* Ægyptians *also*, Thebæans, Libyans, *and those that came out of* Mesopotamia. *There was also at this Synod a* Persian *Bishop, neither was the* Scythian *absent from this Quire.* * Pontus *also, and* Galatia, Pamphilia *and* Cappadocia, Asia, *and* Phrygia *afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, there appeared here* Thracians, *and* Macedonians, Achaians *and* Epirots, *and such as dwelt far beyond these were nevertheless present.* [*Hosius also*] *that most fam'd* Spaniard, *(together with many of his Countreymen) was one that sate in this Council. The* † *Prelate of the Imperial City was* supposed that by these words the Bishop of *Constantinople* was meant. With whom agrees *Nicetas*, (*in Thesauro Arthodoxæ fidei.* book 5. chap. 6.) and *Epiphanius Scholasticus* in book 2. *Histor. Tripart. Musculus* (as 'tis apparent from his rendition of these words) thought the Bishop of *Rome* was hereby meant: for he renders this place thus, *Romanæ autem civitatis Episcopus propter senium decrat*, i. e. *The Bishop of Rome by reason of his age, was absent. Valesius* is of the same opinion with *Musculus*. For (*in his Annotations on Chap. 7. of the third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*) he says, that at such time as this Council was convened, *Constantinople* was not adorned with the name of *The Imperial City*. See *Sozomen*, book 1. chap. 16. and *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 7.

* These words of *Eusebius* occur at the third Book of his Life of *Constantine*, Chap. 7. *Socrates* has not quoted them word for word as they are there: we (following herein *Valesius*, *Musculus*, and *Grynæus*) have rendred them as they are in the forecited place of *Eusebius*.

† *Gelasius Cyzicenus*

absent

CONSTANT. *abſent by reaſon of his age. But his* Presbyters *were there, and ſupplied his place. The Emperour* Conſtantine *was the only perſon of all the Princes ſince the foundation of the world, who (after he had platted ſuch a Crown as this by the Bond of Peace) dedicated it to Chriſt his Saviour as a divine preſent and acknowledgment for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adverſaries, having conſtituted this Synod convened in our days to be a lively repreſentation of* * See Acts 2. 5. *that Apoſtolick Quire. For it is* * *Written that in the Apoſtles days there were gathered together* devout men out of every nation under heaven, *amongſt whom were* Parthians, Medes, *and* Elamites, *and the inhabitants of* Meſopotamia, Judæa *and* Cappadocia, *of* Pontus *and of* Aſia, *of* Phrygia *and* Pamphilia; *of* Ægypt, *and of the parts of* Libya *adjacent to* Cyrene: *ſtrangers alſo of* Rome, Jews *and* Proſelytes, Cretians *and* Arabians. *This was the only thing wanting, that Meeting* [*in the Apoſtles times*] *did not conſiſt of the Miniſters of God only. But in this preſent aſſembly the number of the Biſhops exceeded* [a] *three hundred. And the Presbyters that accompanied them, the Deacons,* * Acoluthi, *and the many other* * Ἀκολούθων, Followers, or Attendants. *perſons were almoſt innumerable. Of theſe Miniſters of God, ſome were eminent for their Wiſdom and Eloquence; others for their ſober and diſcreet Lives, others for their patient ſufferance* [*of hardſhips,*] *and others were adorned with* [b] *modeſty and a courteous behaviour. Some of them were highly reſpected by reaſon of their great age, and others were eminent for their youthfull vigour both of body and mind. Some were newly initiated into the Order of the Miniſtry. To all theſe the Emperour commanded a plentifull proviſion of food to be daily allowed.* † *Thus much ſaies* Euſebius *concerning thoſe there Aſſembled.*

[a] The Ancients are not agreed concerning the number of Biſhops that were at the *Nicene Council*. *Euſebius* (in his third book, chap. 8. *concerning the life of Conſtantine*) ſays they were *Two hundred and fifty*. *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch* (*in his Homily on thoſe words of Solomon, The Lord created me, &c.*) affirms they were about 270; but ſays he had not caſt up their number exactly. The more conſtant account (which is confirmed by the conſent of all modern Authours) is, that there ſate in that Synod 318 Biſhops, which is confirmed by theſe Ancients. *viz. Athanaſius, in his Epiſtle to the African Biſhops,* neer the beginning; *Hilarius, in his book againſt Conſtantius; Jerome, in his Chronicon;* and *Rufinus*. See *Valeſius's notes on* Chap. 8. *of* Book 3. *of Euſebius, de Vitâ Conſtant.*

[b] Τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ καλεκομιδίλο. Many ſenſes may be given of theſe words. For firſt [μέσῳ τρόπῳ] may be taken for [*modeſty and a curteous behaviour*;] ſuppoſing [μέσῳ] to be put for [μετρίῳ:] this ſenſe we have followed in our Verſion. Secondly, [μέσῳ τρόπῳ] may be meant concerning them, *who were not the eminenteſt perſons amongſt the Biſhops for Learning or Piety of Life; but did not come much behind them.* So the Ancients called thoſe *medios principes ac duces, middle Princes or Captains, who were neither the beſt, nor the worſt, but between both.* Laſtly, this phraſe may be uſed concerning them, *who deſerved to be praiſed on both accounts,* to wit, *for their learning and ſanctity:* and thus *Sozomen* interprets this place of *Euſebius*, as may be ſeen from his words in his firſt book chap. 16. See *Valeſius's notes on* chap. 9. *of the third book of Euſebius, de Vitâ Conſtant.*

† In the *Allat.* M. S there are ſome words added here; in which Copy the reading is [ὡσεὶ περὶ σωφελδύλων ὁ Παμφίλε διεξῆλθεν Εὐσέβιος, *concerning thoſe there aſſembled Euſebius Pamphilus has thus at large diſcourſed;*] which reading has a greater *Emphaſis*. Valeſ.

When the Emperour had ended his triumphal ſolemnities for his Victory over *Licinius*, he himſelf came alſo to *Nice*. The moſt eminent amongſt the Biſhops were theſe two, *Paphnutius* Biſhop of the upper *Thebais*, and *Spyridion* Biſhop of *Cyprus*: but for what reaſon we have made mention of theſe two particularly, ſhall in the ſequel be declared. There were alſo preſent a great many Laicks, well skilled in Logick, ready to aſſiſt each their own party. Now the Patrons of *Arius*'s Opinion were theſe. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, (whom we mentioned before,) *Theognis*, and *Maris*: the firſt was Biſhop of *Nice*, CONSTANT. and *Maris* was Biſhop of *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. Againſt theſe *Athanaſius* (who was then but a Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*) contended vigorouſly. But *Alexander* the Biſhop had an high eſteem for him: upon which account he became the ſubject of envy, as we ſhall declare in the ſequel. A little before the convention of the Biſhops in one place, the Logicians exerciſed themſelves by engaging in ſome skirmiſhing diſputes with ſeveral perſons: and when many had been enticed to take a delight in diſputing, a Laick, one that was a Confeſſour, an honeſt well meaning man, oppos'd theſe Diſputants, and told them thus: that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles taught us the art of diſputing, nor vain ſubtileneſs, or fallacies, but a plain [c] Opinion which is to be guarded by faith and good works. All that ſtood by, hearing him ſpeak theſe words, admired him, and approved of what he ſaid: and the Logicians themſelves, having heard this plain and honeſt declaration of the truth, did in future more patiently acquieſce: and thus was that tumult, which had been raiſed by diſputing, compoſed. The next day after this all the Biſhops were conven'd in one place; after whom came the Emperour. Who when he came in, ſtood in the midſt of them, and would not take his ſeat till ſuch time as the Biſhops had by bowing of their heads ſignified to him, that it was their deſire he ſhould ſit down: ſo great a reſpect and reverence had the Emperour for thoſe men. After ſuch a ſilence was made, as was agreeable to the occaſion, the Emperour from his Chair of State began to ſpeak to them in kind perſwaſive words, exhorting them to unanimity and concord. He alſo advis'd them to paſs by all private animoſities. For many of them had brought in accuſations againſt one another: and ſome of them the day before had preſented petitionary Libells to the Emperour. But he, adviſing them to proceed to the buſineſs before them for which they were conven'd, gave command that the Libells ſhould be burnt, adding only this [maxim;] Chriſt commands him, who deſires to obtain forgiveneſs, to forgive his brother. Therefore, after he had at large diſcourſed upon Concord and Peace, he referred it to their power and arbitrement with a greater accuracy to make a further inſpection into the points of our Religion. It will be very opportune to hear *Euſebius*'s relation of theſe affairs, *in his third book of Conſtantin's Life*. His words there are theſe: * *Many Queſtions being propoſed by both parties, and a great controverſie raiſed even at the firſt beginning* [*of their debate,*] *the Emperour heard them all very patiently, and with an intent mind deliberately received their propoſitions; by turns he aſſiſted the aſſertions of both parties, and by degrees reduced them, who pertinaciouſly oppoſed each other, to a more ſedate temper of mind; by his gratious ſpeeches to every perſon, which he ſpoke in the Greek tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language) he rendred himſelf moſt pleaſant, acceptable, and delightfull; inducing ſome to be of his Opinion*

[c] I prefer the reading in the *Allat.* M. S, in which, inſtead of [γυμνὴν γνώμην, *a plain Opinion*] it is [γυμνὴν γνῶσιν, &c. *plain knowledge*, &c.) *Epiph. Scholaſticus* followed this latter reading, as appears from his Verſion of this place. *Socrates* ſeems to have had this narration out of *Rufinus*'s tenth book, where he treats concerning the *Nicene Council*. But *Socrates* on ſet purpoſe altered ſome things. *Gelaſius*, treating on this Subject, enlarges upon it, relating the queſtions of each of the Philoſophers, and the Biſhops anſwers thereto. All which paſſages of his look more like fables, than an Hiſtory of what was done. *Valeſ.*

* *Euſebius, concerning the Life of Conſtantine*; book 3. chap. 13. and 14. Edit. *Valeſ.*

CONSTANT. *Opinion by the force of his Arguments; wooing others by intreaties; praising those who spoke well, and exciting all to an accommodation; at length he reduc'd them all to an unanimity and conformity in Opinion concerning all points that were in debate. So that there was not only an universal agreement about* [*the Articles*] *of Faith, but also a set time generally acknowledg'd for the celebration of the Salutary Feast* [*of Easter.*] *Moreover, the Decrees ratified by a common consent were engrossed and confirm'd by the subscription of every person.* These are *Eusebius*'s own words concerning these things, which he has left us in his Writings: we thought it not unseasonable to make use of them; and have inserted them into our History, relying upon the testimony of what has been said by him: that in case any should condemn this Council of *Nice* as erroneous in the [matters of] Faith, we might take no notice of them, nor credit [d] *Sabinus* the *Macedonian*, who terms all those that were convened in this Council, idiots and simple persons. For *Sabinus* (Bishop of those *Macedonians* which dwell at *Heraclea* a City of *Thrace*) who made a Collection of the Canons which several Synods of Bishops published, reviles the Bishops of the Council of *Nice* as being Idiots, and Ignorant fellows, being insensible that he does also at the same time accuse *Eusebius* himself as an Idiot, who after a most exquisite search into it made a confession of that Faith. Some things he hath designedly omitted: othersome he has depraved and changed: but he has interpreted all passages according to his own sense and design. He does indeed commend *Eusebius Pamphilus* as a witness worthy to be credited: he does also praise the Emperour for his judgment and skill in the Principles of *Christianity*, but he complains of the Creed published at the Council of *Nice*, as being set forth by Idiots and men that understood nothing. And that same mans words, whom he calls a wise and faithfull witness, he voluntarily contemns. For *Eusebius* testifieth, that of those Ministers of God that were present at the Council of *Nice*, some were eminent for their prudent Eloquence; others for their gravity and solidness of life; and that the Emperour being present reduced them all to an agreement, and made them to be of the same mind and opinion. But of *Sabinus* (whersoever necessity requires) we shall hereafter make mention. Now the agreement in [the Articles of] our Faith [e] published with loud acclamations, by the great Council of *Nice*, was this.

[d] This *Sabinus* was Bishop of the *Macedonians* in *Heraclea* a City of *Thrace*; he made a Collection of the *Synodical Acts*; a very usefull work; the testimony whereof *Socrates* does frequently make use of in *this his History*. But *Socrates* reproves him in many places; both because he was unfaithfull in his Collection of *those Acts*, (studiously relating what conduced to the strengthening of his own Heresie, and omitting the contrary,) and also in regard he always shews himself incensed against the Orthodox Bishops. An instance whereof is this relation of *Socrates*'s here, where he says that *Sabinus* termed the Fathers of the *Nicene-Council* ignorant and simple fellows. But 'tis usual for Hereticks to calumniate the holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church. *Vales.*

[e] In the *Allat.* M.S. the reading here is [ἡ δὲ ἐν νικαίᾳ πίστις τῆς μεγάλης συνόδου καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου μεγαλοφώνως ἐπαινεθεῖσα συμφωνία, &c. *now the agreement in the faith with loud acclamations approved of by the* great Synod at Nice, *and by* Eusebius, *&c.*] *Epiphan.* Scholast. followed the same reading. *Vales.*

[f] This following Creed is wanting in all our M.SS. *viz.* the Kings *Sforzian*; and *Florent*: but *Christophorson* did very well in placing it here; for 'tis plain both from *Epiphanius Scholast.* as also by those following words, [πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, &c. *we believe in one God the Father Almighty, &c.*] That it was placed here by the Historian himself. But all the M. SS. did omit it in this place because 'tis repeated a little after in *Eusebius Pamphilus*'s Epistle. *Vales.*

[f] *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord* Jesus Christ *the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only begotten, that is of the substance of the Father: God of God and Light of Light, very God of very God: begotten not made; of the same substance with the Father: by whom all things were made, that are in heaven and in earth: who for the sake of us men, and for our salvation descended, and was incarnate, and was made man, and he suffered and arose again the third day, ascended into the Heavens, he shall come to Judge the quick and the dead:* [*We also believe*] *in the Holy Ghost. But the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church doth anathematize those that aver, that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that he was not before he was begotten, and that he was made of nothing, Or that say he was made of another substance or essence, or that he is either created, or convertible, or mutable.*

This Creed three hundred and eighteen Bishops approved of and embraced: and (as *Eusebius* testifies) being unanimous in their suffrages and sentiments, they subscribed it. There were only [g] five that refused to allow of it, who misliked the word * *Homoüsios*: these were *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*. For in regard they asserted, that that is * *Consubstantial* which is from another either by Partition, or by Derivation, or by Eruption: by Eruption, as the Branch from the Root: by Derivation, as Children from their Parents: by Partition, as two or three pieces of Gold from the whole Mass: but that the Son of God is [from the Father] by none of these three ways. Therefore they said, they could not give their assent to this [draught of] the Creed. Therefore after a tedious cavil about the term * *Homoöusios*, they deny'd to subscribe the degradation of *Arius*. Upon which account the Synod anathematized *Arius* and all those that were of his opinion, adding this besides, that he should be prohibited from entring into Alexandria. The Emperour also did by his Edict banish *Arius*, *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* soon after their banishment exhibited their penetentiary Libells, and assented to the belief of *Homoöusios*, as we shall declare in the procedure of our History. At the same time *Eusebius* sirnam'd *Pamphilus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* (having made some small Hesitancy in the Synod, and considered with himself whether he might securely admit of this form of Faith,) at length together with all the rest gave his assent, and subscrib'd: he also sent a Copy of the form of Faith to the people within his Dioceſs, and explain'd to them the term *Homoöusios*, lest any one should have an ill opinion of him, because of his Hesitancy: Thus therefore he wrote word for word. *It is very probable (beloved) that you may have heard what hath been done concerning the Ecclesiastick Faith in the great Council convened at* Nice, *in regard report doth usually outrun an accurate Narrative of the matters Transacted. But* [*fearing*] *lest by such a bare report the matter might be represented to you otherwise then really it is, we thought it requisite to send to you; first that form of Faith which we our selves proposed* [*to the Council,*] *and likewise that other published* [*by*

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[g] There were only two Bishops *Secundus* and *Theonas* which refus'd to subscribe to the *Nicene Creed*, as *Theodoret* does very well testifie in the first book of his *Ecclesiastick History*, and (before him) *Hieronymus* in *his Dialogue against the Luciferiani*. The *Synodical Epistle* also of the Council of *Nice*, which is here related by *Socrates* does plainly confirm this. *Vales.*

* That is, *of the same substance.*

* That is, *of the same substance.*

* That is, *of the same substance.*

CONSTANT. [by the Biſhops] who made ſome additions to ours. That form of Faith drawn up by us, (which was read in the preſence of our moſt pious Emperour, and appeared to all to be ſound and Orthodox,) runn's thus. As we have receiv'd by tradition from our Predeceſſours the Biſhops, then when we were inſtructed in the firſt principles of the Faith, and received Baptiſm; as we have learnt from the divine Scriptures, and as (during our continuance in the Presbyterſhip, and alſo ſince we have been intruſted with a Biſhoprick) we have believed and taught, ſo we alſo now believe, and do make a publick declaration to you of our Faith: which is this.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things viſible and inviſible; and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, the firſt born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all worlds; by whom alſo all things were made: who for our ſalvation was incarnate, and converſed amongſt men: who ſuffer'd, and roſe again the third day, he aſcended unto the Father, and ſhall come again in Glory to Judge the quick and the dead. We alſo believe in one Holy Ghoſt: We believe that each of theſe [Perſons] is, and doth ſubſiſt: that the Father is truely the Father, the Son really the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt really the Holy Ghoſt: as our Lord alſo, when he
* Matt. 28. 19. ſent his Diſciples out to Preach, ſaid. * Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Concerning which [Articles] we do aver, that we thus maintain and hold them, that theſe are our ſentiments of them, that this was our Opinion formerly, that this Opinion we will till death retain, that we will perſevere in this belief, and anathematize every impious Hereſie. We call God Almighty, and Jeſus Chriſt our Lord to witneſs, that theſe were ſincerely and heartily our ſentiments, ever ſince we were capable of knowing our ſelves, and that we do now think and ſpeak what is moſt true: and we are ready to demonſtrate to you, by moſt infallible proofs, and to perſwade you, that both in times paſt we thus believ'd, and likewiſe thus Preached.

When this Creed was propos'd by us, there was no body that could oppoſe it. Moreover, our moſt pious Emperour, did himſelf firſt atteſt its truth: he proteſted that he himſelf was of the ſame Opinion, and exhorted all to aſſent to, and ſubſcribe theſe very Articles, and unanimouſly to agree [in the profeſſion] of them; [h] this one only word Homoöuſios being inſerted; which term the Emperour himſelf thus explained, ſaying, he ſuppos'd that the word Homoöuſios was not to be taken in ſuch a ſenſe as is agreeable to the affections of the body, and therefore that the Son had not his ſubſiſtance from the Father either by Diviſion, or Abſciſſion. For it is impoſſible [ſaid he] that an immaterial intellectual and incorporeal nature, ſhould be ſubject to any corporeal affection: but our ſentiments of ſuch things muſt be expreſſed in divine and myſterious terms. Thus did our moſt wiſe and pious Emperour Philoſophize. But the CONSTANT. Biſhops upon the occaſion of adding this word Homoöuſios drew up this form [of the Creed [i].]

[h] Euſebius ſeems to affirm, that the Emperour Conſtantine was the occaſion of adding the word Homoöuſios to the Creed. But this is very improbable. For Conſtantine was not ſo learned; being as yet but a Catechumen. Euſebius's relation therefore muſt be thus underſtood, that the Biſhops (after the Creed propoſed by Euſebius Cæſarienſis,) judged that the word Homoöuſios ought to be added to it; and that Conſtantine confirmed their Opinion. But Euſebius, who made it his buſineſs to clear and excuſe himſelf to thoſe of his Dioceſs, becauſe he hath ſubſcribed that form of the Creed publiſhed by the Council, (as Athanaſius, in his book De Decret. Synod. Nicen. and in his book De Synod. Arimini and Seleuciæ, atteſts,) does deſignedly make the buſineſs intricate, and aſcribes that to the Emperour Conſtantine, which ſhould rather be aſcribed to the Biſhops. Valeſ.

[i] After theſe words, before the Nicene Creed, in the Florentine and Sfortian M. SS. are added theſe words [τὸ μάθημα.] So the Greeks call the Creed, becauſe the Catechumens got it by heart. Socrates (in his third book chap. 25.) has theſe words, πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ μαθήματα, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and the reſt of the Articles of the Creed. See Leontius Biſantius, in his book De ſectis, pag. 466. Valeſ.

The Creed.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things viſible and inviſible: and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, (that is) of the ſubſtance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten not made: of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father; by whom all things were made, that are in heaven and that are in earth. Who for us men, and for our ſalvation deſcended, and was incarnate, was made man, ſuffered, and roſe again the third day: he aſcended into heaven. He ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. [We alſo believe] in the Holy Ghoſt. But thoſe who hold, that there was a time when he was not, or that he was not, before he was begotten, or that he was made of nothing, and thoſe that affirm he is of any other ſubſtance or eſſence, or that the Son of God is created, or convertible, or obnoxious to change, [all ſuch] God's Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church doth anathematize.

When this form of Faith was appointed by the Biſhops, we did not inconſiderately omit making an enquiry, what their meaning was of thoſe terms, of the ſubſtance of the Father, and of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father. Hence therefore aroſe ſeveral Queſtions and Anſwers; and the true import of thoſe words was with great accuracy examined. And it was acknowledged by them, that theſe words, To be of the ſubſtance, did only ſignifie thus much, that the Son is of the Father, but not as a part of the Father. It ſeem'd to us altogether reaſonable and ſafe to give our aſſent to this meaning of this ſacred Doctrine, which aſſerteth, that the Son is of the Father, but is not a part of his ſubſtance. Wherefore we our ſelves alſo gave our aſſent to this import [of thoſe words;] nor do we reject the terme Homoöuſios, having peace before our eyes as the marke at which we aime, and [being cautious] leſt we ſhould fall from a right apprehenſion [of the Faith] For the ſame reaſons alſo we have admitted of theſe words, begotten not made. For made, ſaid they, is a common term attributed to all other creatures which were made by the Son; of whom the Son hath no reſemblance. Wherefore he is no creature, like to thoſe, which were created by him: but he is of a far more excellent ſubſtance then any creature. which ſubſtance, as the ſacred Oracles do inſtruct us, is begotten of the Father, but by ſuch a manner of Generation as is ineffable, and inexpreſſible by any created Being. Thus alſo this propoſition, that the Son is of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, was diſcuſſed, to wit, that this is not [to be underſtood] according to the manner of bodies, nor [in a ſenſe] agreeable to mortal Creatures. For this [Conſubſtantiality] cannot [be] either by Diviſion of the Subſtance, or by Abſciſion, or Mutation of the Paternal Eſſence and Power. For all theſe things are inconſiſtent with the uncreated nature of the Father. But this [propoſition] to be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father doth expreſly

CONSTANT. expressly represent to us no more than this, viz. that the Son of God hath no community with, or resemblance to, created Beings; but that in every respect he is like to the Father onely, who hath begotten him; and that he does exist of no other substance or essence, but of the Father. To this [Opinion] therefore thus explain'd we thought good to give our assent: more especially, because we also knew that some of the Ancient Learned and eminent Bishops, and Writers, have made use of this term Homoöusios, in their explications of the Divinity of the Father and of the Son. Thus much therefore we have said concerning the Creed published [at Nice,] to which we all agreed, not inconsiderately and without examination, but according to the senses given, [k] which were discussed in the presence of our most pious Emperour, and for the forementioned reasons, received with an unanimous consent. Moreover, as concerning the * Anathematism published by the Fathers after the Creed, we judged it not in the least troublesome, in regard it does prohibit the use of terms that occur not in the Scriptures, from the use of which terms came almost all the confusion and disturbance that hath been raised in the Church. Since therefore, no part of the Scripure given by divine inspiration hath made use of these terms, to wit, of things which exist not, and there was a time when he was not: it seem'd disagreeable to reason that these [assertions] should be either mentioned, or taught. To this good and sound Opinion we also have assented, in as much as in former times we have never made use of such expressions. These things (beloved) we thought requisite to send to you, that we might most apparently evidence to you the considerateness as well of our examination and researches [into all points,] as of our assent: and [that you might also know] with what good reason we did at first make a resistance even to the last houre, as long as some things written in a manner different from what they should have been, offended us: but at length without further contention we embraced those points which were not offensive, when after a candid enquiry into the import of the terms we found them to be agreeable with what we our selves had made confession of, in that form of the Creed we at first proposed.

Thus wrote *Eusebius Pamphilus* to *Cesarea* in *Palestine*. Also, by the common consent and approbation of the Council, this following Synodicall Epistle was written to the Chruch of *Alexandria*, and to the inhabitants of *Ægypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*.

k In the Greek Text of *Socrates* (as it is publiished by *Valesius*) there is at this place a great errour. For these words [ἐπ' αὐτῶ τῶ θεοφιλεστάτυ βασιλέως ἐξεταζόμενα, *which were discussed in the presence of our most pious Emperour*] are quite omitted; and instead thereof, these [καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισμοῖς συνομολογηθέντας, *and for the forementioned reasons received with an unanimous consent*] are twice printed. We supplied this defect from *Robert Stephens's* Greek Edit. with which our Translation agrees; as it likewise doth with *Valesius's* Latine Version, and with that of *Musculus*, *Christophorson*, and *Grynæus*.

* That is, *the Curse*.

CHAP. IX.

The Epistle of the Synod, concerning those matters determined by it, and how Arius *was degraded, together with them that embraced his sentiments.*

TO *the Holy (by the Grace of God) and great Church of the* Alexandrians, *and to our beloved brethren the inhabitants of* Ægypt, Libya, *and* Pentapolis; *The Bishops Assembled at* Nice, *who fill up that great and holy Synod, send Greeting in the Lord.*

For as much as by the Grace of God, and [the *Summons*] *of the most pious Emperour* Constantine (*who hath call'd us together out of diverse Cities and Provinces,*) *a great and holy Synod has been convened at* Nice, *it seem'd altogether necessary, that a Letter should be written to you in the name of the sacred Synod; whence you might understand what things were there propos'd, and what taken into examination, as also what were Decreed and established. First of all therefore, the impiety and iniquity of* Arius *and his complices was inquired into in the presence of the most pious Emperour* Constantine: *and the Councils determination (which was confirmed by the suffrages of all) was, that his impious Opinion, and execrable terms and names should be* anathematized, *which* [terms and names] *he blasphemously used,* [a] *affirming that the Son of God had his Being of nothing, and that there was a time when he was not; as also saying, that the Son of God had a freedom of will,* [*whereby he was*] *capable either of vertue or vice: and calls him a Creature, and a Work. All these* [*Tenets*] *the holy Synod hath* anathematized, *not enduring so much as patiently to hear this impious opinion, or rather madness, and these blasphemous expressions. But what issue the proceedings against him are arrived at, you have either heard already, or will hear; lest we should seem to insult over a man who hath receiv'd a condign recompence for his own wickedness. But his impiety was grown so prevalent, that he drew into the same pit of perdition* [*with himself*] Theonas *Bishop of* Marmarica, *and* Secundus *Bishop of* Ptolemais. *For the same sentence* [*that had been given against him*] *was pronounced against them. But after the Grace of God had delivered us from that mischievous Opinion and from impiety and blasphemy, and from those persons who were so audacious as to make divisions and* [*sow*] *discord amongst a people heretofore peaceable; there yet remain'd the perverse stubborness of* Melitius, *and those that had been by him admitted into sacred Orders: and we now relate to you (beloved brethren) the judgment of the Synod concerning this particular. It pleas'd therefore the Synod (which dealt more kindly with* Melitius; *for in the strictest sense and rigour of the law he did not* [b] *deserve the least favour) that he should continue in his City, but have no jurisdiction, neither to Ordain,* (the phrase that occurs here) imports the *rigour* or *extremity of the Law*: to which ὀπιεικεία, *equity* is opposed. The Fathers therefore of the *Nicene Council* say, that the Synod dealt with *Melitius*, not according to the rigour and extremity of the Law, nor according to the exact rule and discipline, but (συνκαταβατικῶς) *by way of dispensation*. For in the strictest sense of the Law *Melitius* deserved no kindness or pardon, in regard he challenged ordinations which in no wise belong to him, and had made a Schism in *Egypt*. For that is evidently declared by these words of this Epistle, *viz.* Τὸς δὲ χρεὶν Θεῶ ἐν μηδενὶ κλήρω ὑποκειμένους εὑρεθέντας, *those that by Gods grace have not been found* [engaged] *in any Schism*. By reason therefore of his rashness and insolency, *Melitius* deserved to be deposed and excommunicated. But yet the holy Fathers had a mind to treat him kindly, depriving him of all power, and leaving him only the name of a Bishop. Now, why *Melitius* was thus kindly used, many reasons may be alleadged. The first (which the holy Fathers intimate in this Epistle) is, because they had before unsheathed and made use of their sharpest severity and censure against *Arius* and his followers. Now it was but equal, that after so sad and heavy a sentence pronounc't against them, there should be a place afterwards left for clemency; especially, since *Melitius* had been convicted of no Heresie, but was only accused to have made a Schism. Secondly, there were many persons amongst the *Melitians*, that were good men, and eminent for their pious lives. Of which sort was *Paphnutius* the

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[a] *This Epistle* is extant in *Theodoret*, in chap. 6. of *the first book of his Ecclesiastick History*; but is in some places different from *Socrates's* Edition of it here. For *Theodoret* omits the word [λέγοντα, *affirming*,] together with the following clause, and joyns all this with the preceding period. In *Leo Allatius's* M. S. the word [λέγοντα] is also wanting, and that which follows, to wit, [ὀνομάζοντα, *calls*:] and instead of [ἄπαντα] the reading there is [ταῦτα πάντα.] *Vales.*

[b] Ἀκριβεστάτην γνώμην τοῦ νόμου

Anchoret, and *John* the Biſhop; whom *Epiphanius* mentions, in *Hæreſ. Melitian.* Laſtly, they did thus to promote peace, whereby the members of the Church, which before had been rent in ſunder, might cement and unite: therefore the *Nicene Fathers* received the *Melitians* into communion. And this is a moſt illuſtrious example of Eccleſiaſtick diſpenſation. *Valeſ.*

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* See note (*f*) in this chapter.

[c] I like not *Chriſtophorſons* Verſion, who thought theſe words were meant of the Preſbyters ordained by *Melitius*. For *Melitius* ordained not only *Preſbyters* and *Deacons* throughout *Egypt*, but Biſhops alſo, as *Epiphanius* atteſts. Yea, he had ordained far more Biſhops, than Presbyters; as may be Collected from that Catalogue, which *Alexander* ('tis ſaid) required of him, after the *Nicene* Synod. Wherein are reckoned twenty eight Biſhops of *Melitius*'s party; but five Presbyters, and three Deacons. This Catalogue is extant in *Athanaſius*'s *Second Apology againſt the Arians*. Since therefore *Melitius* had Ordained ſo many Biſhops, if the *Nicene* Fathers had made no determination concerning the Biſhops by him Ordained, their ſentence had been imperfect; in regard they would have Decreed, what ſhould be done with the *Presbyters* made by *Melitius*, but would have made no mention of the Biſhops. Wherefore I think theſe words muſt be taken in ſuch a ſenſe, as to include both Biſhops, and alſo Presbyters. *Valeſ.*

or to * *propoſe the names of thoſe that were to be Ordained, or to appear in any Village, or City upon this pretence: but that he ſhould barely enjoy his appellation and title only. And as for* [c] *thoſe that had been Ordain'd by him to any function, being confirm'd by a* [d] *more ſacred Ordination, they ſhould afterwards be admitted into Communion, and upon this condition they may continue poſſeſt of their preferment and function, but yet they are to acknowledge themſelves always inferiour to all thoſe that had been approved of in every Dioceſs and Church, who had been* [e] *Ordained before by our deareſt colleague in the ſacred Function,* Alexander. *So that beſides, they ſhall have no power* [f] *to propoſe, or nominate whom they pleaſe, or to act in any thing at all without the knowledge and conſent of ſome Catholick* [g] *Biſhop, who is one of* Alexanders *ſuffragans. But thoſe that by the grace of God and your prayers have not been found* [engaged] *in any Schiſm, but have continued in the Catholick Church blameleſs; let ſuch have power to nominate and elect thoſe that are worthy of the ſacred Function, and act in all things according to the eſtabliſhed Law and Sanctions of the Church.*

[d] In the firſt place the Synod Decreed, that the Biſhops and Clergy, which had been Ordained by *Melitius*, ſhould be confirmed by a more holy conſecration, that is, ſhould receive impoſition of hands from the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For, in regard they had been Ordained without his conſent, it was the pleaſure of the Synod, that they ſhould be Ordained by the *Alexandrian* Biſhop, according to the ancient uſage, by which it was cuſtomary, that all the Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Egypt* ſhould be Subject to the Prelate of *Alexandria*. But the Synod required not the *re-ordination* of *Melitius*, becauſe he had been rightly Ordained before. *Valeſ.*

[e] Inſtead of [προχειρισμένων] it ſhould rather be [προκεχειρισμένων, *ordained before*] as it is in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 6. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* For προχειρίζεσθαι ſignifies another thing, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. (ſee the following note.) *Sozomen* (in his firſt book chap. 24. where he epitomizes this Epiſtle) ſuppoſed theſe words were meant of the Clergy, not of the Biſhops. *Valeſ.*

[f] In *our Annotations on the third book of Euſebius concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, we remarked, that προχειρίζεσθαι, ſignifies *to propoſe the names of ſuch perſons as are to be ordained.* So the Synod Decreed above concerning *Melitius*, μήτε χειροθετεῖν, μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι, *that he ſhould neither ordain, nor propoſe the names of thoſe that were to be ordained.* In the ſame ſence *Nicetas* uſed this term, in *his Life of Ignatius Patriarch of Conſtantinople*, where he mentions his Election: his words are theſe, πολλῶν πισφῶν εἰς προκαθεδρίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προχειριζομένων, &c. *when therefore the names of many perſons were propoſed to Preſide over that Church*, &c. Therefore the following words [ἢ ὑποδείκνυσιν ὀνόματα, *or to nominate*] are only an explication of the foregoing term. In the ſame ſenſe *Sozomen* took this word, in his fore-cited 24 chapt. Moreover, we muſt note, that *Melitius* was more ſeverely dealt with, (as being the authour of a Schiſm,) than the *Melitiani*. For the *Nicene Fathers* deprived *Melitius* of all Epiſcopal juriſdiction, and left him only the name of a Biſhop. But they permitted the *Melitians* to exerciſe their Functions in the Church. That is, that the Deacons ſhould Miniſter in the Order of Deacons, and that the Presbyters ſhould Conſecrate and Baptize, as ſhould alſo the Biſhops. They only took from them their power of Voting in Elections: which was prudently done of the *Nicene Fathers*, leaſt the *Melitians* ſhould clandeſtinely promote ſome men of their own party to the Eccleſiaſtick preferments *Valeſ.*

[g] It ſhould rather be [τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, *Biſhops*,] as it is in *Theodoret*, and in the *Allat.* M. S. *Valeſ.*

And if it ſhall happen that ſome of thoſe who now hold Eccleſiaſtick preferments, die, then let thoſe that are newly admitted and receiv'd [into the Church] be prefer'd to the dignities of the deceaſed, [h] *provided that they ſhall appear worthy, and that the people ſhall freely elect them, provided alſo that the Biſhop of* Alexandria *doth by his ſuffrage ratifie and confirm [the peoples Election.] This ſame Priviledge is alſo granted to all. But concerning* Melitius *in particular we otherwiſe Decree, that (becauſe of his former irregularity, raſhneſs, and giddineſs of diſpoſition,) no juriſdiction or authority ſhall be allowed him, he being a man able to revive the ſame diſturbances that were before. Theſe things are ſuch as moſt eſpecially and particularly relate to Ægypt, and [concern] the moſt holy Church of* Alexandria. *But if there ſhall be any other Canon or Decree made; being our Lord, and our moſt Reverent fellow Miniſter and Brother* Alexander *is preſent, he at his arrival will give you a more particular account, in regard he is the Authour of, and conſcious to, what ever is done. We alſo ſend you the good news concerning the unanimous conſent of all in reference to the celebration of the moſt ſolemn Feaſt of Eaſter; for this difference alſo hath been made up by the aſſiſtance of your prayers; ſo that all the brethren in the Eaſt, who formerly celebrated this Feſtival at the ſame time the* Jews *did, will in future conform to the* Romans *and to us, and to all who have of old obſerved our manner of celebrating* Eaſter. *Do you therefore (rejoycing at the good ſucceſs of affairs, and at the unanimous Peace and Concord [amongſt all men,] and alſo becauſe all Hereſie is wholly extirpated,) with a greater honour, and more ardent love receive our Fellow Miniſter (but your Biſhop)* Alexander, *whoſe preſence here hath greatly rejoyced us, and who in this his infirm age hath endured ſo great labours, that Peace might be reſtored amongſt you. Pray for us all that thoſe good determinations which are made, may remain firm and inviolable, through Almighty God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, together with the holy Ghoſt; to whom be glory for ever, Amen.*

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[h] These words do plainly confirm what we ſaid before, to wit, that not only the Preſbyters and Deacons, but the Biſhops alſo (who had been Ordained by *Melitius*) are here ſpoken of. For, if they here treated concerning the Presbyters only that were to ſucceed in the places of other Presbyters, why ſhould the *Nicene Fathers* uſe ſo great caution, require ſo many and great things for this reaſon, that one of the *Melitian* Presbyters ſhould be put into the place of a defunct Preſbyter of the Catholick Church? For the holy Fathers expreſly prohibit, that any of the *Melitians* ſhall ſucceed in the place and dignity of the defunct, unleſs he ſeem worthy of that honour, unleſs the people Elect him, and unleſs his Election be confirmed by the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. What need of ſo great caution and diligence in the promotion of a Presbyter? 'Tis therefore apparent, that theſe words do rather belong to the Biſhops. In the Elections of whom moſt eſpecially, the peoples ſuffrages were neceſſary; and whoſe Election muſt beſides be confirmed by the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in regard he was the *Metropolitane* of all *Egypt*. Valeſ.

In this Synodical Epiſtle 'tis apparent, that the *Nicene* Fathers did not only *anathematize Arius* and his followers, but the very terms of his Opinion alſo: and that (in regard they had amongſt themſelves agree'd concerning the celebration of Easter,) they received into Communion [i] the Arch-Heretick *Melitius*, allowing him indeed the liberty of retaining the dignity of a Biſhop; but they deprived him of the power of doing any thing as a Biſhop. And upon this account I ſuppoſe it is, that the *Melitians* in *Ægypt* are to this day ſeparated from the Church, becauſe the Synod took away all [Epiſcopal] power from *Melitius*. Moreover, nor *Athanaſius* (*in his 2 Apology*) nor *Epiphanius*, accuſe *Melitius* of any Hereſie; they only affirm, he was the Authour of a Schiſm. But when the *Melitians* had afterwards joyned themſelves to the *Arians*, (which, as I remarkt before, hapned after the *Nicene Synod*, and *Melitius*'s death,) they turned their Schiſm into an Hereſie, as *Auguſtine* writes concerning the *Donatiſts*. In this ſenſe therefore *Melitius* may be termed an Arch-Heretick. *Valeſ.*

[i] *Socrates* does undeſervedly ſtile *Melitius an Arch-Heretick*. For neither do the *Nicene* Fathers,

you

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[k] The *Sfortian* & *Florentine*, M. SS. add these words [ἤτοι μέτροις, *or Verses*;] which *Christophorson* found in his Copy, as appears from his Version.

* He was a *Maronite*, a most obscene Greek Poet.

Concerning *Arius*'s *Thalia* see *Athanasius*, in *his second Oration against the Arians*. When *Socrates* says, that this book of *Arius*'s was condemned by the *Synod*, we must not so understand him, as if the Poem it self were particularly condemned, but the Doctrine only contained in that Poem. *Vales.*

The Emperours Letter.

Constantinus Augustus, *to the Catholick Church of* Alexandria. *God save you beloved Brethren. We have receiv'd the greatest blessing from the divine Providence, that being released from all Errrour, We can now embrace and profess one and the same Faith. The Devil hath no longer a dominion over us: for all the Machinations he design'd against us are now totally destroyed. The bright lustre of truth has (according to the commandment of God) defeated those dissentions, those Schisms, those Tumults, and (if I may so term them) those fatal poysons of discord. We therefore do all adore one God in Name, and we believe that he is. Moreover, that this might be effected, by the admonition of God we conven'd a great many Bishops at the City of* Nice: *together with whom we our selves, one of your number, who rejoyce exceedingly in that we are your fellow-servant, undertook the disquisition of the truth. We did therefore enquire into and accurately discuss all things, which seem'd to yield the least occasion of ambiguity, or dissention. And (may the divine Majesty pardon us!) how great and horrid Blasphemies have some indecently uttered concerning our* * *Great Saviour, concerning our Hope and Life, speaking and openly professing that they believe things contrary to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and to the sacred Faith? Whenas therefore three hundred Bishops and upwards, admirable both for their moderation and acuteness of understanding, had unanimously confirmed one and the same Faith, (which, according to the verity and accurate disquisition of the Divine Law, can only be the Faith)* Arius, *vanquished by a diabolical force, was found to be the only person, who with an impious mind disseminated this mischief, first amongst you, and afterwards amongst others. Let us therefore embrace that Opinion, which Almighty God hath delivered. Let us return to our beloved brethren, from whom this impudent servant of the Devil hath separated us. Let us with all diligence imaginable hasten to the common body, and to our own natural members. For this doth well become your prudence, Faith, and Sanctity, that since his Error (who has been evidently prov'd to be an Enemy of the Truth) is confuted, you should return to the Divine Grace. For that which was approv'd of by three hundred Bishops, can be* [*judged*] *nothing else but the determination of God; especially, since the holy Ghost, residing in the minds of such great and worthy personages, hath discloſed to them the will of God. Wherefore let none of you continue dubious, let none of you make delays: but do you all with great alacrity return to the right way: that when we come to you, which shall be as soon as possible, we may together with you return due thanks to God who inspects all things, because, having revealed the pure Faith, he hath restored you that mutual love which was the subject of all mens prayers. God preserve you, beloved Brethren.*

* In the Allat. M.S. the reading is *concerning our Saviour*; which I like better than this, *concerning our Great Saviour*. Vales.

Thus wrote the Emperour to the people of *Alexandria*, demonstrating to them that the determination of the Faith was not imprudently, or unadvisedly made; but that it was dictated with a great deal of disquisition and diligent examination: nor [does he say] that some things were spoken [in that Council,] and others passed over in silence: but that all that was fitting to be said in confirmation of the opinion, was produced and urged: and that the controversie was not inconsiderately determined, but was with great accuracy first discussed. In so much that, all things whatever, which seemed to produce matter of ambiguity or dissention, were wholly removed and destroyed. In short, he terms the determination of all those there assembled, the will of God, and does confidently aver that the unanimity of so many and such eminent Prelates was procured by the holy Ghost. But *Sabinus*, the Ring-leader of the *Macedonian* Heresie, does wittingly and on set purpose oppose their [authorities:] and Stiles the Fathers there assembled Idiots and men of no knowledge; and he does in all appearance asperse even *Eusebius Cæsariensis* with [the imputation of] ignorance: but he does not in the least consider with himself, that, although those convened in that Synod were Idiots, yet in regard they were illuminated by God, and the Grace of the holy Ghost, they could in no wise err from the Truth. But let us hear, what the Emperour, by another Letter which he sent to all the Bishops every where, and to the people, Decreed against *Arius* and those that embraced his Opinion.

Another Letter of *Constantines*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Bishops and People.

[1] *In as much as* Arius *has followed the Practices of wicked and profane persons, 'tis but just that he should undergo the same ignominy with them. Therefore, as* Porphyrius, *that Enemy of true Piety, found a just recompence for composing impious Volumes against Religion, and such a recompence as has rendred him ignominious to posterity, covered him with infamy and many reproaches, and his impious writings have been utterly destroyed: so it also now seemes reasonable to term* Arius *and those that embrace his Opinion* Porphyrians, *that they may derive their denomination from him, whose morals they have so exactly imitated. Moreover, if any book written by* Arius *shall be found extant, we do hereby Order, that it be immediately burnt: that by this means not only his wicked Doctrine may be wholly destroyed, but also that there might not be left to posterity the*

[1] This Epistle of *Constantine* the Emperour is not rightly placed by our Author. It should rather be placed immediately after *Constantin*'s Letter to the Churches which is the next in this chapter. For certainly those Letters which concern the Council of *Nice* should regularly be placed first. But this Letter does not concern that Council, nor does it in the least mention the Council. *Athanasius in his Epistle ad Solitar.* alludes to this Letter of *Constantin*'s, where he speaks thus concerning the Emperour, διὰ τί τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς ὡς ἐκεῖνος προφυειανοὺς ὠνόμασε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσγαγεῖν σπεύδεις, (i. e.) *Why does he* (to wit, *Constantine*) *endeavour to reduce the Arians into the Church, whom he himself calls Porphyrians?* Vales.

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Another Letter.

Conſtantinus Auguſtus, to the Churches.

Having ſufficiently experienced, by the flouriſhing poſture of the publick affairs, how great the benignity of the divine power has been towards us; we judged it our chiefeſt concern and aim [*to labour*] *for the Preſervation of one Faith, a ſincere charity, and one univerſally acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God amongſt the moſt bleſſed Congregations of the Catholik Church. But ſince this could not be otherwiſe firmly conſtituted and eſtabliſhed, unleſs all, or at leaſt the greateſt part of the Biſhops were conven'd in one place, and every particular that concerns the moſt ſacred Religion were by them firſt diſcuſſed: upon this account, when as many of the Clergy, as could poſſibly be got together, were aſſembled, and we alſo, as one of you, were preſent with them (for we will not deny, what we account our greateſt glory, that we are your fellow ſervant) all things were ſufficiently diſcuſſed ſo long, untill a determination acceptable to God the Inſpector of all things, was publiſhed in order to an univerſal agreement and union: ſo that there is now no place left for diſſention, or controverſie about* [*matters*] *of Faith. Where alſo, after a diſquiſition made concerning the moſt Holy day of* Eaſter, *it was by a general conſent concluded to be the beſt courſe, for all men in all places to celebrate that Feſtival upon one and the ſame day. For what can be more comely and commendable, or what more grave and decent, then that this Feſtival, from which we have received the hopes of immortality, ſhould be unerringly kept by all men in one and the ſame order, and in a manner apparently and expreſly agreeable? And in the firſt place, all men lookt upon it as an unworthy thing and miſbecoming the dignity of that moſt ſacred Feſtival, to follow the Jewiſh uſage in the celebration thereof. For the Jews, perſons who have defiled themſelves with a moſt abominable ſin, are deſervedly impure and blind as to their underſtandings. Having therefore rejected their uſage, we may by a more certain and infallible order propagate that day to future ages for the completion of this ſolemnity, which we have kept from the firſt day of the paſſion even to this preſent time. Let us then have nothing in common with that moſt hoſtile multitude of the Jews. We have received another way from our Saviour. For there is propoſed to us a lawful and decent leading to our moſt ſacred Religion. Let us therefore (deareſt Brethren) with one accord conſtantly perſiſt in this courſe, and* * *withdraw our ſelves from that moſt adverſe Society and their conſciouſneſs. For it is really moſt abſurd for them to make their bragges, that we are not capable of our ſelves, without their inſtruction to obſerve theſe things. But of what are they able to paſs a right judgment, who after that parricide of theirs, the murther of our Lord, were ſtruck with madneſs, and are led, not by the conduct of reaſon, but by an ungovernable* * impetus, *whitherſoever their innate rage ſhall drive them? Hence therefore it is that even in this particular they diſcern not the Truth,* [m] *but always wandring at the greateſt diſtance from a decent and agreeable amendment, they celebrate* Eaſter *twice within the ſpace of one and the ſame year. What reaſon have we therefore to follow theſe men, who, it is acknowledged, are diſtempered with an abominable Errour? We muſt never endure the keeping of two* Eaſters *in one year. But although what we have ſaid were not ſufficient, yet nevertheleſs, it behooves your prudence to make it your greateſt care, and the matter of your conſtant prayers, that the purity of your ſouls ſhould not in the likeneſs of any thing ſeem to be joyned or mixed with the uſages of moſt wicked men. Beſides, this is to be conſidered, that it is a moſt impious thing, that there ſhould be any diſagreement in a matter of ſo great concern, and in ſuch a ſolemnity of Religion. For our Saviour left us but one day* [*to be celebrated in commemoration*] *of our Redemption, that is the day of his moſt ſacred Paſſion: and he alſo deſired that his Catholick Church ſhould be one. The members of which Church (although they are much diſperſed in divers places, yet nevertheleſs) are cheriſhed by one ſpirit, that is, by the will of God. Let the prudence of your ſanctity conſider, how grievous and undecent a thing it is, that on the ſelf ſame daies ſome ſhould keep ſtrict Faſts, and others celebrate Feaſts: and that on the days after* Eaſter, *ſome ſhould be converſant in feaſtings and a vacantneſs from labours, and others devote themſelves to ſet Faſts. Wherefore it pleaſed divine Providence that theſe things ſhould be ſeaſonably redreſſed, and reduced to one and the ſame form, as we ſuppoſe you are all ſenſible. Since therefore it was expedient to make ſuch an emendation in this point, as that we might not ſeem to hold the leaſt Communion with thoſe Parricides, and Murderers of of our Lord, the Jews: and ſince this is the moſt decent and becoming order, which all the Churches of the Weſtern, Southern and Northern parts of the world, and alſo ſome in the Eaſtern parts do obſerve: for theſe reaſons all perſons have at preſent judged it good and expedient; (and we our ſelves alſo promiſed that it would not be ungrateſull to your wiſdom,) that that which with ſuch an univerſal unanimity is obſerved in the City of* Rome, *and all over* Italy *and* Africa, *throughout all*

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* Violence.

* In book 3. chap. 18. of *Euſebius's* Life of *Conſtantine* (where we have this Epiſtle of the Emperour,) the reading is [τῆς αἱρέσεως ἐκείνης συνηθείας] which *Valeſius* at that place, and here, renders thus [*ab illâ turpiſſimâ ſocietate & conſcientiâ, from that moſt abominable ſociety and their conſciouſneſs.*] Of this his Verſion, he gives this reaſon: they who celebrate *Eaſter* with the *Jews*, ſeem to be conſcious of that wickedneſs which they committed againſt our Lord. See his *Annotat.* at the book and chapter now cited.

[m] Inſtead of [ὡς δεῖ] in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. the reading is [ὡς ἀεὶ, *always*:] which reading *Theodoret* confirms. In book 3. chap. 18. of *Euſebius's Life of Conſtantine*, it is [ὡς δεῖ] whereas the *Jewiſh Paſchal Neomenia* (or *new Moon*) began from the fifth day of *March*, and was concluded at the third of *April*, hence it ſometimes hapned, that their Paſſover began before the *Æquinox*. So that they celebrated two Paſſovers in one year, (ſuppoſing you mean the *Solar* and *Julian* year) that is, accounting from the *Vernal Æquinox* of this year, to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the year following. *Ambroſius* aſſerts the ſame *in his Epiſtle to the Biſhops of Æmilia*, where he relates, that the *Jews* ſometimes celebrated their Paſſover in the twelfth month, that is, acording to the *Latines*, and *Eaſtern men*. For the *Jews* never kept their Paſſover on *their own* twelfth month, but on the fourteenth day of their firſt month. Moreover, this celebrating of their Paſſover twice in one year, which *Conſtantine* objects againſt the *Jews*, ſeems to me not at all momentous. For the *Jews* might have returned the objection upon the *Chriſtians*, to wit, that they celebrated *Eaſter* twice in the ſame year. For, ſuppoſe *Eaſter* is this year kept on the tenth of the *Calends of May*; (that is, on the 22d of *April*) next year it muſt neceſſarily be kept ſooner. And ſo there will occur two *Eaſters* amongſt the *Chriſtians* within the ſpace of one year current. But this will not happen, if you reckon the year from the *Æquinoctial Cardo* to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the year following. See *Epiphan.* pag. 824. *Edit Petav.* and *Petav. Animadverſ.* pag. 294, 295. See alſo *Ægidius Buchervius de Paſchali Judæorum Cycle*, chap. 3.

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[n] This Letter of the Emperour to *Eusebius*, and also the two next are misplaced. For they have no relation to *the Council of Nice*; neither do they make the least mention of *Arius* or the *Arians*. Yea, the first of *Constantin*'s Letters to *Eusebius* was written before *the Council of Nice*, as *Eusebius* himself testifies, in *his* 2d *Book of Constantin's Life*, Chap. 46. *Valef.*

[n] Another Letter to *Eusebius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Eusebius*.

We really believe and are absolutely perswaded (Dearest Brother) that, in regard an impious desire and tyrannick violence hath persecuted the servants of God our Saviour even to this present time, the edifices of all Churches, have either by neglect gone to ruine, or through fear of the imminent dangerousness [of the times] have been adorned with less of statelines. But now, since Liberty is restored, and that Serpent, [o] *that Persecutor* Licinius, *is by Almighty God's Providence and our instrumental endeavours forced out of the Administration of publick Affairs, we suppose that the divine power hath been sufficiently manifested to all men: and that all who either through fear or unbelief have fallen into any sins,* [p] *having now acknowledged the only true God, will in future return to the true and right course of life. Do you therefore remind as well all [persons belonging to] the Churches over which you preside, as also all other Bishops presiding in other places, together with the Presbyters and Deacons, whom you know, that they use their utmost diligence about the structures of the Churches; either about repairing those that are still standing, or about inlarging others, or in building new ones, wheresoever it shall be found requisite. And you your self, and the rest by your mediation may ask necessaries [for that work] both from our Presidents of the Provinces, and also from the* [q] *Office of the* Prætorian Prefecture. *For they are already impowred by our Rescripts to be diligently observant about all your Holinesses Orders. God preserve you, Beloved Brother.* Thus wrote the Emperour to the Bishops throughout every particular Province, concerning the building of the Churches: But what he wrote to *Eusebius* of *Palestine* about providing [some Copies of] the sacred Scriptures we may easily collect from these his Letters.

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[o] We meet with this Letter of the Emperours to *Eusebius* at book 2. chap. 46. of *Eusebius's Life* of *Constantine*; where these three words [*that Persecutor Licinius*] are wanting; being added here, instead of a *Scholion* by *Socrates*, or some other *Scholiast*. He terms *Licinius a serpent* by reason of his craftiness, and age. Hence we may conjecture, that this Letter was written soon after *Licinius*'s deposition. See *Valesius's notes* on book 2. chap. 46. of *Eusebius's Life of Constantine.*

[p] Here we made choice of this reading [ἐπιγνόντας ἤδη, &c. *having now acknowledged*, &c.] By the term [fear] in the foregoing clause he means the *Christians*, who through fear of persecution had neglected the Churches, or renounced the faith. The term [*Unbelief*] belongs to the *Heathens*, who had demolished the Churches, and divers ways vexed the *Christians*. See *Valesius's notes*, at the *Book* and *Chapter* before cited.

[q] τάξις, the term here used, signifies *an Office, or company of Apparitours attending on a Magistrate*; i. e. *a certain number of Souldiers waiting on the Judges.* ἔπαρχοι are *the Præfects of the Prætorium*; so termed, because they were ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, *over the Presidents* and *Rectours of Provinces*. Therefore ἐπαρχικὴ τάξις (the phrase here used) imports *the Office of the Prætorian Præfecture*, concerning which consult the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Further, the Office (or Attendants) of *the Præfect of the Prætorium* was more honourable than the Offices of all the other Magistrates. For as the *Præfect of the Prætorium* excelled all the other judges, as well Military as Civil, in dignity; so his *Officials* or attendants, were lookt upon to be more honourable then the other *officials*. Hence, in the *Chalcedon Council*, *Action.* 3, the Office of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* is called μεγίστη τάξις. See *Valesius's notes*, at the before cited book and Chapter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

By the assistance of God our Saviours Providence, so great a multitude of men have joyned themselves to the most Holy Church in that City which bears our * *Name; that [Christianity seems] to have made its greatest progress and increase there.* [r] *It seems therefore very requisite that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore do you with the greatest alacrity admit of what we have Decreed. We thought fit to signifie this to your prudence, that you should order fifty Copies of the sacred Scriptures (the provision and use whereof you know to be most necessary for the instruction of the Church,) to be written on well prepared parchment by artificial Transcribers of Books, most skilfull in the Art of accurate and fair Writing; which [Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable in order to their being used. Moreover, Letters are dispatch't away from our clemency to the* [s] Rationalist *of the* Diœceses *to take care for provision of all things necessary towards the preparing of the said Copies. Let it therefore be the imployment of your care to see that the foresaid Copies be provided as soon as may be. You are also impowr'd by this our letter to make use of two publick carriages for their conveyance. For by this meanes those which are fairest Transcribed may be easiest convey'd even to our sight, to wit, if one of the Deacons of your Church be imployed in the performances hereof. Who when he comes to us, shall experience our liberality. God preserve you Dear Brother.*

* He means the City of *Constantinople*.

[r] In *Eusebius's Life of Constantine*, book 4. chap. 36. (where this Letter occurs) this place is far otherwise read and pointed, than it is here; so also it is in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 16. *Valef.*

[s] Concerning the *Rationalist* and his Office, we have spoken before, in our *notes* on *Eusebius*. By [*Diœceses*] is meant here the *Dioceses* of the *East*. The old *Romans* called a certain number of Provinces (which, taken together, were under a Deputy of the *Prætorian Præfecture*) by this name [*Diœceses.*] For the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* had under his jurisdiction many *Diœceses*; but the *Deputies* had each but one *Diœcesis*. This term began to be used in this sense about *Constantin*'s time, as appears from his Letters, and from some Laws in the *Cod. Theod.* See *Valesius's Annotations* on *Eusebius's Life of Constant.* B. 4. chap. 36.

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Another Letter to *Macarius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

So great is our Saviours love and favour that no Rhetorick seems sufficient to set forth a declaration of the present miracle. For, that the * *Monument of his most holy passion, long since hid underneath the earth, should lie conceal'd for so many years space, till such time as, by the* † *slaughter of the common Enemy, it should gloriously appear to his servants now set at liberty,* [*is a matter which*] *does really surmount all admiration. For if all those persons that throughout the whole world are accounted wise should be convened in one and the same place with a design to speak something according to the worthiness of this matter, they would not be able after their utmost endeavours to attain to* [*an explication of*] *the least part thereof. For the* * *authority and greatness of this miracle doth as far transcend every nature capable of humane reason, as things that are celestial do exceed those that are humane. Wherefore this is always our chief and only aim, that as the authority of the truth doth daily demonstrate it self by new miracles, so the minds of us all should with all modesty and unanimous alacrity become more careful and diligent about an observation of the divine Law. Which in regard we judge to be manifestly apparent to all men, our desire is you should most especially be perswaded of this, that it is altogether our chiefest care, that that sacred place (which by Gods command we have unburthened of that most detestable* [u] *accession of the Idol, as it were of a ponderous and heavy weight; which* [*place*] *was by Gods determination made holy from the beginning, but was afterwards demonstrated to be more holy, out of which he hath brought to light the certainty of our Saviour's passion) should be beautified and adorned with magnificent and stately structures. Wherefore it does well become your prudence so to order the matter, and to make such a provision of materials necessary for this work, that not only the Temple it self may in stateliness excel all others in what place soever, but also that the other parts of it be made such, as that all the beautifullest structures in every City, may be acknowledged far inferiour to this fabrick. And as concerning the workmanship and exquisite beauty of the walls, we would have you know that we have committed the care thereof to our friend* † Dracilianus, Deputy *to the* most excellent *the* Prefects *of the* Prætorium, *and to the President of the Province. For our piety has taken order, that artificers and workmen, and whatever else they may be informed from your Prudence to be necessary for the structure, shall by their care be forthwith sent. But concerning the Pillars or Marbles, (and whatever you your self on sight of the* [x] *Model* [*of the building*] *shall judge to be more rich and useful,) make it your business to inform us by writing: that when we shall understand from your Letter, how many and what manner of materials you stand in need of, they may be convey'd to you from all parts. For it is but reasonable that that most admirable place of the whole world should be beautifi'd according to its dignity and worth. We desire to know of you, whether you think good to have the inner roof of the Church* [y] *arched, or made of any other sort of work. For if it be arched, it may also be guilded with gold. It remains therefore, that your holiness inform as soon as may be the forementioned Judges, how many Workmen, and Artificers, and what money for expences you shall want. And be you careful to return Us a speedy account, not only concerning the Marbles, and Pillars, but also concerning the arched roof (if you shall judge that to be the more beautiful work.) Dearest Brother, God preserve you.* The Emperour wrote several other Epistles in a more florid stile like Orations, against *Arius*, and those that embraced his Opinion, and caused them to be [z] published in every City; in

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[t] *Constantine* here terms *Licinius* the publick enemy, after whose destruction, he says, the sacred Sepulchre of our Lord, which had been before concealed, was discovered. *Licinius* was slain in the year of *Christ* 326, as 'tis recorded in *Fast. Idat.* And on that very year, when *Helena* came to *Jerusalem*, the Sepulchre of our Lord was found. By the name of *the publick Enemy*, the Devil might here be meant, were not this contradicted by the expressions here used. For the Devil was not then vanquished and overcome, when the Sepulchre of our Lord was cleared from the rubbish that covered it. Besides, the term [ἀναίρεσις, *slaughter*] is more expressive, being meant of *Licinius*, than of the Devil. See *Valesius's notes* on *Eusebius's Life of Constant.* book 3. chap. 30.

* Ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου τύπου πίστις, the *faith, autority*, or *estimation of this miracle*, &c.

[u] He means the Temple built by *Adrian* the Emperour on *Mount Calvary*, in honour of *Venus*; which receptacle of Paganism was demolished by *Helena, Constantines* mother, and in the room thereof was built a magnificent Temple, at this day called *The Temple of the Sepulchre*; the description whereof you may see in *Sandys Travels*, book 3. pag. 125. &c. Edit. Lond. 1673.

† There are two Dracilianus, Deputy *to the* most excellent *the* Prefects *of* Laws made *the* Prætorium, *and to the President of the Province.* by *Constantine* extant in the *Cod. Theod.* (the one in *Tit. de usuris*, the other in *Tit. de Hæreticis*,) written to this *Dracilianus*. The former of these Laws bears this Inscription, *Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad Dracilianum agentem vices Præfectorum prat.* that is, *Emperour Constantinus Augustus to Dracilianus Deputy to the Præfects of the Prætorium.* This Law was published at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* on the 15th of the *Calends* of *May*, when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were *Consuls*. The other is said to have been published on the *Calends* of *September*, *Constantinus Aug.* being the seventh time and *Constantius Cæsar* Coss. that is, in the year of Christ 326. In which year *Constantine* wrote this Epistle to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Further, we must remarke, that the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* are here stiled *clarissimi, most excellent*. For as yet they had not received the title of *Most Illustrious*. Moreover, in other of *Constantin*'s Laws, the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* are stiled *Most Excellent*. Now, as the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* were in *Constantin*'s time allowed only the title of *Most Excellent*, so the *Deputies* of the *Pratorian Præfecture* had in the said *Constantin*'s times only the title of *Most Perfect* given them, as *the Epistle* to *Probianus Proconsul* of *Africa* shews, which we meet with in *Athanasius's Apology* to *Constantius*, pag. 794. See *Valesius's notes* on book 3. chap. 31. of *Eusebius's Life of Constantine*.

[x] At this place the term [συνόψις] signifies the *Model* or *Delineation of the Fabrick that was to be erected*. It is taken in the same sense, in *the Epistle* of *Himerius Rationalist* of *Alexandria* to the *Præfect* of *Mareotis*; which *Athanasius* has recorded in *his Apology*, pag. 803. For after he had said, that *Augustus* and the *Cæsars* had permitted *Ischyras* to build a Church in his Town, he orders the Governour of that Town, that *he should forthwith draw a Model of the future building, and transmit it to his Office*; φρόντισον (says he) τύπων ἐν τάχει τῷ σύνοψιν ποιησαμένῳ, εἰς τὸ τάξιν ἀνενεχθῆναι. See *Valesius's notes*, at the book and chapter before cited.

[y] The inner roofs of Churches were commonly framed two ways. For they were either beautified with arched or embowed roofs, or else painted with *Mosaick-work*. Concerning the arched (or embowed) roofs, this place of *Constantin's* Letter is an evidence. *Procopius* evidences the use of the *Mosaick-work*, in his first book *De Fabricis Justiniani*, where he describes the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*. Now the arched roofs were usually adorned two ways. For they were either guilded with gold, or painted; which latter way was first invented by *Pausias*, as *Pliny* attests, book 35, chap. 11. *Hist. Natural.* See *Valesius's notes*, at the book and chapter before cited.

[z] Instead of [προσέθηκε, *He added*] the reading must necessarily be [προσέθηκε, *He published.*] For the Roman Emperours did usually propose to publick view those Rescripts they wrote to the Cities. Therefore, at the close of the Rescript they added this word [*Proponatur, let it be published:*] as we have observed in our *notes on Eusebius*. So *Constantine*, when he had wrote many Letters against *Arius* and his followers, commanded they should be proposed to publick view in the *Forum*. Of this sort was *Constantin's* Epistle to *Arius* and the *Arians*, which *Gelasius Cyzicenus* has recorded in his 3d book *De Gestis Synod Nicænæ*: which Epistle *Epiphanius* mentions in *Hæres. Arian.* It was written by *Constantine* after the *Nicene Synod*, and it contains the punishment of those that would not recede from *Arius's* wicked tenets. For at the close of that Epistle, the Emperour commands, that, if they be persons of the ordinary rank, they shall pay tribute for ten heads, besides their own Poll-money. But if they be descendants of the *Curiales*, (or *Noble-men*,) they shall be delivered to the *Court* and made liable to bear the publick Offices of the *Decurions*. This Letter therefore was like an Edict, and so ought to be publickly read and promulged. *Vales.*

which

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[a] The greatest part of this Epistle is extant in the first book of *Theodorets Ecclesiastick History*, chap. 20. it is entire in Latin, in *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 329; as *Justinian* the Emperour sent it to Pope *Vigilius*. Vales.

CHAP. X.

That the Emperour summoned to the Synod Acesius *also, a Bishop of the* Novatian *Heresie.*

THis great diligence and industry of the Emperour moves me to make mention of another thing, wherein his mind is declared, and how careful and solicitous he was to procure Peace. For, consulting the concord and agreement of the Churches, He [a] summoned *Acesius*, a Bishop of the *Novatian* Heresie, to appear at the Council. When the Synod had drawn up a form of the Creed, and subscribed it, the Emperour enquir'd of *Acesius*, whether he would also give his assent to these Articles of the Creed, and also to the determination about the Festival of *Easter*. He replied, O Emperour, the Synod has determined no new thing: for anciently even from the [Churches] original, and the Apostolick times, I have in this same manner received by tradition both this form of Faith, and also this time [for the observation] of the Feast of *Easter*. When therefore the Emperour demanded of him again, what then should induce you to be a separatist from the communion [of the Church?] he related what was done under *Decius* in the time of the Persecution, and recited the strictness of that severe Canon, [to wit,] that those who after Baptism had committed any such sin, as the sacred Scriptures terms a mortal sin, ought not to be admitted to a participation of the sacred Mysteries: they were indeed to be exhorted to repentance, but ought not to entertain any hopes of remission from the Priests, but from God, who only is able, and has power to forgive sins. When *Acesius* had spoken thus, the Emperour repli'd, O *Acesius*, set a Ladder, and do you alone climb up to heaven. This story neither *Eusebius Pamphilus*, nor any other Author has mentioned. But I had it from a person that was in no wise a lier, one who was very aged, and related what he had seen transacted in the Council. Whence I conjecture, that the same accident befell those who have omitted the mention hereof, which happens to many other Writers of History. For they usually pass over many things, either because they are ill affected towards some, or have a desire to gratifie others. Thus much concerning *Acesius*.

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[a] *Sozomen* relates the same story, in his first book chap. 22. but in such a manner, that 'tis sufficiently apparent, he had it out of *Socrates*'s *History*. For *Socrates* tells the whole story more fully and elegantly. And after he has told it, says he had it from a credible person, who lived in the times of the *Nicene Council*. But *Sozomen* begins this relation thus, Λέγεται δὲ τὴν Βασιλέα, &c. *It is reported that the Empeour*, &c. Nor does he confirm it by any persons authority. Besides *Sozomen* has in a manner stole the very words of *Socrates*, making some small alterations and interpositions, as Plagiaries usually do. But this story seems to me very improbable upon many accounts. First, because it is founded on the autority of no ancient writer. Secondly, neither *Socrates*, nor *Sozomen*, do say, of what City *Acesius* was Bishop, which was very necessary to confirm the story. Thirdly, it is not at all likely, that an Heretical Bishop should be summoned by *Constantine* to an Ecclesiastick Synod. For if *Constantine* had sent for *Acesius* in order to the restoring of Peace and Agreement to the Church, upon the same account he ought to have summoned the Bishops of other Heresies also to the *Nicene Council*. Lastly, what *Socrates* says, to wit, that he had this story from a very old man who was at the Synod, seems to me altogether incredible. This persons name was *Auxano*, a *Novatian Presbyter*, who was at the Synod with *Acesius*, and lived untill the reign of *Theodosius Junior*, as *Socrates* says chap. 13. of this book. Now from the *Nicene Synod* to the beginning of *Theodosius*'s reign, there are 83 years. To which if you adde 20 (for so old *Auxano* must needs be when he was present at the Council) *Auxano* must necessarily be above an hundred years old, when he told *Socrates* this story. Let the Reader judge therefore, at what rate the testimony of a decrepid old Heretick is to be valued. *Vales.* very pretty

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Paphnutius *the Bishop.*

NOw because we have promised before, to make mention of *Paphnutius* and *Spyridon*, it will be seasonable to speak of them here. *Paphnutius* therefore was Bishop of one of the Cities in the upper *Thebais*: he was a person so pious, that wonderful miracles were wrought by him. In the time of the Persecution one of his eyes had been cut out: The Emperour had an high esteem for the man, and frequently sent for him to the Pallace, and kissed [the place of] that eye which had been dug out. So great a piety and reverence was there in the Emperour *Constantine*. Let this therefore be one thing said by us concerning *Paphnutius*. This other (which was done by his advice for the utility and advantage of the Church, and the grace and ornament of the Clergy,) I will now relate. The Bishops had a design to introduce a new Law into the Church, to wit, that those who were in holy Orders, I mean the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, [a] should abstain from lying with those wives which they had married during the time they were Laicks. And when a proposition was made to consult hereof, *Paphnutius* [b] rose up in the midst of the assembly of Bishops, and cried out with a great deal of earnestness, that such an heavy yoak ought not to be imposed upon those persons that were in sacred Orders, saying, *that marriage was honourable, and the bed undefil'd*; [so that they ought to be careful] least they should rather incommode the Church, by their overmuch severity. For all men [said he] cannot bear the practise of so strict and severe a continencie, nor is it likely that the chastity of every one of their wives should be preserved. (The husbands keeping company with his lawful wife he termed chastity.) It was sufficient [said he,] that they who had entred themselves into the function of the Clergy before they were married, should afterwards (according to the ancient tradition of the Church) abstain from entring into a state of Matrimony: but that no person ought to be separated from his wife, whom

[a] The *Florent.* M. S. addes [καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, *and Sub-Deacons*:] and so the reading is in *Sozomen*, book 1. chap. 23; where he tells this story concerning *Paphnutius*. where also what we said before is apparent, to wit, that *Sozomen* borrowed from *Socrates*. For he that addes to anothers relation, shews evidently that he wrote last. *Vales.*

[b] *Rufinus* (out of whom *Socrates* had the former story which he tells in this chapter concerning *Paphnutius*) says not a word of this speech of *Paphnutius*; see his first book *Eccles. Hist.* chap. 4. But he relates that *Paphnutius was one of the Bishops in the parts of Egypt, and that he was present at the Nicene Council.*

CONSTANT. whom he had heretofore married, [to wit,] whilſt he was a Laick. Thus he ſpake, though he was a man, who had not experienced what marriage was, and (as I may truly aver) never knew a woman, for from his childhood he had been educated in a * place where the ſtricteſt exerciſes of virtue and abſtinence were conſtantly practiſed, and was eminently famous above all men for his ſingular continencie. All the whole aſſembly of the Clergy were perſwaded to yield their aſſent, to what *Paphnutius* ſaid; wherefore they ſilenc'd all further debate concerning this point, and left it to every mans arbitrement whether he would [or would not] abſtain from keeping company with his wife. And thus much concerning *Paphnutius*.

* Ἐν ἀσκητείῳ; that is, in a place, where the *Aſcetæ* lived; concerning whom, and their courſe of life, ſee *Euſeb. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.* book 2. chap. 17. note (*a.*) book 7. chap. 32. note (*c.*) *in the ſecond Alphabet.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Spyridon *Biſhop of the* Cyprians.

NOw [we come to ſpeak] of *Spyridon*: ſo great a ſanctity was in this perſon whileſt yet a Shepherd, that he was thought worthy to be made a Paſtor of men. He had obtained the Biſhoprick of a City in *Cyprus* call'd *Trimithuntis*: but by reaſon of his ſingular humility he fed ſheep during his being a Biſhop. There are many things related of this man: but I will only record one or two, that I may not ſeem to wander from my ſubject. One time about midnight, theeves entred his ſheepfold privately, and attempted to take away the ſheep. But God who protected the ſhepherd, preſerv'd his ſheep alſo: for the theeves were by an inviſible power faſt bound to the foulds. The morning being now come, he went to his ſheep, where finding the men bound with their hands behind them, he perceiv'd what had happened. And after he had prayed, he looſed the theeves, admoniſhing and exhorting them earneſtly, to endeavour the procuring of a livelyhood by honeſt Labours, and not by ſuch unjuſt rapine: He alſo gave them a Ram and diſmiſt them with this facetious ſaying, *leaſt*, ſays he, *you might ſeem to have watched all night in vain.* This is one of *Spyridons* Miracles. Another was of this ſort. He had a daughter, a Virgin, indued with her fathers piety, her name *Irene*. A perſon well known to her, entruſted her with the keeping of an ornament that was of great value. The maid, that ſhe might with greater ſafety keep what was depoſited with her, hid it in the earth: and within a ſhort time died. Soon after that, he who had committed this thing to her care, came [to demand it.] Not finding the Virgin, he involves her Father [in that concern,] ſometimes accuſing, another while entreating him. The old man, looking upon the perſons loſs who had entruſted his daughter as his own misfortune, went to his daughters grave, and did there begg of God, that he would ſhew him the promiſed reſurrection before the time. And his hope was not fruſtrated. For the Virgin immediately revives, and appears to her father, and having ſhew'd him the place where ſhe had hid the ornament, immediately departed. Such perſons as theſe were during the reign of *Conſtantine* the Emperour eminent in the Church. Theſe things I both heard from ſeveral *Cyprians*; and alſo read them in a book of *Rufinus* a Presbyter, written in Latine, out of which I have not only collected what has here been ſaid, but alſo ſome other things which ſhall a little after this be declared. CONSTANT.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Eutychianus *the Monk.*

I Have alſo heard of *Eutychianus*, a pious man, who flouriſhed at the ſame time: who although he was one of the *Novatian* Church, yet was admired for works of the ſame nature with thoſe [we have mentioned.] I will ſincerely confeſs who it was that gave me this account of him: nor will I conceal it, though I am ſenſible ſome will be offended with me for it. One *Auxanon* a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, was a perſon of a very great age: this man, when he was very young, went to the Council of *Nice* with *Aceſius*, from him I receiv'd what I have ſaid before concerning *Aceſius*. He liv'd from thoſe times to the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger, and rehearſed to me, though then very young, theſe [Memoires] of *Eutychianus*: he diſcours'd much to me concerning the divine Grace infus'd into him: but one thing he told me concerning him more eſpecially worthy of remembrance, which happened in the reign of *Conſtantine*. One of thoſe belonging to the Guard, whom the Emperour calls his [a] Domeſticks, being ſuſpected to have attempted ſome Tyrannick deſignes, made his eſcape by flight: The Emperour, highly incenſed thereat, gave order, that he ſhould be put to death, wherever he could be found: being apprehended about the mountain *Olympus* in *Bithynia*, he was ſhut up in priſon, and loaded with very heavy and painful chaines; neer theſe parts of *Olympus Eutychianus* then reſided, leading a ſolitary life, where he wrought many cures both upon mens bodies and ſoules. The long-lived *Auxanon* was with him at that time, being then very young, and was by him inſtructed in the Precepts of a ſolitary Life. Many did reſort to this *Eutychianus*, beſeeching him to releaſe the Priſoner, by interceding for him with the Emperour. (For the fame of the miracles wrought by *Eutychianus* was come to the Emperours hearing.) He readily promiſed to make a journey to the Emperour. But in regard the Priſoner ſuffered moſt acute tortures cauſed by his chains, thoſe that did ſollicit for him, reported, that his death, haſtned by [the tortures of] his fetters, would both prevent the Emperours puniſhment, and *Eutychianus*'s interceſſion for him. *Eutychianus* therefore ſent to the keepers of the Priſon, and intreated them to releaſe the man. But when they anſwered that it would be a very dangerous thing for them to releaſe a criminal, he, taking *Auxanon* only along with him, went to the Priſon: and upon the Keepers refuſal to open the Priſon, the grace which was in *Eutychianus*, did there more illuſtrate it ſelf: for the Priſon doors opened of their own accord, whilſt the Keepers of the Priſon had the keyes in their cuſtody: and when *Eutychianus*, together with *Auxanon*, had entred the Priſon, and a great amazement had ſeized thoſe that were preſent, the

[a] By δικέται he means the *Protectores Domeſtici*, or *Guards of the Body*, which waited on the Emperours perſon. They were Souldiers of a ſuperiour order, who alſo had greater pay then the others. See *Valeſius*'s *notes* on *Amm. Marcellin.* book 14. pag. 33.

CONSTANT. the chains fell from the Prisoners [members] of their own accord. Afterwards [*Eutychianus*] together with his companion *Auxano* travelled to the City heretofore named *Byzantium*, but afterwards called *Constantinople*, and being admitted into the Imperial Pallace, he freed the Prisoner from [the danger of] death. For the Emperour, having a great respect for *Eutychianus*, readily granted his request. This was done after [those times which we are now giving an account of.] But then, the Bishops that were present at the Synod, after they had drawn up in writing some things, which they usually term Canons, returned to their respective Cities. Moreover, I look upon it as a thing advantagious to such as are studious of History, to insert here those Bishops names (as many of them as we were able to find,) that were convened at *Nice*, as also [the name of] the Province and City over which every one of them did preside, and likewise the time wherein they were assembled.

[b] We perfected this place by the assistance of the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. For in the common Editions of *Socrates*, after these words [Ὀσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορδύβης, *Hosius Bishop of Corduba*,] followed these [Βιτων καὶ Βικεντίνος, *Vito and Vincentius.*] But those incomparable M. SS. exhibited this place entire to us, after this manner: ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορδύβης Ἱσπανίας· ὅτως πιστεύω ὡς προγέγραπται· ἐγὼ μὲν Βίτων καὶ Βικεντῖνος πρεσβύτεροι, &c. i. e. *Hosius Bishop of Corduba in Spain. I do believe as it is before written. Vito and Vincentius Presbyters of Rome*, &c. This is the series of the Bishops who subscribed the *Nicene* Council ; which *Socrates* transcribed from *Athanasius*'s *Synodicon*, as he himself attests hereafter. In the *Greek collections of the Canons* this series is wanting, nor is it extant in *Dionysius Exiguus*'s *Version.* But in *that ancient collection* lately published at *Paris*, (which the Western Church heretofore made use of, before *Dionysius*'s Version) and in *Isidorus*'s collection, this series occurs almost in the same words. In *that ancient collection* the words are these: *Et subscripserunt. Osius Episcopus civitatis Cordubensis, Provinciæ Spaniæ dixit: ita credo sicut superius scriptum est. Victor & Vincentius Presbyteri urbis Romæ. Alexander Alexandriæ magnæ. Alphocration*, &c. i. e. *And they subscribed. Osius Bishop of the City Corduba, in the Province of Spain said: I believe so, as it is above written. Victor and Vincentius Presbyters of the City of Rome. Alexander of Alexandria the great. Alphocration*, &c. The words in *Isidorus*'s *Collection* are almost the same. But in *Athanasius*'s *Synodicon*, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* and *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem* are placed after *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria.* Valesius.

[b] *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain. I do believe as is before written.* [c] *Vito* and *Vincentius* Presbyters of *Rome. Alexander* [*Bishop*] of *Ægypt. Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Antioch* the Great. *Macarius* [Bishop] of *Jerusalem.* [d] *Harpocration* [Bishop] of *Cynopolis.* And the rest whose names are particularly and fully set forth in the [e] *Synodicon* of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria.* And the time when this Synod was convened was (as we found it in the [f] *Notation of the time* prefixt before the Synod) in

[c] *Athanasius* makes mention of this *Vito* the Presbyter, in *His Apologetick against the Arians*, and attests, that a *Roman Synod* consisting of fifty Bishops (by whom he was received into communion) was convened in his Church. *Valesius.*

[d] In *the Latine collections* of the *Canons*, *Harpocration* is stiled Bishop of *Naucratis*, and next to him is set *Adamantius Cynopolites*, or *Cynensis*, as it is in *that forementioned ancient* collection. *Valesius.*

[e] This book of *Athanasius*'s is not now (to my knowledge) extant. But 'tis probable that the names of the Bishops who subscribed the *Nicene Council*, were translated out of that book. *Valesius.*

[f] Παρασημείωσις (the term that occurs here) imports the *notation* (or expres declaration) *of the time* usually prefixt before publick Acts. In the *Greek collection* of the Canons (which *Joannes Tilius* first published) *the notation of the time* is prefixt, thus: Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐν νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ παυλίνου καὶ ἰουλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων· ἔτους χλς ἀπὸ ἀλεξάνδρου· ἐν μηνὶ δυσίῳ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ, πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων καλανδῶν ἰουλίων· i. e. *The Canons of the 318. Holy Fathers, convened at Nice, in the Consulate of the most illustrious Paulinus and Julianus, on the 636th year from Alexander, on the nineteenth day of the month Desius, before the thirteenth of the Calends of July.* Valesius.

the consulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus*, on the CONSTANT. [g] twentieth day of the month of *May*; that was the [h] Six hundredth thirty six year from the reign of *Alexander* the *Macedonian.* Thus the Synod was concluded. We must also take notice, that after [the dissolution of] this Synod, the Emperour took his Progress into the Western parts [of his Empire.]

[g] It is otherwise in the *Greek collection*, which *Tilius* published, (see the foregoing note.)

For 'tis said that the Synod was convened on the nineteenth day of the month *Desius* (which the *Romans* call *June*) on the thirteenth of the *Calends* of *July.* Which is confirmed by the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, by the *Chalcedon Council*, and by that *Latine collection* which *Baronius* calls *Cresconiana*, which account I think is the truest. For, should we suppose that the *Council of Nice* was assembled on the twentieth day of *May*, there would be too narrow a space of time left for the transacting of those affairs which *Constantine* did after his vanquishing of *Licinius.* *Licinius* was subdued in the last Engagement at *Chalcedon*, in the year of Christ 324, on the 15th of the Calends of *October*, as 'tis recorded *in Fastis Idatii*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: on the day following *Licinius* (who made his escape to *Nicomedia*) yielded himself to *Constantine* the conqueror. After this *Constantine* made his entry into *Nicomedia*: whilst he continued there, and hastned to make his Progress into the Eastern parts, a messenger arrived, declaring to him the dissention of the *Alexandrian* Church, and of all *Egypt*, upon account of *Arius*'s Opinion, and the disturbances of the *Melitians*, as himself attests in his Epistle to *Alexander* and *Arius.* And first he sends *Hosius* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, that he might compose those differences by his authority. But *Hosius*, after he had staied a little while at *Alexandria*, returns to *Constantine* without effecting his business. All this could in no wise have been done in a shorter space of time than three months. Moreover, *Constantine* perceiving the mischief to increase daily, resolves upon calling a general Council of Bishops, that he might thereby restore peace to the Church. Upon this account he dispatcht away Couriers throughout all the Provinces, to convene the Bishops at *Nice* in *Bythinia.* Suppose therefore, that the Couriers delivered the Emperours Letters to every one of the Bishops in the month of *March*: it is scarce credible, that the Bishops could come from the remotest regions, as well of the East as of the West, to *Bithynia*, before the month *July*: especially since they came by land, and not by water, as *Eusebius* attests, book 3. chap. 6. *De Vitâ Constant.* See *Valesius* notes on *Euseb. Life* of *Constant.* book 3. chap. 14.

[h] After these words [*the Six hundredth thirty six year from the reign of Alexander the Macedonian*] *Leo Allat.* M. S. adds these [*and it was the nineteenth year from the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Emperour*,] which is very true. For when *Paulinus* and *Iulianus* were Consuls, (which was on the 325th year of Christ,) the *Nicene* Synod was (according to *Socrates*'s Opinion) assembled in *May*, it being then the nineteenth year of *Constantines* reign. His twentieth year began the same year, about the end of *July* following. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XIV.

That Eusebius *Bishop of* Nicomedia, Theognis *Bishop of* Nice *(who had been banished because they were abettors of* Arius's *Opinion,) having afterwards sent a* Libell *of Repentance, and agreed to the exposition of the Faith, were readmitted to their Sees.*

MOreover, [a] *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, [b] having sent a *Libell* of Repentance to the most eminent Bishops, were by an Imperial order recalled from exile, and restored to their own Churches:

[a] *Socrates* has observed no order here.

For he says, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were recalled from banishment almost before he had told us they were exiled. *Sozomen* therefore did better, who in this particular corrected *Socrates*'s relation. For, in the first book of *his History*, chap. 21. he relates that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were banisht by the Emperour *Constantine* a little after the Synod, and that other Bishops were put into their Sees. Then, in his second book chap. 16. he declares how they were recalled from their banishment. From which passage (that I may make this remark by the by) it may be concluded, that *Sozomen* wrote *his History* after *Socrates*, in as much as he corrects and amends *Socrates*'s narration in many places. Further, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were banisht three months after the *Nicene* Synod, as *Philostorgius* attests: and returned from their exile (as the said *Philostorgius* relates) in the third year after that Synod, that is, in the year of Christ 328. which account agrees exactly with the History of affaires transacted in that time. For all *Historians* agree that *Eusebius*, upon his return from banishment, entertained thoughts of confirming *Arius*'s Opinion, and of thrusting out those that asserted the *Nicene* Faith. And, that his first attack was made against

Eustathius

Euſtathius Biſhop of *Antioch*, whom he cauſed to be expell'd [from his See] by feigned calumnies, in the year of Chriſt 329, or 330. *Baronius* therefore did ill, to place *Euſebius Nicomedienſis*'s return from exile on the year of Chriſt 330. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 325.) reproves *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, for ſaying, that *Euſebius* and *Theognis* were baniſht a little after the *Nicene Synod*; and that ſome few years after (having ſent a Libell of ſatisfaction to the moſt eminent Biſhops) they were recalled from their exile. *Baronius* endeavours to prove, that this Libell was preſented by *Euſebius* to the Biſhops in the *Nicene Synod*. For he aſſerts, that the rule of Faith was firſt written; which *Euſebius Nicomedienſis* (with four other Biſhops) refuſed to ſubſcribe: but, that the ſaid *Euſebius*, having afterwards preſented a Libell of ſatisfaction, did ſubſcribe what had been determined [in the Synod.] But, after this, when the Synod had *Anathematized Arius*, *Euſebius* and *Theognius* (ſays he) would not ſubſcribe this *Anathematiſm*; and for that reaſon they were condemned and depoſed, by the Synod, and *Amphion* and *Chreſtus* were put into their Sees. But the Emperour *Conſtantine* (continues he) interceded that the ſentence might not be put in execution, and perſwaded the Synod that they ſhould admit of *Euſebius* and *Theognius* upon their preſenting a Libell of Repentance. This is *Baronius*'s opinion. But he is out, firſt, in ſaying that there were two Libells preſented by *Euſebius*: for of the former Libell no body has ever made mention. Secondly, he cites no authour for what he ſays concerning *Euſebius*'s and *Theognius*'s deprivation and condemnation done in the *Nicene* Council. *Conſtantine* (in *his Epiſtle to the Nicomedians*, the latter part of which Epiſtle in Greek the reader may meet in *Theodoret. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 1. chap. 20; it occurs entire at the cloſe of *Geleſius Cyzicenus*'s 3d book pag. 217.) ſays not that it was then done, but only ſays, that *Euſebius* was afraid it would be done. Laſtly, his ſaying that a Libell of Repentance was preſented by *Euſebius* in the *Nicene Synod*, is manifeſtly refuted from the Libell it ſelf. For this Libell was preſented by *Euſebius*, when he was in baniſhment, as is atteſted by theſe words of it, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ γεγεμμα[ι]σ- πληροφορῶν πῶ συγκατάθεσιν, ὑ πῶ ἐξοείαν βαρεως φέρογτες, ἀλλα πῶ, &c. i. e. *and by this Libell do fully declare and confirm our conſent*; [*which we are induced to do*] *not becauſe we look upon our exile to be tedious*, &c. Beſides, this Libell was ſent, when *Arius* was recalled from baniſhment; which is apparent from theſe words, Ἄ[λ]οπον δὲ, τῇ δοκεῖ[σ- εἶ] καθ' ὑμᾶς, ἀναπεκλημῶνε, καὶ ἀπολογησαμένε, &c. i. e. *But it would be abſurd (ſince he that ſeemed to be guilty is recalled and has made his defence in reference to*, &c. Moreover, *Arius* was recalled from baniſhment by *Conſtantine* long enough after the *Nicene* Synod. &c. *Valeſ.*

CONSTANT. those who had been Ordained in their places being removed by them; *Euſebius* [put out] *Amphion*, and *Theognis* [removed] *Chreſtus*. This is a Copy of their Libell.

[c] In as much as *Euſebius* and *Theognius* do ſay in the beginning of this Epiſtle, that they were condemned by the Biſhops; it is worth our making an inquiry, when and where they were condemned. *Baronius* ſays they were condemned and depoſed in the *Nicene* Synod. But this is contradicted by S^t *Jerom*'s autority; who, *in his Dialogue againſt the Luciferiani*, does in expreſs words atteſt, that *Euſebius* and *Theognius* (with other Biſhops of the *Arian* faction) were admitted of by the *Nicene* Synod. And this he proves both from the teſtimony of thoſe that were preſent at the Synod, and alſo from the very *Acts* of the *Nicene Synod*; in which, amongſt the names of thoſe Biſhops who ſubſcribed the Synod, *Euſebius* and the others I have mentioned are reckoned. The ſame is atteſted by *Philoſtorgius*, who ſays that *Euſebius* was baniſht about three months after the *Nicene* Synod. Since therefore *Euſebius* and *Theognius* do confeſs themſelves to have been condemned by the Biſhops, and ſince 'tis manifeſt that was not done in the *Nicene Synod*; it muſt neceſſarily have been done in ſome other meeting of the Biſhops. The reaſon of their being exiled, *Conſtantine* does declare in *his Epiſtle* to the *Nicomedians*, (the latter part whereof ſee in *Theodoret.* Eccleſ. Hiſt. book 1. chap. 20.) For he ſays, that he baniſhed them, becauſe they entertained certain Hereticks, (whom he had commanded to be ſent to his Court from the City *Alexandria*,) and held communion with them. (*Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 329, thinks theſe Hereticks were *Melitians*. But *I* do rather believe they were *Arians*: and this is expreſly affirmed by the *Egyptian* Biſhops, in their *Synodick Epiſtle*, which *Athanaſius* has recorded *in his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians.*) For this reaſon therefore *Conſtantine* ordered a Synod of ſome Biſhops to be convened, by whom *Euſebius* and *Theognius* were condemned and depoſed, after which the Emperour baniſhed them. This is expreſly affirmed by *Athanaſius* (*in his book De Synodis*,) and by *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 19. Eccleſ. Hiſt.) *Valeſ.*

[d] *Chriſtopherſon* and *Muſculus* omitted theſe words [ὡς᾽ κείσεως, *without having our cauſe declared or defended*] in their Verſion. They occur in *Sozomen* (book 2. chap. 16.) and *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* has rendred them thus: *Dudum quidem ante judicium condemnati à Reverentiâ veſtrâ, patienter ferre quæ decreta ſunt a ſancto veſtro concilio debuimus*; i. e. *Having been ſometime ſince condemned by your Reverence before judgment, we ought patiently to bear what is decreed by your holy Council.* By theſe words *Euſebius* ſeems to intimate, that he was condemned without being heard, and by a raſh judgment, or prejudice: to wit, becauſe the Emperour had condemned him before, who was angry with *Euſebius* for ſeveral reaſons, which you may meet with in *Conſtantine's Epiſtle to the Nicomedians*; ſee *Theodoret.* Eccleſ. Hiſt. book 1. chap. 20. *Valeſ.*

CONSTANT. *But becauſe 'tis abſurd, by ſilence to give an occaſion of calumny againſt our ſelves, for this reaſon we declare to you, that we have both unanimouſly agreed to the* [*determination about the*] *Faith, and alſo (after we had made reſearches into the notion of* Homöouſios,) *with our utmoſt earneſtneſs laboured for Peace, having never been followers of any Hereſie. And when we had ſuggeſted whatever came into our minds upon account of the Churches ſecurity, and had fully ſatisfied thoſe that ought to be perſwaded by us, we ſubſcribed the Faith, but have not ſubſcribed the* Anathematiſm; *not that we had any thing to object againſt the Faith, but becauſe we did not believe the perſon accuſed to be ſuch a one* [*as he was repreſented to be*;] *having been fully ſatisfied that he was no ſuch perſon, partly from the private Letters written to us by him, and partly from the diſcourſes he made in our preſence.* [e] *But if your holy Council was* [*then*] *ſatisfied, we* [*now*] *make no reſiſtance, but agree to what you have determined, and by this* Libell *do fully declare and confirm our conſent*; [*which we are induced to do*] *not becauſe we look upon our exile to be tedious and burdenſom, but that we might avoid the ſuſpicion of Hereſie. For if you ſhall now vouchſafe to let us return to your preſence, you ſhall find us to be of the ſame Opinion with you in all points, and quietly to adhere to what you have determined: ſince it hath ſeemed good to your piety, gently to treat even* * *him, who is accuſed for theſe things, and to* [f] *recall him from baniſhment. But it would be abſurd (ſince he that ſeemed to be guilty is recalled, and has made his defence in reference to thoſe things laid to his charge,) that we ſhould be ſilent, and muſter up an argument againſt our ſelves. Do you therefore vouchſafe (as it befits your piety that loves Chriſt) to remind our Emperour moſt dear to God, to offer up our ſupplications to him, and ſpeedily to determine concerning us as ſhall be moſt agreeable to your* [*prudence.*]

[e] The meaning of theſe words is this. If *we then ſatisfied your holy Council* (to wit, the Nicene) *and perſwaded it to think, that we had juſt cauſe for our being unwilling to ſubſcribe the* Anathematiſm, *now we fully command our conſent, and are ready to ſubſcribe as well the* Anathematiſm *as the form of the Creed.*

* Arius.

This is the Libell of *Euſebius* and *Theognius*'s recantation. From the words whereof I conjecture, that they ſubſcribed the Faith which had been publiſht [in the Council;] but would not give their conſent to the depoſing of *Arius*: and it appears hence, that *Arius* was recalled [from baniſhment] before them: but although this ſeems to be ſo, yet he was forbid to enter *Alexandria*. Which is evident from this, [to wit] that he afterwards invented a way for his own return into the Church and the City *Alexandria*, by having made uſe of a counterfeited repentance, as we ſhall relate in its due place.

[f] That is attributed here to the Biſhops, which had been done by the Emperour. For the Emperour, not the Biſhops, had recalled *Arius* from his exile. But writers do uſually ſpeak thus; aſſigning that to the Biſhops, which was the Emperours deed; and on the contrary, that to the Emperour which the Biſhops did. So *Socrates* ſaid above, that the *Nicene* Synod forbad *Arius* to enter *Alexandria*; whenas this was the Emperours doing, as appears from his Epiſtle. *Valeſ.*

You ſee how much the adding of theſe two words [*then* and *now*] would enlighten this place. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CONSTANT.

CHAP. XV.

That Alexander *dying after the* [*Nicene*] *Synod,* Athanasius *was consecrated Bishop of the City* Alexandria.

[a] *Socrates* (as also *Sozomen*) Mistakes here in placing *Alexander*'s death, and *Athanasius*'s Ordination after *Eusebius*'s and *Theognis*'s return from exile. For *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* dyed within five months after the Council of *Nice*, as *Athanasius* testifies in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*, where he speaks of *Melitius*. The same says *Theodoret*, in the first book of his History, chap. 26. *Alexander* therefore dyed in the year of Christ 325. and *Athanasius* was Consecrated either at the latter end of the same year, or in the beginning of the next. *Vales.*

[a] SOon after, upon the death of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Athanasius* was promoted to the presidency over that Church. *Rufinus* relates, that this person, when he was very young, did, together with those that were his equals in age, play at a kind of an holy sport: this play was an imitation of the sacerdotal function, and of those persons order that were Clergy men. In this sport therefore *Athanasius* was elected Bishop, and every one of the rest of the children acted either a Presbyter, or a Deacon. This sport the children plaid at on that day, whereon was celebrated the Memory of *Peter* the Martyr and Bishop. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* accidentally passing by at that time, saw all their play. *And, having afterwards sent for the children, he enquir'd of them what place had been allotted to every one of them in the play, supposing that from what had been done some thing might be portended* [*concerning each of them.*] *And he gave order, that the children should be educated in the Church and instructed in learning; but most especially* Athanasius. *Afterwards when he was come to a maturity of age, he ordain'd him Deacon, and took him along with him to* Nice, *that he might assist him in the disputations there, at such time as that Synod was convened.* These things *Rufinus* has related concerning *Athanasius*, in his [b] books [of Ecclesiastick History:] nor is it at all unlikely that these things hapned: for many such like acts are frequently found to have been done. Thus much we have hitherto said concerning *Athanasius*.

[b] See *Rufinus*'s *Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 14. where *Rufinus* adds this circumstance to this story; that the boys (upon *Alexanders* enquiry) confessed some *Catechumens* had been Baptized by *Athanasius*, whom they had chosen Bishop in their sports. Then *Alexander*, having demanded of those said to be baptized, what questions they had been asked, and what answers they made, and also having examined him who had asked them the questions; found that all things had been done according to the rites of our Religion: and, after a consult with his Clergy, 'tis said, he ordered, that those boys (on whom water had been poured, after they were perfectly questioned, and had returned compleat answers) should not be rebaptized, &c. See *Rufinus* at the book and chapter now cited.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Emperour Constantine, *having enlarged the City heretofore call'd* Byzantium, *named it* Constantinople.

THe Emperour, after the [dissolution of the] Council spent his time in delight and pleasure. As soon therefore as he had finished the publick Festivities of his [a] *Vicennalia*, he forthwith imployed himself very diligently about re-edifying and erecting of Churches. This he did as well in other Cities, as in that that bore his own name. Which City, being formerly call'd *Byzantium*, he very much enlarged; he encompassed it with magnificent walls, and beautified with several Edifices; and having made it equal to the Imperial City *Rome*, [b] he named it *Constantinople*, and did by a Law establish that it should be call'd New *Rome*. Which Law was engraven on a pillar of stone, and [c] exposed to the publick view, being erected in the [d] *Strategium*, neer to the Emperours Statue on horseback. He also founded two Churches in the same City, the one of which he named *Irêne*, and the other he called *the Apostles*: nor did he only improve and enlarge the affaires of the Christians, as I have said, but did also subvert [the superstition] of the Gentiles. For [he took their] images [out of their Temples] and set them up in the most publick places, that they might serve to beautifie the City *Constantinople*: he also expos'd the *Delphick Tripods* openly in the *Hippodrome*. But it will perhaps seem superfluous to mention these things now. For they are sooner beheld with the eyes, than the relation of them can be heard. But at that time the Christian Religion was mightily propagated and increased. For the divine Providence did (amongst other things) reserve that more especially for the times of *Constantine*: And thus has *Eusebius Pamphilus* in a magnifick stile recorded the praises of this Emperour. But yet we judge it not unseasonable for us to speak briefly of them, according to our ability.

[a] That is, *the Festivals for his having arrived to the twentieth year of his Empire.*

[b] This place, which was corrupted and obscured by an ill distinction, we have illustrated and restor'd, by blotting out the particle δὲ; which particle is not to be found either in the *Florent.* or *Sforti.* M. S. our correction is also confirm'd by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version, who thus translates the passage, *Et denominatam Constantinopolim, appellari secundam Romam lege firmavit.* Vales.

[c] Instead of [παρέστησε *was set*, or *placed*] it should be [παρέστησε, *was exposed*, or *erected*. This emendation is confirmed by *Epiphan. Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

[d] The *Strategium* was a publick edifice wherein the *Strategi*, (i. e. the *Duumviri, the two principal* Magistrates that heretofore governed the City *Byzantium*) were wont to sit. It is mentioned *in the old description of the City Constantinople*, which is prefixt before the *Notitia Imperii Romani.* Vales.

CONSTANT.

CHAP. XVII.

How Helena, *the Emperours Mother, came to* Jerusalem, *and having there found Christs Cross, which she had sought for a long time, built a Church.*

HElena the Emperours Mother, (from whose name *Drepanum*, which was formerly only a Village, but made a City by the Emperour, was call'd *Helenopolis*) being admonished by God in her dreames, travell'd to *Jerusalem*. And when she found that place which was formerly *Jerusalem*, desolate (as the Prophet predicted) * *like a lodge* [*set up*] *to preserve apples*, she searched diligently for Christs Sepulchre wherein he was buried, and whence he arose, and though with great difficulty, yet by God's assistance she found it out. What was the reason of this difficulty, I will in few words explain. Those that embraced Christs Doctrine, did after the time of his Passion pay an high respect to that monument. But the Heathens who abhorred the Christian Religion, having covered the place with an heap of earth, erected thereon a Temple to *Venus*, and set up her image there, designing wholly to suppress the memory of that place. And this plot of theirs had for a long time succeeded. But the Emperours Mother had notice hereof. Wherefore, having thrown down the image, remov'd the earth, and wholly cleared the place, she finds three Crosses in the monument: one of them

* See Esai. 1. 8. where the *Septuagint Version* is, ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηράτῳ; which, in our English translation is thus worded, *as a lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers*; which rendition does exactly agree with the original Hebrew.

CONSTANT. them was that bleſſed Croſs on which our Saviour had hung: the other two were thoſe, on which the two thieves, that were crucified with him, had dyed. There was alſo found with the Croſſes *Pilates* Title, whereon he had written in divers Languages, and proclaim'd that that Chriſt who was crucified, was the King of the Jews. But in regard 'twas dubious which of theſe was the Croſs that was ſearched for, the Emperours Mother was not a little troubled hereat. This trouble the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, by name *Macarius*, ſoon eaſed her of; and by [the power of] his faith cleared the doubt. For he requeſted a ſign of God and obtained it; the ſign was this. A certain woman of that vicinage, having been oppreſſed with a tedious and laſting diſtemper, was now juſt at the point of death. The Biſhop therefore commanded every one of the Croſſes to be appli'd to her now expiring, being perſwaded in himſelf that if the woman were toucht by the pretious Croſs [of the Lord] ſhe ſhould recover. Nor was his hope fruſtrated. For the two Croſſes which were not our Lords being applied, the woman nevertheleſs continued in her dying condition; but when the third, the true and genuine Croſs was applied, the dying woman immediately recovered and was made whole. After this manner was the Croſs found out: the Emperours Mother erected over the place where the Sepulchre was, a moſt magnificent Church, and call'd it [a] *New Jeruſalem*, building it oppoſite to that old deſerted *Jeruſalem*, ſhe left there one half of the Croſs, incloſed in a ſilver caſe, as a relique to be ſeen by thoſe that ſhould deſire it. The other half ſhe ſent to the Emperour, which when he had receiv'd, being fully perſwaded that that City would be perfectly ſecure wherein ſuch a [relique] as this was preſerv'd, he hid it within his own Statue, [b] which is erected upon a vaſt Pillar of *Porphyrie* in *Conſtantinople*, in the *Forum*, call'd from him *Conſtantin's Forum*. This ſtory I have recorded as it has been related to me; but almoſt all the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* do affirm it to be true. *Conſtantine* having alſo received the Nailes with which Chriſts hands were faſtned to the Croſs; (for his mother, having found them alſo in the Sepulchre, ſent them to him:) he ordered Bridles and a Helmet to be made of them, which he made uſe of in his Military expeditions. Moreover, the Emperour gave large ſupplies of all manner of materials towards the building of the Churches: and wrote to *Macarius* the Biſhop to haſten the work. The Emperours Mother, having finiſhed the *New Jeruſalem*, built another Church in no wiſe inferiour in ſplendour to the former, in the Cave at *Bethlehem*, which was the place of Chriſts Birth according to the fleſh: Beſides, [ſhe erected another Church] upon the mount, from whence he was taken up into heaven. And ſhe was ſo religiouſly and piouſly affected towards theſe things, that ſhe would pray in the womens company together with others: ſhe alſo invited, thoſe Virgins that were enroll'd in the catalogue of the Churches to an entertainment. Where ſhe her ſelf waited, and brought the meat to the Tables. Beſides ſhe was very liberal both to the Churches, and alſo to the indigent. [In fine,] having ſpent her life very piouſly, ſhe dyed about the eighteth year of her age: and her body was conveyed to the Imperial City *New Rome*, and depoſited amongſt the Imperial Monuments. CONSTANT.

[a] *Socrates* borrow'd this ſtory out of *Euſebius*'s third book of *Conſtantin's Life*, chap. 33. But miſtakes in ſaying that the Church which was built over our Saviours Sepulchre by *Helena*, or rather by *Conſtantine*, was call'd *New Jeruſalem*. For *Euſebius* ſays no ſuch thing: but he only alludes to the new *Jeruſalem*, which is mentioned in Saint *John*'s Revelations. See our notes on *Euſeb. Life of Conſtant.* book 3. chap. 33. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Philoſtorgius* does report that the people us'd to come to this Pillar with their Tapers and worſhip it; which is very ſtrange and almoſt incredible: but *Theodoret* does by his authority confirm it, in the firſt book of his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* and the laſt chapter. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Emperour Conſtantine *aboliſhed Gentiliſm, and erected many Churches in ſeveral places.*

AFter this, the Emperour, becoming more ſolicitous about [the propagation of] Chriſtianity, abhorred the ſuperſtitions of the Gentiles: and firſt He aboliſhed the combats of the Gladiators: afterwards he placed his own Statues in the Temples. The Heathens affirming that it was *Serapis* that cauſed the inundations of *Nile* whereby the fields of *Egypt* were watered, becauſe there was a Cubit uſually carried into his Temple, the Emperour [a] ordered *Alexander*, to remove the Cubit into the Church [of the *Alexandrians*,] hereupon 'twas generally reported, that, becauſe *Serapis* was diſguſted, the *Nile* would not overflow; nevertheleſs, there hapned an inundation on the enſuing year, and afterwards, which alſo does continue to this day: And thus it was really demonſtrated, that the inundation of the *Nile* hapned not by the meanes of their ſuperſtition, but by the decree of Providence. About the ſame time, thoſe barbarous nations, the *Sarmatæ* and the *Goths*, made inroades into the Roman territories, and yet the Emperours forwardneſs in building of Churches was not in the leaſt interrupted thereby, but he made a commodious proviſion for both thoſe affairs. For, having put his confidence in the * Chriſtian Banner, he totally ſubdued thoſe his enemies; in ſo much that he took off the tribute of Gold which had been cuſtomarily paid to the *Barbarians* by thoſe Emperours who were his predeceſſours; and that was the firſt time that they (being aſtoniſhed at their prodigious overthrow) were perſwaded to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, by which *Conſtantine* had been every where preſerv'd. Again, he erected other Churches: one he built at that place called the Oak of *Mambre*, under which the ſacred Scriptures tell us that the Angels were entertained by *Abraham*. For the Emperour being inform'd that altars were erected under that Oak, and, that Pagan ſacrifices were there perform'd; by his Letter he ſeverely reproved *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*: and gave command that the altar ſhould be demoliſhed, and an houſe of prayer erected neer that Oak. He alſo gave order for the building of another Church, in *Heliopolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*, for this

[a] *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* thought that theſe words were tranſpoſed; they read them (as appears from their Verſion) thus, εἰς τὸν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξανδρέων τὸ πῆχυ μεταθέναι ἐκέλευσε, [the Emperour] ordered that the Cubit ſhould be removed into the Church of the Alexandrians. But, becauſe the word [μεταθέναι] cannot be taken in a paſſive ſenſe the place muſt be otherwiſe mended: which from the *Sforzian* M. S. we have thus reſtored: Ἀυτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πῆχυ ἀλέξανδρον μεταθέναι ἐκέλευσεν; [the Emperour] ordered Alexander to remove the Cubit into the Church [of the Alexandrians.] Which emendation needs no confirmation. See *Rufin. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 2. chap. 23. This order of *Conſtantines* laſted not long. For *Julian* commanded that the ſame Cubit ſhould be carried back again into *Serapis*'s Temple, where it ſeems to have continued till *Theodoſius*'s reign, and the demoliſhment of *Serapis*'s Temple. *Valeſ.*

* He means that *Standard*, or *Banner*, which the Emperour ordered to be made, in figure like to the Croſs that appeared to him in the face of the heavens. See chap. 2. of this book.

CONSTANT. this reason. What manner of Law-maker the Citizens of *Heliopolis* originally had, or what person he was as to his morals, I cannot certainly tell. But his disposition is sufficiently demonstrated from that City: For the Law of their country has commanded that the women should be common among them, upon which account the children amongst them could not be known whose they were. For there was no distinction betwixt the parents and the children. Their Virgins they delivered to strangers that arrived amongst them, that they might deflower them. The Emperour made it his business to abolish this custom, which had so long prevailed amongst them. For having abrogated the flagitiousness of those unclean usages by a discreet and chast Law, he brought them to know and distinguish betwixt families: And when he had built Churches, he took care that a Bishop should be ordained over them, and a sacred Clergy. Thus he reform'd the impious usages of the *Heliopolites*, and made them more modest and civil. After the like manner also he demolisht the Temple of *Venus* at *Aphaca* neer [the mount] *Libanus*, and abrogated those impudent and obscene Mysteries there celebrated. What need I relate how he expelled that Devil who pretended to utter Prophecies, out of *Cilicia*, commanding the house in which he lurked, to be demolished even to its very foundations. Moreover, so ardent was the Emperours love for the Christian Religion, that being about to ingage in a war with the *Persians*, he provided a tabernacle made of linen painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church (even as *Moses* did in the wilderness) and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert regions he might have an Oratory ready. But this war went no further at that time: for it hapned to be immediately extinguished through the fear which the *Persians* had conceiv'd of the Emperour. But I think it unseasonable to relate here how diligent the Emperour *Constantine* was in repairing Cities, and how he turned many Villages into Cities; as for instance, *Drepane*, which bore his mothers name, and *Constantia* in *Palestine*, so called from his Sisters name *Constantia*. For our design is not to recount all the Emperours actions, but them only which belong to the Christian Religion, and those more particularly which were done about the Churches. Wherefore, the Emperours famous exploits, in regard they are of a subject different [from mine,] and require a peculiar treatise, I leave to others, that are able to commit to writing such matters. Indeed, I my self, had the Church continued undisturbed by factions and discord, had been wholly silent. For where the subject affords not matter proper for a narrative, the relators words are superfluous and useless. But in regard a subtile, vain, and insignificant craftiness in disputing hath disturbed, and at the same time also dissipated and distracted the Apostolick faith of Christianity, I supposed it requisite to commit these things to writing, that so those affaires which have been transacted in the Churches, might not be buried in silence. For the knowledge of these things does both procure great praise and commendation amongst most men, and also renders him that is well versed therein much more solid and cautious; teaching him not to fluctuate or stagger [in his sentiments,] when any **vain babblings* about words and terms shall happen to arise.

* Κενοφωνίας τινὸς; See 1 Tim. 6, 20.

CHAP. XIX.

After what manner the Innermost Indian *Nations were in the times of* Constantine *converted to Christianity.*

NOw therefore we must record, how the Christian Religion was propagated in the times of this Emperour. For the innermost *Indians*, and the *Iberians* did then first embrace the Christian Faith. But we will briefly explain, what we mean by the addition of this term, the *Innermost*. When the Apostles about to take their journey to the Heathens, in order to their preaching to them, had by lot divided them amongst themselves, [a] *Thomas* received the Apostolate of the *Parthians*. To *Matthew* was allotted *Æthiopia*. *Bartholomew* had that *India* assign'd to him which lyes upon the confines of *Æthiopia*. But this *innermost India* which is inhabited by several barbarous Nations, who make use of different languages, was not enlightned with the doctrine of Christianity, before the times of *Constantine*. What was the cause of their embracing the Christian Religion, I come now to relate. One *Meropius*, a Philosopher, by birth a *Tyrian*, made it his business to see the Country of the *Indians*, emulating herein [b] *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, who a little before him had travelled over that same Country. *Meropius* therefore taking along with him two youths that were related to him, who were in no wise unskilled in the Greek language, arrived in this Countrey in a Ship. And having seen what he desired, in order to his procuring necessary provisions, he put to land at a place which had a safe commodious harbour. It hapned, that a little before [his arival there] the league betwixt the *Romans* and *Indians* had been broken. The *Indians* therefore took the Philosopher, and those that were in the Ship with him, and put them all to death, except his two young kinsmen. Having saved the lives of the two youths, out of a compassion to their age, they presented them to the King of the *Indians*. He, much pleased with the young mens lookes, made the one of them, whose name was *Ædesius*, the Cup bearer of his Table: to the other, whose name was *Frumentius*, he * committed the custody of his accounts and evidences royal. Not long after this, the King dying (having left behind him a Son to be his successour, who was a minor, and his wife,) gave these two young men their liberty. But the Queen, seeing her Son left in his minority, spoke to these two persons to take care of him, till such time as he should come to maturity of age. The young men, in obedience to the Queen, undertake the management of the Kings business. But *Frumentius* was the chief person in managing the affairs of State. And he was very earnest in

[a] See book 3. chap. 1. of *Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History*: to which add this place of an *anonymous Author* out of the second *Homily upon Matthew*. *Denique cum post resurrectionem Domini Thomas Apostolus isset in Provinciam illam, adjuncti sunt ei: & baptisati ab eo, fuisti sunt adjutores prædicationis illius*: meaning the *Persian Magi*. Valef.

[b] This is *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, whom *Jerome* has mentioned in his *Chronicon*; who, returning from his travails in *India*, presented *Constantine* with many gemms and pearls, and feigned that many more of greater value were taken from him by *Sapor* King of the *Persians*: which lie of his was the occasion of the Persian war, as *Am. Marcellinus* attests, book 25. pag. 295. Edit. *Valef.* See *Valesius's notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 304.

* *Rationes suas scriniaque commisit*; so *Rufinus* (from whom *Socrates* translated this story almost word for word) describes this young mans Office; book 1. chap. 9. *Hist. Ecclesiast.*

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enquiring of the *Roman* Merchants who then came to trade in that country, whether there were any that embraced Chriſtianity to be found amongſt them. Having found ſome, and informed them who he was, he exhorted them to make choice of [c] ſome private meeting places for the performance of prayers therein, after the manner of *Chriſtians*. Afterwards, within ſome ſhort interval of time he built an oratory; and they, having inſtructed ſome *Indians* in the principles of *Chriſtianity*, brought them to prayers with them. But afterwards, when the young King came to a maturity of age, *Frumentius* reſigning to him the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Kingdom, which he had well managed, petitioned for leave to return into his own Countrey. And though the King and his mother entreated him to ſtay, yet they could not perſwade him, but being deſirous to ſee his own Countrey, he, together with *Ædeſius*, returned home. *Ædeſius* haſtened to *Tyre* to ſee his Parents and Kindred: but *Frumentius* arriving at *Alexandria*, related the whole ſtory to *Athanaſius*, [d] who was then newly dignified with that Biſhoprick; informing him of the circumſtances of his travells, and that there was good grounds to hope that the *Indians* would embrace *Chriſtianity*: [He alſo deſired him] that he would ſend a Biſhop and a Clergy thither, and that he ought in no wiſe to neglect thoſe that might be brought unto ſalvation. *Athanaſius* having taken into conſideration what was moſt expedient to be done, entreated *Frumentius* himſelf to take upon him the Biſhoprick, telling him that there was no man better quallified for it than he. Which was done. [c] *Frumentius* therefore, dignified with an Epiſcopate, returns again to the *Indians* Country, and there became a preacher of the Chriſtian Religion; he founded many oratories, and being vouchſafed [the aſſiſtance of] divine grace, he wrought many miracles, and cured many mens bodies together with their ſouls. Theſe things *Rufinus* ſays he heard from *Ædeſius*'s own mouth, who was afterwards dignified with a Presbyterſhip in the Church of *Tyre*.

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[c] Tranſlatours underſtood not this place. For *Muſculus* renders it thus, *Ut ſeparatis locis uterentur*, that they ſhould make uſe of ſeparate places. *Chriſtophorſon* thus, *ut loca ſeperatim ſibi ſumerent*, that they ſhould take to themſelves places ſeverally. In this chapter *Socrates* has tranſlated *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 9. *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.*) almoſt word for word; and calls thoſe τοπους ἰδιάζουσας, which *Rufinus* had termed *Conventicula*. Now *Conventicula* are properly *private places* wherein *Collects*, or *ſhort prayers are made*; and from theſe places Churches are diſtinguiſhed, which belong to the right of the publick, and are not in the power of any private perſon. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Rufinus* ſays the ſame: *Tum vero Athanaſius (nam is nuper ſacerdotium ſuſceperat,)* i. e. *But then Athanaſius (for he had a little before undertaken the Epiſcopate,* &c.) But if we conſider the matter more attentively, theſe things cannot be. For *Meropius* the Philoſopher is ſaid to have travelled into *India*, in imitation of the Philoſopher *Metrodorus*, who had taken a view of that Country before him. But *Metrodorus*, returned not from his *Indian* journey before the year of Chriſt 325. For at his return from *India* he preſented the Emperour *Conſtantine* with gifts which he had received from the King of the *Indians*, as we remarked before in note (*b.*) in this chapter. Which muſt neceſſarily happen after the conqueſt of *Licinius*. For then *Conſtantine* firſt received the Empire of the Eaſt. Now *Licinius* was vanquiſhed at the latter end of the year of Chriſt 324. *Meropius* therefore, in regard, following *Metrodorus*'s example, he attempted to travell over *India*, muſt have undertaken this journey ſome years after him. Let us then ſuppoſe, that *Meropius* went into *India* in the year of our Lord 327. On the year following, when he ſhould have returned into his own Country, he was ſlain by the Barbarians. And *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius*, being as yet youths, were preſented to the *Indian* King; and one of them was made his Cup-bearer; the other was ſet over his Acts and evidences Royal. In which Offices both continued to the Kings death. Now, ſuppoſe they ſerved the King three years. After this the *Indian* King dies, leaving his Son very young. But the Queen his mother entreated *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius* to undertake the Government of the Kingdome, till her Son were of age. Let us alſo allow that the Kings Son was about eight years old when his father died. In as much as *Frumentius* returned not to *Alexandria* till the young King was grown a man, it is wholly requiſite that he ſhould have managed the affairs of the Kingdom at leaſt ten years. So *Frumentius* returned to *Alexandria* about the year of our Lord 341; in which year *Athanaſius* was not newly made Biſhop, but had held that Biſhopricck above fifteen years. From what we have ſaid 'tis apparent, that this converſion of the *Indians* by *Frumentius* happned in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, not of *Conſtantine*, as *Rufinus*, and others that follow him, have related. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Athanaſius* ſpeaks of this *Frumentius*, in his *Apologetick to the Emperour Conſtantius*. And a little after mentions *Conſtantius*'s Epiſtle to *Aizanas* and *Sazanas* the Kings of *Auxumis*, wherein he commands them to ſend *Frumentius* (whom *Athanaſius* had ordained Biſhop of *Auxumis*) to *Alexandria*, to *George* Biſhop of that City, that he might receive from him the doctrine of the true Faith. Whence it appears, that *Frumentius* was at that time but newly ordained by *Athanaſius*. Now this Epiſtle was written in the year of Chriſt 356. *Baronius*, (in *his Annotations on the Roman Martyrology.*) ſays that this *Frumentius* Biſhop of *Auxumis* muſt be differenced from the other *Frumentius* Biſhop of the *Indians*. But I do aſſert, that he that was Biſhop of *Auxumis*, and he that is ſtiled the Biſhop of the *Indians*, is one and the ſame *Frumentius*. For *Auxumis* is the *Metropolis* of *Æthiopia*. Now the *Æthiopians* are by the ancients uſually confounded with the *Indians*. So *Philoſtorgius* calls the *Homeritæ* (who were the *Auxumites* neighbours) *Indians*. Alſo, the *Æthiopians* who are now called *Abyſſines*, call themſelves *Indians*, and do acknowledge *Frumentius* to have been the Apoſtle of their Nation; as *Lucas Holſteinius* atteſts *in his notes on Baronius's Martyrology*, which were lately publiſhed at *Rome*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XX.

After what manner the Iberians *were converted to the* Chriſtian Religion.

IT is now a fit opportunity to relate after what manner the *Iberians* were at the ſame time converted to Chriſtianity. A woman who led a religious and chaſt life, was, by the diſpoſal of Divine Providence, taken captive by the *Iberians*. Theſe *Iberians* dwell neer the *Euxine Sea*; they are a colony of the *Iberians* in *Spain*. This captive woman therefore, living amongſt the *Barbarians*, devoted herſelf to a Philoſophick courſe of life. For together with the ſtricteſt and ſevereſt exerciſes of Chaſtity, ſhe uſed herſelf to moſt tedious and laſting faſts, and to continued prayer. The *Barbarians* ſeeing this, were amazed at the ſtrangeneſs and novelty of her actions. It hapned, that * the Kings Son, being a very young child, fell ſick. The Queen, according to the cuſtom of that Countrey, ſent the child about to other women to be cured: if perchance by long experience they might know of any cure for the diſtemper. When the young child had been carried about by his nurſe, and could find no cure from any of the women, he was at laſt brought to this captive woman. She in the preſence of many women, applyed not any material remedy, for ſhe had no knowledge of any ſuch Medicines. But, having taken the child, ſhe laid him upon her own bed, which was made of hair-cloath, and only ſpake theſe words: *Chriſt* (ſaid ſhe) *who healed many, ſhall alſo cure this child.* Having added a prayer to theſe words, and invoked Gods aſſiſtance, the child immediately recovered, and from that time was very well. The report hereof was noiſed abroad amongſt the *Barbarian* women, it came alſo to the Queens ear; and the captive woman became more eminent. Not long after the Queen, being fallen into a diſtemper, ſent for the captive woman. She having refuſed to go by reaſon of her modeſty and baſhfull diſpoſition, the Queen herſelf was conveyed to her. The captive woman does the ſame that ſhe before had done to the child. And forthwith the ſick Queen recovered, and returned her thanks to the woman. But ſhe made her this anſwer, *it is not I that do this, but Chriſt, who is the Son of that God, who made the world.* She therefore exhorted the Queen to call upon

* See *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 10. *Eccleſ. hiſt. Rufinus* does not ſay, that this child was the Kings Son; but, *mulier quædam parvulum ſuum*, &c. *a certain woman* (ſays he) *carried about her ſon*, &c.

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[b] The *Sfort. Florent.* and *Allat.* M. SS. call this perſons name *Bacuriw*. But in *Rufinus*, and others, his name is, more truly, *Bacurius*. *Zoſimus* ſays he was born in that *Armenia* which borders on *Iberia*, and that he was a man without all malice, or deceit, very expert in Military affairs. But *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 10. and book 2. chap. 33. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*) affirms he was a Prince of the *Iberi*; that he was a perſon of great fidelity, very ſtudious of Religion and Truth: firſt made a Captain within the limits of *Paleſtine*; afterwards *Comes of the Domeſticks*; and laſtly that he did *Theodoſius* the Emperour great ſervice in his war with *Eugenius*. Valeſ. See *Valeſius*'s notes on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 430, &c.

[c] At this place *Socrates* miſtook *Rufinus*'s meaning. For *Rufinus* ſays that *Bacurius* was a Captain, *Paleſtini limitis, of the Paleſtinian limit*; when he told him theſe things. But *Socrates* ſeems to have read in *Rufinus*, *Paleſtini militis ducem, that Bacurius was a Captain of the Paleſtinian milice*. Valeſ.

[d] Here alſo *Socrates* is out. For *Bacurius* ſerved not *Theodoſius* in the war againſt *Maximus*, but in that againſt *Eugenius*: as *Rufinus* atteſts, book 2. chap. 33. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* and *Zoſimus*, book 4. *Valeſ.*

[a] Inſtead of [ἔμφρων τὶς ὤν, *well ſkilled in Architecture*] I had rather read [ἔμφοβος ὤν, *being very anxious.*] I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote it thus. For in *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 10. from whom *Socrates* borrowed this relation) the words are theſe; *cum ecce matutinus & anxius cum ſuis omnibus ingrediens Rex, &c. when behold the King, perplexed in his mind, coming in the morning with all his attendants, &c.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning Antonius *the Monk.*

IT would be ſuperfluous for us to ſay any thing concerning *Antonius* the Monk, who at the ſame time lived in the Deſerts of *Ægypt*, [or to relate] what a man he was, how he openly ſtrove with Devils, and detected all their ſtratagems and attempts; and how he wrought many miracles. For *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* has prevented us, having written a particular book concerning his Life: ſuch a plenty of eminent men was there, who lived at one and the ſame time, in the reign of *Conſtantine*.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Manes *the Author of the Hereſie of the* Manichees, *and whence he had his original.*

BUt it is uſuall for cockle to grow up amongſt the good corn, for the envy [of the Devil] loves to lay ſnares for the righteous. Not long before *Conſtantines* reign, there ſprung up a kind of heatheniſh Chriſtianity, together with the true Chriſtian Religion, as heretofore falſe-Prophets aroſe up together with the Prophets, and Pſeudo-Apoſtles amongſt the Apoſtles. For in thoſe days one *Manichæus* attempted clandeſtinely to introduce the opinion of *Empedocles* the Heathen Philoſopher, into Chriſtianity. This man *Euſebius Pamphilus* indeed has mentioned, in the * *ſeventh book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, but has not accurately

* See *Euſebius Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 7. chap. 31.

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Afterwards he wrote four books, one he entitled [the book] of *Myſteries*; another, *the Goſpel*; the third he called *the Theſaurus*, and the fourth *Heads*. But as he was counterfiting the performance of ſome myſterious ſacred Rites, he was thrown down headlong by the Devil, and ſo died. The woman, at whoſe houſe he ſojourned, buried him. She having poſſeſſed her ſelf of his money, bought a boy, about ſeven years old, by name *Cubricus*: this boy ſhe made free; and when ſhe had bred him a Schollar, ſhe died ſoon after, and left him all *Terebinthus*'s eſtate, and the books alſo which he had written, being inſtructed by *Scythianus*. *Cubricus*, now a free-man, takes theſe goods along with him, and travelling into *Perſia*, changes his name, calling himſelf *Manes*. Where he diſtributed *Buddas*'s, or *Terebinthus*'s books, as his own genuine works, amongſt his ſeduced followers. Now theſe are the Subjects of thoſe books, in the words they ſeemingly aſſert the Chriſtian Religion, but [if] the opinions [contained in them be attentively conſidered] they are [neer a kin to] Gentiliſm. For *Manichæus*, being an impious perſon, does incite [his diſciples] to worſhip a plurality of Gods. He alſo teaches, that the [a] Sun is to be adored. Beſides, he introduces Fate, and deſtroys mans free-will. He apparently aſſerts a tranſmutation of Bodies, following herein the opinions of *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, and the *Ægyptians*. He denies that Chriſt exiſted in the fleſh, ſaying, that he was a meer * Phantaſm. He does alſo reject the Law and the Prophets: and calls himſelf the *Paraclete*. All which Tenets, tis manifeſt, are wholly diſagreeable to the orthodox [doctrine of the] Church. Moreover, in his Letters he has been ſo audacious as to ſtile himſelf an Apoſtle. But he met with a condign puniſhment for this impudent lie of his, [which befell him] upon this occaſion. The ſon of the King of *Perſia* happened to fall ſick; his Father, deſirous to ſave the life of his ſon, left no ſtone unturn'd, as the common ſaying is. Having heard of *Manichæus*, and ſuppoſing the wonders he did to be real and true, he ſends for him as if he had been an Apoſtle, hoping that he might preſerve his Sons life. When he was come, in a fictitious and pretended manner he takes in hand to cure the Kings ſon. But the King, ſeeing that his ſon died under his hands, clap't him in Priſon, with a deſigne forthwith to put him to death. He made his eſcape [out of Priſon] into *Meſopotamia*, and ſaved himſelf: But when the King of *Perſia* had intelligence of his abode in thoſe parts, he [cauſed him] to be brought from thence by force, and flead him alive: and having ſtuffed his skin with chaff, he hanged it up before the City gates. Theſe things, which we relate, are no forgeries of our own, [b] but we collected them out of a book we read over, [intitled] *the diſputation of Archelaus, Biſhop of Caſcharum*, one of the Cities of *Meſopotamia*. For this *Archelaus* ſays, that he diſputed with *Manichæus* face to face, and what we have written above concerning *Manichæus*'s Life, *Archelaus* himſelf does relate. Thus therefore does the envy [of the Devil,] as we ſaid before, delight to entrap good affairs when in their moſt flouriſhing poſture. But, for what reaſon the goodneſs of God ſhould permit this to be done, (whether it be that he is deſirous to have the true opinion of the Church brought to the teſt and examined, and wholly to extirpate arrogancy which uſually grows up together with faith, or for what other reaſon) is a queſtion that cannot be ſolved without great difficulty and tediouſneſs: nor can it now be opportunely diſcuſt by us. For, it is not our deſign to examin [the truth] of opinions, or to make reſearches into the abſtruſe accounts of providence and the judgment of God; but, according to our ability, to compoſe a narrative of the affairs that have been tranſacted in the Churches. After what manner therefore the ſuperſtition of the *Manichæans* [c] ſprang up a little before the times of *Conſtantine*, it has been ſufficiently declared. Let us now return to [the ſeries of] thoſe times, that are the proper ſubject of the Hiſtory we deſigne.

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[a] It is moſt apparent that the *Manichæans* adored the Sun. *Libanius* relates the ſame concerning them, in book 4. Epiſt. 140. wherein he commends the *Manichæans* that were in *Paleſtine* (but ſuppreſſes their name) to *Priſcianus* the Preſident of *Paleſtine*: οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ὅτου δεσπότην ὄντες, &c. i.e. *Thoſe men that worſhip the Sun without bloud, and honour God with the ſecond appellation, who chaſtize their belly, and account the day of their death to be gain; are found to be in many places, but are every where few in number. They injure no man, but are moleſted by ſome.* I doubt not but by theſe words *Libanius* means the *Manichæans*; for they cannot be agreeably attributed to any other perſons beſides them. But he deſignedly omitted the mention of their name, becauſe the name of the *Manichæans* was odious. Concerning the feigned faſts of the *Manichæans*, ſee *Cyrill*, in his ſixth *Catechef.* Valeſ.

* That is, he had only the form or figure of a man; was imaginarily, not really ſuch.

[b] The reading here muſt be [διαλύσῳ ἀγχελαε, *out of Archelaus's Dialogue*, or *diſputation*] which appears from the term [ἀναγνόντες, *we read.*] This *Archelaus*, Biſhop, of *Meſopotamia*, wrote the diſpute which he maintained againſt *Manichæus*, in *Syriack*: which being afterwards tranſlated into *Greek*, was in the poſſeſſion of many perſons, as *Ferome* atteſts, *in his book de ſcriptor. Eccleſiaſt.* *Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem* has mentioned this diſpute, in *his ſixth Catechiſm.* A fragment of this work is in my hands, wherein is contained the Hiſtory of the impious and perfidious *Manichæus*. But his diſputation with *Archelaus* the Biſhop, which was annexed to the cloſe of this Hiſtory, is wanting. In the room whereof is added *Archelaus*'s Epiſtle to *Diodorus* the Presbyter. I am beholding to the eminent *Emericus Bigotius* for this monument, as alſo for many others. *Valeſ.* *Valeſius* has publiſhed *this diſputation of Archelaus*'s in Latine, at the cloſe of *his Annotations* upon *Sozomen*, pag. 197, &c.

[c] In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [παρεφύη, *ſprang up*;] which is better than [περιεφύη, *ſprang up before.*] After the ſame manner *Socrates* expreſſes himſelf in the beginning of this chapter. 'Tis a metaphor taken from *Cockle*, which is wont to grow up with the Corn. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia, *and* Theognis *Biſhop of* Nice, *taking courage again, endeavoured to ſubvert the* Nicene Creed, *by plotting againſt* Athanaſius.

Euſebius and *Theognis*, being returned from exile, recovered their own Churches, having (as we ſaid before) extruded thoſe that had been ordained [Biſhops] in their places: Moreover, they acquired great intereſt and favour with the Emperour, who had an high eſteem for

CONSTANT. for them, looking upon them as converts from an Heretical to the orthodox Doctrine. But they abused this favour and liberty granted them, and made more disturbance in the world then formerly they had done; incited thereto by two motives; the one [proceeded] from the *Arian* Heresie, with which they had been formerly infected; the other from their inveterate hatred against *Athanasius*; because he had so vigorously opposed them in the Synod, when the Articles of faith were discussed. First of all therefore they began to find fault with *Athanasius*'s ordination, as if he were unworthy of a Bishoprick, and [a] as if his ordination had been performed by unfitting persons. But it was afterwards demonstrated that he was superiour to all manner of calumny: for being seated in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, he stifly and vigorously contended for the *Nicene* Creed: then *Eusebius* set all his wits at work to lay a plot for *Athanasius*, and to bring *Arius* again into *Alexandria*. For he supposed this to be the only way to eradicate the * Doctrine of Consubstantiality, and introduce *Arianism*. *Eusebius* therefore wrote to *Athanasius* that he would readmit *Arius* and his companions [into the Church.] [b] And in his Letter he intreated him, but openly and in publick he threatned him. But when *Athanasius* could by no means be prevailed with, he attempts to perswade the Emperour to grant *Arius* leave to come into his presence, and that he would give him a liberty of returning to *Alexandria*. And by what means he prevailed so far, as to effect this, I will relate in its due place. But before these things were done, there was another commotion raised in the Churches. For her own sons did again disturb the peace of the Church. *Eusebius Pamphilus* relates, that immediately after the Synod, *Ægypt* raised mutual factions within it self, but he annexes not the occasion of this division. Whence he is thought by many to have been double-tongued, because, declining to set forth the reasons [of the discords] he had resolved with himself not to assent to what had been determined at *Nice*. But as we our selves have found from several Letters which the Bishops wrote to one another after the Synod, the term *Homoöusios* disturbed some mens minds. Whilst they were busying themselves about this word, and made too curious inquiries into its import and meaning, they raised an intestine war amongst themselves. And what was done herein was not unlike a fight in the night. For neither side seemed to understand perfectly, why they reviled one another. For they that had an aversion for the term *Homoöusios*, look'd upon them that approved of it as introducers of [c] *Sabellius*'s and *Montanus*'s opinion. And therefore they called them blasphemers, as being persons that destroyed the existence of the Son of God. On the other hand, they that were maintainers of the term *Homoöusios*, supposing the other [their adversaries] to be introducers of [the worship of] many Gods, abominated them, as the bringers in of Gentilism. *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* reviles *Eusebius Pamphilus* as one that adulterates the *Nicene* Faith. *Eusebius* answers, that he does in no wise infringe or Violate the Creed [published] at *Nice*: but accuses *Eustathius*, for being an Assertour of *Sabellius*'s opinion. For these reasons every one [of the Bishops] wrote Volumes, as if it had been against most bitter enemies: And although both sides asserted, that the Son of God had a * proper, real and peculiar Person and existence, and confessed that there was one God in three Persons, yet (how it came to pass, I know not) they could in no wise agree amongst themselves; and therefore would by no means endure to be at quiet.

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incomparably well explained by *Dionysius Petavius*, in his *Dogm. Theolog.* Tom. 2. *De Trinit.* book 4. chap. 8. Sect. 10, &c. pag. 380. Edit. *Paris.* 1644.

[a] I follow this reading [ὡς μὴ ἂν ἀξιωτέων γεγονυῖαν, *as if his ordination*, &c. For *Eusebius*'s party found fault with the ordination of *Athanasius* upon two accounts; both because *Athanasius* was unworthy of that honour, and also because his ordination had been performed by persons unfitting. See *Philostorgius*. Vales.

* Τὴν τῆς ὁμοουσίου πίστιν, *the faith of Homoöusios*; i. e. those words in the Creed, wherein it is asserted that Christ is of the same essence or substance with the father.

[b] *Socrates* borrowed these words out of *Athanasius*'s *second Apology* against the *Arians*; where *Athanasius* gives an account how *Eusebius* secretly joyned with the *Melitians* in a conspiracie against him, these are his very words: Τὴν μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρεσβείαμπε παρῃτέπων δέξασθαί με τὸν ἄρειον· καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἠπείλει, γεγράφων δὲ ἤξιε. Which words of *Athanasius*, *Sozomen* makes use of in his second book, chap. 18. *Vales.*

[c] It is hard to assign a reason, why *Socrates* should joyn *Montanus* with *Sabellius*. For *Montanus* himself made no innovations in the doctrine of the Trinity, but followed the faith of the Catholick Church; as *Epiphanius* attests (in *Hæres. Montanist.*) and *Theodoret* (book. 2. *Hæret. Fabul.*) Yet some of his disciples took away the difference of the persons, as *Sabellius* did; which *Theodoret* attests (at the place now cited) in these words: τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν, &c. *But some of them have denyed the three persons of the Godhead, in like manner as Sabellius did, saying that the father, Son, and holy Ghost are one and the same person.* And hence it is, that in the Synodicall Epistle of the *Arian* Bishops at *Sardica*, *Montanus* is joyned to *Sabellius*. Vales.

* Ἑνυπόστατον καὶ συνυπάρχον. The Learned Reader will find these terms in his *Dogm. Theolog.* Tom. 2. *De Trinit.* book 4. chap. 8. Sect. 10, &c. pag. 380. Edit. *Paris.* 1644.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Synod convened at Antioch, *which deposed* Eustathius *Bishop of* Antioch: *upon whose account there was a sedition raised, by which that City was almost ruined.*

THerefore, having convened a Synod at *Antioch*, they depose *Eustathius*, as one who was better affected towards *Sabellius*'s opinion, than towards what the *Nicene Synod* had determined. But, as some report, [he was deposed] for other reasons less commendable: which yet they have not openly declared. But this is a thing which the Bishops usually do towards all that they depose; they load them with reproaches, and call them impious persons, but annex not the reasons of their impiety. Now that they deposed *Eustathius* as a favourer of *Sabellius*'s opinion (*Cyrus* Bishop of *Beræa* being his accuser,) *Georgius* Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria* (one of their number who hated the term *Homoöusios*) has related *in that Encomium* [a] *he wrote upon Eusebius Emisenus*. Concerning this *Eusebius Emisenus* we will hereafter speak in its proper place. But *Georgius* writes [such things as do not very well hang together] concerning *Eustathius*. For he reports, that *Eustathius* was accused by *Cyrus* for an assertour of *Sabellius*'s opinion; again he says, that *Cyrus* was [b] condemned and deposed for maintaining the same errour.

[a] It is strange to see how notoriously translatours have been mistaken in the version of this place; they perceived not that the last word was to be expunged, as being superfluous. For whenas at first there had been a remarke set in the margin, that instead of [ἔγραψεν, *he wrote*] it should be otherwise written, thus [εἶπεν, *he said:*] afterwards this word [εἶπεν, *he said*] crept out of the Margin, into the Text. *Vales.*

[b] Whether *Cyrus* Bishop of *Beræa* did accuse *Eustathius*, as being a favourer of *Sabellius*'s opinion, (as *Georgius* of *Laodicea* relates,) I know not. But what *Georgius* writes, to wit, that *Cyrus* himself was afterwards deposed because he favoured *Sabellius*'s Heresie (*i. e.* because he defended the doctrine of *Consubstantiality*; for so these words are to be understood:) is very true. For *Athanasius* confirms this, in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* Where he reckons up in order all the Bishops thrust out by the *Arians* during *Constantines* reign. And in the first place he names *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, then *Eutropius* of *Adrianople*. Afterwards *Euphration* of the *Balanei*, the two *Cymatius*'s, *Asclepas* of *Gaza*, *Cyrus* of *Beræa* and others; who were banished by the Emperours Edict, and others put into their places. *Vales.*

CONSTANT. But how can it be, that *Cyrus* ſhould accuſe *Euſtathius*, for being a *Sabellian*, who was himſelf a favourer of that Hereſie. It is probable therefore that *Euſtathius* was depoſed for ſome other reaſons. Moreover, at ſuch time as *Euſtathius* was depoſed, there was a very great Sedition raiſed in *Antioch*. And afterwards, [at the conferences] about the election of a Biſhop, there was frequently kindled ſo great a flame [of diſſention,] that it wanted but little of deſtroying the whole City, the populace being divided into two factions: one party of them contended vigorouſly for the tranſlation of *Euſebius Pamphilus* from *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* to [the See of] *Antioch*; the other faction was very earneſt to have *Euſtathius* reſtored. The whole City in general favoured the one or the other party [of the Chriſtians.] The Military forces alſo were drawn up in battel array [on both ſides] as it were againſt enemies, in ſo much that they were juſt about making uſe of their ſwords, had not God, and the fear of the Emperour repreſſed the violence of the multitude. For the Emperour by his Letters, [c] and *Euſebius* by his refuſal of the Biſhoprick, appeaſed that Tumult and Sedition. Upon which account the Emperour admired him greatly, and writ a Letter to him, in which he commends his prudent reſolution, calling him happy, becauſe he was judged worthy to be Biſhop not of one City, but almoſt of the whole world. It is recorded therefore that after this the See of *Antioch* was [d] vacant eight years. But at length, by the diligence of thoſe that plotted the ſubverſion of the *Nicene* faith, [e] *Euphronius* is ordained Biſhop. Let thus much be related concerning the Synod convened at *Antioch* upon *Euſtathius*'s account. Soon after theſe things, *Euſebius* (who had long before left *Berytus*, and was now poſſeſſed of the Church at *Nicomedia*,) made it his buſineſs, together with his confederates, to bring *Arius* again into *Alexandria*. But, how they prevailed to effect this their deſign, and after what manner the Emperour was perſwaded to admit *Arius* and *Euzoius* into his preſence, we are now to relate.

[c] The meaning of this place is this. The Emperour, by his Letters written to *Antioch*, and *Euſebius*, by his refuſing the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, appeaſed that tumult. Therefore theſe words [*appeaſed the tumult and ſedition*] muſt in common belong to both the preceding clauſes. *Valeſ.*

[d] What *Socrates* here ſays, concerning the vacancy of the See of *Antioch* eight years, after *Euſtathius* was depoſed, is falſe. For immediately after *Euſtathius* was ejected; when *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea* had refuſed that See; *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* was tranſlated to that See, in the year of Chriſt 329: as I before noted in the tenth book of *Euſebius*'s *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, chap. 1. note (*a*.) Afterwards *Euphronius* ſucceeded *Paulinus*; or, as ſome will have it, *Eulalius*. After whom *Flaccillus* was advanced to the See of *Antioch*, who (as *Athanaſius* atteſts *in his ſecond Apology* againſt the *Arians*) was at the Synod of *Tyre*. *Valeſ.*

[e] *Sozomen* ſays the ſame; and *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus* (*apud Nicætam in Theſauro Orthodox. fidei.*) Which is alſo confirmed by *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, in *his encomium* of *Euſebius Emiſenus*, *Socrates* quotes his words, in book 2. chap. 9. Eccleſ. Hiſt.) But *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 22. Eccleſ. Hiſt.) puts *Eulalius* between *Euſtathius* and *Euphronius*, and ſays that he preſided but a very ſhort time. *Philoſtorgius* agrees with *Theodoret*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Presbyter, *who made it his buſineſs to get* Arius *recalled.*

THE Emperour *Conſtantine* had a ſiſter whoſe name was *Conſtantia*. She had been married to *Licinius* who was heretofore colleague in the Empire with *Conſtantine*, but afterwards he became a Tyrant and was therefore put to death. She had a confident, a Presbyter, one that was a favourer of *Arianiſm*, who was reckoned amongſt her domeſticks. This man, prompted thereto by *Euſebius* and thoſe of his faction, did in his familiar diſcourſe with *Conſtantia* let fall ſome words concerning *Arius*, ſaying, that the Synod had done him wrong, and that his ſentiments were not ſuch as report repreſented them to be. *Conſtantia* having heard this was eaſily induced to give credit to the Presbyter. But ſhe had not confidence to declare it to the Emperour. It happened that *Conſtantia* fell dangerouſly ſick. The Emperour came daily to viſit her in her ſickneſs. But when ſhe was brought into ſo dangerous a condition by her diſtemper, that ſhe expected to die immediately, ſhe recommends the Presbyter to the Emperour, declaring to him his induſtry, piety, and how well affected he was towards his Government: and immediately after ſhe died. The Presbyter was [after this] made one of the Emperours greateſt confidents. And having by degrees got a greater liberty of ſpeaking, he relates to the Emperour the ſame things concerning *Arius*, that he before told his ſiſter; affirming that *Arius* had no other ſentiments than what were agreeable to the Synods determination: and that if [the Emperour] would admit him to his preſence, he would give his conſent to what the Synod had decreed: [a] Moreover, that he was falſely accuſed without the leaſt of reaſon. These words of the Presbyters ſeemed ſtrange to the Emperour. Thus therefore he anſwered [the Presbyter,] if *Arius* does conſent to the Synods determination, and has the ſame ſentiments with that, I will both admit him to my preſence, and alſo ſend him back to *Alexandria* with repute and honour. Thus he anſwered, and immediately wrote to *Arius* after this manner.

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[a] Inſtead of [ᾧ μὴ ἀλόγως συκοφαντεῖσθαι, *and that he was falſely accuſed not without reaſon*] Sr. *Henry Savill* and *Chriſtopherſon* read [ᾧ δὴ ἀλόγως συκοφαντεῖσθαι, *Moreover, that he was falſely accuſed without the leaſt of reaſon.*] This ſtory concerning the *Arian* Presbyter (whom *Conſtantia Auguſta* recommended to her brother *Conſtantine*) *Socrates* borrowed out of *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 11. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* But I ſuſpect the truth of it, for theſe reaſons. Firſt, becauſe *Athanaſius* (who does uſually detect all the frauds of the *Arians*) has no where made mention of it. Secondly, in regard the name of this Presbyter is ſuppreſſed: for, if this Preſbyter were in ſo great favour and authority with *Conſtantine*, that, (as *Rufinus* relates in the book and chapter now cited,) when the Emperour died, he ſhould leave his Will, which he had written, in the hands of this Presbyter; doubtleſs, he was worthy to have had his name mentioned. But, in my judgment, *Rufinus*'s authority is but ſmall; for he wrote his Hiſtory very careleſly, not from the Records of affaires tranſacted, but from fabulous ſtories, and relations grounded barely on report.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Arius*.

It has been ſometime ſince made known to your Gravity, that you ſhould repair to Our Court, in order to your being admitted to the enjoyment of Our preſence. But we much admire, that you have not immediately performed this. Wherefore, aſcend forthwith a publick Chariot, and come with ſpeed to Our Court: That having experienced Our benevolence and care, you may return to your own Countrey. God preſerve you, beloved brother. Dated before the fifth of the Kalends of December.

This was the Emperours Letter to *Arius*. Here I cannot but admire the Emperours care and zeal for Religion. For 'tis evident by this Letter, that he had before frequently exhorted *Arius* to a * recantation, in regard he reproves him, that after his frequent writing to him, *Arius* had not forthwith returned to the truth. *Arius* therefore having received the Emperours Letters, came ſoon after to *Conſtantinople*. There came along

* Repentance.

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CHAP. XXVI.

How Arius, *being recalled* [*from exile,*] *and having given up a Libell of Repentance to the Emperour, did therein hypocritically pretend* [*himself an assertour of*] *the* Nicene *Creed.*

HAving therefore composed a Libell, they present it to the Emperour, the contents whereof are as followeth.

Arius *and* Euzoïus, *to our most Religious and most pious Lord* Constantine *the Emperour. According to the order of your piety most acceptable to God, (our Lord the Emperour,) we do declare our Faith, and in writing profess in the presence of God, that we and all our adherents do believe as followeth. We believe in one God the Father Almighty; and in the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, who was made by him before all worlds: God the Word, by whom all things were made, that are in heaven, and that are in earth: who came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens, who also shall come again to judge the quick and the dead.* [*We also believe*] *in the Holy Ghost, and in the Resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in one Catholick Church of God* [*which is spred*] *from one end of the world to the other. This faith we have received from the holy Gospels, the Lord saying to his disciples:* Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. [a] *If we do not thus believe these things, and* [*if we do not*] *truly admit of the Father, the Son and the holy Ghost, in such manner as the whole Catholick Church, and the Scriptures (which we believe in all things) do teach, God is our Judge, both now, and in the Judgment to come. We therefore beseech your piety (O Emperour most acceptable to God!) that we being Ecclesiastical persons, and holding the Faith and sence of the Church and the holy Scriptures, may by your pacifick and religious piety be united* [b] *to our mother, to wit the Church; all questions and superfluous disputations being wholly taken away and suppressed: that so both we and the Church, enjoying a mutual peace and union, may joyntly offer up our usual prayers for the peaceable Reign of your Imperial Majesty, and for your whole Family.*

Matth. 28. 19.

[a] After these words, there was wanting this whole clause [εἰ-μὴ τοῦτα ὕπως πι-στεύσωμεν καὶ ἀπο-δεξώμεθα ἀλη-θῶς, πα-τέρα, υἱὸν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, *If we do not thus believe these things, and* [*if we do not*] *truly admit of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost*] which we have made up from the authority of the *Allatian* M. S. and from *Sozomen*, book 2. chap. 27. *Valesius.*

[b] In the Kings M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, this place is pointed otherwise, thus [*to our mother the Church, to wit, all questions*, &c.] which distinction displeases me not. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXVII.

How Arius *returned to* Alexandria *by the Emperours order, and upon* Athanasius's *refusal to admit him,* Eusebius's *faction framed divers accusations against* Athanasius *before the Emperour.*

ARius having thus perswaded the Emperour, returned to *Alexandria*. But this specious covert was not prevalent enough to suppress the silenced and hidden truth. For when *Athanasius* denied him reception upon his arival at *Alexandria:* (in regard he detested the man as an abomination:) he attempted to stir up new commotions in *Alexandria*, by disseminating his heresie. Moreover, at that time *Eusebius* did both himself write Letters, and also induced the Emperour to write, that *Arius* and his complices might be received [into the Church.] But *Athanasius* did wholly refuse to grant them reception: And he acquainted the Emperour by his Letters that it was impossible for those, who had once rejected the faith, and were anathematized, to be entirely readmitted again [to their degrees in the Church] at their return. But the Emperour, highly incensed [at this return] thus threatned *Athanasius* in a Letter [a].

[a] After these words, the *Florentine* M. S. adds these [μέρος ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως, *part of the Emperours Letter.*] Which are altogether necessary, that the Reader may understand, that not the Emperours whole Epistle, but part of it only, is here inserted. *Athanasius*, in *his second Apology against the Arians*, (out of whom *Socrates* took these passages) producing this Epistle of *Constantines*, sets these very words before it; and adds, that this Epistle was brought to *Alexandria* by *Syncletius* and *Gaudentius*, Officers belonging to the Imperial Palace. But, that which *Socrates* affirms (to wit, that *Arius* came to *Alexandria*) is not mentioned by *Athanasius*, nor doe I think it is true. *Valesius.*

Part of the Emperours Letter.

Having therefore received the knowledge of our will, doe you afford a free ingress to all such as are desirous of entring into the Church. For if we shall receive information that you have prohibited any of those that are desirous [*to be united*] *to the Church, or have hindred their admission, We will immediately send one who shall be impowred by Our order to depose you, and banish you your Countrey.*

Thus wrote the Emperour, having a regard to the good of the publick, and being unwilling that [the members of] the Church should be rent asunder. [b] For he laboured to reduce them all to a perfect union. At that time therefore the *Eusebians* (who were deadly haters of *Athanasius*,) supposing they had gotten a fair opportunity, made use of the Emperours indignation as instrumental for the execution of their own design. Upon which account they made great disturbances, labouring by that meanes to effect *Athanasius*'s deposition from his Bishoprick: for they hoped that the *Arian* opinion would become absolutely prevalent by these means only, [to wit,] by a removal of *Athanasius*. There was therefore by a joynt consent an attack made against him by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum* [a City] of the *Upper Mæsia*, and *Valens* of *Mursa* in the *Upper Pannonia*. These persons hire some of the

[b] After these words from the *Florentine*, *Sfortian*, and *Allatian* M. SS. we have added this whole period [τοῦ γὰρ πάντας ὑπὸ τὸν ὁμόνοιαν ἄγειν ἐσπούδαζε, *For he laboured to reduce them all to a perfect union.*] which was wanting in the common Editions. *Sozomen* has almost the same words, in his second book at the close of chap. 22; but he has changed their order. *Valesius.*

CONSTANT. *Melitian* Hereticks, who bring in ſeveral accuſations againſt *Athanaſius*. And firſt they frame a complaint [againſt him] by [c] *Iſion*, *Eudæmon* and *Callinicus*, who were *Melitians*, as if *Athanaſius* had ordered the *Ægyptians* to pay a linnen garment [under the notion of tribute] to the Church of *Alexandria*. [d] But *Alypius*, and *Macarius*, Preſbyters of the Church of *Alexandria*, who were then accidentally at *Nicomedia*, extinguiſhed this accuſation, having informed the Emperour, that what they reported againſt *Athanaſius* was falſe. Wherefore the Emperour by his Letters ſharply reproved thoſe that informed againſt him: but he adviſed *Athanaſius* in a Letter to repair to him. But the *Euſebian* faction, before his arival, and in order to their preventing of it, tack another accuſation to the firſt, far worſe than the former: as if *Athanaſius*, * entring into a conſpiracy againſt the Emperours affaires, had ſent a little cheſt full of gold to one *Philumenus*. But the Emperour, having taken cognizance hereof at *Pſamathia*, which is the Suburbs of the City *Nicomedia*, and finding *Athanaſius* innocent, diſmiſſed him with honour; and wrote to the Church of *Alexandria*, that their Biſhop *Athanaſius* had been falſly accuſed. It would indeed have been comely and decent to have paſſed over in ſilence thoſe calumnies, which the *Euſebians* afterwards framed againſt *Athanaſius*, leſt Chriſts Church ſhould be condemned by thoſe that do not embrace his doctrine. But in regard they have been committed to writing, and expoſed to the view of all men, I therefore judged it neceſſary to treat of theſe matters as compendiouſly as may be, which [if particularized] would require a peculiar volume. Wherefore I will give a ſhort account, whence both the ſubject of the calumny it ſelf, and alſo the contrivers of the falſe accuſation had their original. [e] *Mareotes* is a region of *Alexandria*. There are in it a great many, and thoſe very populous villages, and in them many and ſtately Churches. All theſe Churches are under [the juriſdiction of] the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and ſubject to his City like Pariſhes. In this Country of *Mareotes* there was a man, by name *Iſchyras*, who had committed a fact worthy of a thouſand deaths. For, whenas he had never been admitted into ſacred Orders, he [nevertheleſs] took upon himſelf the name of a Presbyter, and was ſo audacious as to perform the office of a Presbyter. This *Iſchyras* therefore, detected in the commiſſion of the foreſaid crime, made his eſcape thence, and arriving at *Nicomedia*, for refuge fled to the *Euſebian* faction. They, in regard of their hatred towards *Athanaſius*, receive him as a Presbyter; and promiſe to prefer him to the dignity of a Biſhoprick, if he would frame an accuſation againſt *Athanaſius*, they deriving a pretence [for this calumny] from thoſe ſtories which *Iſchyras* had contrived. For he gave out, that he had ſuffered moſt miſerably by an aſſault made upon him: and that *Macarius* running furiouſly [into the Oratory] as far as the Altar, overturned the Table, broke the myſtical Cup, and burnt the ſacred books. For this accuſation (as I have ſaid) the *Euſebians* promiſed him a Biſhoprick as his reward, being ſenſible that this accuſation againſt *Macarius*, would (together with him that was accuſed) overthrow *Athanaſius* alſo who had ſent *Macarius*. This accuſation therefore they charged him with afterwards. But before this [calumny they framed] another ſtuffed with all manner of hatred and maliciouſneſs, which we muſt now ſpeak of. Having got a mans hand (whence they had it, I know not, whether they had murdered any man and cut off his hand; or whether they had cut it off from ſome dead body, God only knows, and they that were authours of this fact,) they produced it [pretending] it to be the hand of one [f] *Arſenius*, a *Melitian* Biſhop: the hand they expoſed to all mens view, but kept *Arſenius* concealed. And they reported that *Athanaſius* had this hand in his cuſtody, and made uſe of it in the performance of ſome magical deluſions. This therefore was the chiefeſt and moſt important point of the accuſation which theſe Sycophants had forged [againſt *Athanaſius*.] But (as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes) other perſons accuſed him of other matters. For all thoſe who had been his enemies before, did at this time moſt eſpecially make uſe of their utmoſt force againſt him. The Emperour, having intelligence of theſe proceedings, writes to [g] *Dalmatius* the *Cenſor*, his brothers ſon, who then kept his reſidence at *Antioch* in *Syria*; that he ſhould command the perſons accuſed to be brought before him, and (after he had taken cognizance of the caſe) order them that were convicted to be puniſhed. He alſo ſent *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, that *Athanaſius* might be tried before them. When *Athanaſius* knew that he was to be ſummoned to appear before the *Cenſor*, he ſent into *Ægypt* to find out *Arſenius*. He had certain information that the man was concealed: but he could not apprehend him becauſe he frequently changed his lurking holes by removing from one place to another. In the interim, the Emperour ſuppreſſed the tryal which ſhould have been before the *Cenſor*, upon this account. *Conſtantine* wrote to *Antioch*, to *Dalmatius* the *Cenſor*, [ordering *him*] *to hear the cauſe concerning the murder. The Cenſor therefore ſent to me, to prepare for my defence. Socrates* thought that this *Dalmatius*

CONSTANT.

[c] We find theſe mens names in that catalogue of the *Melitian* Biſhops which *Alexander* procured from *Melitius*. This *Iſion* was Biſhop in *Athribis*, *Eudæmon* in *Tanis*, and *Callinicus* in *Peluſium*. See *Athanaſius's ſecond Apologetick*. Valeſ.

[d] *Athanaſius* (in *his Apologetick*) calls this man *Apis*, not *Alypius*. But names not the place, wherein *Conſtantine* took cognizance of this matter. Yet *Socrates* affirms it was at *Nicomedia*. Further, *Baronius* relates that theſe affaires were tranſacted in the year of Chriſt 329. But I would rather chooſe to place them on the year following. For theſe things hapned after *Euſtathius's* depoſition, when *Euſebius* and *Theognius*, (returned from their Exile) had procured a great authority and intereſt with *Conſtantine*. But what the ſame *Baronius* ſays (to wit, that *Conſtantines* Letter, concerning *Arius's* readmiſſion into the Church, was written to *Athanaſius* in the year of Chriſt 327,) is a palpable miſtake; and he diſſents from *Athanaſius*, whom notwithſtanding he profeſſes to follow in all things. For *Athanaſius* relates, that ſoon after *Conſtantines* Letter, and *Arius's* repulſe, the *Melitians* accuſed him of theſe crimes before the Emperour. *Valeſ.*

* Ἐπιβεβουλεύων τοῖς Βασιλέως πράγμασι; which words, *Valeſius* has thus rendred, *conſpirans adverſus Principem, conſpiring againſt the Emperour.*

[e] This paſſage of *Socrates* is very much enlightned by *Athanaſius* in *his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*. Whoſe words, becauſe they are miſunderſtood by his tranſlatour, I will here ſet down. Ὁ μαρεώτης χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὅλη· καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος, οὐδὲ χωρεπίσκοπος· ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πάσης τῆς χώρας ὑποκείνται· ἔχει δὲ ἡ πρεσβύτερον ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μείζονας καὶ ἀριθμῷ δέκα που καὶ πλείονας. That is, *Mareotes is a region of Alexandria. In that region there never was a Biſhop, or Deputy Biſhop. But the Churches of that whole region are ſubject to the Biſhop of Alexandria. Each of the Presbyters hath peculiar Villages, (which are very great,) ſometimes ten in number, or more.* From theſe words it appears, that every Village of *Mareotes* had not its particular Presbyter; but that one Presbyter governed ten Villages and ſometimes more. That Village, wherein *Iſchyras* was, in regard it was the leaſt of all, undoubtedly had neither its peculiar Church, nor Preſbyter. To that Epiſtle which all the Presbyters and Deacons of *Mareotes* wrote to the Synod of *Tyre* (which Letter is recorded by *Athanaſius* in the book now cited) there ſubſcribed fourteen Presbyters, and fifteen Deacons. *Valeſ.*

[f] This *Arſenius* was a Biſhop of the *Melitians* in the City *Hypſelis* which is in *Thebais*. In his Epiſtle, which he wrote to *Athanaſius*, he aſſumes to himſelf this title of honour, Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίῳ Πάπᾳ Ἀρσενίου ἐπισκόπου ἔτι ποτὲ ὄντος μελίτιον τῆς ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως, i. e. *To Athanaſius the bleſſed Pope, Arſenius Biſhop of the City Hypſelis, one of thoſe ſometimes under* Melitius. But in the catalogue of Biſhops of the *Melitian faction*, which *Melitius* delivered to *Alexander*, no *Arſenius* can be found. *Valeſ.*

[g] *Socrates* took this out of *Athanaſius*, *in his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*, his words are theſe; Γράφει δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, &c. *Conſtantine wrote to Antioch, to Dalmatius the Cenſor,*

matius was the son of *Constantines* brother, he that some years after was made *Cæsar* by *Constantine*. But that is a great mistake. For *Dalmatius* the *Censor* was *Constantines* brother, and the Father of *Dalmatius* the *Cæsar*. *The Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* confirms this, who writes thus concerning *Constantine*, Καὶ Δαλμάτιον τὸν υἱὸν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Δαλματίου τοῦ κένσωρος & καίσαρος ἀνηγόρευε; i. e. *and he created Dalmatius (the son of his brother Dalmatius the Censor) Cæsar.* Certainly, *Dalmatius* the son of *Dalmatius* was (when these things were done which are related by *Athanasius*) very young, and could not sit as judge in so weighty an affair. Besides, he lived at that time at *Narbona*, and (together with *Hannibalianus* his brother) was an Hearer of *Exuperius* the *Rhetorician*. For from that City he was sent for by *Constantine*, and created Cæsar when very young (as *Ausonius* affirms *in his book de Professor. Burdigal.*) in the year of Christ 335. But that tryal concerning the murder of *Arsenius* was before *Dalmatius* the *Censor* at *Antioch*, (as *Athanasius* attests,) in the year of Christ 332, according to *Baronius*'s opinion. *Vales.*

CONSTANT.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Emperour ordered a Synod of Bishops should be convened at Tyre, *upon account of the accusations brought against* Athanasius.

THe Emperour had ordered a Synod of Bishops to meet, that they might be present at the consecration of the Church which he had erected at *Jerusalem*. He therefore issued out an order that those Bishops [before they met there] should first be convened at *Tyre*, and by the by make researches into *Athanasius*'s case: that so [all occasions of] contention being by this means wholly taken away, they might more peaceably perform the * solemnities of the Churches dedication, and consecrate it unto God. [a] This was the thirtieth year of *Constantines* Empire. Moreover, there were assembled at *Tyre* Bishops out of divers places, to the number of sixty, upon the summons of *Dionysius*, a person that had born the Consulship. *Macarius* the Presbyter was brought from *Alexandria*, bound in iron chains, under the custody of a guard of Souldiers. But *Athanasius* would not have come thither (not that he so much dreaded the accusations brought against him: for he was not conscious to himself that he was guilty of those things he was accused for: but he was afraid least they should make any innovations there in opposition to what had by common consent been approved of at the Synod of *Nice*.) But yet he dreaded the Emperours menacing letters. For he had written to him that if he would not come voluntarily, he should be brought by force. Therefore *Athanasius* also was present there, being necessitated to it.

* Τὰ ἐπιβατήρια τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Concerning the import of this word, the learned Reader may consult *Scaliger. Poetic.* Lib. 3. Cap. 106. *Epibaterion.*

[a] The Synod of *Tyre* was held in the consulates of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, (as *Athanasius* attests,) in the year of Christ 335.

This was the 28th year of *Constantines* Empire. His 29th year began (during the same mens consulates) on the 8th of the *Calends* of *August*, on which day *Constantine* celebrated his *Tricennalia* (i. e. *the festivals for his having arrived to the* 30th *year of his Empire*) as *Idatius* attests, (*in Fast.*) anticipating that solemnity one whole year. This anticipation of his *Tricennalia* has induced not only *Socrates*, but several others also, into a mistake. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Arsenius, *and his hand which was reported to have been cut off.*

MOreover, Divine Providence forced *Arsenius* to go to *Tyre*. For having neglected the commands which the Sycophants, whose hireling he was, had given him, he came in a disguise, to see what would be done there. It accidentally hapned, that the servants of [a] *Archelaus* (who was the *Consularis*) heard some persons in an Inn say, that *Arsenius* (the person reported to have been murthered) was there kept concealed in some [Citizens] house. When they had heard this, and had taken good notice of them that spoke these words, they gave their Master an account of what they had heard. He, without the least delay, immediately searched for the man and found him: and when he had found him, ordered he should be secured. And gives notice to *Athanasius* not to be in the least disturbed: for *Arsenius* was alive and present there. *Arsenius* being apprehended, denied that he was [*Arsenius*.] But *Paul* Bishop of *Tyre*, who had formerly known him, made it appear that he was the person. Divine Providence having before hand disposed of these things after this manner, soon after *Athanasius* was summoned by the Synod. And when he had made his appearance, the Sycophants produced the hand, and enforced their accusation [against him.] But he * demeaned himself prudently. For he enquired of those that were present, and of his Accusers, whether any of them knew *Arsenius*. When a great many answered that they knew him very well, he caused *Arsenius* to be brought in before them, having his hands hid under his upper long garment: then he asked them again; is this the man that hath lost his hand? Hereupon, they (excepting those that knew whence the hand had been cut off) were astonished at the strangeness of the thing. For all the rest thought that *Arsenius* had really wanted a hand, and they expected that *Athanasius* would make his own defence some other way. But he took *Arsenius*'s garment, and turning it on one side, shews the mans hand. Again, when some supposed that his other hand was wanting, he made a short stay, permitting them to continue dubious. Immediately after, without any further delay, he turned aside the other part [of his garment] and shewed *Arsenius*'s other hand: after which he thus addressed himself to the company; *Arsenius*, as you see, is found to have two hands: as for the third, let my Accusers shew the place whence it was cut off.

CONSTANT.

* Σοφῶς μετῆλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα, *ordered the matter prudently*: this is the import of these words, if rendred literally.

[a] *Rufinus*, in book 1. chap. 16. of *his Ecclesiastick History*, says that this *Archelaus* was not the *Consularis* (or *President*) of *Phœnicia*, but the *Comes* of the *East*. Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

That Athanasius *being found innocent after his first accusation, his Accusers made their escape by flight.*

THese affairs concerning *Arsenius* having been thus transacted, they who had contrived this fraud, were reduced to a straight. But [a] *Achab*, (who was also called *John*) *Athanasius*'s Accuser, slipt away out of the Court of judicature, and so made his escape in the tumult. Thus *Athanasius* cleared himself from this accusation, without making use of any * exception. For he was confident, that the bare sight of *Arsenius* being alive would abash the Sycophants.

[a] In *Athanasius*'s *second Apologetick*, pag. 783. *Edit. Paris.* the words are Ἀρχάφ ὁ καὶ Ἰωάννης, *Archaph, who is also called John.* In *the Epistle of Alexander Bishop of Thessalonica to Athanasius*, he is also called *Archaph*. Therefore, this man had two names, he was called *Archaph*, by the *Egyptians*, which was his Countrey name: *John* was his *Monastick* name. He was a Bishop of the *Melitian faction* at *Memphis*. *Athanasius* relates, that he was commanded by *Constantine* to agree with his Arch-Bishop. *Athanasius* means *Constantines* Letter to *John*, which he gives an account of, at pag. 787. of *his second Apologet. Edit. Paris.* Vales.

* Παραγραφή. See *Calvin. Lexic. Juridic.* in the word *paragraphe*.

CHAP.

CONSTANT.

CHAP. XXXI.

That Athanaſius *fled to the Emperour, upon the Biſhops not admitting of his defence at his ſecond accuſation.*

BUt in his diſproof of the falſe accuſations brought againſt *Macarius*, he made uſe of legal exceptions. And firſt he excepted againſt *Euſebius* and his companions, as being enemies, alledging that no man ought to be judged by his adverſaries. Afterwards he ſaid, that it muſt be demonſtrated, that *Iſchyras* the Accuſer had really procured the dignity of a Presbyter. For ſo it was written in the Libel of Accuſation. But when the Judges would not allow of any of theſe exceptions, *Macarius*'s cauſe was brought in. After that the Accuſers were almoſt wearied out and quite faint, the further hearing of the cauſe was defered till ſuch time as ſome perſons ſhould make a journey into *Marcotes*, that they might make inquiſition upon the place concerning all matters that were doubtful. But when *Athanaſius* perceived that thoſe very perſons were ordered to go, whom he had excepted againſt; (for *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Theodorus*, *Macedonius*, *Valens*, and *Urſacius* were ſent:) he cried out that their proceedings were treacherous and fraudulent. For it is unjuſt [ſaid he] that *Macarius* the Presbyter ſhould be kept in bonds, and that his Accuſer, together with his Adverſaries the judges ſhould go; and [that this was done] for this reaſon, [to wit,] that the memorials of the Acts might be made up [in favour] of one ſide only. After *Athanaſius* had ſpoke theſe words aloud, and made proteſtation before the whole Synod and *Dionyſius* the preſident, when he ſaw that no body took notice of him, he privately withdrew. Thoſe therefore that were ſent to *Mareotes*, having regiſtred the Acts in favour of one ſide only, as if thoſe things had been moſt certainly true, [a] which the Accuſer had depoſed; made [their return to *Tyre*.]

[a] This place is imperfect, as any one may perceive. It may be made perfect, if inſtead of [ἦλθον] we make this addition [ἤλθοντο τῆς ἐπανόδου, *made their return to Tyre:*] which we have followed in our Verſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXII.

That after Athanaſius's *departure, he was depoſed by the Vote of the Synod.*

ATHanaſius being gone away, fled immediately to the Emperour. The Synod in the firſt place condemned him in his abſence for deſerting his cauſe. But when the Acts, which had been made up in *Mareotes* arived, they paſſed the ſentence of depoſition againſt him; loading him with reproaches in the [a] Libel of his depoſition, but mentioned not a word how ſhamefully the Sycophants had been vanquiſhed in the accuſation of the murder. *Arſenius* alſo, who was reported to have been murdered, was received by them.

[a] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* render theſe words [ἐν τοῖς καθαιρετικοῖς] thus, *depoſitionis cauſas, the cauſes of his depoſition.* But I ſuppoſe, that by theſe words is meant *the Libel of his depoſition*, or the Synodical Epiſtle concerning the condemnation and depoſition of *Athanaſius*. *Socrates* uſes the ſame term, in his ſecond book chap. 1. If any one be deſirous to peruſe a copy of theſe Epiſtles, there is extant a Synodical Epiſtle of the *Council of Antioch*, concerning the depoſition of *Paul* of *Samoſata*: alſo, the Synodical Epiſtle of the *Council of Sardis*, concerning the depoſition of *Gregorius Alexandrinus*, *Valens*, *Urſacius*, and other *Arian* Prelates. *Valeſ.*

He had at firſt been a Biſhop of the *Melitian* Hereſie: But he ſubſcribed *Athanaſius*'s depoſition, as being at that time Biſhop of the [b] *Hypſelites*. And thus (which was very ſtrange) he that was reported to have been murdered by *Athanaſius*, being alive, depoſed *Athanaſius*.

CONSTANT.

[b] In *Athanaſius* the reading is truer, thus [ὑψηλείων πόλεως, *of the City of the Hypſelites,*] as we noted before. *Stephanus* (*de Urbibus*) ſays *Hypſelis* is a Town in *Egypt*; and that the inhabitants thereof are called *Hypſelites*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Synod, having left Tyre, *came to* Jeruſalem, *and after the celebration of the feaſt of Dedication of the New* Jeruſalem, *readmitted* Arius *to communion.*

IN the interim the Emperours Letters arrived, commanding the Synod to give their ſpeedy attendance at *New Jeruſalem*. And immediately with all poſſible expedition they haſtned from *Tyre* to *Jeruſalem*. Where after they had finiſhed the ſolemnities of the conſecration of the places, they [a] readmitted *Arius* and his aſſociates into the Church, ſaying, that they did it in obedience to the Emperours Letters, by which he had ſignified to them that he was fully ſatisfied as touching *Arius* and *Euzoius*'s faith. Moreover, they wrote Letters to the Church of *Alexandria*, that all envy and hatred was now baniſhed, and that the affaires of the Church were in a peaceable and ſedate poſture: and that *Arius*, in regard by his repentance he had acknowledged the truth, was in future to be received by them, and that deſer-

[a] In *Athanaſius*'s *ſecond Apology* againſt the *Arians*, and in *his book de Synodis Arimini and Seleucia*, this Synodick Epiſtle of the *Jeruſalem Council* is recorded; in which Epiſtle the Biſhops, who had been convened there for the dedication of *Conſtantines* Church, do atteſt, that they had received into communion τοὺς περὶ Ἄρειον, *Arius and his followers:* which they had done according to the Emperours command, who by his Letters had ſignified to them, that he himſelf knew that thoſe mens faith was true and orthodox, both from their own atteſtation by word of mouth, and alſo from the Libel of faith which they preſented to him. Which Libel *Conſtantine* had annexed to his Letters. Now, he means that Libel of faith, which *Arius* and *Euzoius* had preſented to *Conſtantine*, mentioned by *Socrates* before, at the 26 chapter of this firſt book; and by *Sozomen*, book 2. chap. 27. For when *Arius* had preſented a Libel of his faith to *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantine*, believing his doctrine to be agreeable to the *Nicene* faith, would not himſelf give his judgment concerning this matter; but remitted him to the examination of the *Jeruſalem Council*, as *Ruſinus* and *Sozomen* do relate. *Athanaſius* alſo (in his book *de Synodis*) affirms expreſly, that *Arius* and his aſſociates were received into communion by the *Jeruſalem Synod:* his words are theſe, ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ ἐξοικισθῆναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀθανάσιον, γεγράφαμεν δεῖν δεχθῆναι ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, *and after the baniſhment of Athanaſius Biſhop of Alexandria, writing that they ſhould admit to communion Arius and his followers*, &c. But I ſuppoſe that *Arius* the *Arch-Heretick* is not to be meant here, but another *Arius*, his name ſake, who had been condemned by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, together with *Arius* his Ringleader. For *Arius* the Arch-Heretick died long before the *Jeruſalem Synod*, as I have evidently proved in *my ſecond book of Eccleſiaſtick obſervations*, chap. 2. [The Learned Reader will find *three books of Eccleſiaſtick obſervations* written by *Valeſius*, and publiſht at the latter end of the ſecond Vol. of *his Greek Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians.*] Therefore, that *Arius*, who together with *Euzoius*, preſented a Libel of his faith to *Conſtantine*, is a different perſon from *Arius* the Arch-Heretick. Which may be demonſtrated by another argument. This *Arius* who preſented a Libel to *Conſtantine* together with *Euzoius*, was not reſtored before the *Jeruſalem* Synod, that is, before the year of Chriſt 335; nor joyned to the Catholick Church. For he requeſts of the Emperour in the foreſaid Libel, that all altercations being taken away by his piety, he may be united to the Catholick Church. But *Arius* the *Arch-Heretick* was recalled from exile long before, and readmitted to communion, as the penitentiary-Libel of *Euſebius* and *Theognius* doth atteſt. For *Euſebius* and *Theognius* do ſay there expreſly, that the authour of the whole controverſie (to wit, *Arius*) having given ſatisfaction, was entirely reſtored. Further, *Euſebius* and *Theognius* ſent that Libel to the Biſhops, in the year of Chriſt 328. as I ſhewed before. Therefore *Arius* the *Hareſiarch* muſt neceſſarily have been recalled at the beginning of the ſame year. *Valeſ.*

vedly,

CONSTANT. vedly, as being a member of the Church. [b] [But] they obscurely intimated that *Athanasius* was deposed from his Bishoprick [by their saying that all envy and hatred was now banished.] Moreover, they wrote to the Emperour, informing him of the same affaires. Whilst the Bishops were transacting these things, other Letters came unlookt for from the Emperour, which signified to them that *Athanasius* was fled to him for refuge: and that upon his account they must necessarily come to *Constantinople*. Now the Emperours intervening Letter is as followeth.

[b] This place is imperfect; it is easier to pick out the meaning of it, than to correct the words. *Socrates* therefore would say, that the Bishops, in their Synodical Epistle, do obscurely mean *Athanasius*, when they say, *that all envy and hatred now was banished*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That the Emperour by his Letter summoned the Synod to attend him, that Athanasius's *case might be accurately discussed in his presence.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Bishops Assembled at *Tyre*.

IT is indeed unknown to Us, what hath tumultuously and tempestuously been determined by your Synod. But the truth seemeth in a manner to be perverted by a certain turbulent disorder, to wit, whilst by reason of your mutual contention, which you are desirous should be insuperable, you consider not those things that are well pleasing to God. But it will [*We hope*] *be the work of Divine Providence, to dissipate the mischiefs of this pertinacious contentiousness, after they are manifestly detected; and to make it perspicuous to Us, how great a care you that have been convened have had of the Truth, and whether you have determined the matters that have been discussed by you without any favour or malice. Therefore, all of you must of necessity with speed attend upon Our piety, that you your selves may render an accurate account of what hath been done by you. Now, for what reason we thought it requisite to write these things to you, and to summon you before our selves by this Letter, you shall understand from the sequel. As We were making our entry into* Constantinople *the City that bears Our name,* [*situate in*] *Our own most flourishing Countrey; (it hapned that We then rode on Horse-back:) on a sudden* Athanasius *the Bishop, together* [a] *with some Presbyters whom he had about him, approacht Us in the midst of the high way so unexpectedly, that he put Us into a consternation. For God the Inspectour of all things is our witness, that at first sight We were unable even to discern who he was, had not some of Our* [*servants*] *upon Our enquiry told Us (as it was meet) both who he was, and what injuries he had suffered. At that time We neither spoke to, nor had any discourse with him. But when he requested that he might be heard, and We had refused that, and in a manner ordered he should be removed from our presence; with a greater confidence he said, that he desired nothing else but your appearance here, that (being necessitated thereto) he might in Our presence make a complaint of his sufferings. Wherefore, in regard this seemed reasonable to Us, and a matter befitting Our times, We willingly gave order for the writing of these things to you: that all you, who made up the Synod convened at* Tyre, *should without delay hasten to the Court of Our piety, in order to your making a real demonstration of the integrity and unbyassedness of your determination; to wit, in the presence of Us, whom none of you can deny to be a genuine servant of God. For by the worship we exhibit to the deity, peace doth every where flourish, and the name of God is sincerely praised even by the* [b] Barbarians *themselves, who till this time have been ignorant of the truth. Moreover, it is manifest, that he who knows not the truth, acknowledges not God. Nevertheless, as we said before, even the* Barbarians *have (upon Our account who are Gods genuine servant) acknowledged the Deity, and have learned to pay a Religious worship to him, by whose Providence, as they have been really and truely made sensible, we are every where protected and provided for. Upon which account chiefly they have been brought to the knowledge of God; whom they worship out of a dread towards Us. But* [c] *we, who seem to have a greater esteem for, (for We will not say, to defend) the holy mysteries of his Church: We say, We do nothing else, but what belongs to discord and hatred, and (to speak plainly) what tends to the destruction of mankind. But, as we said before, come all of you to Us speedily; with a full assurance, that with our utmost vigour we will endeavour the accomplishing of this,* [*namely*] *that those things* [*comprehended*] *in the Law of God may most especially be preserved firm and unshaken (on which no reproach or ill opinion can possibly be fixt,) to wit, by dissipating, breaking to pieces, and utterly destroying the enemies of the Law, who under the covert of* [*Christs*] *holy name introduce various and different sorts of Blasphemies.*

[a] In *Athanasius's second Apology against the Arians* (where this Epistle of *Constantines* is recorded) the reading is [μεθ' ἑτέρων πινῶν, *together with some others.*] But the reading we follow, to wit, [μετ ἱερέων πινῶν, *with some Presbyters*] is better; which is confirmed by *Epiphan. Scholasticus.* Vales.

[b] Perhaps he means the *Iberians*, concerning whose conversion *Socrates* has spoken before. *Vales.*

[c] In *Leo Allatius's* M. S. and in *Athanasius*, the reading of this place is [οἱ τὰ ἅγια, &c. *Ye, who seem to have a greater esteem for ---the holy mysteries of his clemency.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read this passage thus also, as appears from his version: where, instead of [*We, who seem*, &c.] it is [*ye, who seem*, &c.] which is confirmed by the *Florent.* M. S. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

That, when the Synod came not to the Emperour, the Eusebians *accused* Athanasius, *as if he had threatned, that he would prohibit the carriage of that Corn, with which* Alexandria *furnished* Constantinople. *Whereupon the Emperour, being incensed, banished* Athanasius, *confining him to the* Gallia's.

THis Letter put those present at the Synod into a great perplexity of mind. Wherefore most of them returned to their own Cities. But *Eusebius*, *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Patrophilus*, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, going to *Constantinople*, would not suffer any further enquiry to be made concerning breaking the Cup, overturning the [Communion] Table, and the murthering of *Arsenius*: but they proceeded to another calumny, having informed the Emperour, that *Athanasius* had threatned to prohibit the sending of the Corn, which was usually conveighed from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*: and that these words were said by *Athanasius* in the hearing of *Adamantius*, *Anubion*, [a] *Arbathion* and *Peter*, all Bishops. For a calumny hath a greater force and prevalency, when the false Accuser is a person of repute and credit. The Emperour, thus circumvented

[a] In *Athanasius's second Apology*, this man is called *Arbetion*. But it must be read with a diphthong, thus, *Arbætion*. For 'tis a Greek name derived from *Arbætus*; of which name there was a Consul in *Constantius's* reign, as I have observed *in my notes on Amm. Marcellin.* Vales.

CONSTANT. cumvented and incenſed, puniſheth *Athanaſius* with baniſhment, ordering him to inhabit the *Gallia's*. There are thoſe that ſay this was done by the Emperour, with a deſign thereby to procure a general union in the Church, in regard *Athanaſius* had wholly refuſed to communicate with *Arius* and his followers. But he lived [in exile] at *Triers* a City of *Gallia*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning Marcellus [*Biſhop*] *of* Ancyra, *and* Aſterius *the* Sophiſta.

THe Biſhops that were convened at *Conſtantinople* did alſo depoſe *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia the leſs*, upon this account. There was one *Aſterius* a Profeſſour of Rhetorick in *Cappadocia*, who left the teaching of that art, and owned himſelf a Profeſſour of the Chriſtian Religion. He alſo took in hand to write books (which are extant to this day) wherein he aſſerted *Arius*'s opinion, ſaying, that Chriſt is the Power of God in the ſame ſence that the Locuſt and Palmer-worm are in *Moſes* ſaid to be the Power of God, and other ſuch like [*Blaſphemies*] as theſe. This *Aſterius* was continually in company with the Biſhops, and with thoſe Biſhops moſt eſpecially that were not diſaffected to *Arianiſme*: Moreover, he came frequently to Synods, being very deſirous to creep into the Biſhoprick of ſome City. But he got not ſo much as a Presbyterſhip, becauſe he had ſacrificed in the time of Perſecution. He went up and down to the Cities of *Syria*, and [a] recited in publick the books he had made. When *Marcellus* underſtood this, being deſirous to [b] oppoſe him, through an over great earneſtneſs [in his confutation of him] he fell into the contrary errour. For he audaciouſly aſſerted, that Chriſt was a meer man, as *Paul* of *Samoſata* did. Which when the Biſhops then convened at *Jeruſalem* had intelligence of, they took no notice of *Aſterius*, becauſe he was not enrolled in the catalogue of the Presbyters. But they required of *Marcellus*, as being a Prieſt, an account of the [c] Book written by him. And when they found that he held *Paul* of *Samoſata*'s principles, they commanded him to alter his opinion. He, aſhamed [of what he had done,] promiſed to burn his Book. But the convention of Biſhops being haſtily diſſolved, upon the Emperours ſummoning of them to *Conſtantinople*; when the *Euſebians* came to *Conſtantinople*, *Marcellus*'s caſe was again diſcuſſed. And upon *Marcellus*'s refuſal to burn his impious and unhappy Book according to his promiſe, the Biſhops there aſſembled depoſed him, and ſent *Baſilius* in his room to *Ancyra*. Moreover, *Euſebius* wrote three Books by way of Anſwer and Confutation of this Book, [of *Marcellus*'s,] in which he manifeſtly laid open and reproved his falſe opinion. But *Marcellus* afterwards recovered his Biſhoprick in the Synod of *Sardis*, ſaying that his Book was not rightly underſtood, and therefore he was judged to favour *Paul* of *Samoſata*'s Doctrine. But we will ſpeak of this in its proper place.

[a] *Athanaſius* (in his book *de Synodis*) ſays that this *Aſterius* ſate in the Church amongſt thoſe that were of the Clergy, and recited his books in publick. *Valeſ.*

[b] In the *Allat.* M. S. the reading is [ἀντιγράφειν, *to write againſt him.*] So *Epiphan. Scholaſt.* ſeems to have read. *Valeſ.*

[c] This book of *Marcellus*'s was intitled, *de ſubjectione Chriſti*, *concerning Chriſt's ſubjection*; as *Hilarius* informs us, *in the fragment of his book, de Synodis.* Valeſ.

CONSTANT.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How, after Athanaſius *was exiled*, Arius, *being ſent for from* Alexandria *by the Emperour, raiſed diſturbances againſt* Alexander *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople.

WHile theſe things were tranſacted, the thirtieth year of *Conſtantines* Reign was compleated. [a] *Arius* and his followers being returned to *Alexandria*, cauſed a general diſturbance in that City again. For the populace of *Alexandria* were very much troubled both at *Arius* and his Complices's return, and alſo at the exile of their Biſhop *Athanaſius*. But when the Emperour underſtood the perverſneſs of *Arius*'s mind, he ordered him to be ſent for again to *Conſtantinople*, there to give an account of the diſturbances he had endeavoured to rekindle. *Alexander*, who had ſome time before that ſucceeded *Metrophanes*, did then preſide over the Church of *Alexandria*. The conflict this man had with *Arius* at that time, was a ſufficient proof of his piety and acceptableneſs to God. For upon *Arius*'s arrival there, both the people were divided into two factions, and there alſo aroſe an univerſal commotion all the City over: ſome of them affirming, that the *Nicene* Creed ought to continue unſhaken and without any alteration; and others pertinaciouſly aſſerting that *Arius*'s opinion was conſonant to reaſon; *Alexander* was hereupon reduced to a great ſtraight. And more eſpecially, becauſe *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* had ſorely threatned him, ſaying that he would forthwith cauſe him to be depoſed, unleſs he would admit *Arius* and his followers to Communion. But *Alexander* was not ſo ſollicitous about his own depoſition, as he was fearful of the enervating of the Doctrine of Faith, which they earneſtly endeavoured to ſubvert. For looking upon himſelf as the keeper and patron of the determinations made by the [*Nicene*] Synod, he made it wholly his buſineſs to prevent the wreſting and depravation of thoſe Canons. Being therefore reduced to thoſe extremities, he entirely bad farwell to [the aſſiſtances of] Logick, and made God his Refuge. He devoted himſelf to continued faſts, and omitted no form or manner of praying. Now, he made this reſolution within his own mind, and what he had reſolved he ſecretly performed. Having ſhut up himſelf alone in the Church which is called *Irene*, he went to the Altar, laid himſelf proſtrate on the ground under the [b] holy Table, and poured forth his prayers [to God] with tears: he continued doing this for many nights and days together. Moreover, he asked of God, and received [what he had deſired.] His petition was this; that if *Arius*'s opinion were true, he might not ſee the day appointed for the diſquiſition thereof: but, if that Faith which he profeſſed were true, that *Arius* (in regard he was the Authour of all theſe miſchiefs) might ſuffer condign puniſhment for his impiety.

[a] *Socrates* does here follow *Ruſinus*, who ſays that *Arius* (after the *Synod* at *Jeruſalem*) returned to *Alexandria*; and a little after that (when his devices would doe no good there) was recalled to *Conſtantinople* by *Euſebius*. But all this is falſe, as we intimated before, in regard *Arius* died long before the *Jeruſalem Synod*. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Ruſinus* (book 1. chap. 12. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*) from whom *Socrates* borrowed this, words this paſſage thus, *ſub altari jacens, lying under the altar.* *Sozomen* tells the ſame ſtory; book 2. chap. 29. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CONSTANT.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning Arius's *death.*

THis was the subject of *Alexanders* prayer. Now the Emperour, desirous to make tryal of *Arius*, sends for him to the Pallace, and enquired of him, whether he would give his assent to the determinations of the *Nicene Synod*. He, without any delay readily subscribed in the Emperours presence, making use of evasive shifts to elude and avoid what had been determined concerning the Faith. The Emperour, admiring hereat, compelled him to swear. This he also did, by making use of fraud and deceit. Moreover, the manner of artifice he made use of in subscribing was, as I have heard, this. *Arius*, they say, wrote that opinion he maintained in a piece of paper, and hid it under his arm-pit: and then swore that he did really think as he had written. What I have written concerning his having done this, is grounded on hear-say only. But I have collected out of the Emperours own Letters, that he swore, besides his bare subscribing. Hereupon the Emperour believed him, and gave order to *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* to admit him to Communion. It was then the Sabbath day, and on the day following he expected that he should be a member of the assembly of believers. But Divine vengeance closely followed *Arius*'s audaciousness. For, when he went out of the Imperial Pallace, he was attended by the *Eusebian* faction, like guards, through the midst of the City, in so much that the eyes of all people were upon him. And when he came neer that place which is called *Constantines Forum*, where the pillar of porphyrie, is erected, a terror [proceeding] from a consciousness [of his impieties] seiz'd *Arius*, which terrour was accompanied with a loosness. Hereupon he enquired whether there were an house of office neer, and understanding that there was one behind *Constantines Forum*, he went thither. A fainting fit seized him; [a] and together with his excrements his fundament fell down forthwith, and a great flux of bloud followed, and his small guts. And bloud gushed out, together with his spleen and liver. He died therefore immediately. But the house of office is to be seen at this day in *Constantinople*, as I said, behind *Constantines Forum*, and behind the Shambles in the *Piazza*: and by every ones pointing with their finger at the jakes as they go by, the manner of *Arius*'s death will never be forgotten by posterity. This accident hapning, a fear and an anxietie seized *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*'s faction: and the report hereof quickly spread it self all over the City, nay I may say over the whole world. But the Emperour did more zealously adhere to Christianity, and said that the *Nicene* Faith was now truly confirmed by God himself. He was also very glad, both at what had hapned, and also upon the account of his three sons, whom he had proclaimed *Cæsars*: each of them was created at every * *Decennalia* of his Reign. The Eldest of them (called *Constantine* after his own name) he created Governour over the Western parts of the Empire, in the first tenth year of his Reign. His second son, *Constantius* (who bore his Grandfathers name,) he made *Cæsar* in [b] the Eastern parts of the Empire, in the twentieth year of his Reign. The youngest, called *Constans* he created [*Cæsar*] in the thirtieth year of his Empire.

CONSTANT.

* Or, *every tenth year of his Empire.*

[b] It should not be [τὸν δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἕωα μερῶν] but [πρὸς δὲ, &c. *in the Eastern parts.*] And, a little before, it must be [τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον, *of the same name with his Grandfather:*] as it is in the *Allat.* M. S. But the vulgar reading is tolerable. For the Greek term [ἐπώνυμος] is used not only to signifie him who gives his name to another; but in respect to him also, who takes his name from another. So *Socrates* does usually stile *Constantinople* ἐπώνυμον Κωνσταντίνου, *a City that took its name from Constantine.* Vales.

[a] In *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. (or in *Theodorus Lectors Tripertite History*) this place is worded thus, [καὶ αἷμα διαχωρήματα παρεκπίπτει ἢ ἕδρα, τό τε ὑγρὸν ἅμα ἰατρῶν γαλεώδων ἀπόφυσμα παραυτίκα διὰ τῆς ἕδρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αἵματός τε πλῆθος ἐπικολάδες, καὶ τὰ λέπτα, ἅπερ ἐντέρων σωλῆνές τε καὶ πάσι; *and together with his excrements his fundament slid secretly down, and that termed by Physitians* the Apephthesma *fell immediately through his fundament; which was followed by a great flux of bloud, and his small guts ran out, together with his spleen and liver.*] Which passage is in my judgment incomparably well expressed. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. 'Tis certain, *Epiphanius Scholasticus* does in part confirm this reading. Also, in the *Sfortian* M.S. it is [παρεκπίπτει, *slid secretly down*] instead of [ἐκπίπτει, *fell down.*] Vales.

CHAP. XXXIX.

How Constantine, *falling into a distemper, ended his life.*

THe Year after, the Emperour *Constantine*, having just entred the sixty fifth year of his age, falls sick. He therefore left *Constantinople* and went by water to *Helenopolis*, to make use of the medicinal hot springs situate in the vicinage of that City. But when he was sensible that his distemper increased, he deferred bathing. And removed from *Helenopolis* to *Nicomedia*. He kept his Court there in the Suburbs, and received Christian Baptism. He was hereupon very chearfull, and made his will, wherein he left his three sons heirs of the Empire, allotting to every one of them their part, as he had done in his life time. He left many Legacies both to [a] *Rome* and to *Constantinople*, and he intrusted his Will with that [b] Presbyter, by whose intercession *Arius* was recalled, of whom we spoke something * before: injoyning him not to deliver it into any mans hands, except his Son *Constantius*'s, whom he had constituted Governour of the East. After he had made his Will, he lived some few days and then died. Moreover, none of his Sons were with him at his death. Therefore there was one immediately dispatcht into the East, to inform *Constantius* of his Fathers death.

[a] Concerning this gift, which *Constantine* by his will bequeathed to the *Elder-Rome*, our *Eusebius* is a witness; in his 4th book *of Constantines Life*, chap. 63. Vales.

* Chap. 25. of this Book.

[b] *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*, book 1. *Eccles. Hist.* chap. 11. But this story seems to me very improbable. For who can believe that the Emperour *Constantine*, who then had many Bishops about him, (for so *Eusebius* says expressly;) as also Grandees and great Officers, should make choice of one *Presbyter*, an unknown person, (for his name is always concealed) to whom he might commit the keeping of his Will, when he died. Wherefore, I had rather follow *Philostorgius* here, who says, that *Constantine* delivered his Will to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by whom he had been baptized a little before. *Vales.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning Constantine *the Emperours Funerall.*

THey that were about the Emperour, put his Corps in a Coffin of Gold, conveighed it to *Constantinople*, and placed it [on a bed of State] on high in the Pallace; and there they paid their honorary respects to it, and set a guard about it, as when he was alive. This course they continued, till one of his Sons came. But when

CONSTANT. *Conſtantius* arrived out of the Eaſtern parts, he was honoured with an imperial Sepulture, and depoſited in the Church called *The Apoſtles*; which he himſelf had erected for this reaſon, that the Emperours and Prelates [a] might not be far inferiour to the reliques of the Apoſtles. The Emperour *Conſtantine* lived to the age of Sixty five years: he Reigned One and thirty years. And died in the Conſulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, upon the twenty ſecond day of *May*: which was the [b] ſecond year of the Two hundredth ſeventy eighth *Olympiad*. Now, this Book contains in it the ſpace of thirty one yeares.

[a] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred this place thus; *ne Imperatores & Antiſtetes reliquiis apoſtolorum deſtituerentur, that the Emperours and Prelates might not be deprived of the Apoſtles reliques.* But I cannot approve of this Verſion. For *Conſtantine* had depoſited no reliques of the Apoſtles in that Church. I would therefore rather tranſlate it thus, that the Emperours and Prelates there to be buried, might not be far inferiour to the Apoſtles reliques; but might be affected with the ſame degree of honour with them. Which interpretation *Euſebius* confirms, in book 4. chap. 40. *Concerning the Life of Conſtantine.* Valeſ.

CONSTANT. [b] *Socrates* miſtakes here. For in the conſulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus* (which was the year of Chriſt 337) on the eleventh of the *Calends of June* (i. e. on the 22[d] of *May*) the fourth year of the 278[th] *Olympiad* was current. Which may be demonſtrated by moſt evident reaſons. But *Socrates* ſeems to have made uſe of a corrupt Copy of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicle*, wherein the year of the *Olympiad* was erroniouſly ſet. But, at this place of *Socrates*, we ought rather to read *The third year*. For *Socrates* ſays, that this firſt book of *his Hiſtory* contains the ſpace of One and thirty years. For he begins from the beginning of *Conſtantines* Reign, who, as he ſays, reigned One and thirty years. The beginning of his Reign he places on the firſt year of the 271 *Olympiad*, as we ſaw before. Now from this year to the ſecond year of the 278[th] *Olympiad* there are but thirty years, including therein the two terms. Wherefore, there muſt neceſſarily be a miſtake in this place of *Socrates*. Valeſ.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

The Preface, wherein he gives an account, why he made a new Edition of his Firſt and Second Book.

CONSTANTIUS.

RUfinus (he that wrote *an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory in the Latine tongue,*) has erred concerning [the notation of] the times. For he ſuppoſes, that what was done againſt *Athanaſius*, hapned after the death of *Conſtantine* the Emperour. He was alſo ignorant of his baniſhment into the *Gallia's*, and of ſeveral other things. We having at firſt followed *Rufinus* [as our authour,] wrote the firſt and ſecond book of our Hiſtory according to his authority. But from the third to the ſeventh Book we have made a collection of ſome paſſages, partly out of *Rufinus*, and partly out of various other authours, and related others from thoſe which do yet ſurvive; and ſo have compleated our work. But when we had afterwards procured *Athanaſius's* Books, wherein he laments his own calamitous ſufferings, and how he was baniſht by the calumny of the *Euſebian* faction; we thought it more expedient to credit him (who had ſuffered theſe hardſhips) and thoſe who had been preſent at the tranſacting of theſe matters; rather then ſuch as have followed conjectures [in their relations] thereof, and for that reaſon have been miſtaken. Beſides, having gotten [ſeveral] Letters of perſons at that time very eminent, to our utmoſt ability we have diligently traced out the truth. Upon which account we have been neceſſitated * entirely to dictate again the firſt and ſecond Book [of this work,] making uſe [nevertheleſs] of thoſe paſſages, in the relation whereof *Rufinus* hath not forſaken the truth. Moreover, notice is to be taken, that in our former Edition we had not inſerted *Arius's* Libel of depoſition, nor the Emperours Letters; but had onely ſet forth a bare relation of the affairs tranſacted, that we might not dull our Readers by a prolixe and tedious narration. But in regard that this alſo was to be done in favour to you (a O ſacred man of God, *Theodorus!*) that you might not be ignorant of what the Emperours wrote in their Letters, nor of what the Biſhops (changing that faith by little and little) promulged in divers Synods: wherefore, in this latter Edition we have made ſuch alterations and inſertions as we judged to be neceſſary. And, having done this in the firſt Book, we will alſo make it our buſineſs to do the ſame in that now under our hands, we mean the ſecond. But we muſt now begin [the following ſeries of] our Hiſtory.

* That is, *to make a new Edition of*, &c.

CONSTANTIUS.

a Our *Euſebius* has given the ſame title to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, at the beginning of the *tenth book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſt.* whoſe Example *Socrates* here follows. Who this *Theodorus* was, to whom *Socrates* dedicated *his Hiſtory*, is uncertain. For I cannot think that *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* is here meant. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

How Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia *with his accomplices, earneſtly indeavouring to introduce* Arius's *opinion again, made diſturbances in the Churches.*

THE Emperour *Conſtantine* being dead, *Euſebius* [Biſhop] of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* Biſhop of *Nice*, ſuppoſing they had now gotten a very ſeaſonable opportunity, made uſe of their utmoſt diligence and attempts to expell the * *Homoöuſian* faith, and introduce Arianiſm in its ſtead. a But they [ſuppoſed] it impoſſible for them to effect this, if *Athanaſius* ſhould return [to *Alexandria.*] Moreover, in order to their forming and carrying on of their deſign in this matter, they made uſe of that Presbyters aſſiſtance, who had a little before been the cauſe of *Arius's* being recalled from baniſhment. But, how this was effected, we muſt relate. That Presbyter [we have mentioned] preſented *Conſtantines* laſt will and commands, which he had received from the Emperour at his death, to the Emperours ſon *Conſtantius*. He having found that written in the Will which he was very

* That is, the faith that profeſſed Chriſt to be of the ſame ſubſtance or eſſence with the Father.

a This place is imperfect, and faulty. It may be made good not inconmodiouſly, thus; ἀνεχόρησε δὲ τότε σωπήσαι ὡς ἂν μὴ δύναιντο, εἰ γνοίησαν Ἀθανάσιον; *but they underſtood that they could not effect this, if Athanaſius ſhould return.* Valeſ.

CONSTANTIUS.

deſirous of; (for by the Will the Empire of the *Eaſt* was committed to him) had an honorary reſpect for the Presbyter, allowed him a great liberty of ſpeaking, and ordered he ſhould freely and with confidence come into the Palace. This liberty therefore being allowed [the Preſbyter,] made him in a ſhort time well known both to the Empreſs, and alſo to her Eunuches. The principal perſon of the Emperours Bed-chamber at that time was an Eunuch, whoſe name was *Euſebius*. The Presbyter perſwaded this perſon to embrace *Arius*'s opinion. After which, the reſt of the Eunuches were prevailed with to be of the ſame opinion. Moreover, the Emperours wife alſo, by the perſwaſion of the Eunuches and this Presbyter, became a favourer of *Arius*'s Tenets. Not long after, this queſtion came to [the hearing of] the Emperour himſelf. And by degrees it was ſpread abroad, firſt amongſt [b] thoſe that were of the milice in the Palace; and afterwards it was divulged amongſt the multitudes of the [Imperial] City. Thoſe of the Bed-chamber together with the women diſcourſed concerning this opinion in the Imperial Palace: and in the City, throughout every private family, there was a logical war waged. Moreover, the miſchief ſoon ſpread its ſelf over other Provinces and Cities. And (like a ſpark) this controverſie taking its riſe from a ſmall beginning, excited the hearers minds to a moſt pertinacious contention. For every perſon that enquired the reaſon of the diſturbance, immediately had an occaſion of diſputing given him; and at the very interim of his making an enquiry, he reſolved upon entring into a wrangling diſpute. By this contention all things were ſubverted. Theſe [alterations] were ſtarted in the Eaſtern Cities only. For the Cities of *Illyricum*, and thoſe [ſcituated] in the Weſtern parts [of the Empire] were in that interim at quiet: for they would by no means diſanull the determinations made at the *Nicene* Synod. When therefore this miſchief, thus kindled, increaſed and grew daily worſe and worſe, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* and his faction began then to think the diſturbance of the Vulgar to be their gain. For [they were in hopes] of being enabled by this means only, to conſtitute a Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that ſhould be of the ſame opinion with them. But *Athanaſius*'s return at that time to *Alexandria* prevented this their deſign, who came thither fortified with one of the *Auguſtus*'s Letters, which *Conſtantinus the younger* (who bore the ſame name with his Father) ſent from *Triers* a City in *Gallia* to the people of *Alexandria*. [A Copy of] which Letter I have here ſubjoyned.

[b] *Chriſtophorſon* rendred theſe words [τοῖς χρὶ τὰ βασίλεια στρατόμβοις] thus, *Imperatoris ſatellites, the Emperours guards:* which is ill tranſlated. For by this term all the *Palatini* are meant; not only the *Protectores*, the *domeſtici*, and the reſt of the *Scholares*, (ſee *Valeſius*'s notes on *Amm. Marcellin.* pag. 31. &c.) but the *Miniſteriani*, and *Scriniarii* alſo. For this was termed the *Palatine Milice*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

How Athanaſius, *confiding in the Letter of* Conſtantine the Younger, *returned to* Alexandria.

CONSTANTINUS CÆSAR, to the people of the Catholick Church of the *Alexandrians*.

CONSTANTIUS.

IT *has not, We ſuppoſe,* [a] *eſcaped the knowledge of your ſacred mind, that* Athanaſius *an interpreter of the venerable Law, was therefore ſent into the* Gallia's *for a time, leſt (in regard the barbarity of his blood-devouring Enemies and Adverſaries continually menaced his ſacred head with imminent danger,) he ſhould undergo incurable miſchiefs through the perverſeneſs of wicked men. In order therefore to his fruſtrating of this [barbarity,] he was ſnatcht out of the Jaws of thoſe perſons that deſigned his ruine; and enjoyned to live under our diſtrict, in ſuch a manner that, in that City wherein he was ordered to make his reſidence, he ſhould abound with all manner of neceſſaries: although his moſt eximious virtue, having put its confidence in the divine aſſiſtances, eſteems as nothing the troubles of a rougher fortune. Wherefore, although Our Lord and Father* Conſtantinus Auguſtus *of bleſſed memory had determined to reſtore this Biſhop to his own* * *See, and [return him] to your moſt amiable piety: yet in regard, being prevented by humane chance, he died before the accompliſhment of his deſire; We being his ſucceſſour, thought it agreeable to fulfill the mind of that Emperour of ſacred memory. [Moreover,] how great a reverence and reſpect he has procured from us, you ſhall know from himſelf, as ſoon as he ſhall come into your preſence. Nor is it a wonder that We have done any thing in favour to him: for both the repreſentation of your love, and alſo the aſpect of ſo great a perſonage moved and exited Our mind hereto. May the Divine Providence preſerve you deareſt brethren.*

* Place.

[a] Inſtead of [ἀποπεφευγέναι εἰς γνῶσιν] I read [ἀποπεφευγέναι γνῶσιν,] as it is in *Athanaſius*'s *ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*. *Cæſar Baronius*, (in his *Annals*,) *Dionyſius Petavius*, (in his *Rationarium Temporum*,) *Blondellus*, (in his book *de Primatu Eccleſiæ*,) and others do relate, that *Athanaſius* was recalled from baniſhment, in the year of Chriſt 338, to wit, the year after *Conſtantines* death; who, perceiving the foreſaid prelate to be preſſed on every ſide by the calumnies of his adverſaries, had for a time baniſhed him into the *Gallia's*. But I do maintain, that *Athanaſius* was reſtored in the year of Chriſt 337, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were Conſuls in that very year, wherein *Conſtantine* died: which I can make evident, as I ſuppoſe, by a moſt demonſtrable argument. For *Athanaſius* (in *his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians*, pag. 805.) relates, that he was releaſed from his baniſhment and reſtored to his Country by *Conſtantine the younger*, who alſo wrote a Letter in his behalf to the populace and Clergy of the *Alexandrian* Church. This Letter [as *Socrates* does here, ſo] *Athanaſius* there recites: the inſcription of it is this; *Conſtantinus Cæſar, to the people of the Catholick Church of Alexandria.* The ſubſcription of this Letter is thus, *dated at Triers the fifteenth of the Calends of July.* As well the inſcription, as ſubſcription of this Letter, does atteſt what I ſay, to wit, that *Athanaſius* was releaſed from his exile ſoon after the death of *Conſtantine the Great*, in the year of Chriſt 337. For if he had been reſtored on the year following, then *Conſtantine the younger* would not have called himſelf *Cæſar*, but *Auguſtus*. Nor would *Athanaſius* have been reſtored by *Conſtantine the younger*, but by *Conſtantius*, to whom was allotted the Eaſtern part of the Empire. Wherefore, in regard *Conſtantine* ſtiles himſelf only *Cæſar* in that Letter, and ſince *Athanaſius* atteſts, that he was reſtored by *Conſtantine the younger*, 'tis apparent, that that was done, before the ſons of *Conſtantine the elder* were by the Souldiers proclaimed *Auguſti*. For, upon *Conſtantines* death, there was a certain *interregnum*; and the *Roman* world continued without an Emperour almoſt three months; untill the brethren (who under the name of *Cæſars* Governed divers Provinces) had met together, in order to their making a diviſion of the whole *Roman* Empire. *Conſtantine* died on the *eleventh* of the *Calends* of *June*, and on that very year there were three *Auguſti* proclaimed, to wit, *Conſtantinus*, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, on the *fifth* of the *Ides* of *September*; (as it is recorded in the *Old Faſti*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* publiſhed under the falſe name of *Idatius*. This is that which *Euſebius* writes in his fourth book of *Conſtantines Life*, chap. 71, to wit, that *Conſtantine* retained his Empire after his death, and that all Reſcripts and Edicts bore his name, as if he had been yet alive. For this reaſon therefore *Conſtantine the younger* ſtiles himſelf *Cæſar* only, in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, in regard he was not yet proclaimed *Auguſtus*. For the Letter was dated on the *fifteenth* of the *Calends* of *July*. But he was created *Auguſtus* (together with his brethren) on the *fifth* of the *Ides* of *September*. Moreover, at that time (whilſt the brothers were ſtiled *Cæſars* only) *Conſtantinus Junior* was the chief in Authority, becauſe he was the eldeſt brother. See *Valeſius*'s firſt book of *Eccleſiaſtick obſervations on Socrates and Sozomen.* chap. 1.

Upon

CONSTANTIUS.

Upon the confidence of this Letter *Athanasius* comes to *Alexandria*, and the people of *Alexandria* most willingly received him. But as many as were followers of *Arius*'s opinion, entred into a combination and conspired against him: hereupon continual Seditions arose, which gave an occasion to the *Eusebian* faction of accusing him before the Emperour, because upon his own inclination and award (without the determination of a general Council of Bishops) he had returned and taken possession of the [*Alexandrian*] Church. And they made so great a proficiency in their calumnies, that the Emperour, being incensed, expelled him out of *Alexandria*. But, how that was effected, I will a little after this relate.

CHAP. IV.

That upon Eusebius Pamphilus*'s death*, Acacius *succeeded in the Bishoprick of* Cæsarea.

During this interval of time, *Eusebius* (who was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and had the sirname of *Pamphilus*) departed this life, and *Acacius* his Scholar succeeded him in that Bishoprick. This *Acacius* published many other books, and also wrote [particularly] concerning the Life of his Master [*Eusebius.*]

CHAP. V.

Concerning the death of Constantine the Younger.

Not long after this, the Emperour *Constantius*'s brother, (who bore the same name with his Father,) *Constantine the younger*, invading those parts [of the Empire] that belonged to his younger brother *Constans*, and ingaging with his Souldiers, is slain by them, in the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proclus*.

CHAP. VI.

How Alexander *Bishop of* Constantinople, *at his death, proposed* Paulus *and* Macedonius *to be elected into his Bishoprick.*

At the very same time, the City *Constantinople* was involved in another tumult (which followed on the neck of those [disturbances] we have before related,) raised upon this account. [a] *Alexander*, who presided over the Churches in that City, [a Prelate] that had couragiously opposed *Arius*, departed out of this life, after he had spent twenty three years in that Bishoprick, and had lived ninety eight years compleat, having ordained no body [to succeed] in his place. But he commanded those to whom the power of electing belonged, to make choice of one of those two whom he should name. And if they were desirous of having one that should be both skillfull in teaching, and also of an approved piety and uprightness of life, [he advised them] to make choise of *Paulus*, one that he had ordained Presbyter; a person that was a young man indeed in respect of his age, but old in understanding and prudence. But if they would rather have one commendable for an external shew of piety only, they might elect [b] *Macedonius*, who had long since been made a Deacon of that Church, and was now grown aged. Hereupon there happened a great contest concerning the Ordination of a Bishop, which very much disturbed that Church. For the people were divided into two * factions; the one side adhered to the *Arian* opinion; the other embraced the determinations made at the *Nicene* Synod. And as long as *Alexander* continued alive, the † *Homoousian* party prevailed; the *Arians* disagreeing, and contending daily amongst themselves concerning their own opinion. But after *Alexanders* death, the success of the peoples contest was dubious. Therefore, the *Homoousian* party proposed *Paulus* to be ordained Bishop: but those that embraced Arianism, were very earnest to have *Macedonius* elected. And in the Church called [c] *Irene* (which is near that Church now named *The Great* Church, and the Church of *Sophia*,) *Paulus* is ordained Bishop; in which [election] the suffrage of *Alexander*, then dead, seemed to have prevailed.

[a] *Socrates* mistakes here, (and all those that follow him,) in placing the death of *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* on the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proclus*, in the year of Christ 340. In *the second book of my Ecclesiastick Observations upon Socrates and Sozomen* [The Learned Reader will meet with *Valesius's Ecclesiastick Observations on Socrates and Sozomen*, at the close of *Valesius's second Volume of the Greek Ecclesiastick Historians*; he may find this matter discussed at the first chapter of the second book of those Observations.] I have by most evident arguments demonstrated, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* died in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, and that *Paul* succeeded him, during the Reign of the said *Constantine*. *Baronius*, who places *Alexanders* death on the year of Christ 340, does manifestly contradict himself. For he says, that the Synod of the Bishops of *Egypt* (which was summoned to confute the calumnies brought against *Athanasius* by the *Eusebian* faction,) was convened in the year of Christ 339. But those Bishops do expressly attest, in their *Synodick Epistle*, that at that very time *Eusebius* had left *Nicomedia*, and had lept into the *Constantinopolitan* See. 'Tis needless to quote the words of that Epistle here, in regard they are produced by *Baronius* himself, at the year of Christ 340. Now, if *Eusebius* had gotten the See of *Constantinople* in the year of Christ 339. *Alexander* must necessarily be supposed to have been dead before this year. *Vales.*

[b] This person was afterwards promoted to the degree of Presbyter under *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and accused his own Bishop, as *Athanasius* relates, in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* *Vales.*

* Parts.

† That is, those that owned Christ to be of the same substance or essence with the Father.

[c] There were two Churches of this name in *Constantinople*, the one called *the Old*, the other *the New Irene*; as it is recorded in the Life of *Paul* the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop, which *Photius* relates in his *Bibliotheca*. Moreover, the *Old Church* called *Irene* was contiguous to the *Great Church*, which was afterwards named *Sophia*: nor had it separate Clergy-men; but the Clergy of the *Great Church* by turns ministred in that Church. The Emperour *Justinian* informs us of this, in *the third Novell*. In the old description of *Constantinople*, which is prefixt before *the Notitia Imperii Romani*, this is called *the Old Church*, and 'tis placed in the second ward of the City together with the *Great Church*. The Church *Irene* (to wit, *The New Irene*,) is recounted in the seventh ward of that City. *Socrates* hath made mention of *The Old Irene*, in *his first Book*, chap. 37. It is termed the Church of *Saint Irene*, after the same manner that the *Church Sophia* is called *Saint Sophia*; not that there was a Virgin, or Martyr, called by that name. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

How the Emperour Constantius *ejected* Paulus *who had been Ordained Bishop: and, having sent for* Eusebius *from* Nicomedia, *entrusted him with the Bishoprick of* Constantinople.

But the Emperour, arriving not long after at *Constantinople*, was highly incensed at this Ordination [of *Paulus.*] And having convened a Council of Bishops that embraced *Arius*'s opinion, he vacated *Paulus*'s [Bishoprick.] And he translated *Eusebius* [a] from *Nicomedia*, and constituted him Bishop of *Constantinople*. When the Emperour had performed these things, he went to *Antioch*.

[a] The *Alatian* M.S. inserts some words here, after this manner: Ἐυσέβιον δὲ ἐκ τῆς νικωμηδείας καὶ περὶ ἐαυτὸν μεταστήσας, τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεδείκνυσι; i. e. *and having through Eusebius's own ambition removed him from Nicomedia, he constituted him Bishop of the Great City* [*Constantinople.*] Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

How Euſebius *aſſembled another Synod at* Antioch *of* Syria, *and cauſed another form of Faith to be publiſhed.*

BUt *Euſebius* could by no means be at quiet: but (as the common ſaying is) moved every ſtone, that he might effect what he had deſigned. Therefore, he procures a Synod to be aſſembled at *Antioch* in *Syria*, under a pretence of dedicating a Church, which [*Conſtantine*] the father of the * *Auguſti* had begun to build: (after whoſe death, *Conſtantius* his ſon finiſhed it, in the tenth year after its foundation was laid:) but in reality, that he might ſubvert and deſtroy the *Homoöuſian* Faith. At this Synod there met ninety Biſhops, [who came] out of divers Cities. But *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who had ſucceeded *Macarius*, was not preſent at that Synod, [a] having conſidered with himſelf that he had been before induced by fraud to ſubſcribe *Athanaſius*'s depoſition. Neither was *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome the Great* preſent there: nor did he ſend any body to ſupply his place. Although the Eccleſiaſtick Canon doth order, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Biſhop of *Romes* opinion. This Synod therefore is convened at *Antioch* (the Emperour *Conſtantius* himſelf being there preſent,) in the [b] Conſulate of *Marcellus* and *Probinus*. This was the [c] fifth year from the death of *Conſtantine* the father of the *Auguſti*. At that time [d] *Placitus*, ſucceſſour to *Euphronius* preſided over the Churches in *Antioch*. The *Euſebians* therefore made it their principal buſineſs to calumniate *Athanaſius*, [ſaying] in the firſt place, that he had done contrary to that Canon, which they had then conſtituted, becauſe he had recovered his Epiſcopal dignity without the conſent of a general Synod of Biſhops. For, returning from his exile, he had upon his own arbitrement and award ruſhed into the Church: [ſecondly,] that a tumult being raiſed at his entrance, [e] many had loſt their lives in that Sedition; and that ſome perſons had been ſcourged by *Athanaſius*, and others brought before the ſeats of Judicature. Moreover, they produced what had been done againſt *Athanaſius* in the City of *Tyre*.

* That is, he means *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*, ſons to the Emperour *Conſtantine the Great*; who had a little before this been proclaimed *Auguſti*. *Conſtantine*, the other ſon of *Conſtantine the Great*, was now dead. See chap. 5. of this book.

[a] The particle [ὡς] muſt be expunged here; and the whole clauſe read in this continued form; *having conſidered with himſelf how he had been circumvented that he might ſubſcribe Athanaſius's depoſition.* For *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, had, together with *Paul* and the reſt, ſubſcribed *Athanaſius*'s depoſition, in the Council of *Tyre*. In regard of his ſorrow for doing this, he refuſed afterwards to be preſent at the Council of *Antioch*; as *Sozomen* relates, in his 3d book chap. 6. neer the end. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Athanaſius* (in *his book de Synodis*) ſet forth the time of this Council by theſe notes: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνέλθοντες, &c. *Thoſe Biſhops that met at the dedication were ninety in number*; [*they were convened*] *in the Conſulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, in the tenth Indiction, the moſt impious Conſtantius being there preſent.* Valeſ.

[c] In the Conſulate of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*, on the eleventh of the *Calends* of *June* was compleated the fourth year from *Conſtantines* death. The Synod of *Antioch* therefore was convened after this day, if it be true which *Socrates* here ſays, to wit, that it was convened in the fifth year after *Conſtantines* death. *Valeſ.*

[d] In *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion, this perſons name is truer written, thus, *Flaccillus*. Nor is he otherwiſe called, in Pope *Julius*'s Epiſtle to the Biſhops convened in *this Synod of Antioch*. This perſon had been preſent before, at the *Council* of *Tyre*, and had with the *Arians* conſpired againſt *Athanaſius*, as the Epiſtle of the *Egyptian* Biſhops to *Dionyſius* the *Comes* doth inform us, which Epiſtle *Athanaſius* has recorded, in *his ſecond defence againſt the Arians*. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* dedicated the books he wrote againſt *Marcellus*, to this ſame *Flaccillus*. But, inſtead of *Flaccillus*, he is almoſt every where called *Placitus*: only in the following chapter, the *Allatian* M.S. terms him *Flaccillus*. Valeſ.

[e] Theſe calumnies of the *Euſebians* are incomparably well refuted by the *Egyptian* Biſhops, in their Synodick Epiſtle, which *Athanaſius* records, *in his ſecond defence againſt the Arians*. Valeſ.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Euſebius Emiſenus.

AFter the framing of theſe calumnies, they propoſed one to be made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and in the firſt place [they named] *Euſebius Emiſenus*. Who this perſon was, *Georgius* of *Laodicæa*, one that was preſent at this Synod, informs us. For he ſays (in the *Book he wrote concerning his Life*) that this *Euſebius* was deſcended from noble perſonages of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*: and that from his childhood he [a] Learned the ſacred Scriptures: that he was afterwards inſtructed in the *Grecian* literature by a Maſter who then lived at *Edeſſa*; and in fine, that he had the ſacred Scriptures interpreted to him by *Patrophilus* and *Euſebius*; the latter of which perſons preſided over the Church in *Cæſarea*, and the former over that in *Scythopolis*. After this, when he came to *Antioch*, it hapned that *Euſtathius*, being accuſed by *Cyrus* of *Berœa*, was depoſed, as being an aſſertor of *Sabellius*'s opinion. Wherefore *Euſebius* afterwards lived with *Euphronius*, *Euſtathius*'s ſucceſſour. Afterwards, that he might avoid being made a Biſhop, he betook himſelf to *Alexandria*, and there ſtudied Philoſophy. Returning from thence to *Antioch*, he converſed with *Flaccillus*, *Euphronius*'s ſucceſſour, and was at length promoted to the See of *Alexandria* by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. But he went thither no more, becauſe *Athanaſius* was ſo much beloved by the people of *Alexandria*. He was therefore ſent to *Emiſa*. But when the Inhabitants of that City raiſed a Sedition at his Ordination, (for he was reproacht, as being a perſon ſtudious of, and exerciſed in *the Mathematicks*,) he fled from thence, and went to *Laodicæa*, to *Georgius*, who hath related ſo many paſſages concerning him. When this *Georgius* had brought him to *Antioch*, he procured him to be ſent back again to *Emiſa* by *Flaccillus* and *Narciſſus*. But he afterwards underwent another accuſation, for being an adherent to *Sabellius*'s principles. *Georgius* writes at large concerning his * Ordination. And in fine adds, that the Emperour, in his expedition againſt the Barbarians, took him along with him, and that miracles were wrought by him. But hitherto we have recorded what *Georgius* hath related concerning *Euſebius Emiſenus*.

[a] *Sozomen* (in his third book chap. 6.) explains this paſſage in *Socrates*; where he ſpeaks thus concerning *Euſebius Emiſenus*: ἐκ νέας δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνου τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμμελῶν λόγων, &c. i.e. *from his childhood (according to the cuſtom of his own Country) he learned the ſacred Scriptures by heart.* Therefore the boys of *Edeſſa* got by heart the books of ſacred Scripture, according to the uſage of their Anceſtours. Indeed, Eccleſiaſtick Writers do atteſt, that the *Edeſſens* were moſt ardent lovers of the Chriſtian Religion. *Valeſ.*

* Or *Reſtauration*, or, *Election*.

CHAP. X.

That the Biſhops convened at Antioch, *upon* Euſebius Emiſenus's *refuſal* [*of the Biſhoprick*] *of* Alexandria, *Ordained* Gregorius, *and altered the expreſſions of the* Nicene *Faith.*

BUt when *Euſebius*, who had been choſen Biſhop of *Alexandria* at *Antioch*, was afraid to go thither, they then propoſed *Gregorius* to be Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*. And having done this, they altered the * Creed, finding

* Or, *the Faith.*

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finding fault indeed with nothing [that had been determined] at *Nice*; [a] but in reality [their design was] to subvert and destroy the *Homoöusian* Faith, by their continual assembling of Synods, and by their publishing sometimes one, sometimes another form of the Creed; that so by degrees [all persons] might be [b] perverted to the *Arian* opinion. Moreover, how these things were done [by them,] we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But the Epistle they published concerning the Faith runs thus.

[a] Instead of these words [*but in reality their design was to subvert.*] the Allat. M. S. has these [*but giving the beginning to a pretext by their continual*, &c.] and so *Epiphan. Schol.* read it, as from his Version appears. *Vales.*

[b] In the *Allat.* M. S. the reading is [*fall into.*] Vales.

We have neither been Arius's *followers: (for how should we that are Bishops be the Followers of a Presbyter?) Nor have we embraced any other Faith, than what was from the beginning set forth. But, being made inquirers into, and examiners of, his Faith, we have* [c] *admitted and entertained, rather than followed, him. And this you will understand from what shall be said. For we have learned from the beginning to believe in one supream God, the maker and preserver of all things as well intelligible as sensible. And in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all ages, existing together with the Father that begat him; by whom all things visible and invisible were made: who in the last days, according to the Fathers good pleasure, descended, and assumed flesh from the holy Virgin, and when he had compleatly fulfilled all his Fathers will, he suffered, and arose, and ascended into the heavens, and sits at the right hand of the Father: and he shall come to judge the quick and dead, and continues a King and God for ever. We believe also in the holy Ghost. And (if it be requisite to add this) we also believe the Resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting.*

[c] How these words are to be understood, I have advertized the Reader, in the *second book of my Ecclesiastick Observations*, chap. 2. for we must not suppose, that the Arch-Heretick *Arius* himself was admitted and entertained in the *Jerusalem* Synod, but his followers only. For *Arius* himself was dead long before. Should any one maintain, that these words of the Bishops of the *Antiochian*-Council are to be understood of *Arius* himself, then I will answer, that the *Jerusalem* Synod is not meant here, but some other more ancient Synod, which admitted *Arius* to communion: for the *Eusebian* party had done that before the Synod of *Jerusalem*, as *Athanasius* attests, in *his book de Synodis*, not far from the beginning. *Vales.*

Having written these things in their first Epistle, they sent them to [the Bishops] throughout every City. But, when they had continued sometime at *Antioch*, condemning as it were this [their former] Epistle, they again publish another, in these very words.

Another Exposition [of Faith.]

Agreeable to Evangelick and Apostolick tradition, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Framer and Maker of all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, God, by whom all things were made: begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Whole of Whole, Only of Only, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord: the living Word, the Wisedom, the Life, the true Light, the way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate: immutable and inconvertible: the most express image of the Father's Deity, * *Substance, Power, Council, and Glory: the First begotten of every Creature:* † Who was in the beginning with God, God the Word, *according as 'tis said in the Gospel:* and the word was God, *by whom all things were made, and in whom all things have subsisted. Who in the last days came down from heaven, and was born of the Virgin according to the Scriptures. And was made man, the mediatour of God and men, the Apostle of our Faith, and the Prince of life, as he himself says,* * For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. *Who suffered for us, and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with Glory and Power, to judge the quick and dead. And* [we believe] *in the holy Ghost, who is given to believers in order to their Consolation, Sanctification, and Perfection: according as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples, saying,* † Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost: *to wit, of the Father being truly the Father, and of the Son being truly the Son, and of the holy Ghost being truly the holy Ghost: which terms are not simply, or insignificantly* * *made use of, but they do accurately manifest the proper and peculiar Person, Glory, and Order of each of those that are named. So that they are three in Person; but in consent One.* [d] *We therefore holding this Faith, in the presence of God and of Christ, do anathematize all manner of Heretical and ill opinions. And if any one shall teach (contrary to the sound and true Faith of the Scriptures,) saying, that there is, or was, a time, or an age,* [e] *before the Son of God* [was begotten;] *let him be* Anathema. *And if any one says, that the Son is a Creature, as one of the Creatures, or that he is a* * *Branch, as one of the Branches; and* [shall not hold] *every one of the foresaid points according as the sacred Scriptures have set them forth: or if any one Teaches or Preaches any other thing than what we have received, let him be* Anathema. *For we do truly, and* [f] *clearly, believe and follow all things delivered by the Prophets and Apostles in the sacred Scriptures.*

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† Matt. 28. 19.

* Placed.

[d] After these words [*we therefore holding this faith,*] in *Athanasius's* book *de Synodis* (where this form of faith occurs) these are added [καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τέλους ἔχοντες, *and holding it from the beginning to the end:*] which ought not to have been omitted. *Hilarius* (in *his book de Synodis*) has translated this form of the Creed into *Latine*; in which Version of his these words occur. *Vales.*

* Or an Off-spring, or, a Fœtus.

[e] I corrected this place by the assistance of the *Florentine* M. S. wherein it is written thus [πρὸ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς Θεοῦ, *before the Son of God.*] The Verb [γεγονέναι, *was begotten*] which preceded, is to be understood here. In *Athanasius's* book *de Synodis*, the reading is [πρὸ τῆς γεννηθῆναι, *before he was begotten.*] But our reading pleases us better, because it comes neerer the sense of the *Arians*: who asserted that the Son of God was made. *Vales.*

[f] In the *Allat.* M.S. the reading is [καὶ ἐμφόβως, *and with fear:*] 'Tis so also in *Athanasius*, and in *Hilarius's* Version. *Vales.*

Such were the Expositions of the Faith, [published] by those at that time convened at *Antioch*: to which also *Gregorius* (although he had not then made his entry into *Alexandria*, yet) subscribed as Bishop of that City. The Synod at that time assembled in *Antioch*, having done these things, and made some other Canons, was dissolved. The state of the publick affairs in the Empire hapned to be disturbed at the very same time also. A nation (they are called *The Franci*) made an incursion into the *Roman* territories in *Gallia*. At the same time also, there were terrible earth-quakes in the *East*: [g] especially at *Antioch*, which City was shaken thereby [continually] for the space of one whole year.

[g] No; *Antioch* was by a special priviledge free from this earth-quake. For 'tis recorded in those incomparable *Fasti Consulares*, (which *Sirmondus* has published under the name of *Idatius*;) in these words: *Marcellino & Probino Coss. His consulibus pugna facta est cum gente Francorum à Constante Augusto in Galliis. Et ipso anno terræ motus fuit ad orientem per totum annum præter Antiochiam*: i. e. *in the consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, there was a fight between the nation of the Franci and Constans Augustus in the Gallia's. And in the same year there was an earthquake in the East throughout the whole year except at Antioch.* Vales.

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CHAP. XI.

That, upon Gregorius's *arrival at* Alexandria [*guarded*] *with a Military force,* Athanasius *fled.*

WHen these things were done, [a] *Syrianus* the Captain (with the armed Souldiers under his command, being in number five thousand,) brought *Gregorius* to *Alexandria*. Those in that City who were favourers of *Arius*'s opinion, assisted the Souldiers. Moreover, after what manner *Athanasius*, being expelled out of the Church, escaped being taken by them, I think fit to relate. It was now [b] Evening, and the people lodged in the Church all night, a communion being expected. The Captain came, and having put his Souldiers into a fighting posture, environed the Church on every side. *Athanasius* seeing what was done, made it his chiefest care, that the people might in no wise be damnified upon his account. And having commanded the Deacon to give the people notice of going to prayers, after that he gave order for the recitation of a Psalm. And when there was a sweet harmony made by reason of the peoples singing of the Psalm together, all the congregation went out through one of the Church doors. Whilst this was doing, the Souldiers stood still without striking a stroak: and so *Athanasius* escaped unhurt in the midst of those that sang the Psalm. Having secretly made his escape after this manner, he hastned to *Rome*. *Gregorius* was then put into possession of the [*Alexandrian*] Church. But the people of *Alexandria*, unable to bear what had been done, burnt that, called *Dionysius*'s Church. Thus far concerning these things. But *Eusebius* having done what he had a mind to do, [c] sent an Embassage to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, entreating him to become Judge of those matters relating to *Athanasius*, and that he would call for a disquisition of the controversie before himself, in order to his taking cognizance thereof.

[a] In this place *Socrates* mistakes, who confounds what was done at *Georgius*'s installation with those things transacted at *Gregorius*'s arival. Indeed *Syrianus* brought *Georgius* to *Alexandria*, as *Athanasius* attests, in his *Epistle ad Solitar.* and *in his Apologetick to Constantius the Emperour*; and in *his Apology concerning his own Escape*, when *Syrianus* pursued him. But these things happened a long while after this, to wit, in the year of Christ 356. *Gregorius*, concerning whom *Socrates* speaks here, was brought to *Alexandria* by *Balacius* the Captain, and *Philagrius Prefect* of *Egypt*, as *Athanasius* relates, in *his Epistle Ad Solitar.* But *Athanasius* departed from *Alexandria* before their arival, and went to *Rome*, whither he had been invited by Pope *Julius*'s Letters. *Vales.*

b *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Athanasius*'s *Apology concerning his own escape*, about the close of it. Where *Athanasius*'s words are these: νῦξ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἦν, καὶ τῶν λαῶν τινες ἐπαννύχιζον τεσσαρακοστὴν συνάξεως, i. e. *it was now night, and some of the people lay in the Church all night, a communion being expected.* But in *his Apologetick to the Emperour Constantinus*, he shews manifestly that *Syrianus* made this irruption in the night, and not in the evening, as *Socrates* here says. *Vales.*

c Our *Socrates* does mistake here also. For *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* did not send Embassadours to Pope *Julius*, to incite him against *Athanasius*, after the Council at *Antioch*, but a long time before. But when the Presbyters sent by *Athanasius* had confuted *Eusebius*'s Embassadours in all points before *Julius*, at length *Eusebius*'s Messengers referred the decision of the whole matter to *Julius*. *Julius* therefore, according to the request of the Embassadours, wrote Letters, both to *Athanasius*, and also to *Eusebius* and the rest of *Athanasius*'s adversaries, by which he invited them to an Ecclesiastick judicature at *Rome*. But this was done before the Council at *Antioch*, as *Athanasius* informs us, (in *his second Apologetick against the Arians*,) and *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* (in *his Epistle to the Bishops convened in the Council of Antioch.*) This Epistle of *Julius*'s, *Athanasius* has inserted at the 739th *page of his works*, *Edit. Paris.* 1627. Moreover, *Socrates*'s relation here may be refuted also by these arguments. For, if these things had been done after the Council at *Antioch*, not only *Eusebius*, but the whole Synod would have sent an Embassy, and Letters, to *Julius*. Besides, it would have been altogether ridiculous and unseemly, after the matter was determined in a Council, and put in execution, (*Athanasius* being now expelled, and *Gregorius* put into his See,) to write to *Julius*, that he would be judge, and remove the controversie in order to its being discust before him; as if the matter were still wholly undetermined. *Sozomen* (book 3. chap. 7.) has followed *Socrates*'s mistake in this relation. *Vales.*

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CHAP. XII.

How, after Eusebius's *death, the people of* Constantinople *restored* Paulus *to his See again. And that the* Arians *made choice of* Macedonius.

BUt *Eusebius* could never understand what *Julius* had determined concerning *Athanasius*. For having survived the Synod some small time, he dyed. Wherefore the people of *Constantinople* introduce *Paulus* into the Church again. But at the same time the *Arians* ordain *Macedonius*, in the [a] Church dedicated to *Paul*. And this was done by those, who formerly had been assistants to *Eusebius* that disturber of all things, but were then his successours in power and authority. These are their names, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theodorus* of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum* in the *Upper Mysia*, *Valens* of *Mursa* in the *Upper Pannonia*. Indeed, *Ursacius* and *Valens* changing their opinions afterwards, delivered their penetentiary Libel to *Julius* the Bishop, and having consented to the *Homoousian* opinion, were admitted to communion. But at that time they were hot maintainers of the *Arian* Religion, and * framed no trivial commotions against the Churches. One whereof was that made by *Macedonius* in the City of *Constantinople*. For from this intestine war amongst the *Christians* there hapned continual Seditions in the City, and many persons, oppressed by the violence of what was done, lost their lives.

[a] In *the old description of Constantinople* this Church is mentioned; where 'tis called *Paul's* Church, and 'tis placed in the seventh ward of the City. *Vales.*

* ἐπήρευε, *coagulated, or curded, as the runnet doth in the making of cheese.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the slaughter of Hermogenes *the* Lieutenant-General, *and how* Paulus *was for that reason turned out of the Church again.*

BUt, what was done came to the hearing of *Constantius* the Emperour, who then made his residence at *Antioch*. Therefore he orders *Hermogenes* the *Lieutenant-General*, (whom he had sent into the coasts of *Thracia*,) that he should incidently pass through [*Constantinople*,] and turn *Paulus* out of that Church. He arriving at *Constantinople*, disturbed the whole City, by endeavouring to cast out the Bishop by force. For there immediately followed a Sedition amongst the people, and all persons were ready to defend [the Bishop.] But when *Hermogenes* with much earnestness endeavoured to expell *Paulus* by his Military forces, the populace being exasperated (as in such like cases it usually happens,) made a more inconsiderate and rash attack against him. In the first place they set his house on fire. Then, having [a] drawn him about by the heels, they killed him. These things were done in the Consulate of the *Two Augusti*, *Constantius* being then the third, and *Constans* the second time *Consul*. At the same time, *Constans*, having vanquished the nation of the *Franci*, made them enter into a league with the *Romans*. But the Emperour *Constantius* being informed of *Hermogenes*'s

[a] *Ammianus Marcellinus* had at large described this Sedition of the *Constantinopolitans*, in *those books of his History which are lost*. But he has by the by mentioned it in his 14th book pag. 23. *Edit. Paris.* 1636. *Libanius* means this tumult in *his Oration* entitled Βασιλικὸς, and says it was a most violent Sedition. It hapned in the third Consulate of *Constantius*, and in *Constans*'s second; which was the year of Christ 342, as it is recorded in *Fast. Idat. Vales.* See *Valesius's Annotat.* on *Amm. Marcellinus* page 47.

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mogenes's murder, rode poſt on horſe-back from *Antioch*, and arrived at *Conſtantinople*: out of which City he expelled *Paulus*. He alſo puniſhed that City, taking away more than forty thouſand [buſhels] of that bread-corn daily diſtributed, which was his fathers donation [to thoſe Citizens.] For before that time, neer eighty thouſand [[b] *Buſhells*] of wheat, brought thither from the City of *Alexandria*, were beſtowed [amongſt the inhabitants of that City.] Moreover, he differed the conſtituting of *Macedonius* Biſhop of that City. [c] For he was incenſed againſt him, not only becauſe he had been ordained contrary to his will, but alſo in regard upon account of the Seditions raiſed betwixt him and *Paulus*, *Hermogenes* his Lieutenant, and many other perſons had been ſlain. Having therefore given him permiſſion to gather aſſemblies of the people in that Church wherein he was ordained, he departed again to *Antioch*.

[b] It is doubtful, whether *Socrates* meanes here *buſhells of Bread-corn*, or *loaves of bread*. The *Author of the Life of Paulus Biſhop of Conſtantinople* (which occurs in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, pag. 1421. *Edit. David. Hoeſchell.* 1611.) ſuppoſed, that in this place *loaves* were meant. For thus he ſays: ὧν δὲ τὸ ὅλον τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἡμερήσιοι ἄρτοι μυριάδες ὀκτώ· i. e. *the whole donation was, eighty thouſand loaves daily* [*diſtributed.*] But I am rather of opinion, (and ſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* underſtands it,) that *Buſhells* are meant. For the term [σίτου *of wheat*] imports *buſhells of wheat*, rather then *loaves*. Beſides, how could eighty thouſand loaves be ſufficient for that multitude of Citizens which inhabited *Conſtantinople*? ſhould any one wonder at this vaſt quantity of bread-corn uſually diſtributed every day, let him hear *Eunaplus* (*in the Life of Ædeſius*, pag. 38. *Edit. Comm.* 1596. thus: ἐν δὲ τῇς καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾶς, &c. i. e. *But in our age, neither the ſhips loaden with corn which come from Ægypt, nor that vaſt quantity of wheat, brought out of all Aſia, Syria, Phœnicia, and the reſt of the Provinces* (*upon the conſideration of tribute*) *is ſufficient to fill and ſatisfie that drunken multitude of people, which Conſtantine* (*by empiying of other Cities*) *hath tranſported to Byſantium.* Concerning this preſcript about bread-corn for the ſupply of *Conſtantinople*, (appointed by *Conſtantine* of bleſſed memory, and afterwards increaſed by *Theodoſius*,) See the *ſecond Law* in *Cod. Theod. de frumento urbis Conſtantinop.* Valeſ.

[c] From the Authority of the *Allat.* M.S. this place is to be amended, thus; ὠρμίζετο γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ὁ μόνον ὅτι φθόνῳ γνώμων, &c. *For he was incenſed againſt him, not only becauſe he had been ordained*, &c. Thus alſo the reading is in the Life of *Paulus Conſtantinop.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Arians, *having removed* Gregorius *from* [*the See of*] Alexandria, *put* Georgius *into his place.*

[a] *Socrates* miſtakes here alſo. For *Gregorius* (who was created Biſhop of *Alexandria* in the Synod of *Antioch*) held that Biſhoprick ſix years, untill the *Council* of *Serdica*: in which he was depoſed, and excommunicated, as it is related in the *Synodical Epiſtle* of that *Council*. And when he had ſurvived this ſentence about ſix months, he died, as *Athanaſius* atteſts, in *Epiſtol. ad Solitar.* *Theodoret* has corrected this miſtake of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s, in book 2. of his *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* *Georgius* was made Biſhop of *Alexandria* by the *Arians* long after *Gregorius*, in the year of Chriſt 356. Valeſ.

AT the ſame time the *Arians* [a] removed *Gregorius* from [the See of] *Alexandria*, [b] as being a perſon odious, both upon account of his burning the Church, and alſo becauſe he was not zealous enough in defending their opinion. Into his See they ſent *Georgius*, a perſon born in *Cappadocia*, who had gotten the repute of being a very skillfull maintainer of their tenets.

[b] This place was corrupted by a tranſpoſition of the words; which gave tranſlatours an occaſion of miſtaking here. But the words might have been eaſily put into their order, after this manner; ὡς μισούμενον διὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπρησμὸν· ἐν τοιούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὅτι, &c. *as being a perſon odious, both upon account of his burning the Church; and alſo becauſe*, &c. *Socrates* does here aſſign two reaſons, why the *Arians* deprived *Gregorius* of his Biſhoprick. The firſt is, becauſe *Gregorius* was a perſon hated by all men, upon account of his burning *Dionyſius*'s Church; which *Socrates* has mentioned before; *Athanaſius* alſo takes notice of it, in *Epiſt. ad ſolitar.* The other reaſon is, becauſe he ſeemed not zealous enough in defending their opinion. The ſame is confirmed by *Sozomen*, book 3. chap. 7. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Valeſ.

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CHAP. XV.

How Athanaſius *and* Paulus, *going to* Rome, *and being fortified with Biſhop* Julius's *Letters, recovered their own Secs again.*

MOreover, *Athanaſius* with much difficulty at laſt gat over into *Italy*. *Conſtans* the youngeſt of *Conſtantin*'s ſons had then the ſole power in the Weſtern parts [of the Empire,] his brother *Conſtantine* having been killed by the Souldiers, as we have before related. [a] At the ſame time alſo *Paulus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, *Aſclepas* of *Gaza*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* a City of *Galatia the leſs*, and *Lucius* of *Adrianople*, having been accuſed, one for one thing, another for another, and driven from their Churches, arrived at the Imperial City *Rome*. They acquaint therefore *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* with their caſe. He (in regard the Church of *Romes* priviledge is ſuch,) fortified them with his Letters wherein he made uſe of a great deal of liberty, and ſent them back into the Eaſt, [b] reſtoring to each of them his own See, and ſharply rebuking thoſe who had inconſiderately depoſed them. They, having left *Rome*, and confiding in Biſhop *Julius*'s Letters, poſſeſs themſelves of their own Churches, and ſend the Letters to thoſe whom they were written to. Theſe perſons having received [*Julius*'s Letters,] lookt upon his reprehenſion as an injury and reproach to them. And having aſſembled themſelves in a [c] Synod called at *Antioch*, they moſt ſeverely rebuke *Julius* in a Letter written by the joynt conſent of them all, making it apparent, that it ought not to be determined by him, if they ſhould have a mind to expell ſome [Biſhops] from their Churches. For [they ſaid] that they did not make any oppoſition, when *Novatus* was by * them ejected out of the Church. Thus wrote the Eaſtern Biſhops in anſwer to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*. But in regard, upon [d] *Athanaſius*'s entry into *Alexandria* there hapned a diſturbance, cauſed by thoſe who were adherents to *Georgius* the *Arian*; upon which diſturbance there followed (as they ſay) Seditions and ſlaughters of men: and [becauſe] the *Arians* aſcribe the infamy and blame of all theſe miſchiefs to *Athanaſius*, as being the authour thereof; it is requiſite that

[a] After the murder of *Hermogenes* the Emperours Lieutenant-General. *Conſtantius* put *Paulus* into iron chains, and baniſht him to *Singar* a Town of *Meſopotamia*, whence he removed him afterwards to *Emiſa*, as I have remarked out of *Athanaſius*, *in my ſecond book of Eccleſiaſtick obſervations*, *chap. 6.* Therefore, what *Socrates* here ſays is falſe, to wit, that *Paulus* was at *Rome* at the ſame time that *Athanaſius* was there. Indeed, *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* was at *Rome* together with *Athanaſius*, as we are informed from *Julius's Letter to the Eaſtern Biſhops*; which is alſo aſcertained from *Marcellus*'s Libel which he preſented to *Julius*. But *Julius* ſpeaks not a word concerning *Paulus* in his foreſaid Epiſtle; whom he would doubtleſs have mentioned, had he been then at *Rome* with *Athanaſius* and *Marcellus*. Valeſ.

* The Church of *Rome*, ſee *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 6. chap. 43.

[b] *Julius* reſtored not one of the forementioned Biſhops, not *Athanaſius* himſelf, to his own See. For, in the *Roman Synod*, wherein *Athanaſius*'s and *Marcellus*'s cauſe was diſcuſt, *Athanaſius* was only pronounced innocent, and admitted to communion by *Julius* and the reſt of the Biſhops. But againſt *Athanaſius*'s accuſers, who refuſed to make their perſonal appearance in judgment, nothing was determined; as I have obſerved out of *Athanaſius in my firſt book of Eccleſiaſtick Obſervations*. Nor was *Athanaſius*, *Marcellus*, *Aſclepas*, or *Lucius* reſtored before the *Synod of Serdica*. Valeſ.

[c] After the *Roman* Synod, wherein *Athanaſius* was pronounced innocent, when *Julius* had ſent a Letter by *Gabianus* the *Comes* to the Eaſtern Biſhops, who had met in a Synod at *Antioch* at ſuch time as the Church was dedicated; (ſee chap. 8. of this book,) the Eaſtern Biſhops, in order to their anſwering of this Letter, were convened again at *Antioch* in the year of Chriſt 343. And they wrote back an elegant and ſharp Letter to *Julius*, the ſenſe whereof *Sozomen* relates, book 3. chap. 8. *Valeſ.*

[d] What *Socrates* here ſays, to wit, that *Athanaſius* returned at that time to *Alexandria*, is falſe. For *Athanaſius* went not back to that City, till after the *Council* at *Serdica*, that is, till after the year of Chriſt 348. *Valeſ.*

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that we ſpeak briefly concerning theſe things. Indeed, God, the Judge of truth it ſelf, only knows the true cauſes hereof. But, that ſuch accidents do frequently and uſually happen, when the multitude is divided into inteſtine factions, is a thing not unknown to prudent perſons. In vain therefore do *Athanaſius*'s ſlanderers attribute the cauſe hereof to him; and eſpecially *Sabinus* a Biſhop of the *Macedonian* Hereſie. Who (had he conſidered with himſelf, how great miſchiefs the *Arians* have wrought againſt *Athanaſius* and the reſt that embrace the *Homoöuſian* Faith, or [e] how many complaints the Synods convened upon *Athanaſius*'s account have made thereof, or what *Macedonius* himſelf, [f] that Arch-heretick, has practiſed throughout all the Churches) would either have been wholly ſilent; or, if he had ſpoken any thing, [g] would inſtead of theſe [reproaches] have highly commended [*Athanaſius.*] But now, having [deſignedly] paſſed all theſe things over in ſilence, he falſly accuſes the affairs [done by *Athanaſius.*] Nor has he made the leaſt mention of that Arch-heretick [*Macedonius,*] being deſirous wholly to conceal his tragick and audacious villanies. And (which is much more wonderfull,) he has not ſpoken ill of the *Arians*, whom notwithſtanding he abhorred. But the ordination of *Macedonius* (whoſe hereſie he was a follower of,) he has ſilently concealed. For had he mentioned that, he muſt neceſſarily have recorded his impieties, which thoſe things done at that ordination do ſufficiently demonſtrate. But thus much concerning this perſon.

[e] We follow *Chriſtophorſons* & Sr *Henry Savils* reading here; which is, ἢ ὅσα αὖ δι' Ἀθανάσιον, &c. *or how many complaints the Synods*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[f] In the *Allat.* M.S. the reading is [ὁ αὐτὸς αἱρεσιάρχης, *his* [that is, *Sabinus's*] *Arch-heretick.* Valeſ.

[g] The amendment of this place we owe to the *Allat.* M. S. wherein tis thus written [ἔυφημα ἂν περὶ τούτων ἐφθέγξατο, *would inſtead of theſe* [*reproaches,*] &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

That the Emperour ſent an order by Philippus *Præfect of the* Prætorium, *that* Paulus *ſhould be ejected and baniſhed, and that* Macedonius *ſhould be enſtalled Biſhop in his See.*

MOreover, the Emperour *Conſtantius* (reſiding at *Antioch*) being informed that *Paulus* had taken poſſeſſion of his See again, was highly incenſed at what was done. He therefore wrote an order, and ſends it to [a] *Philippus Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, who had a greater power than the other Governours of Provinces, and was ſtiled the ſecond perſon from the Emperour; that he ſhould eject *Paulus* out of the Church, and introduce *Macedonius* into it in his room. *Philippus* therefore the *Præfect* being afraid that the multitude would raiſe a tumult, attempted to circumvent *Paulus* by ſubtlety. He keeps the Emperours Order concealed in his own poſſeſſion: and, pretending to take care of ſome publick affaires, he goes to the publick Bath, called *Zeuxippus*. Thither he ſends for *Paulus* with a great ſhew of reſpect and honour, [acquainting him] that he muſt neceſſarily come to him, and he came. After he was come upon his being ſent for, the *Prefect* immediately ſhews him the Emperours Order. The Biſhop patiently bore his being condemned without having his cauſe heard. But the *Prefect*, fearing the rage of the multitude that ſtood round; (for great numbers of perſons had flocked together about the publick Bath, [whoſe meeting there was cauſed] by the report of a ſuſpicion) orders one of the Bath doors to be opened, [b] through which *Paulus* was carried into the Imperial Palace, put into a ſhip provided for that purpoſe, and forthwith ſent away into baniſhment.

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The *Prefect* commanded him to go to [c] *Theſſalonica* the chief City of *Macedonia*, wherein *Paulus* had had his original extract from his Anceſtours: in that City [he ordered him] to reſide, and gave him the liberty of going to other Cities alſo, [to wit] thoſe in *Illyricum*: but he forbad his paſſage into the Eaſtern parts [of the Empire.] *Paulus* therefore being (contrary to expectation) caſt out of the Church, and at the ſame time alſo [driven] from the City, was immediately carried away. But *Philippus* the Emperour's *Preſect* went forthwith from the publick Bath into the Church. *Macedonius* was with him, being * thrown into his preſence by an engin as it were; he ſate with the *Prefect* in his chariot, and was expoſed to the view of all men: they were ſurrounded by a Military guard with their ſwords drawn. [Upon ſight hereof] a dread forthwith ſeized the multitude: and all of them, as well the *Homoöuſians* as the *Arians* flockt to the † Church; every one earneſtly endeavouring to get in thither. When the *Prefect* together with *Macedonius* came neer the Church, an irrational fear ſeized both the multitudes, and alſo the Souldiers themſelves. For, becauſe the perſons preſent were ſo numerous, that there could be no paſſage made for the *Prefect* to bring in *Macedonius*, the Souldiers began to thruſt away the crowd of people by violence. But when the multitude wedged together in a crowd, could not poſſibly retire by reaſon of the places narrowneſs; the Souldiers, ſuppoſing that the multitude made a reſiſtance, and deſignedly ſtopped the paſſage, made uſe of their naked ſwords, as if they had been engaging an Enemy, and began to cut thoſe that ſtood in the way. There were deſtroyed therefore, as report ſays, about three thouſand one hundred and fifty perſons: ſome of whom the Souldiers ſlew; others were killed by

[a] *Socrates* (as alſo *Sozomen*) is miſtaken here. For *Paulus* was by *Philippus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* baniſhed not to *Theſſalonica*, but to *Cucuſus*, and was there ſtrangled by the *Arians*; as *Athanaſius* informs us, *in his Epiſt. ad Solitar.* But theſe things hapned a long while after this, to wit, when *Conſtans Auguſtus* was dead, in the year of *our Lord* 350, or 351. as *Baronius* will have it, who long ſince perceived this errour of *Socrates*'s. Further 'tis eaſie to confute *Socrates* out of *Athanaſius*. For *Athanaſius* relates, that *Philippus* (after he had baniſhed *Paulus* and cauſed him to be cruelly murdered by the *Arians*) was within leſs than a year depoſed from his Prefecture, deprived of his goods, and ended his life miſerably. Now, *Philippus* was *Conſul* in the year of Chriſt 348: and on the year following he bore the Office of *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, as may be collected from the Laws extant in the *Theodoſian Code* directed to him. The ſame *Philippus* was after this ſent Embaſſadour by *Conſtantius* to *Magnentius*, a little before the fight at *Murſa*, as *Zoſimus* relates in *his ſecond book*. Which hapned in the year of Chriſt 351. Let us therefore ſuppoſe that *Philippus* died on the year following, which was the year of Chriſt 352. Then *Paulus* might have been baniſhed by him in the year of *Our Lord* 351; which is *Baronius*'s opinion. And from this year *Macedonius*'s preſidency over the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church muſt be begun. *Valeſ.*

[b] At this place there was wanting this whole line [δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς αὐλὰς ἀπηχθείς, *through which* [*Paulus*] *was carried into the Imperial Palace*] which I have made good from the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. S. In *Leo Allatius*'s M.S. there is ſomething more added here, after this manner: συνελαλύθεισαν περὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἐν φήμης ὑποψίᾳ συλλεγῆναι, ἐκφερχθῆναι διὰ τὸ πεφράχθαι πάσας ταῖς ἐξόδοις τὸν δήμον, μίαν τῆς λιτρᾶς θυρίδα κελεύσῃ, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς αὐλὰς ἀχθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος, &c. i. e. *They had flockt about the publick Bath, being gathered together there by the report of a ſuſpicion; becauſe the people environed all the paſſages out, he ordered one of the Bath doors to be opened, thorough which Paulus was conveyed into the Imperial Palace*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[c] How *Philippus* could baniſh *Paulus* to *Theſſalonica*, I ſee not. For *Socrates* relates theſe things as done whilſt *Conſtans* was yet living, and before the *Council* of *Serdica*. But at that time *Theſſalonica* was under the Government of *Conſtans Auguſtus*. How therefore could *Philippus* (who was *Præfect of the Prætorium* to *Conſtantius*) baniſh *Paulus* to *Theſſalonica*, and permit him to live in the Cities of *Illyricum*; but wholly forbid him entring into the Eaſtern parts [of the Empire?] *Valeſ.*

* See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, book. 6. chap. 43. note (*e.*) pag. 113.

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by the crowd. After such brave exploits as these, *Macedonius*, as if he had done no mischief at all, but were clear and guiltless of what had happened, was seated in the Episcopal Chair by the Prefect, rather than by the Ecclesiastick Canon. Thus therefore did *Macedonius* and the *Arians* take possession of Churches by so great and numerous slaughters of men. At the same time also, the Emperour built [d] *The great Church*, which is now called *Sophia*. It was joyned to that Church named *Irene*, which, being before a little one, the Emperours Father had very much beautified and enlarged. And both of them are to be seen at this present time, encompassed within one and the same wall, and called by the name of one Church.

[d] This *Great Church* was consecrated by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, (he that before had been Bishop of *Nicomedia*) if we may credit *Cedrenus*. For at the *ninth year of Constantius* he writes thus: καὶ συνελεύσεσιν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ κωνσταντίου, &c. i. e. *And Eusebius consecrated the Church of God, called the Great Church, which was finished by Constantius, according to the order of Constantine the Great in his Will. And he brought the reliques of the holy Martyr Pamphilus, and those of his companions, Theodulus, Porphyrius, and Paulus, from Antioch, and deposited them therein.* But *Cedrenus* mistakes in his notation of the time. For if this consecration were performed by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, it must be placed on the third or fourth year of *Constantius*, at which time *Eusebius* governed the See of *Constantinople*. The same *Cedrenus* relates, that this Church, being afterwards ruined, and re-edified by *Constantius*, was consecrated by *Eudoxeus*. Vales.

CHAP. XVII.

That Athanasius, *being afraid of the Emperours menaces, returned to* Rome *again.*

AT the same time, there was another false accusation patcht together against *Athanasius* by the *Arians*, who invented this occasion for it. The * Father of the *Augusti* had heretofore given a yearly allowance of Bread-corn to the Church of *Alexandria* for the relief of those that were indigent. It was reported by the *Arians*, that *Athanasius* had usually sold this Bread-corn for money, and had converted the money to his own gain. The Emperour therefore, having given credit to this report, threatned *Athanasius* with death. He, being made sensible of the Emperours menaces, made his escape, and absconded. But when *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* understood what the *Arians* had done against *Athanasius*, having also received *Eusebius*'s Letter who was now dead, he [a] invites *Athanasius*, to come to him; being informed of the place where he lay concealed. At the same time arrived the [b] Letter, which those [Bishops] that before that had been convened at *Antioch*, wrote to him.

* *Constantine the Great.*

[a] *Socrates* does here confound all things, and repeats the same things twice, as if they had been done again. For he says that *Athanasius* fled to *Rome* twice. The same is asserted by *Baronius* (in *his Annalls*,) by *Petavius* (in *his Rationarium Temporum*,) and by *Blondellus* (in *his book de primatu*.) But we have sufficiently refuted this mistake, in *our first book of Ecclesiastick Observations, chap. 6. Socrates* makes the same mistake, in his asserting that *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* came twice to *Rome*. Moreover, *Julius* received *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*'s Letter, before that Council of *Antioch*, which was held at the consecration of the *New Jerusalem*, as we remarked before. And at the same time he invited *Athanasius* and his adversaries to *Rome*, in order to the discussion of their cause, as 'tis manifest from *Athanasius*'s relation. *Vales.*

[b] The Bishops who had been convened at *Antioch* at the consecration, having received *Julius*'s Letter written to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, (in which he invited him and the rest of the *Eusebians* to *Rome*, in order to the having their cause discussed there on a set day, whereon a Council was there to be held:) detained *Julius*'s messengers (*Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*,) beyond the day appointed. Then, after they had held their Synod, they dismissed the messengers, and give them a Letter to *Julius*. Upon receipt whereof he wrote back that famous Letter, which *Athanasius* hath inserted, in *his second Apology against the Arians*; pag. 739, &c. *Edit. Park.* 1627. Vales.

Another [c] Letter also was sent to him by the Bishops in *Egypt*, informing him, that those things objected against *Athanasius* were false. These Letters so directly contradicting one another having been sent to *Julius*, he returned an answer to those [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*, wherein he [d] blamed them, first for the bitterness of their Letter; then [he told them] they had done contrary to the Canons, because they had not called him to the Synod; it being commanded by the Ecclesiastick Rule, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Bishop of *Rome*'s Sentiment. [He complained] also, that they had clandestinely adulterated the faith. And moreover, that what was heretofore done at *Tyre*, had been fraudulently and corruptly transacted, in regard the memorials of the Acts done at *Mareotes* had been made up of one side only. Further, that what had been objected concerning *Arsenius*'s murther, was apparently demonstrated to have been a false accusation. These, and such like passages as these, *Julius* wrote at large to the [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*. Moreover, we had inserted here the Letters to *Julius*, and his answer also; had not the prolixity thereof hindred that design of ours. But *Sabinus*, a follower of the *Macedonian* Heresie, whom we have mentioned before, has not put *Julius*'s Letters into *His collection* [*of the Acts*] *of Synods*. Although, he has not left out that [Epistle] written from those [convened] at *Antioch* to *Julius*. But this is usually done by *Sabinus*. For, such Letters as either make no mention at all of, or reject the term *Homoousios*, those [Epistles, I say,] he carefully inserts. But the contrary hereto he voluntarily and on set purpose omits. Thus much concerning these things. Not long after this, *Paulus* pretending a journey to *Corinth*, arrived in *Italy*. Both the [* Bishops] therefore make their condition known to the Emperour of those parts.

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[c] He means the Synodical Epistle, which the Bishops of *Egypt* wrote to all the Bishops every where: which is inserted in the first place by *Athanasius in his forecited Apology*, pag. 722. *Edit. ut prius*. *Julius* speaks concerning this Synodical Epistle, in that letter he wrote to the Eastern Bishops convened at *Antioch*: ἔγραψαν δὲ καὶ πλεῖστοι, &c. *Moreover, many Bishops* (says he) *wrote from Egypt and from other Provinces, in defence of Athanasius.* Vales.

[d] I read [ἐμέμψατο, *he blamed*] not [ἐπέμψατο, *he sent*:] Sr *Henry Savil* hath mended this place, in the margin of his Copy, and made it agreeable to our reading. In the *Alat.* M. S. this place is written thus: ἐπεμέμφετο πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπαχθὲς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς; i. e. *in the first place he found fault with the bitterness of their Epistle.* This Letter of *Julius*'s is still extant, preserved for us by *Athanasius*, in *his second Apology against the Arians*: pag. 739, &c. *Edit. ut Prius*. In that Letter *Julius* reprehends the insolency and pride, which the Eastern Bishops had used in their Letters to him. But, that which *Socrates* here adds (to wit, that *Julius* complained, because they had not invited him to the Synod: and that it was the Ecclesiastick rule, that nothing should be determined in the Church without the Bishop of *Rome*'s consent:) is not to be found in that Letter. Indeed, *Julius* complains in that Epistle, because the Eastern Bishops (upon their receipt of his Letter, wherein he invited them to the Synod at *Rome*,) disregarding this his invitation, had ordained *Gregorius* Bishop in *Athanasius*'s See. But he says not one word concerning this Ecclesiastick Rule or Canon. And yet *Sozomen* (chap. 3. book 10. *Eccles. History*) says the same that *Socrates* does here. *Vales.*

* That is, *Athanasius* & *Paulus*.

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CHAP. XVIII.

How the Emperour of the Weſtern parts requeſted of his brother, that ſuch perſons might be ſent, as could give an account of [*the depoſition of*] Athanaſius *and* Paulus. *And, that they who were ſent publiſhed another form of the Creed.*

BUt the Emperour of the Weſtern parts, being informed of * their ſufferings, [a] ſympathized with them. And he ſends a Letter to his brother, ſignifying his deſire to have three Biſhops ſent to him, who might give an account of *Paulus*'s and *Athanaſius*'s depoſition. [b] The perſons ſent were *Narciſſus* the *Cilician*, *Theodorus* the *Thracian*, *Maris* the *Chalcedonian*, and *Marcus* the *Syrian*. Who being arrived, would in no wiſe admit of a congreſs with *Athanaſius*. But, having ſuppreſſed the Creed publiſhed at *Antioch*, and patched up another form, they preſented it to the Emperour *Conſtans*; the words whereof were theſe.

* That is, *Paulus* and *Athanaſius*'s ſufferings.

[a] The reading here, and in *Robert Stephens* Edition, is [γνὲς τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰδιοπαθῆ.] But I ſuppoſe it ſhould be thus [γνὲς τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν, ἰδιοπαθεῖ, *underſtanding their ſufferings, ſympathized with them:*] for the word ἰδιοπαθεῖν has the ſame import with συμπαθεῖν *to ſuffer with*. But the reading may be [δυσπαθεῖ *was very much troubled at:*] which emendation is the beſt. *Valeſ.*

[b] Some few months after the Synod at *Antioch* which was held at the Dedication; the Eaſtern Biſhops made another form of the Creed, and ſent it to *Conſtans Auguſtus*, and to the Weſtern Biſhops, by *Narciſſus*, *Theodorus*, *Maris*, *and Marcus*, as if it had been dictated by the Synod at *Antioch*. So *Athanaſius* atteſts in his book *de Synod. Arimin. and Seleuc.* This therefore happned in the year of Chriſt 342. *Socrates* does evidently agree with *Athanaſius*. For he ſays, that thoſe meſſengers ſent by the Eaſtern Biſhops ſuppreſſed that form of the Creed compoſed by the *Antiochian* Synod, and inſtead thereof produced another, which themſelves had made. *Valeſ.*

Another Expoſition of the Faith.]

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creatour and maker of all things, * Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. *And in his only begotten Son, our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *who was begotten of the Father before all worlds. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in heaven and earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wiſdome: and the Power, and the Life, and the true Light. Who in the laſt days was for our ſakes made man, and was born of the holy Virgin. He was crucified, and died: and was buried, and aroſe from the dead on the third day, and aſcended into the heavens, and was ſeated at the right hand of the Father, and ſhall come at the end of the world, to judge the quick and dead, and ſhall render to every perſon according to his works; whoſe Kingdom being perpetual, ſhall continue unto infinite ages. For He ſhall ſit at the right hand of the Father, not only in this preſent world, but in that alſo which is to come. And* [*we believe*] *in the holy Ghoſt, that is, in the* † Paraclete: *whom* [*Chriſt*] *having promiſed to the Apoſtles, after his aſſent into the heavens, he ſent him,* ‖ That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. *By whom alſo thoſe ſouls who have ſincerely believed in him, ſhall be ſanctified. But thoſe who ſay that the Son* [*exiſted*] *of things which are not, or of another ſubſtance, and not of God, and that there was a time when he was not, theſe perſons the Catholick Church hath determined to be Aliens* [*from it.*]

* Epheſ. 3. 15.

† Or *Comforter.*

‖ See John 14. 26.

Having delivered theſe things, and exhibited many other to the Emperour, they departed without doing any thing further. Moreover, whilſt there was hitherto an inſeparable communion between the Weſtern and Eaſtern [Biſhops,] another Hereſie ſprang up at *Sirmium*, which is a City of *Illyricum*. For *Photinus*, (who preſided over the Churches there,) a perſon born in *Galatia the Leſs*, a diſciple of that * *Marcellus* who had been depoſed, following his maſters ſteps, aſſerted the Son [of God] to be a meer man. But we will ſpeak concerning theſe things in their due place.

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* See *Socrates*, book 1. chap. 36.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the large Explanation [*of the Faith.*]

[a] THe ſpace of three years being compleatly paſſed after theſe things, the Eaſtern Biſhops having again aſſembled a Synod, and compoſed another [form of] Faith, ſend it to thoſe in *Italy*, by *Eudoxius* at that time Biſhop of *Germanicia*, *Martyrius* and *Macedonius* who was Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia*. This [form of the] Creed, being written a great deal more at large, and containing many more additions than thoſe forms publiſhed before, was ſet forth in theſe very words.

[a] *Athanaſius* (in his book *de Synodis*) ſays the ſame: his words are theſe: Ἐπὶ τέτοις ὡσαυτῶς μεταγνόντες, συλλέγουσι πάλιν τὸ συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν ὧν ἔτη τρία, &c. i. e. *Afterwards, repenting as it were* [*of what they had done,*] *they again aſſemble a Synod of their own party, three years after. And they ſend* Eudoxius, Martyrius, *and* Macedonius *of* Cilicia, *and ſome other perſons with them, into the parts of* Italy; *who carried along with them a prolixe* [*form of*] *faith,* &c. *Baronius* (in his *Annals*) ſays, that this ſecond Council of *Antioch* (wherein *that prolixe form of faith* was promulged) was convened in the year of Chriſt 344. And he thinks that he proves this from *Athanaſius* and *Socrates*. But, in my judgment, he is much miſtaken. For firſt, this expreſſion of *Athanaſius*'s [ἔτη τρία, *after three years*] ſignifies the fourth year, not the third. For it denotes, that three years were now paſt. In this ſenſe alſo *Socrates* underſtood the paſſage in *Athanaſius*; in regard he ſays [τριετῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διαδεδομένῳ χρόνῳ. i. e. *the ſpace of three years being compleatly paſſed after theſe things.* Since therefore that Synod of *Antioch* which had been convened at the Conſecration, was held in the year of Chriſt 341; this ſecond *Antiochian* Synod ought more truly to be placed on the year of Chriſt 345. Secondly, *Athanaſius* does not ſay, that the ſecond *Antiochian* Synod (wherein the large form of Faith was compoſed,) was aſſembled three years after that Synod at the conſecration had been convened there: but he ſays, it was aſſembled three years after *Narciſſus*, *Theodorus*, *Maris*, and *Marcus* had brought that new form of Faith to *Conſtans Auguſtus*, pretending it to have been compoſed at *Antioch*. Now, he ſays that this was done ſome few months after the *Antiochian* Synod held at the Conſecration. From whence that which I have ſaid is made apparent; to wit, that that Council (in which the large form of Faith had been compoſed,) was convened in the year of Chriſt 345; not in the year 344, as *Baronius* would have it. *Valeſ.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and maker of all things, * Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. *And in his only begotten Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *our Lord, begotten of the Father before all ages. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in the heavens and in earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, the Wiſedom, the Power, the Life, and the true Light. Who in the laſt daies was for our ſakes made man, and was born of the holy Virgin: He was crucified, and died, and was buried, and roſe again from the dead on the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father. He ſhall come at the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead, and ſhall render to every man according to his works. Whoſe Kingdom being perpetual,*

* Epheſ. 3. 15.

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perpetual, shall continue unto infinite ages. For he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, not only in this present world, but in that also which is to come. We believe likewise in the holy Ghost, that is, in the * Paraclete. Whom [Christ] having promised to the Apostles, after his ascent into heaven he sent him, † That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. By whom also those souls that sincerely believe in him are sanctified. But those who assert that the Son [existed] of things which are not, or of another substance, and not of God, and that there was a time or age when he was not, the holy Catholick Church hath determined to be aliens [from it.] In like manner also, those that affirm there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God before [all] ages, or that he is not Christ, or the Son of God, or that the same Person is the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, or that the Son is not begotten, or that the Father begat not the Son of his own will and pleasure; [these persons] the Holy and Catholick Church Anathematizes. For neither is it safe to assert, that the Son [existed] of things which are not: in regard this is no where declared concerning him in the divinely inspired Scriptures. Nor have we learned, [that he had his essence] from any other pre-existing substance besides the Father, but that he was truly and genuinely begotten of the Father only. For the divine Word teacheth, that there is one unbegotten [principle which is] without beginning, [to wit] the Father of Christ. Nor must they (who without authority of Scripture doe dangerously assert this [proposition,] there was a time when he was not) preconceive in their minds then any foregoing interval of time, but God only who begat him without time. For both times and ages were made by him. [c] Nor must it be thought, that the Son is without an original, or unbegotten as the Father is. For no Father, or Son can properly be said to be co-inoriginate and co-unbegotten. But we have determined, that the Father, being alone without an original and incomprehensible hath incomprehensibly and in a manner to all men imperceptible begotten: but that the Son was begotten before ages, and that he is not unbegotten like the Father, but hath a beginning, [to wit,] the Father who begat him. * For the head of Christ is God. Nor, although we acknowledge three things and persons, [to wit,] of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, according to the Scriptures; do we therefore make three Gods. For we know, that there is one only God, perfect of himself, unbegotten, inoriginate, and invisible, [that is,] the God and Father of the only begotten, who of himself only hath his own existence, and who only does abundantly and freely give existence to all other things. But, although we do assert that there is one God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only is unbegotten; we do not therefore deny Christ to be God before ages, as the Followers of * Paul of Samosata do, who affirm that after his incarnation he was by a promotion deified, whereas by nature he was a meer man. For we know that he (although he hath been made subject unto the Father and unto God, yet nevertheless) was begotten of God, and is by nature true and perfect God, and was not afterwards made God of * man: but was for our sakes made man of God, and that he hath never ceased to be God. Moreover, we abominate and anathematize those who falsely stile him the bare and meer word of God, [and affirm] that he has no real existence, but hath his Essence in another: one who le [terming him] as it were that word called by some [d] The Word outwardly uttered by the mouth; at another, as it were the mental or internal Word: being of opinion, that before ages he was not Christ, nor the Son of God, nor the Mediatour, nor the Image of God: but that [e] he was made Christ, and the Son of God, from such time as he took our flesh from the Virgin four hundred years agoe. For from that time they assert Christ to have had the beginning of his Kingdom, and that it shall have an end after the consummation and the judgment. Such manner of persons as these are the followers of Marcellus and Photinus the Ancyro-Galatians: who reject the eternal existence and deity of Christ, and his endless Kingdom, (in like manner as do [f] the Jews,) upon a pretence of seeming to constitute a monarchy. For we understand him to be, not barely The word of God outwardly uttered by the mouth, or his mental or internal Word, but the Living God the Word, and subsisting of himself; and the Son of God, and Christ: who existed with his Father and was conversant with him before ages, not by fore-knowledge only, and ministred unto him at the Creation of all things whether * visible or invisible: but is the Word of God really subsisting, and is God of God. For it is he to whom the Father said, * Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: who in his own Person appeared to the Fathers, gave the Law, and spake by the Prophets; and being at last made man, he manifested his Father to all men, and reigns unto perpetual ages. For Christ hath attained no new dignity: but we believe him to have been perfect from the beginning, and in all things like unto his Father. We also deservedly expel out of the Church those who affirm, that the Father, Son, and holy Ghost are the same Person, impiously supposing the three names to mean one and the same Thing and Person; because by an incarnation they make the incomprehensible and impassible Father subject to be comprehended, and to suffer. Of which sort [of Hereticks] are those termed amongst the Romans [g] Patropassians, but

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Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, of men: but Valesius renders it, ex hominis, of man.

Instead of [ὡς τὸ προφορικὸν ῥῆμα λεγόμενον] it should be [ὡς τὸν προφορικὸν, &c. and ὡς τὸν ἐνδιάθετον] as it is in the Allat. M. S. and in Athanasius, in his book de Synodis. By [λόγῳ προφορικῷ] Philosophers mean That word which is uttered by the mouth. Hilarius calls it Verbum prolaticum. To which is opposed [ὁ ἐνδιάθετος λόγος,] which modern Philosophers do term the word of the mind. Vales.

[b] This was the opinion of the Arians. The Easterns explain this sentiment of theirs better hereafter, to wit, that the Father may be understood to have begotten the Son willingly, without compulsion. Vales.

[c] In Robert Stephens's Edition of Socrates (Fol. 197. Edit. Paris. 1594.) these words [ὅτε μὴ συναΐδιον τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι, νομιστέον, i.e. Nor must it be thought, that the Son is without an original, or unbegotten as the Father is] are wanting. The said Robert Stephens's Edition does in the following words also differ something from this Copy of the Creed here. Athanasius has inserted this whole Creed, in his book de Synod. Arimin. & Seleuc. pag. 896, &c. Edit. paris. 1627. Athanasius's copy and this in Valesius's Edition of Socrates do agree: whom we have followed in our Version.

[d] By these words the Eastern Bishops mean, the Heresie of Marcellus Ancyranus, who asserted that Christs Kingdom began from his nativity; about four hundred years before that time; making use of a certain number for an uncertain. The Synodick Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at Sardica informs us hereof; which Epistle Hilarius has inserted, in his fragments. For these are their words in that Letter: Exstitit namque temporibus nostris Marcellus, &c. i. e. For there hath risen up in our days one Marcellus of Galatia, the most execrable pest of all Hereticks, who with a sacrilegious mind, and impious mouth, and a wicked argument, will needs set bounds to the perpetual, eternal, and timeless Kingdom of our Lord Christ, saying, that he began his reign 400 years since, and shall end it at the dissolution of this present world. Vales.

[e] We made good this place, by adding the word [ἰουδαίοις, the Jews:] which is not in Robert Stephens's Edit. but it occurs in Athanasius, and in the Allat. M. S. Vales.

* 1 Cor. 11. 3.

* Gen. 1. 26.

[f] The Heresie of the Patropassians (or Patripassians) was very ancient, and far diffused. Tertullian (Adv. Prax. cap. 1, and 2.) chargeth this Heresie upon Praxeas. The same was maintained by Hermogenes, whence they were termed Hermogeniani. After whom Noetus maintained the same, who (says Epiphanius) lived 130 years before his time: (See Epiphan. Heres. 57.) From Noetus they had the name of Noëtiani; and from Sabellius, Noëtus's disciple, they were called Sabelliani. After whom succeeded Priscillianus in the same Heresie; from him they

* See Euseb. Eccles. Hist. book 7 chap. 27. &c.

† See John 14. 26.

* Or Comforter.

they had the name of *Priſcillianiſtæ*. The ſum and ſubſtance of this Hereſie thus propagated by theſe ſucceeding aſſertours of it, was th's: they affirmed *there was but one Perſon in the Deity, to wit, the Father; that he only ſubſiſted, and was the Maker of all things; that he came not only into the world, but was incarnate, and did all things which we ſay were done by the Son.* In order to the Excluſion of theſe Hereticks, the *Aquileian* Church added theſe two terms [*inviſible* and *impaſſible*] to the firſt Article of the Creed; ſhewing by the firſt, that the Father was not incarnate, and by the ſecond, that he was not crucified.

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* See Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. book. 7. chap. 6. note (*b.*)

† *Diſpenſation.*

amongſt us they are called * Sabellians. *For we know, that the Father, who ſent, continued in the proper nature of his own immutable Deity: but the Son, who was ſent, fulfilled the* † *Oeconomie of his incarnation. In like manner, we determine thoſe to be perſons moſt impious, and ſtrangers to truth, who irreligiouſly aſſert, that Chriſt was begotten not by the will and pleaſure* [*of the Father,*] *to wit, attributing to God an unwilling and involuntary neceſſity, as if he had begotten the Son by conſtraint: becauſe they have audaciouſly determined ſuch things as theſe concerning the Father, which are contrary both to the common notions of God, and alſo to the ſenſe and meaning of the ſcripture given by divine inſpiration. For we, knowing God to have free and plenary power, and to be Lord of himſelf, do piouſly think, that he begat the Son voluntarily and of his own accord. Moreover, although with fear and reverence we do believe this which is ſpoken concerning him,*

|| See Prov. 8. 22. The Eaſtern Biſhops have here quoted the very words of the Septuagint: and we render it accordingly. But in the *Engliſh* Verſion (which followes the Hebrew exactly) the Text is thus rendred; *the Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.*

|| *The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, upon account of his works: yet we ſuppoſe not, that the Son was made in the ſame manner with the reſt of the Creatures and works made by him. For it is impious, and repugnant to the Eccleſiaſtick Faith, to compare the Creatour with the works created by him, and to think that he hath the ſame manner of Generation with the things of a different nature from him. For the ſacred Scriptures do teach us, that the one and alone-only-begotten Son was genuinely and truely begotten. But, although we do aſſert, that the Son is of himſelf, and that he doth live and ſubſiſt in like manner as the Father doth; yet we do not therefore ſeparate him from the Father, imagining in our minds in a corporal manner any ſpaces or intervalls of place between their conjunction. For we believe that they are conjoyned without any intervening* Medium, *and without any ſpace or diſtance, and that they cannot be ſeparated one from the other: the*

h Inſtead of [ὅλον μὲν τὸν πατέρα] we muſt neceſſarily read [ὅλῳ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ, *the whole Father*;] as it is in *Athanaſius*: from whom the reading is to be made good in the words immediately following; thus; ἐν μόνῳ τοῖς πατρῴοις κόλποις ἀναπαυομένῳ. *He alone continually reſting in his Fathers boſome.*. Valeſ.

h *whole Father embracing the Son in his boſome; and the whole Son hanging upon and cleaving cloſe to the Father, in whoſe boſome he alone continually reſteth. Believing therefore the moſt abſolutely perfect and moſt holy Trinity, and aſſerting that the Father is God, and that the Son alſo is God; notwithſtanding this, we do not acknowledge two, but one God, by reaſon of the Majeſty of the Deity, and the one abſolutely-entire conjunction of the Kingdom: the Father ruling over all things in general, and over the Son himſelf alſo: and the Son being made ſubject to the Father, but (excepting him) reigning over all things which were made after him and by him, and by his Fathers will liberally beſtowing the grace of the holy Spirit upon the Saints. For the ſacred Scriptures have informed us, that the manner of the Monarchy which is in Chriſt is thus manifeſted. We were neceſſitated* CONSTANTIUS. *to make a perfect explanation of theſe things at large (after the publication of our ſhorter form of the Creed,) not upon account of our exceſſive ambition: but that we might clear our ſelves from all ſtrange ſuſpicions concerning our ſentiments, amongſt ſuch as are ignorant of our opinions: and that all perſons inhabiting the Weſtern parts might know both the impudent and audacious calumny of thoſe who diſſent from us, and alſo the Eccleſiaſtick ſentiments of the Eaſtern* [*Biſhops*] *concerning Chriſt, which is without violence confirmed by the teſtimony of the divinely inſpired Scriptures,* i *amongſt thoſe whoſe minds are not depraved.*

i Inſtead of [παρ' αὐτοῖς διαστρόφοις] the reading in the *Allat.* M. S. and in *Athanaſius's* book de *Synodis* is this [ἀπὸ τοῖς διεστραμμένοις, i. e. *amongſt thoſe whoſe minds are not* [perverted, corrupted, or] *depraved.* Valeſ.

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Concerning the Synod at Serdica.

a THe Biſhops in the Weſtern parts [of the

a This confeſſion of faith (for ſo *Athanaſius* calls it) the Embaſſadours of the Eaſtern Biſhops preſented to the Weſtern Prelates aſſembled at *Millaine*. For ſome Biſhops together with the Presbyters of the Church of *Rome* had gone thither, to intreat *Conſtans Auguſtus*, that he would write to his brother *Conſtantius* about the aſſembling of a General Synod, in order to the determining of thoſe diſſenſions in an Eccleſiaſtick Judicature, which had been raiſed in diverſe Churches: thus we are informed by *Athanaſius in his Apology to Conſtantius*. Moreover, when the *Eaſterns* had preſented this draught of the Creed to thoſe of the *Weſt*, they requeſted them to ſubſcribe it. But the Weſtern Biſhops made anſwer, that, as to what belonged to the Articles of Faith, the *Nicene* Creed was to them ſufficient, to which nothing was to be added, nor any thing to be taken from it. And as concerning the condemnation of thoſe Hereticks who were diſallowed of in that confeſſion, they requeſted of the Eaſtern Biſhops Embaſſadours, that they would in the firſt place condemn the *Arian* Hereſie. But, upon their refuſal to do that, the Eaſtern Embaſſadours being angry went away from the Council; as *Liberius* relates, in *his Epiſtle* to the Emperour *Conſtantius*, in theſe words: *Quæ eſt pax, Clementiſſime Imperator, &c. What peace is there, moſt Gracious Emperour, whenas there are four Biſhops of their party, Demofilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius, and Martyrius, who above eight years ſince, when they would not condemn Arius's Heretical opinion at Millaine, departed from the Council in anger?* notwithſtanding, the Weſtern Biſhops condemned *Photinus's* Hereſie in that Synod. But they pronounced no ſentence againſt *Marcellus*, becauſe he had before been judged clear from all manner of Hereſie in the *Roman* Synod. In the ſame Synod *Urſacius* and *Valens* (who had lain under a ſuſpicion of being *Arians*) having preſented a Libel wherein they condemned *Arius's* perfidiouſneſs and *Photinus's* Hereſie, were admitted to communion, as the *Synodick Epiſtle* of the *Ariminum Council* informs us. The ſame is atteſted by *Urſacius* and *Valens* themſelves, in another Libel afterwards preſented to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, in theſe words: *Item Anathema dicimus, &c. Alſo we anathematize thoſe, who deny, that Chriſt is God and the Son of God from all eternity, according to our former Libel, which we preſented at Millaine, &c.* We thought good to be more large in theſe remarks of ours concerning the *Millaine Synod*, becauſe the memory thereof is very obſcure in the *Eccleſiaſtick Annals*. *Dionyſius Petavius* is the firſt perſon that hath taken notice of this Synod, who (in *his diſſertation de duplici Synodo Sirmienſi*) hath made many very learned obſervations concerning this Synod. But he has miſtaken the year whereon it was convened. For he ſays it was held in the year of Chriſt 347, a little before the *Council* of *Serdica*. Which can in no wiſe be true. Therefore *Jacobus Sirmondus* (in *his ſecond Diatriba*, which he wrote againſt *Petavius*) has in this particular deſervedly reproved him. *Baronius* (who affirms that the *long draught* of the Creed (which *Socrates* has recorded in the foregoing chapter) was drawn up at the *Antiochian Synod* in the year of Chriſt 344,) places this Embaſſie of the Eaſtern Biſhops and the *Millaine Council* on the ſame year alſo. But *Sirmondus* (in the forementioned *Diatriba*) aſſignes this Council to the year of Chriſt 346. Which opinion is in my judgment the truer. For, in the firſt place, *Athanaſius* (in *his Apologetick to Conſtantius,*) relates, that on the fourth year after his coming to *Rome* he was by *Conſtans Auguſtus* ſummoned to *Millaine*, whither ſome Biſhops were then gone. Now *Athanaſius* came to *Rome* in the year of Chriſt 341. Secondly, *Hilarius* (*in fragmentis*) relates, that the *Millaine Synod* (wherein *Photinus* was condemned) was held two years before *Urſacius* and *Valens* offered their *Libel of ſatisfaction* to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*. For after he has recorded that Libel,

Libel, he addes these words, *Hæc Epistola post biennium missa est, quàm hæresis Photini a Romanis damnata est*, i. e. *this Letter was sent two years after the Romans had condemned Photinus's Heresie.* Since therefore *Ursacius* and *Valens* wrote that Letter in the year of Christ 349, as *Petavius* attests; the *Millain Council* must needs have been celebrated on the third year before that: that is, on the year of Christ 346. For that expression [*post biennium, two years after*] imports thus much, to wit, *on the third year after that*; which *Petavius* did not consider. *Vales.*

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[b] *Baronius* does deservedly blame *Socrates* here, for his saying that the reason why the Western Bishops rejected this draught of the Creed was, because they understood not the Greek tongue. As if there were not then many in *Italy* who were well skilled in the Greek language. Moreover, *Theodorus Lector* has with good reason found fault with this cause of their refusal. For, instead of *Socrates*'s words here, he has substituted these; διὰ τὸ ψεῦδηλον τῆς ἀσεμνίας, *because of its manifest blasphemy.* Vales.

* He means *Constans.*

* General.

[c] From the consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, (which was in the year of Christ 317,) to the consulate of *Rufinus* and *Eusebius* which was in the year of our Lord 347,) there are Ten years compleat. Therefore, if the *Council* of *Serdica* was convened in the eleventh year after *Constantine*'s death, it must of necessity have been assembled after the twenty second day of *May.* Vales.

[d] *Athanasius* does not say, that about three hundred Bishops of the Western Churches met at the Council of *Serdica.* He only says this, that as well those who were present at the Council of *Serdica*, as those who subscribed the Synodick Epistle afterwards sent to them; also those who before the Council at *Serdica* had written Synodick Epistles in his behalf, out of *Phrygia*, *Asia*, and *Isauria*, were in all three hundred and fourty. This passage of *Athanasius*'s occurs in *his second defence against the Arians*, pag. 768; Edit. *Paris.* 1627. Moreover, the same *Athanasius* (in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* pag. 818.) does expressly attest, that the Bishops, who met at the *Council* of *Serdica*, as well those out of the Western as the Eastern parts, were no more than 170. His words are these: συνήχθησαν τόποι, &c. *There met therefore, both from the East, and from the West, at the City of Serdica, 170 Bishops, neither more nor less.* In the *Mogunt. Edit.* after the *Canons* of the *Synod of Serdica*, there is this note; *& subscripserunt*, &c. i. e. *and all the Bishops of divers Provinces and Cities subscribed, being in number 121.* Vales.

[e] In this place *Socrates* seems to have been mistaken, in referring those things to the Council of *Serdica*, which belong to the *Roman* Synod. For when *Julius* had invited the Eastern Bishops to a Synod at *Rome*, that *Athanasius*'s case might there be inquired into; the Eastern Bishops refused to come thither, pretending, amongst other reasons, the narrowness of the time set; as *Julius* informs us in his Epistle to the said Eastern Bishops, recorded by *Athanasius*, pag. 744. Indeed *Socrates*'s following words, to wit [*although there had passed a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned, and during which space Athanasius made his abode at Rome, &c.*] doe manifestly confirm what I have said. For *Athanasius*, invited by *Julius*'s Letters, came to *Rome*; where he abode a whole year and six months expecting his adversaries, and the Synod which had been summoned at *Rome*. *Julius* attests this, in his forequoted Epistle, pag. 748. *Vales.*

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[f] *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* was not present at the Synod of *Serdica*, as *Theodoret* attests, (book 2. chap. 5. *Eccles. Histor.*) which is also confirmed by the Synodick Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica*, which occurs in *Hilarius*'s *Fragments*, at pag. 434. *Edit. Paris.* 1631. Vales.

[g] Instead of [ἐπιστολὰς συγγράψαντες, *having written Letters*] the reading in the *Alex.* M. S. is truer; which is thus [ἐπιστολαῖς ἐγγράψαντες, *having inserted in their Letters.*] But what *Socrates* here says, (to wit, that the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica* established the opinion of the *Anomoiani* (see the following note in this chapter) in their Synodick Epistle,) is altogether false. Their Synodick Epistle is extant in *Hilarius*'s *Fragments*, at pag. 434. Edit. *Paris.* 1631; and at the end of it there is a confession of faith added. In which confession there is nothing which in the least favours of the *Anomians* opinion. The said *Hilarius*, relating (in his book *de Synodis*) the same draught of the Creed published by the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica*, owns it as Catholick, and explaines it. And *Hilarius* is so far from believing that they disseminated the *Anomians* opinion; that he affirms them to have obstructed that opinion on every side. His words are these: *Ex omni autem parte*, &c. *But on all sides, whithersoever sollicitude could turn it self, the passage is stopt up by the wit of the Hereticks, lest it should be Preacht, that there is any diversity or unlikelineſs in the Son [from the Father.]* Vales.

[h] The *Anomoians* were such as asserted, *that the Son had a substance or essence different from, or unlike to the Father.*

* That is, *different*, or *unlike.*

† *Co-essential*, or *consubstantial.*

* The Western Bishops.

† The Eastern Bishops.

[i] In the *Synodick Epistle* of the Counsil of *Sardica* (which occurs in *Theodoret* B. 2. c. 8. *Eccles. Hist.*) there is not the least mention of *Paulus.* Vales.

|| See *Socrates*, book. 1. chap. 36 *Eccles. Hist.*

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but then he used his utmost diligence † to get the sentence revoked which had been pronounced against him; declaring that the expressions of the book written by him were not understood, and that he therefore lay under a suspicion [of maintaining] *Paul* of *Samosata*'s opinion. But you must take notice that *Eusebius Pamphilus* confuted *Marcellus*'s book in a discourse against him, comprized in [k] three entire books which he entitled *Against Marcellus*. He quotes *Marcellus*'s own words [in those books,] and in his discourse against them maintanes, that *Marcellus* does assert (in like manner as *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Samosata* did) that the Lord [Christ] is a meer man.

† Ἀναπαλαῦσαι, *to renew the combat with the sentence which*, &c.

[k] These three books (the Title whereof is *De Ecclesiastica Theologia adversus Marcellum*) of *Eusebius*'s are at this day extant. There are prefixt before them two books, entitled κατὰ μαρκέλλου, that is, *Against Marcellus*; wherein he reproves his designe, malice, and envy. *Eusebius* attests (in the close of his second book against *Marcellus*) that he wrote these books by the order of those Bishops who had condemned *Marcellus* in the *Constantinopolitan Synod*. Further, it is uncertain whether or no *Socrates* had ever seen those two former books against *Marcellus*, in regard he has made no mention of them. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXI.

An Apology for Eusebius Pamphilus.

BUt in regard some have attempted to reproach this person, (I mean *Eusebius Pamphilus*) as if he were an Assertor of *Arius*'s opinion in the books he hath published; I judge it not unseasonable to say something concerning him. In the first place therefore, he was present at, and consented to, the *Nicene* Synod, which determined that the Son was coessential with the Father. Moreover, *in his third* * *Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, he says word for word thus: *But the Emperour incited them all to an unity of mind, until he had at that time reduced them all to be of the same mind and to have the same sentiments in relation to all those points, concerning which they had before disagreed.* In so much that at *Nice* they did all perfectly agree in the [points] of Faith. Since therefore *Eusebius*, making mention of the *Nicene Synod*, does say, that all things about which they disagreed were composed, and that they were all brought to be of one and the same mind and opinion; how can any persons judge him to be a maintainer of *Arius*'s opinion. The *Arians* also themselves are mistaken, in their supposing him to be a favourer of their Tenets. But some body will perhaps say, that in his writings he seems to † *Arianize*, in regard he always says [a] *By Christ*. To whom we answer, that Ecclesiastick Writers have frequently made use of this Expression, and many other such like, which do signifie the dispensation of our Saviours Humanity. And before all these [Writers] the *Apostle Paul* hath made use of these very expressions; and he was never thought to be the Teacher of a perverse opinion. Moreover, in regard *Arius* has been so audacious, as to stile the Son a Creature like unto one of those other [Creatures made by God;] hear what *Eusebius* saith (in *his first book against Marcellus*,) concerning this; these are his very words: *He only, and no other, hath been declared to be, and is, the only begotten Son of God, upon which account they are deservedly to be reprehended, who have audaciously stiled him a Creature, made of nothing like the rest of the Creatures. For how should he be a Son? How should he be Gods only begotten, who is entitled to the very same nature with the rest of the Creatures,* [b] *and would be one of those common Creatures, in regard he (like them) is made a partaker of a Creation from nothing? But the sacred Oracles do not instruct us after this manner concerning him.* Then, after the interposition of some few words, he continues, *Whosoever therefore doth determine that the Son is made of things which are not, and that he is a* [c] *Creature produced out of nothing, that person hath forgotten, that he bestows upon him a name only, but in reality he denies him to be a Son. For he that is made of nothing, cannot truly be the Son of God, nor can any thing else which is made [be his Son.] But the true Son of God, in regard he is begotten of him as of a Father, ought deservedly to be stiled the only begotten and beloved of the Father. And therefore he must be God. For what can the offspring of God be else, but most exactly like to him that hath begotten him? A King indeed builds a City, but he begets not a City: but he is said to beget, not to build, a Son. And an Artificer may be said to be the Framer, not the Father, of that which he hath made. But he can in no wise be stiled the Framer of the Son who is begotten by him. So also, the Supream God is the Father of his Son: but he is justly to be called the Maker and Framer of the world. And although this saying may be once found* * *somewhere in the Scripture*, The Lord created me the beginning of his ways in order to his works, *yet we ought duly to inspect the meaning of those words, (which I will explain afterwards;) and not (as* Marcellus *doth) subvert a principal point [asserted by] the Church upon account of one word. These* and many other such like expressions *Eusebius Pamphilus* utters, in *his First Book against Marcellus*. And in *his Third Book* [of that work,] the same Authour, declaring in what sense the term *Creature* is to be taken, says thus. *These things therefore having been after this manner proved and confirmed, the consequence is (agreeable to all things explained by us before,) that these words also,* The Lord created me the beginning of his ways in order to his works, *must have been spoken [concerning the same person.] But, although he says he was created, yet he must not be so understood as if he should say that he had arrived to what he is from things which are not, and that he also was made of*

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[a] *Socrates* means those *Doxologies*, that occur at the end of *Eusebius*'s *Sermons*; which *Eusebius* doth always put into this form: *Glory be to the unborn Father by his only begotten Son*, &c. This may plainly be seen in those Tracts of *Eusebius*'s, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath published. For example, in the end *of his first book against Sabellius*, these are his words: *Gloria uni non nato Deo*, &c. i.e. *Glory be to the one unborn God, by the one only begotten God the Son of God, in one holy Spirit, both now, and always, and throughout all ages of ages. Amen.* And so concerning the rest. Also, in the Oration *Eusebius* made at the Consecration of the Church at *Tyre*, (which occurs at the *Tenth book of his Eccles. Histor.* chap. 4.) we meet with the same clause, at the close of that Speech; δι' ὃν αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα, &c. *by whom be Glory to him.* For so we have worded that place, agreeable to three of our M.SS. Further, 'tis manifestly known, that the *Arians* attributed this preposition [*per quem, by whom*] to the Son, upon this design, that they might make him subject to the Father. See *Theodoret upon the first chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.* Vales.

[b] Before these words there is a whole line wanting, (which (from *the First Book* of *Eusebius de Ecclesiastica Theologia*, Chap. 9.) is thus to be made up: πώτη γὲ ἀδελφὸς ἂν τόπον γένοιτο μᾶλλον, ἢ καὶ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἅμα τε πολλῶν ἕνεκα ἕτερον εἶς. i.e. *For by this means he would be their brother, rather than the Son of God: and would be one of those common Creatures*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Instead of [ϖεϱιγϛάμμιον] the reading should be [ϖεϱιγϛόμμιον, *produced*] as *Eusebius* words it, at the place before cited. It should also be [γϛιϛὸν] not [γϛυηϛὸν.] For these two words, although they are distinguished but by one Letter, yet do very much differ in their significations. For the term [γϛυηϛὸν] signifies *that which is born*; but [γϛιϛὸν] imports *that which is made.* Vales.

* See *Euseb. concerning the Life of Constantine*, book 3. chap. 13, 14 *Edit.* Vales.

† That is, to assert *Arius*'s opinion.

* See Prov. 8. 22, and what was remarkt concerning that Text, in chap. 19. of this book. note (ll.)

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of nothing in the same manner with the other creatures; which some have perversely supposed: but [*he speaks this*] *as being a person subsisting, living, preexisting, and being before the foundation of the whole world; having been constituted the Ruler of the universe by his Lord and Father: the term* Created *being in that place used instead of* Ordained *or* Constituted. *Indeed, the Apostle hath in express words stiled the Rulers and Governours amongst men* a Creature; *saying,* * Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supream: or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him. *And the Prophet (where he saith,* † Prepare to invoke thy God O Israel. For behold he that firmeth the thunder, and createth the Spirit, and declareth his Christ unto men.) *hath not taken the word* Created *in such a sense as to signifie* That which hath been made when as before it was not. *For God did not then Create his Spirit, when he declared his Christ to all men by him.* || For there is no new thing under the Sun. *But* [*the Spirit*] *was, and did subsist before. But he was sent at such time as the Apostles were gathered together, when (like thunder)* * There came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind: and they were filled with the holy Ghost. *And thus they declared Gods Christ amongst all men, agreeable to that Prophesie, which saith.* † For behold he that firmeth the thunder, and createth the spirit, and declareth his Christ unto men: *The term* Createth *being made use of, instead of* Sendeth, *or* Constituteth: *and the word* Thunder *in another manner signifying the Preaching of the Gospel. And he that saith,* || Create in me a clean heart O God, *said not that, as if he had had no heart before: but he prayed, that his mind might be made perfectly pure within him. After the same manner this is spoken,* * For to make in himself of twain one new man, *instead of* to conjoyn. *Consider also, whether or no this saying be of the same sort,* † Put on that new man, which after God is created: *and this,* || Therefore if any man [be] in Christ, [he is] a new creature: *and whatever other* [*expressions*] *of this sort may be found by him that diligently searcheth the divinely inspired Scripture. You need not wonder therefore, because in this place* * The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, *the term* Created [*is used*] *metaphorically, instead of* Ordained *or* Constituted. After this manner *Eusebius* discourses in *his Books against Marcellus.* We have produced his words here, upon their account, who have attempted causelessly to raile at and revile this person. Nor can they demonstrate, that *Eusebius* doth attribute a beginning of Essence to the Son of God, although they may find him frequently making use of the expressions of dispensation: especially, because he was a great Emulator and Admirer of *Origens* Writings, wherein such as are able to understand *Origens* Books, will find [this] every where [asserted, to wit,] that the Son is begotten of the Father. Thus much we have said by the by, upon their account who have attempted to reproach *Eusebius.*

* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. Where the expression in the original is πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην κτίσιν, which may be rendred thus, *to every humane Creature.*

† Amos 4. 12, 13. *Euseb.* quotes this Text in the words of the *Septuagint:* but omits the word [ἐγὼ, *I:*] we have rendred them according to his quotation; which is very different from the *Hebrew,* and from our *English* Version.

‖ Eccles. 1. 9.

* Acts 2. 2, 4.

† Amos 4. 13.

‖ Psal. 51. 10.

* Ephes. 2. 15.

† Ephes. 4. 24.

‖ 2 Cor. 5. 17.

* Prov. 8. 22.

CHAP. XXII.

That the Synod *of* Serdica *restored* Paulus *and* Athanasius *to their Sees, and that, upon the Eastern Emperours refusal to admit them, the Emperour of the West threatned him with War.*

BUt the [Bishops,] as well those convened at *Serdica,* as they who made up a particular Synod by themselves at *Philippopolis* [a City] of *Thracia,* having performed whatsoever each party thought requisite to be done, returned to their own Cities. [Thence forward] therefore the Western Church was severed from the Eastern: and the boundary of communion between them, was the mountain called [a] *Soucis,* which parts the *Illyrians* from the Thracians. As far as that mountain there was a promiscuous communion, although their Faith was different. But they [b] communicated not with those who lived beyond it. Such was the confusion of the Churches affaires at that time. Soon after this, the Emperour of the Western parts acquaints his brother *Constantius* with what had been done at *Serdica,* and entreats him to restore *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to their own Sees. But when *Constantius* made demurrs to what he had written, the Emperour of the Western parts in another Letter gave him his choice, [to wit,] that he should either admit *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to their own former dignities, and restore their Churches to them; or else (if he did not this) he must look upon him to be his Enemy, and expect a War.

[a] In *our Annotations on the twenty first book of Amm. Marcellinus,* we have long since remarked, that this mountains name should be *Soucis;* and that hereby is meant the streights of the *Succi,* which *Amm. Marcellinus* describes in his twenty first book pag. 189. *Edit. Paris.* 1635. *Philostorgius* mentions the same streights, (in book 3. *Eccles. Hist.*) and calls them στένας, i. e. *Succi;* being scituated between *Dacia* and *Thracia.* He describes them thus: δίοδοι εἰσὶ στεναὶ μεγάλων ὀρῶν, &c. i. e. *They are streight passages of vast mountains, which are crouded together on each side into one place, in such a manner that they seem to embrace one another.* He means the two mountains, *Hæmus* and *Rhodope,* which arising from different places, make an angle in that place, and do as it were kiss one another. Which gave the Ancients an occasion of feigning *Hæmus* to be a young man, and *Rhodope* a maid, and that heretofore they fell in love with one another. You may meet with the story in *Ovid. Metamorph.* book 6. at the beginning. *Busbequius* (in 1 *Epist. Legat. Turci.*) says that the *Turks* do now call this narrow passage *Capi deruent,* i. e. *the Gate of narrownesses.* Vales.

[b] These words must have a favourable sense put upon them; and are not so to be understood, as if *Socrates* should have said, that after the Synod of *Serdica* the Western Bishops held no communion with the Eastern. For in the Synod of *Sirmium* (which was convened by the Western Bishops against *Photinus* two years after the Synod at *Serdica*) the Western Bishops sent their determinations to the Eastern, upon account of preserving a communion. And the Eastern Bishops wrote back to them, as *Hilarius* informs us, in *his Fragments.* Thus therefore *Socrates*'s words here must be understood: to wit; after the Synod of *Serdica* the Western Bishops did (not readily and rashly, but) with a great deal of cautiousness communicate with the *Eastern.* Vales.

The [c] Letter he wrote to his brother was this.

[c] *Constans Augustus*'s Letter to his brother *Constantius,* which is here recorded by *Socrates,* is in my judgment not to be looked upon as genuine. For *Athanasius* makes no mention of this Letter: and *Paulus*'s name (which is extant in it) doth upon good grounds render it suspicious. For at that time *Paulus* enjoyed his Bishoprick: neither was he present at the Synod of *Serdica;* nor restored by the determination thereof; as we shewed before. Wherefore, if this Letter of *Constans*'s be genuine,

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Paulus *and* Athanasius *are indeed here with Us. But, upon enquiry We find that they are Persecuted upon account of their piety. If therefore You will promise to restore them to their Sees, and punish those who have causelesly injured them, We will send the men to You. But if You shall refuse to do as We have said, know for certain, that We Our self will come thither, and restore them to their own Sees whether You will or no.*

it muſt neceſſarily have been written before the *Council* of *Serdica*. Laſtly, *Conſtantius*'s firſt Letter to *Athanaſius* (which *Socrates* has inſerted in the following chapter) evidently ſhews this to be a forged Letter. For *Conſtantius* in that Epiſtle ſaith, that by a Letter written to his brother he hath requeſted him to give *Athanaſius* leave to return to his See. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. XXIII.

That Conſtantius, *being afraid of his Brothers menaces, by his Letters ordered* Athanaſius *to appear, and ſent him to* Alexandria.

THE Emperour of the Eaſt underſtanding theſe things, was reduced to a very great ſtreight. And having forthwith ſent for moſt of the Eaſtern Biſhops, he made them acquainted with the option his brother had propoſed to him, and enquired of them what was to be done. They made anſwer, that it was better [for him] to grant *Athanaſius* the Churches, than to undertake a Civil War. Wherefore the Emperour, being neceſſitated thereto, ſummoned *Athanaſius* to appear before him. At that very interim the Weſtern Emperour ſends *Paulus* to *Conſtantinople*, accompanied with two Biſhops and other honorary proviſions, having fortified him both with his own Letters, and alſo with thoſe from the Synod. But whilſt *Athanaſius* was yet fearful, and in doubt whether he ſhould go to *Conſtantius* or not: (For he was afraid of the treacherous attempts of the Sycophants:) the Eaſtern Emperour invited him [to his Court] not only once, but a ſecond and a third time; as it is evident from his Letters, the contents whereof, being tranſlated out of the *Latine* tongue [into the *Greek*,] are theſe.

Conſtantius's Epiſtle to *Athanaſius*.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanaſius* the Biſhop.

[a] *The humanity of Our clemency hath not permitted you to be any longer toſſed in and diſquieted with the boyſterous ſurges (as it were) of the Sea. Our indefatigable piety hath not neglected you during your being deprived of your native habitation, whilſt you wanted your goods, and wandred up and down in deſert and impaſſable places. And although We have too long deferred the acquainting you by Letters with the purpoſe of Our mind, expecting you would of your own accord have come to Us, and requeſted a remedy for your troubles: yet becauſe peradventure fear hath hindred that purpoſe of your mind, We have therefore ſent to your Gravity, Letters filled with indulgence, that you ſhould haſten to make your ſudden appearance in Our preſence without fear; whereby you might enjoy your deſire, and, having made experiment of Our humanity, be reſtored to your own habitation. For upon this account we made a requeſt for you to Our Lord and Brother* Conſtans Victor Auguſtus, *that He would grant you the liberty of coming, to the end that being reſtored to your Country by both Our conſents, you ſhould have this pledge and aſſurance of Our favour.*

[a] This, and the two following Letters, are in *Athanaſius*'s *ſecond defence*, pag. 769. *Edit. Paris.* Valeſ.

Another Epiſtle to *Athanaſius*.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanaſius* the Biſhop.

Although We have made it ſufficiently known to you by Our former Letter, that you might ſecurely come to Our Court, in regard We are earneſtly [a] *deſirous to ſend you to your own habitation: yet We have now* [b] *ſent this Letter to your Gravity. Wherefore We entreat you to take a publick Chariot, and haſten to Us without any miſtruſt or fear, that you may enjoy what you deſire.*

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[a] In *Athanaſius*, inſtead of [βελευ-ἑὰς *determined*] the reading is [βούλεὰς *deſired.*] Valeſ.

[b] In *Athanaſius*, it is [ϑεδηλώκαμὲν *ſent*] not [ϑεδηλώκαμὲν *manifeſted.*] Valeſ.

Another Letter to the ſame perſon.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanaſius* the Biſhop.

Whilſt we made Our reſidence at Edeſſa, *(your Presbyters being preſent there,) We were pleaſed, by ſending a Presbyter to you, to haſten your coming to Our Court, to the end that after you were come into Our Preſence, you might go immediately to* Alexandria. *But, in regard a conſiderable ſpace of time is now paſt, ſince your receipt of Our Letter, and you have not yet come; We therefore took care to put you in mind by this, that you ſhould now haſten to make your ſudden appearance in Our Preſence, that ſo you may be reſtored to your own Country; and obtain your deſire. And that you might be moſt fully certified hereof, We have ſent* Achetas *the Deacon, from whom you may underſtand both the purpoſe of Our mind, and alſo that you ſhall readily obtain what you deſire.*

Athanaſius having received theſe Letters at *Aquileia*, (for [c] there he abode after his departure from *Serdica*,) haſtned immediately to [d] *Rome*. And having ſhown the Letters to *Julius* the Biſhop, he cauſed great joy in the *Roman* Church. For they ſuppoſed, that the Emperour of the Eaſt had now given his aſſent to their Faith, in regard he invited *Athanaſius* to come to him. But *Julius* wrote this Epiſtle to the Clergy and Laity in *Alexandria* concerning *Athanaſius*.

[c] After the Synod of *Serdica*, *Athanaſius* made his abode firſt at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*. In which City he received the Letters written to him by *Conſtans Auguſtus*. Afterwards, he left *Naiſſus*, and went to *Aquileia*, as he himſelf atteſts, in his *Apologetick* to *Conſtantius*. pag. 676. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Athanaſius* relates the reaſon of this journey of his to *Rome* in *his Second defence againſt the Arians*; to wit, that he might take his leave of *Julius* the Biſhop, and the *Roman* Church, by whom he had been ſo kindly entertained. For that is the meaning of theſe words of *Athanaſius*: Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀξιάσας, ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὸ ῥώμην σωπατίξας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ϗ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· i. e. *But I, upon receipt of theſe Letters, went to Rome, to bid the Roman Church and the Biſhop farwell:* For the term [συνσάντας] ſignifies *valedicere, to take leave of*, or *to bid farewell:* as we have obſerved and proved in our *Annot.* on *Euſebius's Life of Conſtantine*; book 3. chap. 21. *Valeſ.*

The Epiſtle of Julius *Biſhop of* Rome, *to thoſe of* Alexandria.

Julius to [e] the Biſhops and Presbyters, and Deacons, and to the Laity inhabiting *Alexandria*, his beloved Brethren, health in the Lord.

[e] In the Allat. M.S. and in *Athanaſius* (in *his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians*) theſe words [*the Biſhops and*] are wanting. Inſtead hereof *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* ſeems to have read [*Julius the Biſhop to the Presbyters*, &c.] which reading *Chriſtophorſon* hath followed. *Valeſ.*

I alſo rejoyce with you, beloved Brethren, becauſe you now ſee before your eyes the fruit of your Faith. For that this is truly ſo, any one may ſee in our brother and fellow Biſhop Athanaſius: *whom God hath reſtored to you, upon an account both of his purity of life, and alſo of your prayers. Hence it is apparent, that you have continually offered up to God prayers which were pure and full of charity. For, being mindfull of the Celeſtial promiſes, and* [f] *of the courſe of life tending thereto, which you have been inſtructed in by the Doctrine of our fore-*

[f] In *Athanaſius* the reading is

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foresaid Brother; you certainly knew, and (according to that true Faith which is implanted in you) were apprehensive of this, that your Bishop could not be perpetually seperated from you, whom you carried in your pious minds, as being continually present. Wherefore, I need not make use of many words in this my Letter to you. For your Faith hath prevented whatever could have been said by me: and by the grace of Christ those things have been fulfilled, which you in common prayed for and desired. I rejoyce therefore with you, (for I will say it again,) because you have preserved your souls inexpugnable in [your defending of] the Faith. Nor do I any whit less rejoyce with my Brother Athanasius, *because (although he hath undergone many sharp afflictions, yet) he was not one hour unmindfull of your love, and your desire. For although he seemed to have been withdrawn from you for a time, yet he was continually conversant with you in spirit. And I am of opinion, Beloved, that all the trialls and troubles which have hapned to him, are not inglorious. For both your, and his Faith hath thereby been made known, and approved amongst all men. For, had not so many and great afflictions befell him, who would have believed, either that you should have had so great a respect and love for so eminent a Bishop, or that he should have been adorned with such excellent virtues, by reason of which he is in no wise to be defrauded of his hope in the heavens? He hath therefore obtained a testimony of confession every way glorious, both in this, and in the world to come. For after his many and various sufferings both by Land and Sea, he hath trodden under foot all the treacheries of the* Arian *Heresie; and after his having been frequently assaulted and brought into danger through envy, he hath despised death, being guarded by Almighty God, and our Lord* Jesus Christ: *hoping that he should not only avoid his Enemies Plots, but also be restored in order to your consolation, bringing back to you greater Trophies by reason of your being conscious [of having done what was just and good.] Upon which account he hath been rendred glorious even as far as the ends of the whole earth, being approved for his [integrity of] life, undauntedly persisting in the defence of his resolution of mind, and Celestial Doctrine, and evidently declared by your constant and perpetual judgment to be intirely beloved by you. He returns therefore to you now far more bright and glorious, than when he departed from you. For, if the fire tries and refines pretious metalls, I mean Gold and Silver, what can be said of so eminent a Personage according to his worth, who having vanquished the fire of so great afflictions, and so many perills, is now restored to you, having been* [g] *declared innocent, not by our determination only, but by that of the whole Synod? Receive therefore (Beloved Brethren) with all Divine Glory and joy your Bishop* Athanasius, [h] *together with those who have been his fellow sufferers. And rejoyce, in that you enjoy your desires, who have nourished and quenched the thirst of your pastour, hungring (if I may so speak,) and thirsting after your piety, with your comfortable writings. For you were a consolation to him during his abode in strange Countries: and you have cherished him with your most faithfull souls and minds, whilst he was Persecuted, and assaulted with treacheries. Indeed, I rejoyce already, whilst I consider and foresee in my mind the joy of every one of you at his return, and the most pious meetings [which will be given him] by the populace, and the glorious solemnity of those which will be assembled, and what manner of day that will be, wherein our brother shall make his return: when forepast calamities shall have an end, and his pretious and wish't for return shall unite all persons in an alacrity of mind [expresst by] the highest degree of joy. Such a joy as this does, as to the greatest part of it, reach even as far as us, to whom Heaven, ('tis manifest) hath granted this favour, that we should be able to come to the knowledge of so eminent a Personage. It is fit therefore, that we should close this Letter with a prayer. May God Almighty, and his Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ afford you this perpetual grace, rendring you the reward of your admirable Faith, which you have demonstrated towards your Bishop by a glorious testimony: that better things may await you and your posterity both in this, and in the world to come, which* * Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man: the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, *through our Lord* Jesus Christ, *by whom Glory be to Almighty God for ever and ever, Amen. I wish you good health, beloved Brethren.*

* 1 Cor. 2. 9.

Athanasius confiding in these Letters, went into the East The Emperour *Constantius* received him not then with an incensed mind. But upon the suggestion of the *Arians*, he attempted to circumvent him. And speaks to him thus. You have indeed recovered your See by the Synods determination, and our consent. But, in regard there are some of the people in *Alexandria*, who do [i] refuse to hold communion with you, suffer them to have one Church in the City. To which requeſt *Athanasius* immediately made this return, and says, It is in your power, O Emperour, to command and do what you will. I also ask and requeſt this favour of you, which I desire you would grant me. When the Emperour had readily promised him to grant it, *Athanasius* forthwith added, that he desired to receive the same favour, that the Emperour had required should be granted him: for he also requested that throughout every City one Church might be allowed to those who refused to communicate with the *Arians*. When the *Arians* understood that *Athanasius*'s opinion would [k] incommode [their party,] they made answer that that business was to be deferred till another time: but they permitted the Emperour to do what pleased him. Wherefore, the Emperour restored *Athanasius*, *Paulus*, and *Marcellus* to their own Sees: as also, *Asclepas* of *Gaza*, and *Lucius* of *Adrianople*. For they also had been received by the Synod of *Serdica*; *Asclepas* [was received] upon his exhibiting the Acts, whereby it was manifest, that *Eusebius Pamphilus* (together with many others) having taken cognizance of his cause, had restored him to his dignity, and *Lucius*, because those that accused him were fled. Therefore, the Emperours Edicts were sent to their Cities, giving order that they should be readily admitted. Upon *Basilius*'s being turned out of *Ancyra*, and *Marcellus*'s entrance into that City, there was no trivial disturbance made, which gave those that were his adversaries an occasion of reproaching him. But the *Gazites* willingly received *Asclepas*. In *Constantinople*, *Macedonius* did for some small time give place to *Paulus*, and convened assemblies by himself seperately, in a private Church of that City.

[i] This passage *Socrates* had from *Rufinus*. There is no mention of it in *Athanasius* Vales.

[k] The reading must be [ἀλυσιτελῆ, *incommode*;] which emendation *Rufinus* confirmes, (book 1. chap. 19. *Eccles. Hist.*) and so doth *Epiphanius*, in his Version. *Vales.*

[Τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγωγῆς,] which I like not. For it must be [πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγωγῆς, of the course of life tending to them;] that is, *to the promises*. Or else the reading may be [τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγάπης, *of your mutual love*:] which reading *Epiphan. Scholastic.* followed. *Vales.*

[g] Instead of [ἀποδεχθεὶς received] in the Allat. M.S. and in *Athanasius*, the reading is [ἀποδειχθεὶς declared:] which I account the better reading. *Vales.*

[h] In the Allat. M.S. the reading of this place is thus: μὴ τάτε ἢ οἵπνες αὐτῷ ἢ ἅμα τοσούτων πόνων κοινωνοὶ γενόμενοι, *and together with him as many as have been partakers of so great labours with him.* The reading in *Athanasius* is almost the same. But our Copies and *Epiphanius Scholasticus* do confirm the common reading. *Vales.*

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City. But, in behalf of *Athanasius*, the Emperour wrote to the Bishops, to the Clergy, and to the Laity, that they should willingly receive him. Moreover, he gave order by other Letters, that what had been enacted against him in the Courts of Judicature, should be abrogated. The contents of his Letters concerning both these Particulars are these.

Constantius's Letter, in behalf of *Athanasius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholick Church.

The most Reverend Bishop Athanasius *hath not been deserted by the Grace of God. But although he was for a short time subjected to humane tryal, yet he hath received a just sentence from Divine Providence which inspects all things: having been restored, by the will of God, and our determination, both to his own Country, and Church, over which by Divine permission he presided. It was meet, that what is agreeable hereto should be performed by our clemency. That so, all things which have heretofore been determined against those who have held communion with him, should now wholly be forgotten, and that all suspicion* [entertained] *against him should in future cease, and that the immunity, which those Clergy men that are with him did heretofore enjoy, should (as it is meet) be confirmed to them. Moreover, We thought it equitable to make this addition to Our Indulgence in favour of him, that all persons belonging to the sacred order of the Clergy might understand, that security is granted to all those that have adhered to him, whether they be Bishops, or Clerks: and a firm union with him shall be a sufficient testimony of every ones good resolution of mind. For, what persons soever (making use of a better judgment, and becoming followers of a sounder opinion,) shall embrace his communion, We have ordered, that all such shall enjoy that indulgence (according to the* * Likeness. ** Pattern of the preceding providence) which We have now granted agreeable to the will of God.*

Another Letter sent to the *Alexandrians*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the populace of the Catholike Church in *Alexandria*.

In regard We make [1] *your good Government Our aim in all things, and knowing that you have for some time been deprived of an Episcopall Providence, We have thought good to send back to you again* Athanasius *the Bishop, a person well known to all men for his sanctity of life and moral honesty. When you shall have received this person according to your usual manner, and as it is meet; and shall constitute him your assistant in your prayers to God; make it your business to preserve continually a Concord and Peace, befitting your selves, and gratefull to Us, according to the Sanction of the Church. For it is disagreeable to reason, that there should be any dissention or faction raised amongst you, contrary to the felicity of Our times. Our desires and wishes are, that you may be wholly freed from this mischief. And We exhort you to persist continually in your usual prayers to God, making use of him your Prelate and your assistant, as was said before. That so this resolution of yours being conveyed to the* [m] *ears of all men, even those Gentiles as yet* * *enslaved in the erroneous worship of Idols, may with the greatest alacrity hasten to the knowledge of the sacred Religion, (most dear* Alexandrians!) *We therefore again exhort you to persist in what hath been said before. Do you willingly receive your Bishop, sent to you by Gods Decree and Our determination, and look upon him as worthy to be embraced* [n] *with your whole souls and minds. For that doth both become you, and is also manifestly agreeable to Our Clemency. And that all manner of* [o] *disturbance and occasion of Sedition may be taken from such as are endowed with malevolent and factious mindes, We have by Our Letters given order to the judges amongst you, that they should render all those liable to undergo the penalty of the Laws, whom upon inquiry they shall find to have been Seditious. Taking therefore into your consideration these two things, both Gods and Our determination, and also the care we have taken about your agreement, and the punishment* [we have commanded to be inflicted] *upon those that are disordered; make it your chief business to have a diligent regard to whatever doth become and agree with the Sanctions of the sacred Religion, and with all reverence to honour the* * *foresaid* [Prelate,] *that so you together with him may offer up prayers to the supream God and Father, both for your Selves, and also for the good Government and Concord of mankind in general.*

[1] *Epiphan. Scholasticus* reads [πῶ ἡμετέρῳ, &c. Our good *Government*, &c.] *Vales.*

[m] I doubt not, but instead of [εὐχὰς *prayers*] it should be [ἀκοὰς, *ears*, or *hearing*:] and so we have rendred it. *Vales.*

* Or, *eminently addicted to.*

[n] In the *Allat.* M.S. and in *Athanasius*, the reading here is [πάσῃ ψυχῇ καὶ γνώμῃ *with your whole souls & minds.*] Vales.

[o] Instead of [πᾶσαν ἀναστασιὼν *all manner of consutation*] the reading in the *Allat.* and *Sforzian* M.SS. is [ἀναστασὶν πᾶσαν, *all manner of disturbance.*] Vales.

* *Athanasius.*

An Epistle concerning the abrogating what had been enacted against *Athanasius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS, to *Nestorius*. And in the same Copy, to the Presidents of [p] *Augustamnica, Thebais*, and *Lybia*.

If any thing be found to have been heretofore done to the detriment and injury of those who communicate with Athanasius *the Bishop, Our Will is that that be now wholly abrogated. For Our Pleasure is, that those of his Clergy should again have the same immunity, which they formerly had. And We command, that this Order of Ours be kept: that so* (Athanasius *the Bishop having been restored to his Church,) they who communicate with him may have the same priviledge which they always had, and which the other Clergy-men now have: whereby their affairs being thus setled, they also may rejoyce.*

[p] In the *Allat.* M.S. it is *Augustonica*: in *Athanasius* it is called *Augustamnica*. The name of this Province is usually written divers ways. For some term it *Augustamnica*, others *Augustanica*: so I found it written in many both Greek and Latine M.SS. Others called it *Augustonica*, to wit, from *Augustus*'s Victory. In the subscriptions of the Bishops, who approved of *Acacius*'s draught of the Creed, (which the Reader will meet with at the fortieth chapter of this second book,) whose names *Epiphanius* has recorded, (in Heref. *Semiarian.*) we read amongst others; Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίσκοπος Θμούεως Αὐγουστονίκης, i.e. *Ptolemæus Bishop of Thmuis* [a City] *of Augustonica*. Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

That Athanasius, *passing through* Jerusalem *in his return to* Alexandria, *was received into Communion by* Maximus, *and convened a Synod of Bishops which confirmed the* Nicene *Faith.*

ATHanasius the Bishop being fortified with these Letters, passed thorow *Syria*, and came into *Palestine*. And arriving at *Jerusalem*, he made known to *Maximus* the Bishop, both what

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what had been done in the Synod of *Serdica*, and also that *Constantius* the Emperour had consented to their determination: and he makes it his business to have a Synod of Bishops convened in that City. *Maximus* without any delay sent for some of the Bishops in *Syria* and *Palestine*: and having constituted a Synod, he also restored to *Athanasius* communion, and his [former] dignity. Moreover, this Synod [a] wrote to the *Alexandrians*, and to all the Bishops in *Egypt* and *Libya*, declaring to them what had been Determined and Decreed concerning *Athanasius*. Upon which account, those who were *Athanasius*'s enemies egregiously derided *Maximus*, because he had before deposed *Athanasius*; but then altering his mind again, (as if nothing had been done before,) he gave his suffrage for *Athanasius*, and restored to him communion and his dignity. *Ursacius* and *Valens* (who had before been hot maintainers of Arianism,) understanding these things, having at that time rejected their former industry [in asserting that opinion,] went to *Rome*. And presented a penitentiary Libel to *Julius* the Bishop, after which they embraced the *Homoöusian* Faith. And having written Letters to *Athanasius*, they professed they would in future hold communion with him. *Ursacius* therefore and *Valens* were at that time in such a manner vanquished by *Athanasius*'s prosperous success, that (as I said) they gave their consent to the *Homoöusian* Faith. But *Athanasius* passed through *Pelusium* in his journey to *Alexandria*. And he admonished all the Cities through which he passed, to have an aversion for the *Arians*, and to embrace those that professed the *Homoöusian* Faith. He ordained also in some of the Churches. Which gave beginning to another accusation against him, [b] because he attempted to ordain in other [Bishops] Dioceses. Such was the posture of *Athanasius*'s affaires at that time.

[a] This Epistle of the *Jerusalem* Synod is extant in *Athanasius*'s *second defence against the Arians*; together with the names of those Bishops who subscribed to that Synod. But we may here by the by take notice of the Bishop of *Jerusalems* authority, who (although he was no *Metropolitane* yet) summoned the neighbouring Bishops to a Synod, without the permission of the Bishop of *Cæsarea*. *Vales.*

[b] *Socrates* speaks here concerning the Ordinations performed by *Athanasius* in *Egypt*. For he says that was done after he arrived at *Pelusium*; which is the first City of *Egypt* to those that come out of *Syria*. If this be so, that opinion can no ways be maintained, which some now a days assert, to wit, that all Ordinations (as well of Bishops as of Presbyters) throughout *Egypt* belonged to the Bishop of *Alexandria*: But we have sufficiently refuted this opinion in *our Third Book of Ecclesiastick Observations* published at the close of *our Annotations on Socrates and Sozomen*. Vales.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Tyrants Magnentius *and* Vetranio.

But in the interim a disturbance in no wise trivial seized the publick affaires of the Empire. It is necessary that we should give a summary account only concerning it, by running over the chief heads thereof. When the * Builder of the City *Constantinople* was dead, his three Sons succeeded him in the Empire, as we have mentioned in our First Book. [a] But you must know, that together with them reigned their Cousin-german, whose name was *Dalmatius* of the same name with his own Father. After he had been Colleague with them in the Empire some small time, the Souldiers slew him; *Constantius* neither [b] commanding him to be murdered, nor yet forbidding it. After what manner *Constantinus Junior* (invading those parts of the Empire which belonged to his Brother,) was also slain in an engagement with the Souldiers, we have more than once mentioned * before. After his slaughter, the *Persian* War was raised against the *Romans*, wherein *Constantius* performed no action that was fortunate. For, there hapning an [c] Engagement by night about the limits of the *Romans* and *Persians*, the latter seemed then for some little time to have been Conquerours. At the same time, the posture of the *Christians* affaires was little less sedate: but upon *Athanasius*'s account, and by reason of the term *Homoöusios*, there was a War throughout the Churches. During this state of affaires, there arose a Tyrant in the Western parts [of the Empire,] one *Magnentius*. Who by treachery slew *Constans* the Emperour of the Western parts, residing at that time in the *Gallia's*. After which there was a mighty Civil War kindled. For the Tyrant *Magnentius* conquered all *Italy*, he also reduced *Africa* and *Libya* under his own Dominion, and had possession even of the *Gallia's*. In *Illyricum* likewise, at the City *Sirmium*, another Tyrant was * set up by the Souldiers; his name *Vetranio*. Moreover, *Rome* was involved in a disturbance. For [d] *Constantine* had a Sisters Son, by name *Nepotianus*, who being guarded by a party of the *Gladiatours*, had by violence seized upon the Empire. This *Nepotianus* was slain by *Magnentius*'s Forces. But *Magnentius* himself invaded the rest of the Western Provinces, and made all places desolate.

* *Constantine the Great.*

[a] The emendation of this place (which is very corrupt in *Robert Stephens's Edition*) we own to the Allat. M. S. where the reading is [ἴσθι δὲ ὅτι συμβασιλευσι τούτοις ἀνεψιὸς αὐτῶν, ὁ ὁμώνυμος Δαλματίῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρί· i. e. *But you must know, that together with them reigned their Cousen-german, whose name was Dalmatius of the same name with his own Father.*] See *Socrat.* book 1. chap. 27. note (g.) The *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. alter not the Vulgar reading here. But the reading of the *Allat.* M. S. is evidently confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. Only he calls *Dalmatius Constantius*'s Cousin-german by the mother's side. But *Dalmatius* was *Constantius*'s Cousin-german by the Father's side; for he was son to *Dalmatius*, *Constantine the Great*'s Brother. *Vales.*

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[b] *Eutropius* relates the same: *Dalmatius Cæsar* (says he,) *Haud multò post oppressus est factione Militari, Constantio patruele suo fiente potius quàm jubente*: i. e. *Not long after, Dalmatius Cæsar was slain by a faction of the Souldiers, Constantius his Cosin-german by the Father's side suffering, rather than commanding, it.* Vales.

* See *Socrat.* book 2. chap. 5.

[c] He means the fight by night between the *Romans* & *Persians*, at *Singar*, a fortress of *Mesopotamia*, wherein the son of *Sapor* King of *Persia* was slain: but the *Romans* had a very great slaughter made amongst them, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates, book 18. pag. 122. *Edit. Paris.* 1636. See *our Annotations on that* passage; pag. 156. This Engagement hapned in the year of Christ 348, when *Philippus* and *Salias* were Consuls; as *Idatius* relates, in *his Fasti*. Vales.

* Or crept *up by the Souldiers means.*

[d] In the Greek the reading is [*Constantius had a Sister's Son*, &c.] But it must be [*Constantine had*, &c.] For *Nepotianus* was Son to *Eutropia Constantin*'s Sister; as *Victor* tells us, in *his Epitome*: and, as we are informed by *Eutropius*, *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s reading agrees with our emendation; but he mistakes in calling *Nepotianus* [*fratruelem Constantini*, i. e. *Constantin's Brothers Son*,] in regard he was his Sisters Son. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How, after the death of [Constans] *the Western Emperour,* Paulus *and* Athanasius *were Ejected out of their own Sees again. And, that* Paulus, *after his being carried into banishment, was slain. But* Athanasius *made his escape by flight.*

A Confluxe of all these mischiefs hapned almost at one and the same time. For these things were done on the fourth year after the Synod

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Synod at *Serdica* in the [a] Conſulate of *Sergius* and * *Nigrinianus*. Upon the relation hereof, the whole *Roman* Empire ſeemed to be devolved upon *Conſtantius* only: who being proclaimed [b] Emperour in the Eaſtern parts, was wholly intent in making preparations againſt the Tyrants. In the interim, *Athanaſius*'s adverſaries, ſuppoſing they had gotten a very ſeaſonable opportunity, did again frame moſt horrid falſe accuſations againſt him, he having not yet entred *Alexandria*: they inform the Emperour *Conſtantius*, that he would ſubvert all *Egypt* and *Libya*. That which made the greateſt addition to their calumny was, that *Athanaſius* had Ordained in other [Biſhops] Dioceſſes. *Athanaſius* arriving at *Alexandria* during this troubleſome poſture of affaires, aſſembled a Synod of Biſhops in *Egypt*. Who by an unanimous conſent made the ſame determinations with thoſe convened at *Serdica*, and with that Synod aſſembled at *Jeruſalem* by *Maximus*. But the Emperour, who had long before embraced the *Arian* opinion, wholly altered all things which he had a little before decreed. And in the firſt place, he gave order, that *Paulus* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould be baniſhed, who was ſtrangled by thoſe that carried him into baniſhment, at [c] *Cucuſus* in *Cappadocia*. *Marcellus* alſo being ejected, *Baſilius* was again put into poſſeſſion of the Church of *Ancyra*. *Lucius* of *Adrianople* was bound in iron chaines, and died in Priſon. Moreover, what was reported concerning *Athanaſius* made ſo prevalent an impreſſion upon the Emperour, that he fell into an unmeaſurable rage, and gave order that he ſhould be ſlain whenever he could be found: and together with him, [d] *Theodulus* and *Olympius*, Prelates of Churches in *Thracia*. But *Athanaſius* was not ignorant of what Orders the Emperour had given. But, having been made ſenſible thereof before hand, he betook himſelf to flight again, and ſo avoided the Emperours menaces. The *Arians* calumniated him for this his eſcape, eſpecially *Narciſſus* Biſhop of *Neroniades* a City of *Cilicia*, *Georgius* of *Laodicæa*, and [e] *Leontius* who then preſided over the Church at *Antioch*. This *Leontius*, when he was a Presbyter, was diveſted of that dignity, becauſe he lived continually with a woman whoſe name was *Euſtolium*, and endeavouring to conceal the ſuſpicion of his unclean converſe with her, he cut off his own genitalls; after which he was converſant with her, with a greater confidence and liberty, in regard he wanted thoſe things upon account whereof he had fallen into that ſuſpition. But by the Decree and diligence of the Emperour *Conſtantius* he was promoted to the Biſhoprick of the *Antiochian* Church after *Stephanus*, who had before ſucceeded *Flaccillus*. Thus far concerning this perſon.

[a] The ſame is recorded in *Idatius's Faſti*; in theſe words: *Sergio & Nigriniano Coſſ. his Conſulibus Conſtans occiſus eſt in Galliis à Magnentio, & levatus eſt Magnentius die* 15. *Kal. Februar. Et Vetranio apud Sirmium Kal. Martii. Eo anno, & Nepotianus Romæ tertio Nonas Junias. Et pugna magna fuit cum Romanis & Magnentianis*: i. e. *Sergius and Nigrinianus being Conſuls, Conſtans was ſlain in the Gallia's by Magnentius, and Magnentius was ſet up on the* 15th *of the Kalends of February. And Vetranio at Sirmium on the Kalends of March. On the ſame year, Nepotianus alſo at Rome on the third of the Nones of June. And there was a great battel between the Romans and Magnentians.* The ſame is recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but there, theſe paſſages are placed on the Conſulate of *Limenius* and *Catullinus*, when as they hapned on the year following. Which was the year of Chriſt, 350. *Valeſ.*

* Or *Nigrianus.*

[b] *Conſtantius* was long before Emperour of the Eaſt. But when *Conſtans* was dead, who Governed the Weſtern Empire; he was by the Souldiers ſtiled Emperour of the whole *Roman* world. *Valeſ.*

[c] In the *Florent.* M. S. this Towns name is written with a double *ſ*, thus *Cucuſſus*. Valeſ.

[d] *Olympius* was Biſhop of *Aenum* a City of *Thracia*: *Theodulus* was Biſhop of *Trajanople*, as *Athanaſius* atteſts, (*in Epiſt. ad Solitar.*) He mentions the ſame Biſhops, in *his Apologetick de Fuga Sua*, pag. 703. But theſe paſſages are prepoſterouſly related by *Socrates*. For they were not done before the *Magnentian* war, as *Socrates* ſays, but when that war was ended, in the year of Chriſt 356; as *Baronius* hath truly remarked. *Valeſ.*

[e] This perſon has a great elogue given him in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*: which commendation was taken out of ſome *Semi-Arian* writer. *Athanaſius* doth every where ſpeak ſharply concerning this *Leontius*. His crafty diſpoſition is incomparably well deſcribed by *Theodoret*; book 2. chap. 24. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Valeſ.

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CHAP. XXVII.

That Macedonius, *having got poſſeſſion of the See* [*of* Conſtantinople,] *did much miſchief to thoſe that in opinion diſſented from him.*

MOreover, at that time *Macedonius* was put into poſſeſſion of the Churches in *Conſtantinople*, *Paulus* being diſpatcht in the foremention'd manner. And having procured a very great intereſt in the Emperour, he raiſed a war amongſt the *Chriſtians*, not inferiour to that waged by the Tyrants at the ſame time. For, having by his perſwaſions induced the Emperour to countenance him with his aſſiſtance in deſtroying of the Churches, he procured whatever wicked acts he had a mind to doe, to be eſtabliſhed by Law. From that time therefore an Edict was publickly p opoſed throughout every City. And a militar y force appointed to ſee the Emperours Decrees put in execution. Thoſe who aſſerted the *Homoouſian* Faith, were driven not only out of the Churches, but from the Cities alſo. At firſt indeed they made it their buſineſs to expell them only. But afterwards, the miſchief growing worſe and worſe, they betook themſelves to a forcing of them to communicate with them, being very little ſollicitous about the Churches. And this forcible conſtraint was nothing inferiour to that heretofore made uſe of by them, who neceſſitated the *Chriſtians* to worſhip Idolls. For they made uſe of all manner of ſcourgings, various tortures, and proſcriptions of their goods. Many were puniſhed with exile. Some died under their tortures: others were murdered, during their being led away to baniſhment. Theſe things were done throughout all the Eaſtern Cities, but more eſpecially at *Conſtantinople*. This inteſtine Perſecution therefore, being but ſmall before, was much increaſed by *Macedonius*, after he had gotten the Biſhoprick. But the Cities of *Achaia* and *Illyricum*, and the Weſtern parts of the Empire, continued as yet undiſturbed, in regard they both mutually agreed, and alſo retained the Rule of Faith delivered by the *Nicene* Synod.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning what was done at Alexandria *by* Georgius *the* Arian; *from* Athanaſius's *own relation.*

BUt what [Villanies] *Georgius* during the ſame time committed at *Alexandria*, you may underſtand from *Athanaſius*'s own relation, who was preſent at, and a ſufferer in thoſe [miſeries.] For, in *his Apologetick concerning his own flight*, he ſpeaks word for word thus concerning what had been done there. *For they came from thence to* Alexandria, *making ſearch for me again, that they might murder me. And what hapned then was worſe than that they had done before. For on a ſuddain the Souldiers ſurrounded*

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surrounded the Church, and instead of going to prayers, there hapned a fight. After this, Georgius *(sent by them out of* Cappadocia,*) arriving in* Lent, *increased those mischiefs which he had learn't from them. For after* Easter-week, *the Virgins were cast into Prison: the Bishops, bound in chaines, were led away by the Souldiers: the houses of Orphans and Widdows were plundered, and the stock of Bread-corn* [*was pillaged:*] *they broke into houses. And the* Christians *were carried out* [*to burial*] *in the night. The houses were sealed up: and the brethren of those that were Clergy-men, were in danger upon their brethrens account. These things were horrid: but those afterwards committed were much more horrid. For the week after the holy* Pentecost, *the people, after they had fasted, went out to the* Cœmetery *to pray, because they all abominated* Georgius*'s communion. But that Villanous wretch understanding this, instigated* Sebastianus *the Captain, who was a* Manichæan, *against them. He with a company of Souldiers, carrying Armour, naked Swords, Bows, and Darts, made a violent attack upon the people on the very Lords day. And finding some few at their prayers (for most of them were gone away by reason of the time of the day;) he did such exploits as became the* Arians *to have performed amongst them. For having kindled a fire, he set the Virgins close to it, forced them to say, that they professed the* Arian *Faith. But when he perceived they were not to be vanquished, and that they despised the fire, he afterwards stript them, and beat them on the face in such a manner, that for a time they could scarce be known. And having seized fourty men, he beat them after a new and unusual manner. For he forthwith cut Rods from off Palm-trees, which yet had their pricks on them, and flea'd their backs after such a manner, that some of them by reason of the pricks that stuck in their flesh, were forced to make frequent use of Chirurgions: others of them, not able to endure* [*the pain,*] *died. Immediately he took all the rest, that were left, and together with them a Virgin, and* [a] *banished them into* Oasis the Great. *Moreover, they would not at first suffer the bodies of those that were dead to be given to their relations: but casting them forth unburied, they hid them as they thought good, that they might seem not to know of so barbarous a cruelty. And this these madmen did, having a blindness upon their minds. For, in as much as the Relations of those that were dead, rejoyced upon account of their confession, but mourned because their bodies lay unburied; their impiety and barbarity was so much the more plainly detected and divulged. Soon after this, they carried away into banishment out of* Egypt *and both the* Libya*'s these Bishops,* Ammonius, Thmuis, Cajus, Philo, Hermes, Plinius, Psenosiris, Nilammon, Agatho, Anagamphus, Ammonius, Marcus, Dracontius, Adelphius, *another* Ammonius, *another* Marcus, *and* Athenodorus: *and these Presbyters,* Hierax, *and* Dioscorus. *And they treated them so cruelly in their conveying them into banishment, that some of them died in the journey, and others in the very place of their exile. They* [b] *drove away more then thirty Bishops. For it was their earnest desire, according as* Ahab *did, wholly, if possible, to destroy the truth.* Thus much *Athanasius* hath related in his own words concerning the Villanies committed by *Georgius* at *Alexandria*. But the Emperour marcht his Army into *Illyricum*. For the necessity of the publick affaires required his presence there; more especially, because *Vetranio* was proclaimed Emperour there by the Souldiers. Being come to *Sirmium*, he made a League with *Vetranio*, after which he discoursed with him, and brought affaires to such a pass, that those Souldiers, who had proclaimed *Vetranio*, revolted from him to *Constantius*'s side. Having therefore deserted *Vetranio*, they cried out that only *Constantius* was *Augustus*, King and Emperour. No mention was made of *Vetranio* in their acclamation. *Vetranio*, becoming sensible immediately hat he was betrayed, laid himself prostrate at the feet of the Emperour. *Constantius* took his Imperial Crown and Purple from him, and treated him kindly, exhorting him to lead a more sedate and quiet life in the habit of a private person. For [he told him] that a life void of disquietude was much more sutable for a man of his years, than to have a name full of care and sollicitude. Such was the conclusion of *Vetranio*'s affaires. But the Emperour ordered, that he should be allowed an ample revenue out of the publick tribute. Afterwards he wrote frequently to the Emperour whilst he made his residence at *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, declaring to him, that he had been the Authour of the greatest happiness to him, in that he had freed him from cares, and the troubles that accompany a Crown: and said, that he himself did not do well, because he would not enjoy that happiness which he had bestowed upon him. Thus far concerning these things. At the same time, the Emperour *Constantius*, having created *Gallus*, his Fathers Brothers Son, *Cæsar*, and given him his own name, sent him to *Antioch* of *Syria*, designing that he should guard the Eastern parts. Whilst he was making his entry into *Antioch*, the [c] Sign of our Saviour appeared in the East. For a Pillar in the form of a Cross appearing in the heavens, struck the beholders with a great amazement. The rest of his chief commanders he sent against *Magnentius*, at the head of a very great Army. In the interim, he himself made his residence at *Sirmium*, expecting the issue of affaires.

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[a] In *Athanasius* the reading is [ἐξώσεσαν *they banished.*] But in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. the reading (which I like better) is [ἐξώσεσον *he banished.*] To shew, that this is to be understood of *Sebastianus* the Captain of *Egypt*, who then adjudged matters in a detestable course. Moreover, all these things are (as I have said) related in a preposterous manner by *Socrates*; in regard they were done in the year of Christ, 356. *Vales.*

[b] The reading is the same in *Athanasius*. But in *Theodoret* (book 2. chap. 14. where this passage of *Athanasius*'s is inserted) the reading is [*They murdered.*] *Vales.*

[c] The same is recorded in *Idatius*'s *Fasti*, after the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, in these words: *His Coss. Levatus est Constantius Cæsar* Id. *Martii, & apparuit in Oriente Signum Salvatoris die* 3. *Kal. Februar. Lunæ* 28. i.e. *During these mens Consulate Constantius* [*Gallus*] *was created Cæsar on the Ides of March, and the Sign of our Saviour appeared in the East, on the third of the Kalends of February, on the* 28th *of the Moon.* But the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* says this Sign was seen in the East, on the *Nones* of *May*, about the day of *Pentecost*. To whom agrees *Cyrillus*, *Philostorgius*, and *Cedrenus*. And *Socrates* seems to confirm the same in this place. For he saith, that this Sign appeared in the *East*, when *Gallus Cæsar* entred *Antioch*. Now *Gallus* was created *Cæsar* on the *Ides* of *March*, as (besides *Idatius*) the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* doth affirm. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Photinus *the Arch-Heretick.*

MOreover, at that time *Photinus* who presided over the Church in that * City, did more openly divulge that opinion which he had invented. Wherefore, when there arose a disturbance occasioned thereby, the Emperour ordered, that

* That is, *Sirmium.*

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that a [a] Synod of Biſhops ſhould be convened at *Sirmium*. Therefore, there met together in that City, of the Eaſtern [Biſhops,] [b] *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*, [c] *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, whom the *Arian* party (having removed *Gregorius*, as we ſaid * before,) put into his See; alſo *Baſilius* (who preſided over the Church at *Ancyra*, *Marcellus* having been ejected,) *Pancratius* [Biſhop] of *Pelucium*, and [d] *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*. Of the Weſtern Biſhops, [there met there] *Valens* [Biſhop] of *Murſa*, and *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain* (a perſon eminently famous at that time) was preſent againſt his will. Theſe [Prelates] being convened at *Sirmium*, after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, (in which year, by reaſon of the tumults cauſed by the Wars, no Conſul publiſhed the ſolemn [e] Shews and Playes uſually exhibited at their entrance upon their Conſulate,) and having upon examination found, that *Photinus* aſſerted the opinion of *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Samoſata*; they immediately depoſed him. And this determination of theirs was by all men, both then and afterwards, approved of as good and equitable. [f] But thoſe [Biſhops] who ſtayed behind [at *Sirmium*] did that which was not gratefull to all men.

* See chap. 14. of this book.

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[b] The Biſhops here named by *Socrates*, ſate not in that Synod of *Sirmium*, which was convened againſt *Photinus*, after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, in the year of Chriſt 351: but in that other Synod, which was convened there when *Euſebius* and *Hypatius* were Conſuls, in the year of Chriſt 359, a little before the *Council* of *Ariminum*: which Latter Synod at *Sirmium* did alſo ſet forth that draught of the Creed, which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*; before which the Conſuls names were prefixt. And this is evidently made out by *Germinius*, in *his Epiſtle* to *Valens*, which is recorded in *Hilarius's Fragments*; and by *Epiphanius*, in *Hereſ. Semiarian.* In the former *Sirmium-Synod*, aſſembled againſt *Photinus*, the Eaſtern Biſhops only were preſent: this is atteſted by *Hilarius*, in *his book de Synodis*, and by *Vigilius* Biſhop of *Tapſis* in his *Fifth Book againſt Eutyches*. Valeſ.

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[d] *Theodorus* continued to be Biſhop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia* in the year of Chriſt 356, as it is manifeſt from *Athanaſius*'s *Circular Epiſtle* to the Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, pag. 290: which Epiſtle *Athanaſius* wrote in the year of Chriſt 356, after *Georgius*'s entrance into the See of *Alexandria*. Wherefore, *Hypatianus* muſt neceſſarily have been made Biſhop of *Heraclea* after the year 356. *Sozomen* hath made mention of the ſame *Hypatianus*, book 6. chap. 7. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Valeſ.

[e] *Socrates* here means by ὑπαθείας, the *Ludi Circenſes*, which the *Conſuls*, exhibited at their entrance upon their Conſulate: which by the *Latines* is termed *Conſulatum dare*. Some Conſuls, beſides the *Ludi Circenſes*, entertained the people with *Scenical* Plays, and with hunting of wild beaſts in the *Amphitheatre*. Valeſ.

[f] At this place we follow the *Sfortian* M. S. in which Copy this paſſage is more fully expreſt, thus: Οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἔπραξαν ὅπερ ἦν πᾶσιν ἦν ἄριστον; i. e. *But thoſe* [*Biſhops*] *who ſtaid behind*, &c.] Incomparably well in my judgment. Indeed, that draught of the Creed, which was publiſhed in the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*, is approved of by *Hilarius*, (in *his book de Synodis*,) as being Catholick: but *Athanaſius* (in his book *de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*) condemns and rejects it, in the ſame manner with the other Creeds compoſed by the *Arians*. Nor do *Hilarius* and *Athanaſius* diſagree with one another concerning this one form of the Creed, but about other draughts of it alſo; for example, about the *Antiochian* draught. For *Hilarius* confeſſeth that the Eaſtern Biſhops had good reaſon to compoſe new forms of the Creed, when new *Hereſies* aroſe againſt the Church. But *Athanaſius* doth maintain, that thoſe new draughts of the Creed were craftily compoſed by the *Arians*, with a deſign to deſtroy the *Nicene Creed*. Further, that this place of *Socrates*, inſtead of [ὃ πᾶσιν ἦν ἄριστον, *that which was not beſt for all men*] I had rather read [ὃ πᾶσιν ἦν ἄρεστον, *that which was not grateſull to all men.*] And ſo I have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the [*forms of the*] *Creed publiſhed at* Sirmium, *in the preſence of the Emperour* Conſtantius.

FOr, as if they would condemn what they had heretofore determined concerning the Faith, they again compoſed, ratified, and publiſhed other *draughts of the Creed: [a] one whereof was dictated in the *Greek* tongue by *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*: [b] two more were drawn up in the *Latine* tongue, which neither agreed one with the other (either in the expreſſions, or in the compoſure,) nor yet with that *Greek* one, which the Biſhop of *Arethuſa* dictated. Moreover, the one of thoſe Creeds drawn up in *Latine*, I will here ſubjoyn to that compoſed by *Marcus*: the other (which they afterwards recited at [c] *Sirmium*,) we will ſet at it's proper place, where we ſhall declare what was done at *Ariminum*. But you muſt know that they were both tranſlated into the *Greek* language. The draught of the Creed dictated by *Marcus*, runs thus.

* Or, *other explanations concerning the Faith.*

[a] *Socrates* (and with him *Sozomen*,) is here doubly miſtaken. Firſt, becauſe he ſuppoſed, that there were three forms of the Creed drawn up in the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*; whereas there was one form only compoſed in that Synod; which (beſides *Socrates*) is recorded by *Athanaſius*, pag. 500. and by *Hilarius*, in *his book de Synodis* 338. *Edit. Paris.* 1631. Secondly, in regard he aſſerts, that that form of the Creed, which was publiſhed in the *Greek* tongue at the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*, was dictated by *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*. *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* did not dictate that form I have mentioned, but another; before which the Conſuls names were prefixt, and which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*, as *Nicholaus Faber* hath already obſerved (in *the Preface he wrote* to *Hilarius's Fragments*) from *Germinius's Epiſtle*. We muſt therefore diſtinguiſh between the *three Synods* of *Sirmium*, each of which publiſhed their form of the Creed. The *firſt* was *convened* againſt *Photinus*, in the year of Chriſt 351. The *ſecond* was aſſembled in the year of our Lord 357: wherein the Blaſphemie of *Hoſius* and *Potamius* was compoſed. The *third* was celebrated when *Euſebius* and *Hypatius* were Conſuls, in the year of Chriſt 359; wherein that Creed was drawn up, which *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* dictated. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [ἀλλὸν *another*] the reading muſt be [ἀλλὸς δὲ, *the other two*, or *two more*] as it is in the *Allat.* M. S. For *Socrates* here recounts three draughts of the Creed compoſed at *Sirmium*; the two latter whereof he ſaith were written at firſt at *Latine*, and afterwards tranſlated into *Greek*. Which in my judgment is not true. I grant indeed, that that Creed, which by *Hilarius* is termed *Hoſius's Blaſphemie*, was at firſt publiſhed at *Latine*. But the other, which had the Conſuls names prefixt before it, was undoubtedly at firſt dictated in the *Greek* tongue. For he that dictated it, (*viz.* *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*) and the reſt of the Biſhops then aſſembled were almoſt all *Græcians*. Laſtly, the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops, who ſubſcribed this form, are extant in *Greek*, in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.*) Valeſ.

[c] Without doubt it muſt be [*Ariminum*,] not [*Sirmium*:] which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* followed, as appears from his Verſion. See chap. 37. of this ſecond book. *Valeſ.*

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creatour and Framer of all things: * Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named: *and in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, born of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things, which are in the Heavens, and which are upon the Earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wiſedom, and the true Light, and the Life. Who in the laſt days was for our ſakes incarnate,*

* Epheſ. 3. 15.

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carnate, and born of the holy Virgin, and was Crucified and died, and was buried, and arose again from the Dead on the third day, and was taken up into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come at the end of the world to judge the quick and dead, and shall render to every man according to his works. Whose Kingdom being perpetual continueth unto infinite ages. For he is sitting on the right hand of the Father, not only in this present world, but in that also which is to come. And [We believe] in the holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete; whom [our Lord,] (having promised he would send him to the Apostles after his ascent into the heavens, that he might teach and put them in mind of all things,) sent. By whom also those souls, which have sincerely believed in him, are sanctified. But those who affirm, that the Son [exists] of things * which were not, or of another substance, and not of God, and that there was a time or an age when he was not, the Holy and Catholick Church hath certainly known to be Aliens [from Her.] We say it therefore again, if any one doth affirm the Father and the Son to be two Gods, let him be Anathema. [d] And if any one, affirming Christ to be God the Son of God before ages, shall not profess him to have ministred to the Father in order to the framing of all things, let him be Anathema. If any one be so audacious as to say, that the Unbegotten, or part of him, was born of Mary, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say that the Son was of Mary according to prescience, and that he was not with God, born of the Father before ages, and that all things were made by him, let him be Anathema. † If any one shall affirm the Essence of God to be † dilated or contracted, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the dilated Essence of God to make the Son, or shall term the Son the enlargement of his Essence, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the internal or outwardly-uttered Word to be the Son of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the Son who was [born] of Mary to be man only, let him be Anathema. If any one asserting him that was [born] of Mary to be God and man, shall understand the unbegotten God himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand this Text, * I am the first God, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God, (which is spoken in order to the destruction of Idolls, and those which are not Gods) in the same sense which the Jews take it in, [to wit, as if it were spoken] upon account of the subversion of the only begotten God before ages, let him be Anathema. If any one hearing these words, † The word was made flesh, shall suppose that the Word was changed into flesh, or that he assumed flesh by having undergone any change, let him be Anathema. [e] If any one hearing that the only begotten Son of God was crucified, shall assert that his Deity underwent any corruption, or passion, or mutation, or diminution, or destruction, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father spake not these words, † Let us make man to the Son, but shall assert that God himself spake to himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that it was not the Son who appeared to Abraham, but the unbegotten God, or part of him, let him be Anathema. [f] If any one shall say, that it was not the Son who as a man wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God or part of him, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand these words, † The Lord rained from the Lord, not of the Father and of the Son, but shall say that God rained from himself, let him be Anathema. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father. [g] If any one hearing [these words] The Lord the Father and The Lord the Son, shall term both the Father Lord, and the Son also Lord, and saying, The Lord from the Lord, shall assert that there are two Gods, let him be Anathema. For we place not the Son in the same degree with the Father, but [understand] him to be inferiour to the Father. For neither did he come down to [h] Sodom without his Fathers will. Nor did he rain from himself, but from the Lord, that is from the Father, who hath the supream authority. Nor does he sit at his Fathers right hand of himself, but he hears the Father, saying, * Sit thou at my right hand, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father Son and holy Ghost are one Person, let him be Anathema. If any terming the holy Ghost the Paraclete, shall call him the unbegotten God, let him be Anathema. If any one does say that the Paraclete is no other [Person] than the Son, (as the Son himself hath taught us; for he has said, † The Father, whom I will ask, shall send you another Comforter,) let him be Anathema If any one shall say, that the Spirit is part of the Father and of the Son, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are three Gods, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son of God was made like one of the Creatures, by the will of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Son was begotten against the will of the Father, let him be Anathema. [i] For the Father was not forced by a physical necessity, nor did he beget the Son as if he were unwilling: but as soon as he was willing, he has declared that he begat him of himself without time and without passion, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son is unborn and without a beginning, affirming as it were that there are two [Principles] without a beginning and unborn, and so making two Gods, let him be Anathema. For the Son is the Head and Beginning of all things. * But the Head of Christ is God. For thus we piously refer all things by the Son to One who is without a beginning

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* Are not.

[d] *Hilarius* seems to have read otherwise. For in *his book de Synodis*, where he records this Creed, he renders this passage thus: *& siquis*, &c. *and if any one affirming one God, but shall not profess Christ to be God the Son of God before ages*, &c. *Vales.*

† Enlarged.

* Esai. 44. 6.

† John 1. 14.

[e] In the Allat. M. S. and in *Athanasius's book de Synodis*, this *Anathema* is thus worded: εἴ τις τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσταυρωμένον ἀκύρων, τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ φθορᾶν ἢ πάθῳ, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly: after the same manner *Hilarius* read this passage, as from his Version appears. *Vales.*

† Gen. 1. 26.

[f] This whole *Anathematism* was omitted here: it occurs in *Athanasius*'s and *Hilarius*'s Copy of this Creed; and therefore we inserted it. *Vales.* The Learned Reader will find it in *Robert Stephens* Edit. also.

† Gen. 19. 24.

[g] This *Anathematism* is differently worded in all the Authours (we have seen) wherein this Creed occurs. *Valesius* says, that he has published it according to the reading of the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M.SS. which Copies we have followed in our *English* version: where it is thus worded in the *Greek*: εἴπῃς ἀκύρων κύριον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κύριον, καὶ κύριον τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἴπῃ, καὶ κύριον ἐκ κυρίου λέγων δύο λέγει θεούς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. The reading in *Robert Stephens* is different from this; and so is that in *Athanasius*, pag. 901: where 'tis thus worded: εἴπῃς ἀκύρων κύριον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κύριον, καὶ κύριον, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν· ἐπεὶ κύριος ἐκ κυρίου, δύο λέγει θεούς, &c. *Hilarius* has translated otherwise, as appears from his Version, at pag. 339. Edit. *Paris.* 1631. His words are these: *Siquis dominum & dominum patrem & filium, quasi dominum a domino intelligat: quia dominum & dominum duos dicat deos: Anathema sit.* Thus variously is this *Anathematism* represented. The Learned Reader may take the liberty (as we have done,) to follow which Copy he pleases.

* Psal. 110. 1.

[h] We follow the reading in *Hilarius*, and in *Athanasius*; where it is [ἐπὶ σόδομα to *Sodom.*] In *Robert Stephens* the reading is [ἔτε γὰρ κατέλθεν εἰς σῶμα, *For neither did he descend into the body.*]

† See John 14. 16.

[i] Here we follow the reading in *Athanasius*, which is thus: ὁ γὰρ βιασθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ, &c. *For the Father was not forced*, &c. which reading is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, and by *Hilarius.* Vales.

* 1 Cor. 11. 3.

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that a [a] Synod of Biſhops ſhould be convened at *Sirmium*. Therefore, there met together in that City, of the Eaſtern [Biſhops,] [b] *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*, [c] *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, whom the *Arian* party (having removed *Gregorius*, as we ſaid * before,) put into his See ; alſo *Baſilius* (who preſided over the Church at *Ancyra*, *Marcellus* having been ejected,) *Pancratius* [Biſhop] of *Pelucium*, and [d] *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*. Of the Weſtern Biſhops, [there met there] *Valens* [Biſhop] of *Murſa*, and *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain* (a perſon eminently famous at that time) was preſent againſt his will. Theſe [Prelates] being convened at *Sirmium*, after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, (in which year, by reaſon of the tumults cauſed by the Wars, no Conſul publiſhed the ſolemn [e] Shews and Playes uſually exhibited at their entrance upon their Conſulate,) and having upon examination found, that *Photinus* aſſerted the opinion of *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Samoſata* ; they immediately depoſed him. And this determination of theirs was by all men, both then and afterwards, approved of as good and equitable. [f] But thoſe [Biſhops] who ſtayed behind [at *Sirmium*] did that which was not grateſull to all men.

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[c] *Georgius* was not at this time (*viz.* after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*) Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For he was created Biſhop there in the *eighth Conſulate* of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, and in the *Firſt Conſulate* of *Julianus Cæſar*, which was in the year of Chriſt 356. Wherefore, he could not ſit in the former *Sirmium Synod*, which depoſed *Photinus* in the year of Chriſt 351. The ſame muſt be ſaid of *Hoſius* alſo, who at that time lived under *Magnentius*'s juriſdiction : nor was he as yet baniſhed to *Sirmium*. Valeſ.

[d] *Theodorus* continued to be Biſhop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia* in the year of Chriſt 356, as it is manifeſt from *Athanaſius*'s *Circular Epiſtle* to the Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, pag. 290 : which Epiſtle *Athanaſius* wrote in the year of Chriſt 356, after *Georgius*'s entrance into the See of *Alexandria*. Wherefore, *Hypatianus* muſt neceſſarily have been made Biſhop of *Heraclea* after the year 356. *Sozomen* hath made mention of the ſame *Hypatianus*, book 6. chap. 7. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Valeſ.

[e] *Socrates* here means by ὑπαθείας, the *Ludi Circenſes*, which the *Conſuls*, exhibited at their entrance upon their Conſulate : which by the *Latines* is termed *Conſulatum dare*. Some Conſuls, beſides the *Ludi Circenſes*, entertained the people with *Scenical* Plays, and with hunting of wild beaſts in the *Amphitheatre*. Valeſ.

[f] At this place we follow the *Sfortian* M. S. in which Copy this paſſage is more fully expreſt, thus : Οἱδὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἔπραξαν ὅπερ ἦν πᾶσιν ἥδιστον ; i. e. *But thoſe* [*Biſhops*] *who ſtaid behind*, &c.] Incomparably well in my judgment. Indeed, that draught of the Creed, which was publiſhed in the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*, is approved of by *Hilarius*, (in *his book de Synodis*,) as being Catholick : but *Athanaſius* (in his book *de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*) condemns and rejects it, in the ſame manner with the other Creeds compoſed by the *Arians*. Nor do *Hilarius* and *Athanaſius* diſagree with one another concerning this one form of the Creed, but about other draughts of it alſo ; for example, about the *Antiochian* draught. For *Hilarius* confeſſeth that the Eaſtern Biſhops had good reaſon to compoſe new forms of the Creed, when new *Hereſies* aroſe againſt the Church. But *Athanaſius* doth maintain, that thoſe new draughts of the Creed were craftily compoſed by the *Arians*, with a deſign to deſtroy the *Nicene Creed*. Further, that this place of *Socrates*, inſtead of [ἥδιστον ἦν ἅπασιν, *that which was not beſt for all men*] I had rather read [ἥδιστον ἦν ἀρεστὸν, *that which was not gratefull to all men.*] And ſo I have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the [*forms of the*] *Creed publiſhed at* Sirmium, *in the preſence of the Emperour* Conſtantius.

FOr, as if they would condemn what they had heretofore determined concerning the Faith, they again compoſed, ratified, and publiſhed other * draughts of the Creed : [a] one whereof was dictated in the *Greek* tongue by *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* : [b] two more were drawn up in the *Latine* tongue, which neither agreed one with the other (either in the expreſſions, or in the compoſure,) nor yet with that *Greek* one, which the Biſhop of *Arethuſa* dictated. Moreover, the one of thoſe Creeds drawn up in *Latine*, I will here ſubjoyn to that compoſed by *Marcus* : the other (which they afterwards recited at [c] *Sirmium*,) we will ſet at it's proper place, where we ſhall declare what was done at *Ariminum*. But you muſt know that they were both tranſlated into the *Greek* language. The draught of the Creed dictated by *Marcus*, runs thus.

* Or, *other explanations concerning the Faith.*

[a] *Socrates* (and with him *Sozomen*,) is here doubly miſtaken. Firſt, becauſe he ſuppoſed, that there were three forms of the Creed drawn up in the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus* ; whereas there was one form only compoſed in that Synod ; which (beſides *Socrates*) is recorded by *Athanaſius*, pag. 500. and by *Hilarius*, in *his book de Synodis* 338. *Edit. Paris.* 1631. Secondly, in regard he aſſerts, that that form of the Creed, which was publiſhed in the *Greek* tongue at the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*, was dictated by *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*. *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* did not dictate that form I have mentioned, but another ; before which the Conſuls names were prefixt, and which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*, as *Nicholaus Faber* hath already obſerved (in *the Preface he wrote* to *Hilarius's Fragments*) from *Germinius's Epiſtle*. We muſt therefore diſtinguiſh between the *three Synods* of *Sirmium*, each of which publiſhed their form of the Creed. The *firſt* was *convened* againſt *Photinus*, in the year of Chriſt 351. The *ſecond* was aſſembled in the year of our Lord 357 : wherein the Blaſphemie of *Hoſius* and *Potamius* was compoſed. The *third* was celebrated when *Euſebius* and *Hypatius* were Conſuls, in the year of Chriſt 359 ; wherein that Creed was drawn up, which *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* dictated. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [ἄλλην *another*] the reading muſt be [ἄλλας δύο, *the other two*, or *two more*] as it is in the *Allat.* M. S. For *Socrates* here recounts three draughts of the Creed compoſed at *Sirmium* ; the two latter whereof he ſaith were written at firſt in *Latine*, and afterwards tranſlated into *Greek*. Which in my judgment is not true. I grant indeed, that that Creed, which by *Hilarius* is termed *Hoſius*'s *Blaſphemie*, was at firſt publiſhed in *Latine*. But the other, which had the Conſuls names prefixt before it, was undoubtedly at firſt dictated in the *Greek* tongue. For he that dictated it, (*viz. Marcus* of *Arethuſa*) and the reſt of the Biſhops then aſſembled were almoſt all *Græcians*. Laſtly, the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops, who ſubſcribed this form, are extant in *Greek*, in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.*) Valeſ.

[c] Without doubt it muſt be [*Ariminum*,] not [*Sirmium* :] which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* followed, as appears from his Verſion. See chap. 37. of this ſecond book. *Valeſ.*

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creatour and Framer of all things : * Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named : *and in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, born of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things, which are in the Heavens, and which are upon the Earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wiſedom, and the true Light, and the Life. Who in the laſt days was for our ſakes incarnate,*

* Epheſ. 3. 15.

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earnate, and born of the holy Virgin, and was Crucified and died, and was buried, and arose again from the Dead on the third day, and was taken up into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come at the end of the world to judge the quick and dead, and shall render to every man according to his works. Whose Kingdom being perpetual continueth unto infinite ages. For he is sitting on the right hand of the Father, not only in this present world, but in that also which is to come. And [We believe] in the holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete; whom [our Lord,] (having promised he would send him to the Apostles after his ascent into the heavens, that he might teach and put them in mind of all things,) sent. By whom also those souls, which have sincerely believed in him, are sanctified. But those who affirm, that the Son [exists] of things which * were not, or of another substance, and not of God, and that there was a time or an age when he was not, the Holy and Catholick Church hath certainly known to be Aliens [from Her.] We say it therefore again, if any one doth affirm the Father and the Son to be two Gods, let him be Anathema. [d] And if any one, affirming Christ to be God the Son of God before ages, shall not profess him to have ministred to the Father in order to the framing of all things, let him be Anathema. If any one be so audacious as to say, that the Unbegotten, or part of him, was born of Mary, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say that the Son was of Mary according to prescience, and that he was not with God, born of the Father before ages, and that all things were made by him, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the Essence of God to be † dilated or contracted, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the dilated Essence of God to make the Son, or shall term the Son the enlargement of his Essence, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the internal or outwardly-uttered Word to be the Son of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the Son who was [born] of Mary to be man only, let him be Anathema. If any one asserting him that was [born] of Mary to be God and man, shall understand the unbegotten God himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand this Text, * I am the first God, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God, (which is spoken in order to the destruction of Idolls, and those which are not Gods) in the same sense which the Jews take it in, [to wit, as if it were spoken] upon account of the subversion of the only begotten God before ages, let him be Anathema. If any one hearing these words, † The word was made flesh, shall suppose that the Word was changed into flesh, or that he assumed flesh by having undergone any change, let him be Anathema. [e] If any one hearing that the only begotten Son of God was crucified, shall assert that his Deity underwent any corruption, or passion, or mutation, or diminution, or destruction, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father spake not these words, † Let us make man to the Son, but shall assert that God himself spake to himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that it was not the Son who appeared to Abraham, but the unbegotten God, or part of him, let him be Anathema. [f] If any one shall say, that it was not the Son who as a man wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God or part of him, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand these words, † The Lord rained from the Lord, not of the Father and of the Son, but shall say that God rained from himself, let him be Anathema. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father. [g] If any one hearing [these words] The Lord the Father and The Lord the Son, shall term both the Father Lord, and the Son also Lord, and saying, The Lord from the Lord, shall assert that there are two Gods, let him be Anathema. For we place not the Son in the same degree with the Father, but [understand] him to be inferiour to the Father. For neither did he come down to [h] Sodom without his Fathers will. Nor did he rain from himself, but from the Lord, that is from the Father, who hath the supream authority. Nor does he sit at his Fathers right hand of himself, but he hears the Father, saying, * Sit thou at my right hand, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father Son and holy Ghost are one Person, let him be Anathema. If any terming the holy Ghost the Paraclete, shall call him the unbegotten God, let him be Anathema. If any one does say that the Paraclete is no other [Person] than the Son, (as the Son himself hath taught us; for he has said, † The Father, whom I will ask, shall send you another Comforter,) let him be Anathema If any one shall say, that the Spirit is part of the Father and of the Son, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are three Gods, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son of God was made like one of the Creatures, by the will of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Son was begotten against the will of the Father, let him be Anathema. [i] For the Father was not forced by a physical necessity, nor did he beget the Son as if he were unwilling: but as soon as he was willing, he has declared that he begat him of himself without time and without passion, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son is unborn and without a beginning, affirming as it were that there are two [Principles] without a beginning and unborn, and so making two Gods, let him be Anathema. For the Son is the Head and Beginning of all things. * But the Head of Christ is God. For thus we piously refer all things by the Son to One who is without a beginning

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* Are not.

[d] Hilarius seems to have read otherwise. For in his book de Synodis, where he records this Creed, he renders this passage thus: & siquis, &c. and if any one affirming one God, but shall not profess Christ to be God the Son of God before ages, &c. Valef.

† Enlarged.

* Esai. 44. 6.

† John 1. 14.

[e] In the Allat. M. S. and in Athanasius's book de Synodis, this Anathema is thus worded: εἴ τις τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσταυρωμένον ἀκόων, τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ φθορᾶν ἢ πάθη, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly: after the same manner Hilarius read this passage, as from his Version appears. Valef.

† Gen. 1. 26.

[f] This whole Anathematism was omitted here: it occurs in Athanasius's and Hilarius's Copy of this Creed; and therefore we inserted it. Valef. The Learned Reader will find it in Robert Stephens Edit. also.

† Gen. 19. 24.

[g] This Anathematism is differently worded in all the Authours (we have seen) wherein this Creed occurs. Vatefius says, that he has published it according to the reading of the Florent. and Sfortian M.SS. which Copies we have followed in our English version: where it is thus worded in the Greek: εἴπις ἀκόων κύειον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κύειον, καὶ κύειον τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἶπει, καὶ κύειον ἐκ κυείε λέγων δύο λέγει θεύς, ἀνάθεμα ἔςω. The reading in Robert Stephens is different from this; and so is that in Athanasius, pag. 901: where 'tis thus worded: εἴπις ἀκόων κύειον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κύειον, καὶ κύειον, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν· ἐπεὶ κύειον ἐκ κυείε, δύο λέγειθεύς, &c. Hilarius has translated otherwise, as appears from his Version, at pag. 339. Edit. Paris. 1631. His words are these: Siquis dominum & dominum patrem & filium, quasi dominum a domino intelligat: quia dominum & dominum duos dicat deos: Anathema sit. Thus variously is this Anathematism represented. The Learned Reader may take the liberty (as we have done,) to follow which Copy he pleases.

* Pfal. 110. 1.

[h] We follow the reading in Hilarius, and in Athanasius; where it is [ἐπὶ σόδομα to Sodom.] In Robert Stephens the reading is [ὅτε γὰρ κατέλθεν εἰς σῶμα, For neither did he descend into the body.]

† See John 14. 16.

[i] Here we follow the reading in Athanasius, which is thus: ὁ γὰρ βιασθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ, &c. For the Father was not forced, &c. which reading is confirmed by Epiphanius Scholasticus, and by Hilarius. Valef.

* 1 Cor. 11. 3.

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ning, the beginning of all things. Furthermore, we, making an accurate explanation of [*their*] *sentiments* [*who profest*] *the Christian Religion, do assert, that if any one shall not affirm Christ Jesus to have been the Son of God before ages, and to have ministred to the Father at the framing of all things, but* [*shall say*] *that he was called the Son and Christ from such time only as he was born of* Mary, *and that he then received the beginning of his Deity; let him be* Anathema, *like* [Paul] *of* Samosata.

k Another [Draught of the] Creed published at *Sirmium* in the *Latine* tongue, and rendred into *Greek*.

k *Athanasius* has the same words in his book *de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*: where, after he had inserted this foregoing Creed, he adds these words concerning this which follows; Ταῦτα πάντα παρωσάμενοι, &c. *Having rejected all these things, as if they had invented better, they promulge another Creed, which they wrote at* Sirmium *in* Latine, *but it was translated into* Greek. But *Hilarius* recording this Creed in *his book de Synodis*, prefixes this title before it: *Exemplum Blasphemiæ*, &c. *A Copy of the Blasphemy composed at* Sirmium *by* Hosius *and* Potamius. Which title *Hilarius* made himself, and deservedly calls this Creed Blasphemy. Who this *Potamius*, here joyned with *Hosius* was, *Marcellinus Presbyter* informs us in the *Supplicatory Libel* which he presented to the Emperour *Theodosius*. Where, amongst the corrupters of the Divine and Apostolick Faith, after *Arius*, he in the first place names this person: his words are these: *Potamius Olyssponæ civitatis Episcopus*, &c. i. e. Potamius *Bishop of* Lisbon *was at first a Defender of the Catholick Faith, but afterwards induced by the reward of a Farm belonging to the Emperours Revenue (which he was very desirous of,) he corrupted the Faith.* Hosius *of* Corduba *amongst the Churches in* Spain *detected this man, and repelled him as being an impious Heretick. But, even* Hosius *himself, summoned before the Emperour* Constantius *by the complaint of this* Potamius, *and terrified with threats, was fearfull (being old and rich) of banishment, or proscription, and so yielded to the impiety.* Valesius.

In regard there seemeth to have been some difference concerning the Faith, all things were diligently inquired into and discussed at Sirmium, *in the presence of* Valens, Ursacius, Germinius [1] *and the rest. It is manifest that there is one God the Father Almighty, according as it is declared over the whole world: and his one only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord* [m] *and God and Saviour, begotten of his Father before ages. But it must not be asserted that there are two Gods, because the Lord himself hath said,* * I go unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. *Therefore he is God even of all, as the Apostle also hath taught,*

* John 20.17.

† Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: Seeing it is one God who shall justifie the Circumcision by Faith. *Moreover, all other things agree, nor have they any ambiguity. But whereas very many are disturbed about that term which in* Latine *is called* † Substantia, *and in* Greek Ousia *(that is, that it may be more accurately understood, the word* ‡ Homoöusion *or* * Homoiousion,) *these termes ought in no wise to be mentioned, nor discoursed of publickly in the Church, for this reason, and upon this account, because there is nothing Recorded concerning them in the Divine Scriptures, and in regard these things are above the reach of humane knowledge and mind of man, nor can any one declare the Son's Generation, according as it is written,* || And who shall declare his Generation? *For 'tis manifest that only the Father knows how he begat the Son; and again, that the Son* [*only knows,*] *how he was begotten of the Father. It cannot be doubtful to any man that the Father is greater in honour, dignity, and divinity, and that he is greater in that very name of a Father: the Son himself attesting,* † The Father who sent me is greater than I. *No man is ignorant that this is Catholick* [*Doctrine,*] *that there are two Persons of the Father and of the Son, and that the Father is the greater: but that the Son is made subject, together with all other things which the Father hath subjected to himself. That the Father hath no beginning, and is invisible, immortal, and impassible: but that the Son was born of the Father, God of God, Light of Light. And that no man knows his Generation, (as was said before,) but only the Father. That the Son himself our Lord and God, took flesh, or a body, that is* [*was made*] *man, according as the Angel Evangelized. And according as all the Scriptures do teach, and especially the Apostle himself, the Teacher of the Gentiles, Christ received humanity of the Virgin* Mary, *by which he suffered. This is the Principal Head of the whole Faith, and its confirmation, that the Trinity must be always preserved according as we read in the Gospel:* † Go ye and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. *The number of the Trinity is entire and perfect. But the* Paraclete, *the holy Ghost, was sent by the Son, and he came according to promise, that he might Sanctifie and* [n] *Teach the Apostles and all Believers.*

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‡ Rom. 3. 29, 30.

† *Substance, or Essence.*

‡ That is, *of the same Substance, or Essence.*

* That is *of like Substance, or Essence.*

|| Esai. 53. 8.

† See John 14. 28.

† Matth. 28. 19.

[n] In *Athanasius* it is, ἀναδιδάξῃ *that he might teach.* Valesius.

They attempted to perswade *Photinus* to give his * consent to, and subscribe these things, even after his deposition, promising that they would restore him his Bishoprick, in case by altering his mind he would *Anathematize* the opinion which he had invented, and consent to their sentiments. But he accepted not of that proposition; but challenged them to dispute. A day therefore being set, by the Emperours own appointment, the Bishops there present met, and also not a few of the [o] *Senatorian* Order, whom the Emperour commanded to be present at the dispute.

* See chap. 29. note (*b.*)

[o] *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Photinian.*) relates, that *Photinus*, after he had been condemned and deposed in the Synod of *Sirmium*, (for so the reading must be, not, *in the Synod of Serdica.*) went to *Constantius*, and requested that he might dispute concerning the Faith before Judges by him nominated: and that *Constantius* enjoyned *Basilius* Bishop of *Ancyra* to undertake the disputation against *Photinus*, and gave leave, that *Thalassius*, *Datianus*, *Cerealis*, and *Taurus*, who were *Counts*, should be Judges or auditours of that disputation. Amongst these *Thalassius* was the chief person in favour and authority with the Emperour (as *Zosimus* tells us in *his second book.*) And was sent *Præfect* of the *Pretorium* into the East together with *Gallus Cæsar*, in the year of Christ 351. He died in the year of our Lord 353, in the *sixth Consulate* of *Constantius Augustus*, and in the second of *Gallus Cæsar*; as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates book 14. Therefore the Synod of *Sirmium*, and the disputation

[1] These three words [καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, *and the rest*] occur not in the *Latine* Copy of this Draught of the Creed. But they are extant in *Athanasius*, and in all our M. SS. Copies. Hence 'tis manifest that many Bishops were at that time convened at *Sirmium*. Indeed *Phœbadius* Bishop of *Angolesm* [in France,] *in the Epistle he wrote against this Draught of the Creed*, does expressly affirm that it was published in a Synod of Bishops. The same is sufficiently confirmed by *Athanasius*, in the forequoted place. Lastly, in regard *Hilarius* (in his foresaid book) does attest, that this Creed, after it had been dictated at *Sirmium*, was forthwith sent to all the Eastern and Western Bishops to be approved by them; he evidently shews it to have been dictated in a Synod. Nor can the Draught of a Creed be any where dictated but in a Synod of Bishops. Further, that *Germinius* here mentioned, was Bishop of *Sirmium*, put into *Photinus's* See upon his being ejected, in the year of Christ 351. *Nicolaus Faber* (in his Preface to *Hilarius's Fragments*,) says that this *Germinius* had before been Bishop of *Cyzicum*; which I do not believe. That place in *Athanasius* (in *his Epist. ad Solitar.* pag. 860; where he reproves the Emperour *Constantius*, because, contrary to the Ecclesiastick Canons, he would send obscure fellows, born in remote countries, to be Bishops in the Cities;) deceived that Learned man: *Athanasius's* words there are these: ὅτω γεηρόσιον ἀπὸ καππαδοκίας ἔπεμψεν εἰς ἀλεξάνδρειαν, &c. *So he sent Gregorius from Cappadocia to Alexandria. And Germinius was by him sent from the City Cyzicum to Sirmium. From Laodicea he sent Cecropius to Nicomedia.* From these words of *Athanasius* it cannot be concluded, that *Germinius* had been Bishop of *Cyzicum* before. Otherwise, the same must be said concerning *Gregorius* and *Cecropius*, that the latter had been before Bishop of *Laodicea*, and the former in *Cappadocia*, which, in regard 'tis evidently false in these two, cannot be said of *Germinius*. This *Germinius* was preferred to the Episcopate of *Sirmium* by the *Arians*, because he was a most eager defender of their opinion. This we are informed of by *Athanasius*, in *his circular Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya*, pag. 290. *Valesius.*

[m] In the *Allat. and Sfortian.* M.SS. and in *Epiphanius's Version* these words [καὶ θεὸν, *and God*] occur; in *Athanasius* and *Hilarius* they are wanting. *Valesius.*

tation of *Basilius* against *Photinus* cannot fall on the year of Christ 357, as *Baronius* asserts. Besides, *Epiphanius* says further, that in *Basilius*'s disputation against *Photinus*, *Calicrates* was a *Notary*, who had before been *Notary* to *Rufinus Prefect* of the *Prætorium*. Now, *Rufinus* was *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* in the *Gallia's*, in the *sixth Consulate* of *Constantius Augustus*, and in the *second* of *Gallus Cæsar*, as *Amm. Marcellinus* tells us book. 14. But, two years before he had been *Præfect* of *Illyricum*. Now, in the year of Christ 357, *Anatolius*, not *Rufinus*, bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium* in *Illyricum*. Further, it may be evidently concluded from *Germinius*'s being made Bishop, that the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus* (wherein *Photinus* was ejected out of his Bishoprick,) was not held in the year of Christ 357. For, *Germinius* was Bishop of *Sirmium*, before *Georgius* intruded himself into the See of *Alexandria* upon *Athanasius*'s Ejectment, as *Athanasius* relates in the *Circular Letter* he wrote to the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, at such time as *Georgius* was in possession of the *Alexandrian See*. Moreover, *Georgius* entred upon the See of *Alexandria* in the beginning of the year 356, as it is evident from *the protestation* of the *Alexandrians* which is extant at the close of *Athanasius's Epistle ad Solitar.* Seeing therefore *Germinius* was Bishop of *Sirmium* before the year of our Lord 356, *Photinus* also (whom *Germinius* succeeded) must necessarily have been deposed before this year. *Athanasius* (*in Epist. ad Solitar.* pag. 860, where he recounts the ordinations of extraneous persons made by *Constantius*;) does in the first place mention *Gregorius*'s Ordination; then, *Germinius*'s and *Cecropius*'s; afterwards *Auxentius*'s; and at last *Georgius*'s. Amongst these persons, *Gregorius* was made Bishop of *Alexandria* in the year of Christ 341. *Germinius* succeeded *Photinus* in the Episcopate of *Sirmium* in the year 351: after he had been sent for by *Constantius* then residing at *Sirmium*, as *Athanasius* relates in the fore-quoted place; which the Latine Translatour has rendred ill. On the same year *Cecropius* was made Bishop of *Nicomedia*, as it may be concluded from the foresaid passage in *Athanasius*. Lastly, *Auxentius* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Millaine* in the year of our Lord 355: and on the year following *Georgius* thrust himself into the See of *Alexandria*. Valef.

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In their presence, *Basilius*, who at that time presided over the Church at *Ancyra*, opposed *Photinus*, the *Notaries* taking their words in writing. There was a very great contest on both sides during their dispute; wherein *Photinus* being vanquished, was condemned. Spending the residue of his life in exile, he wrote a [p] Book in † both Languages, for he was not unskilled in the *Latine* tongue. He wrote also against all Heresies, asserting his own opinion only. Let thus much be said concerning *Photinus*. Moreover, you must know, that the Bishops convened at *Sirmium* were afterwards [q] displeased with that Draught of the Creed published by them in *Latine*. For it seemed to them, after its publication, to contain many contradictions. Wherefore, they earnestly endeavoured to get it out of their hands who had transcribed it. But, in regard many hid it, the Emperour by his Edicts ordered, that all the Copies of it should be diligently searched for and gathered up, threatning to punish those that should be found concealing of it. But his menaces were unable to suppress it when once published, in regard it had fallen into many mens hands. Thus far concerning this.

[p] In the Allat. M. S. it is [λόγους συνέγραψεν, *he wrote Books*] which reading is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s version. *Valef.*

† That is, in *Greek*, and *Latine*.

[q] *Socrates* borrowed this passage out of *Athanasius's book de Synodis Arimin. & Seleuciæ*. But herein he mistakes; *viz.* what *Athanasius* had said concerning the third form of the Creed drawn up at *Sirmium*, (before which the Consuls names were prefixt,) *Socrates* attributes to the second, composed by *Hosius* and *Potamius*. The place in *Athanasius* is extant at pag. 904: but in regard of its length we forbear quoting the words here. *Petavius* (*in his Animadversions* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 318.) has followed this mistake of *Socrates*'s. Valef.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning Hosius *Bishop of* Corduba.

But, in regard we have mentioned *Hosius* the *Spaniard*, as being against his will present [at *Sirmium*,] we must say something very briefly concerning him. For a little before, this person had been sent into [a] Banishment by the fraudulent practises of the *Arians*. But then, through the earnest desire of those convened at *Sirmium*, the Emperour sent for him, being desirous either to perswade, or else by force to compell him to give consent with those [Bishops] present there. For if this cou'd be accomplished, an evident testimony would seem to be given to their Faith. For this reason therefore, he was present (as I said,) being necessitated thereto against his will. But when he refused to give his consent, they inflicted stripes and tortures upon the old man. Upon which account he was necessitated both to consent to, and subscribe those expositions of the Faith then published. *Socrates*. Such was the conclusion of affaires at that time transacted at *Sirmium*. Moreover, the Emperour *Constantius* continued at *Sirmium*, expecting the event of the War against *Magnentius*.

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[a] I noted before, that *Hosius*'s banishment to *Sirmium*, and the form of the Creed drawn up by him, are here preposterously related by *Socrates*. For *Hosius*'s lapse hapned in the year of Christ 357. as *Baronius* has truly observed. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the overthrow of Magnentius *the Tyrant.*

In the interim, *Magnentius* having possessed himself of the Imperial City *Rome*, slew many of the *Senatorian* Order, and destroyed several of the Populace. But as soon as *Constantius*'s Commanders, having got together a body of *Romans*, marched out against him, he left *Rome*, and went into the *Gallia's*. Where there hapned continual engagements; and sometimes one side, sometimes the other got the better. But in fine, *Magnentius* having been worsted about *Mursa*, which is a Fort of the *Gallia's*, was Besieged there. In which Fort such a miraculous accident as this is said to have hapned. *Magnentius* attempting to encourage his Souldiers disheartned at their overthrow, ascended a lofty tribunal. His men, desirous to receive him with the shouts and acclamations usually given to the Emperours, contrary to their intent diverted them to *Constantius*. For by a general consent they all cried out, not *Magnentius*, but *Constantius Augustus*. *Magnentius* looking upon this to be an * *Omen* of his imminent Ruine, departed immediately out of the Garrison, and fled to the further parts of the *Gallia's*. *Constantius*'s Commanders followed him with a very close pursuit. Whereupon there hapned another Engagement at a place called [a] *The Mountain Seleucus*: wherein *Magnentius* being totally Routed, fled alone to *Lyons* a City of *Gallia*, three days journey distant from the Fort at *Mursa*. *Magnentius* having got into *Lyons*, in the first place killed his own mother. Then he slew his brother, whom he had created *Cæsar*; and at last laid violent hands upon himself. This was done in the sixth Consulate of *Constantius*, and in *Constantius Gallus*'s second Consulate, [b] about the fifteenth of the month *August*. Not long after, another of *Magnentius*'s brothers, his name *Decentius*, finished his own life, by hang-

* Signe.

[a] In the Allat. M. S. this place is called [μονοσέλευκος, *Montoseleucus.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* terms it *The mountain Seleucus*. We have the site of this place in the *Jerusalem Itinerary*. Valef.

[b] It is something otherwise in *Idatius's Fasti*: thus: *in the sixth Consulate of Constantius and the second of Constantius Gallus, Magnentius killed himself in the Gallia's at Lyons, on the third of the Ides of August; and Decentius, brother to Magnentius, hanged himself on the fifteenth of the Kalends of September.* In the *Alexandr. Chronicle*, the year of *Magnentius*'s death is falsely set down; but the day is noted to have been on the fourteenth of the *Ides* of *August*. Valef.

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ing of himſelf. Such was *Magnentius* his exit. But the publick affairs of the Empire returned not to a perfect degree of tranquillity. For ſoon after this another Tyrant aroſe, by name *Silvanus*. But *Conſtantius*'s Commanders quickly deſtroyed him, whilſt he was making diſturbances in the *Gallia*'s.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Jews *inhabiting* Dio-Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine.

AT the ſame time alſo that theſe things happened, there aroſe another inteſtine War in the *Eaſt*. For the *Jews*, who inhabited *Dio-Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, took Arms againſt the *Romans*, and overran and deſtroyed the adjacent places. But *Gallus* (who was alſo named *Conſtantius*, whom the Emperour, having created him *Cæſar*, had ſent into the *Eaſt*) ſent an Army againſt them, and Routed them. And by his order their City *Dio-Cæſarea* was totally deſtroyed.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning Gallus Cæſar.

Gallus having done this, was unable [with moderation] to bear his proſperous ſucceſs: but immediately attempted to raiſe innovations againſt him by whom he had been created *Cæſar*, and he himſelf was alſo reſolved to play the Tyrant. But, whereas his deſign was ſoon diſcovered by *Conſtantius*: (For *Gallus* had upon his own authority ordered *Domitianus*, at that time *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the *Eaſt*, and *Magnus* the *Quæſtor*, to be ſlain, becauſe they had [a] acquainted the Emperour with his deſign.) *Conſtantius* highly incenſed thereat, ſent for *Gallus* to him. He, being in a very great fear, went unwillingly. When he arrived in the Weſtern parts, and was come as far as the Iſland *Flanona*, *Conſtantius* ordered he ſhould be ſlain. Not long after, he created *Julianus*, *Gallus*'s Brother, *Cæſar*, and ſent him againſt the *Barbarians* in *Gallia*. Moreover, *Gallus* (called alſo *Conſtantius*) was ſlain in the *ſeventh Conſulate* of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, when he himſelf was Conſul the third time. On the year following, in the Conſulate of *Arbetion* and *Lollianus*, *Julianus* was created *Cæſar*, on the ſixth of the month *November*. Concerning *Julianus* we ſhall make a further mention in our following book. But *Conſtantius* having got rid of his preſent miſchiefs and diſquietudes, bent his mind again to an Eccleſiaſtick War. For going from *Sirmium* to the Imperial City *Rome*, he again ſummoned a Synod of Biſhops, and ordered ſome of the Eaſtern Biſhops to haſten into [b] *Italy*; and at the ſame time commanded the Weſtern Biſhops to meet there alſo. But in the interim that they were making preparation to go into *Italy*, this accident hapned: [c] *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* died, having Preſided over the Church there fifteen years: *Liberius* ſucceeded him in his Biſhoprick.

[a] I corrected this place by the aſſiſtance of the Allat. M. S. of *Sozomen*, and *Cedrenus*. In the Allat. M.S. the reading is [ἀνεῖλε μηνύσαντας βασιλεῖ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶ. *He ſlew them becauſe they had acquainted the Emperour with his deſign.*] *Sozomen*'s words (book 4. chap. 7.) are almoſt the ſame. But *Epiphanius*, our M. SS. Copies, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* retain the Vulgar reading, to wit, μὴ μηνύσας τῶ βασιλεῖ, He (that is, *Gallus*) *having not acquainted the Emperour with his deſign of ſlaying Domitianus*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [ὅθι τὴν Γαλλίαν into Gallia] the reading in the Allat. M. S. is truer; which is [ὅθι τὴν Ἰταλίαν *into Italy*:] which reading we have followed in our Verſion. *Valſ.*

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[c] *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* died on the *twelfth of April*, when *Conſtantius Auguſtus* was *Conſul* the fifth time, and *Conſtantius Cæſar* the firſt time; which was the year of Chriſt 352: after he had ſat Biſhop fifteen years, one month, and eleven days; as it is recorded in *the Antient book concerning the Roman* Biſhops, which is publiſhed together with *Victorius Aquitanus's Cycle*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning Aëtius *the* Syrian, Eunomius's *Maſter*.

AT *Antioch* in *Syria* there aroſe another Arch-Heretick, *Aëtius*, ſurnamed *Atheus*. He had the ſame ſentiments with *Arius*, and maintained the ſame opinion. But he ſeparated himſelf from the *Arian* party, becauſe they had admitted *Arius* into communion. For *Arius* (as I ſaid * before) eſpouſing one opinion in his mind, made an open profeſſion of another with his mouth, when he hypocritically conſented to, and ſubſcribed the form of the Creed [drawn up] at the Synod of *Nice*, that he might deceive the then Emperour. Upon this account therefore *Aëtius* ſeparated himſelf from the *Arians*. Moreover, *Aëtius* had formerly been an Hereticall perſon, and a very zealous defender of *Arius*'s opinion. For after he had been a little inſtructed at *Alexandria*, he returned from thence. And arriving at *Antioch* in *Syria* (for there he was born) he was Ordained Deacon by *Leontius*, at that time Biſhop of *Antioch*. Immediately therefore he aſtoniſhed thoſe that diſcourſed him with the novelty of his ſpeeches. And this he did, truſting in *Ariſtotle's Categories*; (that Book is ſo entitled by its Authour,) from the Rules whereof he diſcourſed, but was inſenſible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to the deceiving of his own ſelf, nor had he learned the ſcope of *Ariſtotle* from knowing perſons. For *Ariſtotle*, upon account of the Sophiſters who at that time derided Philoſophy, wrote *that Exercitation* for young men, and oppoſed the Sophiſters with the art of diſcourſe by ſubtile reaſonings. Wherefore the [a] *Ephecticks* who expound *Plato*'s and *Plotinus*'s works, do find fault with what *Ariſtotle* has ſubtilly and artificially aſſerted [in that work.] But *Aëtius*, having never had an *Academick* Maſter, ſtuck cloſe to the *Sophiſmes* of the *Categories*. Upon which account he could neither underſtand how there could be a generation [b] without a beginning, nor how he that was begotten could be coëternal with him who begat him. Yea, *Aëtius* was a man of ſo little learning, ſo unskilled in the ſacred Scriptures, and ſo wholly exerciſed in and addicted to a contentious and diſputative humour, (which every Ruſtick may eaſily do;) that he was not in

* Book 1. chap. 38.

[a] Who theſe *Ephecticks* were, we may know from *Diogenes Laërtius*: Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων, οἱ μὲν γεγόνασι, δογματικοὶ οἱδὲ ἐφεκτικοί. &c. *Philoſophers* (ſays he) *were generally divided into two ſorts; ſome were termed* Dogmatici, *who diſcourſed concerning things as they might be comprehended: others were called* Ephectici, *who define nothing, and diſpute of things ſo as they cannot be comprehended.* See *Diogen Laërt.* in *Proëm. de Vit. Philoſ.* pag. 10. *Edit. Colon. Allobrog.* 1616. of theſe *Ephecticks* (whom we may in Engliſh call *Doubters*) the *Scepticks* were one *Species*.

[b] In the original, the term is [ἀγένητος *unbegotten*] which is uſed inſtead of [ἄναρχος *without a beginning*;] wherefore, we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

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in the least studious in the perusal of those Ancient writers who have explained the sacred Books of the Christian Religion, but wholly rejected *Clemens*, *Africanus*, and *Origen*, persons expert in all manner of knowledge and literature. But he patcht together Epistles, both to the Emperour *Constantius*, and to some other persons, knitting together therein trifling and contentious disputes, and inventing subtile and fallacious arguments. Upon which account he was surnamed * *Atheus*. But although his assertions were the same with those of the *Arians*; yet because they were unable to understand his difficult and perplexed † *Syllogismes*, he who had the same sentiments with them, was by those of his own party judged to be an Heretick. And for this reason he was driven from their Church; but he himself pretended that he would not communicate with them. There are at this present some Hereticks propagated from him, [to wit,] those who were heretofore called *Aëtians*, but now they are termed *Eunomians*. For *Eunomius* (who had been *Aëtius*'s *Notary*,) having been instructed in that [c] Heretical opinion by him, afterwards Headed that Sect. But we shall speak concerning *Eunomius* in due place.

* That is, *one that believes there is no God.*

† Or, *methods of arguing.*

[c] In the Alsatian M.S. instead of [τὴν αἱρετικὴν λέξιν, *that Hæretical opinion*] the reading is [τὴν ἐριστικὴν λέξιν, *that contentious and verbose way of disputing:*] but *Epiphanius Scholasticus* follows the vulgar reading, and so does *Suidas*, in the word [ἀέτιος] where he transcribes this passage of our *Socrates*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the Synod at Millaine.

AT that time the Bishops met in *Italy*; there came not very many of the Eastern Bishops, in regard most of them were hindred from coming either by their great age, or by the length of the journey: but of the Western Bishops there met above [a] three hundred. For it was the Emperours order, that a Synod should be held at the City of *Millaine*. Where being met together, the Eastern Bishops requested that in the first place sentence might by a general consent be pronounced against *Athanasius*: that so, that having been effected, he might in future be perfectly disabled from returning to *Alexandria*. But when [b] *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* in *Gallia*, and *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius*, (the former of whom was Bishop of [c] *Alba* the *Metropolis* of *Italy*, and the latter of *Vercellæ* which is a City of *Liguria* in *Italy*,) were sensible, that the Eastern Bishops, by a ratification of the sentence against *Athanasius*, attempted the subversion of the Faith, they arose and with great earnestness cryed out, that deceit and fraud was covertly designed against the Christian Religion by what was transacted: for they said, that the accusation against *Athanasius* was not true, but that these things were invented by them in order to the depravation of the Faith. After they had with loud voices spoken all this, the congress of Bishops was for that time dissolved.

[a] We meet with the same number in *Sozomen*, book 4. chap. 9. But 'tis scarce credible that so great a number of Bishops should have been convened at this *Council* of *Millaine*: I should rather think that the copies of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* were false; and that instead of [τριακοσίους *three hundred*] it should be [τριακοντα *thirty.*] In the Epistle of the Council of *Millaine* sent to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellæ*, there are the names of thirty Bishops only, who consented to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, and *Photinus*. Amongst whom some Eastern Bishops are recounted, as you may see in *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 355. *Vales.*

[b] *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* was not present at the *Council* of *Millaine*, but at that of *Orleance*, which had been convened two years before, in the year of Christ 353. See *Baronius*. Vales.

[c] The reading is the same in *Sozomen*, book 4. chap. 9. But *Baronius* has long since remarked, that *Alba* is here put instead of *Millaine*. For *Millaine* (not *Alba*) was the *Metropolis* of *Italy*. And *Dionysius*, who then opposed *Constantius* and the *Arians*, was not Bishop of *Alba*, but of *Millaine*, as *Athanasius* attests in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* Vales.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the Synod at Ariminum, *and concerning the* [*Draught of the*] *Creed which was published there.*

WHen the Emperour understood this, He removed * them out of the way by banishment. And resolved to convene a General Council, that so, by drawing all the Eastern Bishops into the West, he might (if it were possible) reduce them all to an agreement in opinion. But in regard the tediousness of the Journey rendred this design of his difficult, he ordered the Synod should be divided into two parts, permitting those then present to meet at *Ariminum* [a City] of *Italy*. But by his Letters he gave the Eastern Bishops order to assemble at *Nicomedia* [a City] of *Bithynia*. [a] The Emperour issued out these orders with a design to unite them in opinion. But this design of his had not a successful event. For neither of the Synods agreed amongst themselves, but each of them was divided into contrary factions. For neither could they convened at *Ariminum* be brought to agree in one and the same opinion: and those Eastern Bishops gathered together at *Seleucia* of *Isauria* raised another Schism. Moreover, after what manner all these matters were transacted, we will declare in the procedure of our History, having first made mention of some few passages concerning *Eudoxius*. For about that time [b] *Leontius* (who had ordained *Aetius* the Heretick Deacon) departing this life, *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Germanicia* a City of *Syria*, being then present at *Rome*, considered with himself that he was to make haste. And having framed a cunning discourse with the Emperour, as if the City *Germanicia* stood in need of his consolation and defence, he requested that leave might be granted him to make a sudden return. The Emperour foreseeing nothing [of a design,] sent him away. But he, having procured the chiefest persons of the Bedchamber to the Emperour to be his assistants, left his own City [*Germanicia*,] and * clancularly possest himself of the Episcopate of *Antioch*: immediately after which he attempted to favour *Aëtius*, and made it his business to assemble a Synod of Bishops, and [c] restore him to his dignity, [to wit,] his † *Diaconate*. But he was in no wise able to effect this, because the hatred conceived against *Aëtius* was more prevalent than *Eudoxius*'s earnestness for him. Thus much concerning these things. But when the Bishops were assembled at *Ariminum*, *Aëtius* to a *diaconate*: but being afterwards reproved by *Diodorus* and *Flavianus*, because he had advanced a person to sacred orders who had been bred up in ill studies, and was an assertour of impious Tenets; he divested him of his Deaconship, as *Theodoret* relates (*Eccles. Hist.* book 2. chap. 24.) *Eudoxius* therefore, as soon as he had gotten the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, attempted to restore *Aëtius* to his former preferment. *Vales.*

* That is, *Paulinus*, *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius.*

[a] These words [ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Βασιλεὺς σκοπῷ τῆς ὁμοφωνίας ἐπέλευσεν. i. e. *The Emperour issued out these orders with a designe to unite them in opinion*] are wanting in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition: we have inserted them, upon the authority of the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M.SS. *Vales.*

[b] The death of *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch* happned in the year of Christ 356; *Constantius* residing then at *Rome*, as *Baronius* has truly remarked. *Vales.*

* Ὑποφυξας, *undermined*, or *burrowed into the Bishoprick of Antioch.*

† *Deaconship.*

[c] *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch*, had at first preferred

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the Eastern Prelates affirmed that they were come to the Council with a design wholly to omit the mention of the accusations against *Athanasius*. This desire and resolution of theirs was assisted by *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who at the beginning had been defenders of *Arius*'s opinion: but [afterwards] they publickly consented to the term *Homoüsios*, by their Libel given in to the Bishop of *Rome*, as we said * before. For these persons always inclined to the strongest side. They were assisted by *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*. When therefore some were ready to propose one thing in the congress of Bishops then present, and some another; *Ursacius* and *Valens* said, that all Forms of the Creed heretofore published were to be accounted null and void; and that that last draught was to be admitted and approved of, which they had a little before published in their convention at *Sirmium*. Having said this, they caused a paper, which they had in their hands, to be read; [wherein was contained] another Form of the Creed (which they had drawn up before at *Sirmium*, but concealed it there, as I said * before) which they then made publick at *Ariminum*. This [d] Creed was translated out of *Latine* [into *Greek*;] the contents thereof are these.

* Book 2. chap. 12.

* Chap. 30.

[d] We remark't before, (book 2. chap. 30. note *(b.)* that this third Exposition of Faith was not translated out of *Latine*; but was at first dictated in *Greek* by *Marcus Arethusius*. *Athanasius*, who has recorded this Creed in his book *de Synodis*, does not say it was translated out of *Latine*; and yet, where-ever he produceth any monument rendred into *Greek* out of the *Latine* tongue, his continual usage is to give the Reader warning of it. Further, these words [ἡ τῆς ἐκ ῥωμαϊκῆς μὲν ἡρμηνεύθη, δεῖ δὲ ἐν τέλοις τοῖς ῥήμασι, i.e. *This Creed was translated out of Latine* [*into Greek*,] *the contents thereof are these*] are wanting in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition; nor are they in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s *Version*. Vales.

This Catholick Creed was published in the presence of our Lord Constantius, *in the Consulate of the most Eminent* Flavius Eusebius *and* Hypatius, *at* Sirmium, *on the eleventh of the* Kalends *of* June.

We believe in one only and true God, the Father Almighty, Creatour and Framer of all things. And in one only begotten Son of God, who was begotten of God, without passion, before all Ages, and before every beginning, and before all time conceivable in the mind, and before every comprehensible [e] *notion: by whom the Ages were framed, and all things were made. Who was begotten the only begotten of the Father, the only of the only, God of God, like to the Father who begat him, according to the Scriptures. Whose Generation no person knoweth, but only the Father who begat him. We know that this only begotten Son of God, by his Father's appointment, came down from heaven in order to the abolishing of sin: and was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and conversed with the Disciples, and fulfilled every dispensation according to his Fathers will: and was crucified, and died, and descended into the Infernal parts, and set in order what was to be done there. At the sight of whom the doorkeepers of hell trembled. He arose again on the third day, and conversed with his Disciples: and after the completion of fourty days, he ascended into the heavens, and sits at the right hand of his Father. And he shall come in the last day in his Fathers Glory, and render to every man according to his works. And* [we believe] *in the holy Ghost, whom the only begotten Son of God* Jesus Christ *himself promised to send as a* Comforter *to mankind, according as it is written:* I go away to my Father, and I will pray my Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, the spirit of truth. He shall receive of mine, and shall teach you, and bring all things to your remembrance. *But, for the term* * Ousia, *in regard it has been used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense, and, being not understood by the people, gives an offence to many, in as much as it is not contained in the Scriptures, we thought good to have it wholly removed, and in future to make no mention at all of this term* Ousia, *when God is spoken of, in regard the sacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the substance of the Father and of the Son. But* [f] *we do assert, that the Son is in all things like the Father, as the sacred Scriptures do affirm and teach.*

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* *Substance.*

[e] In *Athanasius*'s book *de Synodis* pag. 875; the reading is [πρὸ πάσης καταλήψεως οὐσίας, *before every comprehensible substance.*] Vales.

[f] The latter part of this *Sirmian* Creed is set down by *Germinius in his Epistle to Rufianus, Palladius*, and others, in these words: *Nam sub bonæ memoriæ Constantio Imperatore*, &c. *For under the Emperour Constantius of good memory, when there began to be a dissention amongst some concerning the Faith; in the presence of the said Emperour, there being also present* Georgius *Bishop of the* Alexandrian *Church*, Pancratius *of* Pelusium, Basilius *at that time Bishop of* Anquititum, Valens, Ursacius, *and our slenderness; after a dispute had concerning the Faith untill night, when it was reduced to a certain Rule,* Marcus *was chosen by us all to dictate it: in which Creed it is thus written, The Son is in all things like the Father, as the divine Scriptures do affirm and teach. To which entire profession of Faith we all gave our consent, and subscribed it with our hands.* Their subscriptions are extant in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Semiarian.* cap. 22.) which ought to be annexed to this draught of the Creed. The same form of the *Sirmian* Creed is mentioned in the *Exposition of the Faith at Seleucia*, which *Epiphanius* hath recorded in the *foresaid Heresie*, chap. 25; in these words: ὅτι δὲ πάντη τῇ πίστει ἰσοδυναμεῖ ἡ ἐν σιρμίῳ τοῦτον ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις, &c. i.e. *Moreover, that that Draught of the Creed heretofore published at* Sirmium *in the presence of the piety of our Emperour* [Constantius] *does exactly agree with this form of the Creed, is very well known by them who have read that Creed; which was subscribed by them that were then present, to wit,* Basilius, Marcus, Georgius *Bishop of* Alexandria, Pancratius, Hypatianus, *and most of the Western Bishops.* Vales.

After the reading of this paper, those who were displeased with the contents thereof, rose up and said: we came not hither because we wanted a Creed. For we keep that entire, which we have received from our Ancestours. But [we are met,] that if any innovation hath hapned concerning it, we might repress it. If therefore what hath been recited doth contain nothing of novelty in it, do you now openly *Anathematize* the *Arian* Heresie, in such sort as the ancient Rule of the Church hath rejected other Heresies, as being blasphemous. For, it has been made manifest to the whole world, that *Arius*'s impious opinion hath been the occasion of those tumults and disturbances, which have hapned in the Church untill this present time. This proposall, being not admitted of by *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*, wholly rent in sunder the Church. For these persons adhered to what had been recited in the Synod of *Ariminum*. But the others did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed. Moreover, they derided the inscription prefixt before the Creed which had been read. And especially [g] *Athanasius*, in the Epistle he sent to his acquaintance, where he writes word for word thus.

[g] The passage in *Athanasius* here quoted by *Socrates*, occurs at the beginning of *his Epistle de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*. Vales.

For what was wanting to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church as concerning piety, that disquisitions should now be made about the Faith, and that they should prefix the Consulate of the present times before that Draught of the Creed (forsooth!) which they have published? For Ursacius, Valens, *and* Germinius, *have done that which never was done, or so much as ever heard of amongst* Christians. *For having composed such a form*

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form of the Creed as they were willing to admit of, they prefixt before it the Consulate, the month, and the day of the present year, in order to their making it manifest to all prudent persons, that their Faith had not its beginning before, but now under the Reign of Constantius. *For, they have written* [h] *all things with a respect had to their own Heresie. Besides, pretending to write concerning the Lord, they name another to be their Lord,* [*to wit,*] Constantius. *For he it was, who influenced and authorized their impiety. And they who deny the Son to be Eternal, have stiled him* [i] *Eternal Emperour: such bitter enemies are they against Christ, by reason of their impiety! But perhaps, the holy Prophets specifying of the time* [*wherein they prophesied*] *gave them an occasion of assigning the Consulate. Now, should they be so audacious as to assert this, they would most egregiously betray their own ignorance. For the prophesies of those holy persons do indeed contain a mention of the times.* Isaiah *and* Hosea *lived* * in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Jeremiah, † in the days of Josiah. Ezekiel *and* Daniel [*flourish't*] *under* Cyrus *and* Darius. *And others prophesied in other times: but they did not then lay the foundations of Religion. For that was in being before their times, and always was, even before the foundation of the world, God having prepared it for us by Christ. Nor did they thereby manifest the times of their own Faith. For even before those times they themselves were believers. But the times* [*which they mention*] *were the times of the Promise* [*which God made*] *by them. Now, the chief and principal head of the Promise was concerning our Saviours Advent. And by way of* * Addition. * Appendix *those things were added which should in future happen to* Israel *and to the Gentiles. These were the times manifested* [*by them, whereby was declared*] *not the beginning of Faith, as we said before, but the times wherein those Prophets themselves lived and foretold these things.* † He speaks Ironically. *But these* † *Wise men in our days (whenas they neither compose Histories, nor predict future things, but) having written* [*these words,*] The Catholick Faith was published, *immediately add the Consulate, the month, and the day. And, as those holy persons wrote the History of affairs* [*in their age, and noted*] *the times of their own ministration; so these men do manifest the time of their own Faith. And would to God they had written concerning their own Faith only; (for now they first began to believe:) and had not attempted* [*to write*] *concerning the Catholick* [*Faith!*] *For they have not written,* Thus we believe: *but after this manner,* The Catholick Faith was published. *The audaciousness therefore of this design does reprehend their impiety: but the novelty of the* * Expression *by them invented is altogether like the* Arian *Heresie. For by their writing after this manner they have informed* [*all persons,*] *when they themselves began first to believe; and from what instant they are desirous their Faith should be Preached. And, according to that saying of* Luke *the* Evangelist, * A Decree [of Enrolment] was published; (*which* [*Edict*] *was not before, but it began from those times, and was published by him that wrote it:*) *so these persons by writing thus,* The Faith is now published, *have demonstrated, that the Tenets of their Heresie are novitious, and were not in former times. But, in as much as they add the term* Catholick, *they are insensible of their falling into the* [k] *impious opinion of the* † Cataphrygæ: *and as they did, so do these assert,* [*saying,*] the Faith of the Christians was first revealed to us, and took its beginning from us. *And, as they stiled* Maximilla *and* Montanus, *so these term* Constantius *their Lord and Master, instead of Christ. But if, according to them, the Faith took its beginning from this Consulate, what will the Fathers, and the blessed Martyrs do? Moreover, what will they themselves do with such persons as were catechized and instructed by them, and died before this Consulate? How will they raise them to life again, that they may root out of their minds what they seemed to have taught them, and implant in them those* [*sentiments,*] *which, as they write, are newly invented by them? To such a degree of ignorance are they arrived, being only well skilled in framing Pretexts, and they such as are undecent and improbable, and which may be presently confuted.*

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* See Luk. 2. 1.

Thus wrote *Athanasius* to those of his acquaintance. Such as are Lovers of learning (after they have found out this letter) may understand the powerfull expressions therein contained. For we, having an aversion for prolixity, have inserted but part thereof here. Further, you are to take notice, that the Synod deposed *Valens, Ursacius, Auxentius, Germinius, Caius,* and *Demophilus,* because they would not *Anathematize* the *Arian* opinion. Wherefore they highly resenting their deposition, hastned forthwith to the Emperour, carrying along with them that Draught of the Creed which had been read in the Synod. And the Synod acquainted the Emperour with their determinations, by their letter: the purport whereof, being translated out of *Latine* into *Greek*, is this.

The Letter of the *Ariminum Synod* to the Emperour *Constantius*.

[1] *By Gods will, and the Command of your Piety,*

[1] This Letter of the *Ariminum* Synod is extant in *Latine*, in *Hilarius*, amongst *the Fragments of his book de Synodis*, pag. 451. *Edit. Paris.* 1631: out of whom we have transcribed it, and placed it here instead of a Version. It ought not to seem strange to any person, to see so great a disagreement between the *Greek* Version and the original *Latine* Copy of this Epistle. For this is an usual thing with *Greek* Translatours, as often as they render *Latine* into *Greek*; which may be easily perceived from the Emperours Rescripts, which occur in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*. But, we need not fetch examples hereof from any other place, than from this Letter: in which do occur almost as many mistakes in the *Greek* translation of it, as there are periods in the Letter. But, the beginning of this Letter is commonly thus worded in *Hilarius*: *Lubente Deo ex præcepto pietatis Tuæ credimus fuisse dispositum, &c. By Gods pleasure we believe it hath been ordered by the Command of your Piety,* &c. But in the M. S. Copy made use of by *Jacobus Sirmondus*, the reading is thus: *Jubente Deo,* &c. *By Gods will,* &c. So the *Greek Translatour* reads it: whom we have followed in this place. Any one may with good reason conjecture, that [*Jubente Deo, By Gods will*] *is written instead of* [*Juvante Deo, By Gods assistance.*] Vales.

[h] We read [*πάντα all things*] as it is in *Athanasius*: See the forequoted passage. *Vales.*

[i] For this is the title prefixt before the exposition of Faith at *Sirmium* [*Ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως ἣν κατὰ λέξιν ὅπως παρασχὼν τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ νικητῇ Κωνσταντίῳ αὐγούστῳ τῷ αἰωνίῳ στέφει, &c. This Catholick Creed was expounded and published in the presence of our Lord the most pious and Victorious Emperour* Constantius Augustus, *Eternal Augustus,* &c.] as it is extant in *Athanasius*, at the forequoted place. Which words I therefore annext here, because our *Socrates*, in his recitation of that Draught of the Creed, has omitted these titles. Indeed *Constantius* did so readily give credence to such flatteries as these, that speaking of himself in his Edicts and Letters, he would sometimes assert *his own eternity*. This is attested by *Amm. Marcellinus*, not far from the beginning of *his fifteenth book*, in these words: *Quo ille* (speaking of *Constantius*) *studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatus immunemq; se deinde fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim à justitia declinavit ita intemperanter, ut* ÆTERNITATEM MEAM *aliquoties subsereret ipse dictando,* &c. *Vales.*

* See Isai. 1. 1. and Hosea 1. 1.

† Jeremiah 1. 2.

[k] In *Athanasius* the reading is [*εἰς τὴν ἀφροσύνην, into the madness:*] which is the better reading: for he means the *Montanists*, to whom madness is deservedly attributed. The term here, in *Socrates*, is [*ἀσεβοφρόνειαν, impious opinion.*] Vales.

† See *Eusebius Eccles.* Hist. book 4. chap. 27. note (*c.*) and book 5. chap. 18.

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we believe Order has been taken, that we Weſtern Biſhops ſhould come out of divers Provinces to the * City of Ariminum: that the Faith of the Catholick Church might be made apparent to all men, and that Hereticks might be notified. For whilſt all of us (who entertain ſuch ſentiments as are true) could review and conſider matters, our determination was to hold the Faith which hath continued from [all] antiquity, which we have received by the Prophets, Goſpels, and Apoſtles, by God himſelf and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the preſerver of your Empire and Doner of your † ſafety. For we accounted it a thing deteſtable to maim any of thoſe matters which have been rightly and juſtly determined; and [to take away any thing] from thoſe perſons, who were Aſſeſſours in the Nicene * Treaty, together with Conſtantine of glorious Memory the Father of your Piety. Which Treaty hath been manifeſted and inſinuated into the minds of the people, and is found to have been then oppoſed to the Arian hereſie, in ſuch manner that not only that, but other hereſies alſo have thereby been vanquiſhed. From which Treaty ſhould any thing be taken away, a paſſage would be opened to the poiſon of Hereticks. [m] Therefore Urſacius and Valens ſometime lay under a ſuſpicion of [being adherents to] the ſame Arian hereſie, and they were ſuſpended from communion. They alſo begged pardon, as the contents of their Libel do manifeſt. Which they procured at that time from the [n] Council of Millaine, the Embaſſadours of the Church of Rome alſo aſſiſting. Conſtantine being preſent in this [Conſult,] in regard after a ſearching diſquiſition, that [Creed] had been drawn up, (which he believing, and being baptized, departed to Gods reſt,) we look upon it as a thing deteſtable, to make any † Mutilations therein, or in any thing to ſet aſide ſo many Saints, Confeſſours, and ſucceſſours of the Martyrs, who were compoſers of that Treaty; in regard they have kept all things [aſſerted by] the paſt Writers of the Catholick Church. And it hath continued to theſe very times, wherein Your Piety hath received the power of Ruling the World from God the Father by God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But [theſe] wretched men, endewed with an unhappy * Senſe, have again by a temerarious attempt proclaimed themſelves the ſetters forth of impious Doctrine: and even now they endeavour to ſhake what had been founded in reaſon. For when the Letters of Your Piety ordered that the Faith ſhould be Treated of, there was propoſed to us by the forenamed diſturbers of the Churches (Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius having joyned themſelves to them,) a new [Creed] to be conſidered of, which contained much perverſe Doctrine. But when the Creed they propoſed publickly in the Council ſeemed to diſpleaſe, their ſentiments were that it was to be drawn up otherwiſe. And it is manifeſt, that they [p] have in a ſhort time often altered theſe things. But leſt the Churches ſhould be frequently diſturbed, we have determined that the ancient ſanctions ought to be kept ratified and inviolable; and that the forementioned perſons ſhould be removed from our communion. In order therefore to the informing of Your Clemency, we have directed our Legates, who by our Letter will declare the opinion of the Council. To whom we have given this particular only in charge, that they ſhould diſpatch their Embaſſie no otherwiſe, than that the ancient Sanctions may continue firm and inviolable: as alſo that Your Wiſdom might know, that peace cannot be accompliſhed by this which the forenamed Valens, Urſacius, Germinius, and Caius have promiſed, if any thing had been * altered. For how can peace be kept by thoſe who ſubvert peace? For all Regions, and eſpecially the Roman Church hath been involved in greater diſturbances. Upon which account we beſeech Your Clemency, that You would hear and look upon all our Legates with favourable ears, and a ſerene countenance: [q] and that Your Clemency would not permit any thing to be reverſed to the injury of the Ancients, but that all things may continue which we have received from our Anceſtours, who (we are confident) were prudent perſons, and acted not without the holy Spirit of God. Becauſe, not only the believing Populace are diſquieted by that novelty, but alſo Infidels are prohibited from making their approaches to a [r] credulity. We alſo entreat, that You would give order, that as many Biſhops as are deteined at Ariminum (amongſt which there are many that are enfeebled with age and poverty,) may return to their Province; leſt the Populace of the Churches ſuffer dammage by being deſtitute of their Biſhops. But we do with more earneſtneſs petition for this, that no innovation may be made, nothing may be diminiſhed; but that theſe things may remain uncorrupted which have continued in the times of the Father of Your holy Piety, and in Your own Religious days. And, that Your holy Prudence would not ſuffer us to be wearied out, and raviſht from our Sees: but that the Biſhops with their Laity, free from diſquietude, may always attend the [putting up their] Petitions, which they * make for Your health, for Your Empire, and for peace, which may the Divinity grant You to be profound and perpetual, according to Your deſerts. Our Embaſſadours will bring both the ſubſcriptions and alſo the names of the Biſhops or Legates; as they will inform Your [s] holy and Religious Prudence by another writing.

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Thus wrote the Synod, and ſent it by the Biſhops. But Urſacius and Valens having prevented their Arrival, did before-hand calumniate the Synod, ſhewing [the Emperour] the Draught of the Creed, which they had brought along with them. The Emperour, whoſe mind had been long ſince wholly addicted to the Arian opinion, was highly incenſed againſt the Synod: but had a great eſteem and honour for Valens and Urſacius. Wherefore, the perſons ſent by the Synod ſtaied a long while, being unable to get an

* Or, place of the Arimenſians.

† Salvation.

* Or, Conſult.

* Understanding.

* Taken away.

* Or, have.

[m] Theſe words have no very good coherence with the preceding ſentence. I conjecture that this place was tranſpoſed in the Latine Copies. Therefore, next theſe words [a paſſage would be opened to the poiſons of Hereticks,] thoſe, in my judgment, are to be placed, which follow a little after; in this manner: Conſtantine being preſent in this [Conſult,] in regard, after a ſearching diſquiſition, &c. unto theſe words [our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.] To which are to be ſubjoyned theſe [Therefore Urſacius and Valens, &c.] Valeſ.

[n] At chap. 20 of this book, note (a) we have remarkt many things concerning this firſt Synod of Millaine, wherein Urſacius, and Valens having preſented a Libel of ſatisfaction, condemned the Arian Hereſie. The ſaid perſons confirm the ſame in another Libel, which they preſented afterwards to Julius Biſhop of Rome, at Rome; in theſe words: Haereticum vero Arium &c. ſicut per priorem noſtrum Libellum, quem apud Mediolanum porreximus, & nunc & ſemper anathematizaſſe profitemur. Valeſ.

† Maimings.

[p] Theſe words are ſpoken againſt Urſacius and Valens, and their followers; who daily promulged new forms of the Creed, hereby demonſtrating that they had no certain Faith; as Athanaſius frequently objects againſt them. Valeſ.

[q] Here I followed the Greek Tranſlatour of this Epiſtle; and corrected the Latine Copy. For in Hilarius's Fragments, the common reading of this place is this [Ne vel permittat Clementia tua jura vetera convelli, that Your Clemency would not permit the ancient Laws to be reverſed.] In the M. S. Copy, which Sirmondus had ſeen, the reading is [ne vel aliquid permittat clementia tua injuriam veterum convelli.] Whence we ſmelt out the true reading, which we have expreſt in our Verſion. Valeſ.

[r] Here the Greek tranſlatour was grievouſly out; for inſtead of credulity he has rendred it cruelty. Valeſ.

[s] The Greek Tranſlatour of this Letter makes uſe of the term Θεότης, Divinity, here: but in Athanaſius 'tis ὁσιότης, Sanctity. It is improbable that the Biſhops ſhould have ſaid, The Divinity of the Emperour. Valeſ.

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an answer. But at length the Emperour wrote back to the Synod by those that were present, after this manner.

[t] This Letter of *Constantius*'s, together with the answer of the Bishops at *Ariminum*, is extant in *Athanasius*'s book *de Synodis*, near the close of it. *Vales.*

[t] CONSTANTIUS VICTOR and TRIUMPHATOR AUGUSTUS, to all the Bishops convened at *Ariminum*.

That our Chiefest care is always employed about the Divine and venerable Law, even your goodness is not ignorant. Notwithstanding, We could not hitherto see the twenty Bishops sent from your Prudence, who undertook the dispatch of the Embassie from you. For we are wholly intent upon an expedition against the Barbarians. *And, as you know, 'tis fit that a mind exercised about the Divine Law, should be vacated from all care and sollicitude. Wherefore We have ordered the Bishops to expect Our return to* Adrianople, *that, after the publick affairs shall be put into a good and settled posture, we may at length hear and deliberate upon what they shall propose. In the interim, let it not seem troublesome to your gravity to wait for their return, in regard, when they shall come back and bring You our answer, you will be enabled to bring to a conclusion such things as appertain to the utility of the Catholick Church.* When the Bishops had received this Letter, they returned an answer, after this manner.

We have received Your Clemencies Letter, (Lord Emperour Most dear to God!) wherein is conteined, that by reason of the pressing necessity of publick businesse, You could not hitherto see our Embassadours. And You order us to expect their return, till such time as Your Piety shall understand from them what hath been determined by us agreeable to [*the tradition of*] *our Ancestours. But we do by this Letter profess and affirm, that we do in no wise recede from our resolution. And this we have given in charge to our Embassadours. We desire therefore, that with a serene countenance You would both order this present Letter of our Meanness to be read; and also gratiously admit of those things which we have given in charge to our Embassadours. Undoubtedly, Your mildness, as well as we, doth perceive, how great the grief and sadness at present is* [*every where,*] *in regard so many Churches are destitute of their Bishops in these most blessed times of Yours. And therefore, we again beseech Your Clemency, (Lord Emperour Most dear to God!) that before the sharpness of winter (if it may please Your Piety,) You would command us to return to our Churches, in order to our being enabled to* * *put up our usual prayers together with the people, to Almighty God, and to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, in behalf of Your Empire, in such manner as we have always done, and now most earnestly desire to do.*

* Or, perform.

After they had written this Letter, and continued together some small time; in regard the Emperour would not vouchsafe them an answer, they departed every one to his own City. But the Emperour had long before had a designe of disseminating the *Arian* opinion throughout the Churches. Which he then earnestly endeavouring to effect, made their departure a pretext of Contumely, saying that he was despised by them, in regard they had dissolved [the Council] contrary to his will. Wherefore, he gave *Ursacius*'s party free liberty of doing what they pleased against the Churches. He also commanded, that that Draught of the Creed which had been read at *Ariminum*, should be sent to the Churches throughout *Italy*, giving order that such as would not subscribe it, should be put out of the Churches, and others substituted in their places. And in the first place [u] *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, having refused to give his consent to that Creed, is banished, the * *Ursacians* having substituted *Felix* in his place. This *Felix* being a Deacon in the Church of *Rome*, [x] embraced the *Arian* opinion, and was preferred to that Bishoprick. But there are some who affirm, that he was not addicted to the *Arian* opinion, but was by force necessitated to be ordained Bishop. At that time there all places in the West were filled with innovations and disturbances, some being ejected and banished, and others put into their places. And these things were transacted by force, and the authority of the Imperial Edicts, which were also sent into the Eastern parts. Indeed, not long after *Liberius* was recalled from banishment and recovered his own See; the people of *Rome* having raised a Sedition, and ejected *Felix* out of that Church: at which time the Emperour gave them his consent thereto against his will. But the *Ursacians* left *Italy*, went into the Eastern parts, and arrived at a City of *Thracia*, the name whereof was *Nice*. Wherein after they had continued some small time, they made up [y] another Synod there. And having translated that form of the Creed, read at *Ariminum*, into the Greek tongue, (as it has been before related,) they published and confirmed it, giving out that that Creed, which was made publick by them at *Nice*, had been dictated by an *Oecumenicall* Synod; their design being to impose upon the simpler sort of people by the likeness of the [Cities] name. For such persons were ready to think that it was the Creed published at *Nicæa* a City of *Bithynia*. But this cheat was not at all advantagious to them: for it was soon detected; and they themselves continued to be exposed to the reproach and laughter of all men. Let thus much be said concerning what was transacted in the Western parts. We must now pass to the relation of what was done at the same time in the East. And our Narrative must begin from hence.

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[u] *Socrates* is here mistaken. For *Liberius* was not banished, and *Felix* the *Deacon* put into his See, after the *Synod* of *Ariminam*; but long before, in the year of Christ, 356. *Vales.*

* That is, *Ursacius's party.*

[x] In the Kings M.S. (which copy *Robert Stephens* followed,) and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, there are several words wanting in the text at this place: we have made up this chasme from the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M.SS. after this manner [ἐν τῇ Δεκαυῶν δόξῃ παρατεθεὶς, εἰς τὸ Ἐπισκοπὴν παρελήφθη· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες, ὅπως παρεσκευάσθη μὴ τῇ Δεκαυῶν δόξῃ, ᾗ i.e. *embraced the Arian opinion, and was preferred to that Bishoprick. But there are some who affirm,* *that he was not addicted to the Arian opinion, but was by force.*]

Moreover, *Baronius* maintaines, that *Felix* the Deacon, preferred by *Acacius* to *Liberius*'s See, never was an *Arian*, but was defiled with the communion only of the *Arians*. *Theodoret* affirms the same, in the second book chap. 17. of his *Eccles Hist.* And so does *Sozomen* book 4. chap. 11. *Vales.*

[y] The Embassadours of the Synod of *Ariminum* (who were sent to *Constantius*,) having been corrupted by *Ursacius* and *Valens*, held a Council at *Nice* a Town of *Thracia*, on the sixth of the *Ides* of *October*, in the Consulate of *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*. In which Council they in the first place rescinded the sentence of Excommunication, which the *Ariminum* Bishops had pronounced against *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and the rest: and pronounced them to be, and always to have been Catholicks. Then, they published an Hæretical Form of the Creed. Part of their *Acts* are extant in *Hillarius*'s *Fragments*, pag. 452, &c. where are recounted 14 names of those that were Embassadours. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Cruelty of Macedonius, *and the Tumults by him raised.*

THe Bishops of the *Arian* party assumed a greater degree of boldness from the Imperial Edicts. And upon what account they attempted to convene a Synod, we will relate a little afterwards. But we will first briefly recite those

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thoſe things done by them before the Synod *Acacius* and *Patrophilus* having ejected *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, placed *Cyrillus* in his See. *Macedonius* ſubverted the Provinces and Cities [a] lying near to *Conſtantinople*, preferring thoſe that were embarqued in the ſame wicked deſign with him againſt the Churches. He ordained *Eleuſius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*; and *Marathonius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, who had before been a Deacon, placed under *Macedonius*: he was alſo very diligent in founding Monaſteries of men and women. But after what manner *Macedonius* ſubverted the Provinces and Cities which lay round *Conſtantinople*, we are now to declare. This perſon therefore, having poſſeſt himſelf of the Biſhoprick in ſuch a manner as is * before related, did innumerable miſchiefs to thoſe who would not entertain the ſame ſentiments with him. Nor did he perſecute thoſe only who were diſcerned [to be members] of the Church, but the *Novatians* alſo, knowing that they alſo embraced the *Homoöuſian* Faith. Theſe therefore were together with the others diſquieted, undergoing moſt deplorable ſufferings. † Their Biſhop, by name *Agelius*, made his eſcape by flight: But many of them, eminent for their piety, were taken, and tortured, becauſe they would not communicate with him. And after their tortures, they forcibly conſtrained the men to partake of the holy * myſteries. For they wreſted their mouthes open with a piece of wood, and thruſt the Sacrament into them. Such perſons as underwent this uſage, looked upon it to be a puniſhment far exceeding all other tortures. Moreover, they ſnatcht up the women and children, and forced them to be initiated [by Baptiſm.] And if any one refuſed, or otherwiſe ſpoke againſt this, ſtripes immediately followed, and after ſtripes bonds, impriſonments, and other accute tortures. One or two [inſtances] whereof I will mention, that I may render the hearers ſenſible of the apparent barbarity and cruelty of *Macedonius* and thoſe perſons who were then in power. They ſqueezed the breaſts of thoſe women who refuſed to be communicants with them in the Sacrament, between [the doors of] † Preſſes, and cut them off with a Saw. They burnt the ſame members of other women, partly with iron, and partly with eggs exceedingly heated in the fire. This new ſort of torture, which even the Heathens never uſed towards us, was invented by thoſe who profeſſed themſelves *Chriſtians*. Theſe things I heard from the long-liv'd *Auxano*, of whom I have made mention in the firſt Book. He was a Presbyter in the Church of the *Novatians*. And he reported that he himſelf indured not a few miſeries [inflicted upon him] by the *Arians*, before he received the dignity of a Presbyter. For he ſaid that he was caſt into Priſon together with *Alexander Paphlagon*, (who with him led a monaſtick life,) and ſuſtained innumerable ſtripes. Which tortures [as he related] he was enabled to indure: but *Alexander* died in Priſon by reaſon of his ſtripes. His Sepulchre is now [to be ſeen,] on the right hand as you ſail into the *Byzantine* Bay, which is named [b] *Ceras*, near the Rivers: where there is a Church of the *Novatians*, which bears *Alexanders* name. Moreover, the *Arians*, by *Macedonius*'s order, demoliſhed many other Churches in divers Cities; as alſo a Church of the *Novatians*, ſcituate in *Conſtantinople* near *Pelargus*. Why I have made particular mention of this Church, I will here declare, as I heard it from the very aged [c] *Auxano*. The Emperours Edict and *Macedonius*'s violence gave order for the demoliſhing of their Churches who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion. This Edict and Violence * threatned this Church alſo with ruine, and they were at hand, to whom the execution hereof was committed. I cannot chooſe but admire, when I reflect upon the great zeal and earneſtneſs of the *Novatians* towards their Church, and the kindneſs which they had for thoſe perſons, who at that time were ejected out of the Church by the *Arians*, but do now peaceably and quietly enjoy their Churches! When therefore they, to whom the execution hereof was enjoyned, were urgent to demoliſh this Church alſo, a great multitude of people that were *Novatians*, and others who embraced the ſame ſentiments with them, flock't together thither. And when they had pulled down their Church, they conveyed it to another place. This place is ſcituate over againſt the City [*Conſtantinople*;] the name of it is *Sycæ*, and 'tis the *thirteenth Ward* of the City. Moreover, the removal of the Church was performed in a very ſhort time, it being carried away by a numerous multitude of people with an incredible alacrity of mind. For one carried Tiles; another Stones; a third Timber. Some took up one thing, ſome another, and carried it to *Sycæ*. Yea, the very women and little children aſſiſted in this buſineſs, looking upon it as an accompliſhment of their deſires, and eſteeming it as a great gain, that they were vouchſafed to be pure and faithful preſervers of the things conſecrated to God. In this manner therefore was the Church of the *Novatians* at that time removed to *Sycæ*. But afterwards, when *Conſtantius* was dead, the Emperour *Julian* ordered the place to be reſtored to them, and permitted them to rebuild their Church. At which time

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[a] This place is in an eſpecial manner to be taken notice of. For from it we conclude, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had even then a right of ordaining throughout *Helleſpont* and *Bithynia*, before the *Council* of *Conſtantinople* [was held.] The ſame is confirmed from the *Acts* of *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who made *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*. Indeed, the Biſhops of *Byzantium* had a very great addition of authority and power, from the time that the Emperour *Conſtantine* gave that City his own name, and ordered it ſhould be equal to the *Senior Rome*. Alſo, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, after his tranſlation to that See, brought no ſmall increaſe [of juriſdiction] to it. For he was the moſt potent Prelate of his own times. Further, the Reader is to take notice, that the reading ſhould be [τὰς γειτνιαζούσας τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, *lying near to Conſtantinople*;] ſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* reads it. Unleſs we ſhould ſay, that the words are tranſpoſed here, (as it frequently happens in theſe books,) and that the place is thus to be conſtrued [Μακεδόνιος δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὰς γειτνιαζούσας ἐπαρχίας, &c. *Macedonius in Conſtantinople ſubverted the neighbouring Provinces*, &c. Valeſ.

* See chap. 16. of this book.

† That is, *the Biſhop of the Novatians.*

* That is, *the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt.*

† Or, *Cheſts.*

[b] *Polybius* ſays the ſame, in the *fourth book of his Hiſtory*, and *Strabo*, in *his ſixth book*, to wit, that *Ceras* is a Bay near *Byzantium*, ſo termed from its likeneſs to an *Harts horn*. But *Pliny* calls a promontory by this name, ſcituated in that Bay. To whom agrees *Amm. Marcellinus*, book 22. pag. 212. *Edit. Pariſ.* 1636. which place (becauſe the common reading of it is very corrupt, and is not yet mended in *our Edition*,) ſhall be here ſet down by me, as it ought to be read; thus: *& promontorium Ceras, prælucentem navibus vehens conſtructam celſius turrim: quapropter Ceratas appellatur ventus inde ſuctus oriri prægelidus*: i. e. *and the promontory Ceras, on which ſtands a Tower built very high which gives light to the ſhips: wherefore, that extream cold winde, which uſually ariſes from thence, is termed Ceratas.* Thus I have corrected this place, having followed the footſteps of the written reading: for the common reading, (which is this, *& promontorium Ceras prælucentem navibus vehens conſtructam celſius turrim, quapropter pharos appellatur: & vetus inde fons Euripus prægelidus.*) The Authour whereof was *Petrus Caſtellus*, is without any ſenſe. It was the uſage of the ancients to name the winds from thoſe places whence they blew. Thus, the *Athenians* called the *North-weſt* wind *Scironites*, becauſe it blew from the promontory *Sciron*; as *Strabo* relates. After the ſame manner therefore, that wind was by the *Conſtantinopolitans* called *Ceratas*, which blew from the promontory *Ceras*. Valeſ.

[c] In the Allat. M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, this old man is called *Auxonius*. But at the beginning of this chapter, and in *Socrates*'s firſt book, he is named *Auxano*. From this *Auxano Socrates* ſeems to me to have had all the ſtories throughout his Hiſtory, which he relates concerning the *Novatians*, of whom he tells very many. *Valeſ.*

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time the people, in the same manner as before, carried the materialls back again, and built the Church in its former place: and having made it more beautifull and stately, they would have it called * *Anastasia*, a name apposite and significative. This Church therefore was afterwards erected again, as I said, in the Reign of *Julian*. But then both parties, as well the *Catholicks* as the *Novatians*, were after the same manner persecuted. Wherefore the *Catholicks* abhorred to [d] pray in those Oratories, wherein the *Arians* assembled themselves. But, in the other three Churches (for so many Oratories the *Novatians* had within the City [*Constantinople*]) the Catholicks assembled with them, and prayed together. And there wanted but little of their being entirely united, had not the *Novatians*, who observed their old injunction, refused to do that. But as to other matters, they preserved such a singular benevolence and kindness mutually, that they * were ready to die for one another. Therefore both parties were at the same time persecuted, not only in the City *Constantinople*, but in other Provinces and Cities also. For in *Cyzicum*, *Eleusius* the Bishop there did the same things against the Christians that were acted by *Macedonius*, putting them to flight and disquieting them every where. He also totally demolished the Church of the *Novatians* at *Cyzicum*. But *Macedonius* finished the enormous Villanies he had perpetrated, after this manner. Being informed that in the Province of *Paphlagonia*, and especially at *Mantinium*, there were very many persons of the *Novatian* Sect, and perceiving that so great a multitude could not be driven [from their habitations] by Eccleſiastick persons, he procured four * Companies of Souldiers to be by the Emperours order sent into *Paphlagonia*, that being terrified by those armed men, they might be induced to embrace the *Arian* opinion. But they who inhabited *Mantinium*, out of a zeal to [defend] their Sect, made use of desperation against the Souldiers. And many of them getting together in one Body, and providing themselves with long Hooks and Hatchets, and whatever weapon they could lay hands on, they Marched out to meet the Souldiers. An Engagement therefore hapning, many of the *Paphlagonians* were therein slain: but all the Souldiers (except a very few) were cut off. This I heard from a Country man of *Paphlagonia*, who said he was present at that action. But many other *Paphlagonians* do affirm the same. Of this sort were *Macedonius*'s brave exploits in defence of Christianity, [to wit,] Murders, Fights, Captivities, and intestine Wars. But these practises of *Macedonius*'s raised a deserved † *Odium* against him, not only amongst those he had injured, but amongst them also who were his adherents. Yea, the Emperour himself was offended at him, both upon this account, and also for another reason, which was this. The Church, wherein lay the Coffin that contained the body of the Emperour *Constantine*, was threatned with Ruine. [e] Wherefore for this reason, as well they who had entred that Church, as those that continued in it and prayed, were in a great fear. *Macedonius* therefore resolved to remove the Emperours bones, that the coffin might not be [f] spoiled by the ruine [of the Church.] The people understanding this, attempted to hinder it, saying that the Emperours bones ought not to be removed; in regard that would be the same, as if they were dug up again. Immediately the people were divided into two parties. The one affirmed, that no hurt could be done to the dead body by its being removed: the other side asserted it to be an impious thing. Those of the *Homoousian* opinion met together also, and opposed the doing hereof. But *Macedonius*, disregarding those that resisted him, removes the body of the Emperour into that Church, wherein lies *Acacius* the *Martyr*'s body. This being done, the multitude, divided into two parties, ran forthwith to that Church: and when the two Factions were drawn up against each other, immediately an engagement followed: Wherein so great a number of men were slain, that that Church-yard was full of bloud; [g] and the Well therein overflowed with bloud, which ran even into the adjacent *Portico*, and from thence into the very street. The Emperour, informed of this calamitous accident, was incensed against *Macedonius*, both upon account of those that were slain, and also because he had been so audacious as to remove his Fathers body without his consent. Having therefore left *Julianus* the *Cæsar* to take care of the Western parts of the Empire, he himself went into the East. But, how *Macedonius* was soon after this deposed, and underwent a punishment short of his enormous impieties, I will relate a little afterwards.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Synod at Seleucia [*a city*] *of* Isauria.

But at present, I must give an account of the other Synod, which by the Emperours Edict was to emulate that at *Ariminum* in the East. At first it was determined, that the Bishops should be convened at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*. But, a great earthquake, whereby the City *Nicomedia* hapned to be ruined hindred their being convened at that place. This hapned in the Consulate

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* That is, *the Resurrection*, a fit name; in regard it rose again, as it were, in the same place it stood in before.

[d] Instead of [ἔχεσθαι] the reading must undoubtedly be [εὔχεσθαι, *to pray*;] which I wonder *Christophorson* did not perceive. Further, what *Socrates* relates here, to wit, that the *Catholicks* prayed in the Churches of the *Novatians*, seems to me incredible. Our *Socrates* was, in my judgment imposed upon by old *Auxano*, who fixed that upon all the *Catholicks*, which was perhaps done by some few Christians, who were less cautious. For there is nothing more contrary to Ecclesiastick discipline, than to communicate with Hereticks, either in the sacraments, or in prayer. But in my opinion they are mistaken, who from this relation do conclude *Socrates* to have been a *Novatian*: yea, it is evidently manifest from this place, that he was a Catholick. For in this chapter he frequently terms the *Catholicks*, τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *those of the Church*; and opposes them to the *Novatians*. Therefore he looks upon the *Novatians* to be without the Church. *Vales.*

* Or, *they chose.*

* Ἀριθμὸς, *numbers.*

† *Hatred.*

[e] The amendment of this place is to be acknowledged as due to the Allatian M. S. wherein 'tis thus written [ὅπου ἂν δια τοῦτο ὅτε εἰσπορεύονται οἱ ἀφεστεδρεύοντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι, &c. *Wherefore for this reason, as well they who had entred that Church, as those that continued in it and prayed,* &c.] For in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. S. this place is enlarged but by one word only, thus [ὅπου ἂν διὰ τοῦτο ὅτε ἀφεστεδρεύοντες, &c. *Wherefore for this reason they who presided over,* &c.] But this *Chasme* is made up by the Allat. M. S. to which agrees *Epiphan. Scholasticus*'s Version. But his rendring [ἀφεστεδρεύοντες, *Custodes, Keepers*] I like not, I should rather translate the term thus, *those that made their abode for some time in the Church, upon account of praying there.* Vales.

[f] In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading is [συληθῇ, *spoiled*, which I think to be better than [συλληφθῇ, *comprehended*, or *contained*.] Vales.

[g] I made good this place from the incomparable Allat. M. S. Our other M. SS. make no alteration here: but when I perceived the vulgar reading (which is this, ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐγκάρσιον σηκὸν, ἄχει παλαίας αὐτῆς, i. e. *and it ran to the adjacent Porch, even to the street*) to be wholly uncouth, I was not scrupulous of admitting the reading of the Allat. M. S. which is this [καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ φρέαρ ὑπερέλυσε τὸ αἷμα Θ, ἐκρεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ, &c. *and the Well therein overflowed with bloud, which ran even into,* &c.] *Socrates* says, there was so great a slaughter of men, that the Church-yard of Saint *Acacius* was filled with mans bloud, and the Well therein overflowed with bloud, in such sort that it ran into the neighbouring Porch, and from thence into the Street. *Vales.*

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Conſulate of [a] *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*, about the eight and twentieth day of the month *Auguſt*. They reſolved therefore upon removing the Synod to the City *Nicæa* which was near to it. But this reſolution was again altered: and it ſeemed [more convenient] to meet at *Tarſus* a City of *Cilicia*. When this diſpleaſed them alſo, they were aſſembled at *Seleucia* [a City] of *Iſauria*, which is ſurnamed *Aſpera*. This they did on the [b] ſame year [whereon the *Ariminum Council* was held,] in the Conſulate of *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*. The perſons convened were in number an hundred and ſixty. There was preſent with them a perſonage eminent in the Imperial pallace, his name [c] *Leonas*; in whoſe preſence, as the Emperour had given order by his Edict, the diſquiſition about the Faith was to be propoſed. *Lauricius* alſo the Commander in chief of the Souldiers throughout *Iſauria*, was ordered to be there, to provide the Biſhops with what neceſſaries they might ſtand in need of. At this place therefore [the Biſhops] were convened in the preſence of theſe perſons, on the twenty ſeventh of the month *September*, and began to diſpute about making of publick Acts. For there were Notaries preſent alſo, who were to take in writing what was ſpoken by every one of them. A particular account of all matters then tranſacted, the ſtudious Readers may find in *Sabinus's Collection*, where they are ſet forth at large. But we ſhall only curſorily relate the chief heads thereof. On the firſt day of their being convened, *Leonas* ordered every one to propoſe what they would. But ſuch as were preſent ſaid, that no diſpute ought to be raiſed, before the perſons abſent were come. For theſe Biſhops were wanting, *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Baſilius* of *Ancyra*, and ſome others, who ſuſpected they ſhould be accuſed. *Macedonius* excuſed his abſence by ſaying he was ſick. *Patrophilus* affirmed he had a diſtemper in his eyes, and was therefore neceſſitated to continue in the Suburbs of *Seleucia*. All the reſt propoſed one occaſion or other of their being abſent. But, in regard *Leonas* ſaid, that, notwithſtanding the abſence of theſe perſons, the queſtion was to be propoſed; thoſe that were preſent made anſwer again, that they would in no wiſe enter into any debate, before the * Moralls of thoſe accuſed were inquired into. For *Cyrillus* of *Jeruſalem*, *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, and ſome others had been accuſed ſome time before. Hereupon aroſe a ſharp conteſt amongſt thoſe that were preſent. For ſome affirmed, that the Moralls of ſuch as had been accuſed were in the firſt place to be lookt into: others were of opinion, that no controverſie ought to be diſcuſſed before [that concerning] the Faith. This Conteſt was raiſed by the different opinion of the Emperour. For his Letter was produced, in one paſſage whereof he gave order for the debating of this matter in the firſt place, in another for that. A diſagreement therefore hapning concerning this matter, a Schiſm was made amongſt the perſons preſent. And this was the original cauſe of the *Seleucian*-Synods being divided into two parties. The one faction was headed by *Acacius* [Biſhop] of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, and *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*: of the ſame mind with whom there were only two and thirty other [Biſhops.] The principal perſons of the other faction were *Georgius* of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, and *Eleuſius* of *Cyzicum*; who were followed by the major part. When therefore that ſide prevailed which was for debating in the firſt place concerning the Faith, *Acacius*'s party manifeſtly rejected the *Nicene* Creed, and intimated the publication of another. But thoſe of the other faction, who were ſuperiour in number, approved of all other matters [determined] in the *Nicene* Synod; excepting only the term *Homoöuſios*, which they found fault with. Therefore, after a very ſharp conteſt amongſt one another untill Evening, at length *Silvanus* (who preſided over the Church at *Tarſus*) ſpake a loud, ſaying, there was no neceſſity of publiſhing a new Draught of the Creed, but that they ought rather to confirm that ſet forth at *Antioch*, at the conſecration of the Church. When he had ſaid this, *Acacius*'s party ſecretly withdrew [out of the Council:] but the other faction produced the Creed [compoſed] at *Antioch*, after the reading whereof the Council broke up for that day. On the next day they met in a Church in *Seleucia*, and having ſhut the doors, they read that Creed, and confirmed it by their ſubſcriptions. Inſtead of ſome [Biſhops] who were abſent, the Readers and Deacons there preſent ſubſcribed, by whom the abſent perſons had profeſſed, that they would acquieſs in that Draught [of the Creed.]

CONSTANTIUS. * Olives.

[a] This perſons name ſhould not be *Tatianus*, but *Dacianus*. For ſo he is called in the *Faſti Conſulares*, and in *Ammianus Marcellinus*. This man was one of *Libanius*'s chiefeſt friends; to whom *Libanius* wrote very many of *his Epiſtles*, which are extant in the fourth book of *his Epiſtles*. In the 71 *Epiſtle of that book* he mentions his Conſulate, and ſays he was Schollar to one of the Emperours, and Maſter to the other: his words are theſe: τὸ δὲ σὸν ἀξίωμα τε καὶ κρεῖττον ἢ σβεσθῆναι, &c. i. e. *But your actions are illuſtrious, and better than that they ſhould be extinguiſhed. For your Conſulate, and the honours beſtowed upon you by the Emperours, and your having been one of the Emperours Schollars, and the others Maſter: Moreover, the ſtatelineſs, of your houſes, and the numerouſneſs, largeneſs, and handſomeneſs of your Bathes: all theſe things will for ever retain your name, although your body does depart.* In the 146 Epiſtle of the ſame book, there is extant this Elogue of *Datianus*: τὸ γὰρ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀνδρὸς ἔργα, &c. *For, to hear ſuch and ſo many brave exploits of a perſon, who has erected ſo many Kingdoms, and has been beneficial to ſo many men, nor has ever hurt any body, who is eminent for prudence, and has filled the Earth and Sea with the Glory of his name; is, to a man of diſcretion greater than all preſent or future wealth.* And, at the cloſe of the ſame Epiſtle, he intimates, that the ſame *Datianus* had a Seat at *Conſtantinople*; and that in *Antioch* and the ſuburbs thereof, he had Houſes and Palaces beautified with Fountaines and Bathes; to take a view whereof he invites him. *Valeſ.*

[b] At this place occurs no trivial difficulty. For the deſtruction of the City *Nicomedia* hapned when *Datianus* and *Cerealis* were Conſuls, in the year of Chriſt 358, on the month of *Auguſt*. But the Councill of *Seleucia* was held on the year following, in the Conſulate of *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, in the month of *September*. Theſe things therefore hapned not in one and the ſame year. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that the reading at this place ſhould be [τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, *on the year following.*] Or, if the common reading muſt be retained, we muſt underſtand our Authours meaning to be, that the Councill of Biſhops at *Seleucia* was held on the ſame year with the *Ariminum Council*. *Valeſ.*

[c] This *Leonas* was *Queſtor* of the *ſacred Palace*: and *Lauricius* was *Comes* of *Iſauria*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* doth atteſt. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XL.

That Acacius [*Biſhop*] *of* Cæſarea *dictated another Draught of the Creed, in the Synod at* Seleucia.

But *Acacius*, and thoſe of his party found fault with what was done, becauſe they had ſubſcribed covertly when the Church-doors were ſhut. For matters, ſaid he, tranſacted in ſecret were naught, and to be ſuſpected. He made theſe objections, becauſe he was deſirous of publiſhing another Draught of the Creed inſtead of that [ſubſcribed by them,] which [form] he had about him, ready drawn up, and had before recited it to *Lauricius* and *Leonas* the Governours: and he made it his whole buſineſs to get that Draught only eſtabliſhed and confirmed. Theſe were the tranſactions of the ſecond day, when nothing elſe was done. On the third day,

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day, *Leonas* was again very earneſt to procure a meeting of both parties. At which time neither *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople*, nor *Baſilius* of *Ancyra* were abſent. When therefore both theſe perſons had joyned themſelves to one and the ſame faction, the *Acacians* were again unwilling to meet, ſaying, that as well thoſe who had before been depoſed, as them at preſent accuſed, ought in the firſt place to be put out of the aſſembly. After a great conteſt on both ſides, at length this opinion was prevalent, the perſons charged with an accuſation went out; and the *Acacians* came in. Then *Leonas* ſaid, that *Acacius* had delivered a Libell to him; [*Leonas*] not diſcovering it to be a Draught of the Creed, which in ſome paſſages ſecretly, in others openly contradicted the former. When ſilence was made amongſt thoſe that were preſent, (they ſuppoſing the Libel to contain any thing elſe, rather than a form of the Creed;) *Acacius*'s compoſure of the Creed with a Preface thereto was then recited, the Contents whereof are theſe.

We having met together at Seleucia [*a City*] *of* Iſauria *(according to the Emperours Command) yeſterday, which was before the fifth of the* Calends *of* October, *uſed our utmoſt endeavour with all modeſty to preſerve the peace of the Church, ſtedfaſtly to determine concerning the Faith (as our Emperour* Conſtantius *moſt dear to God hath ordered) according to the Prophetick and Evangelick expreſſions, and to introduce nothing into the Eccleſiaſtick Faith contrary to the Divine Scriptures. But in regard certain perſons in the Synod have injured ſome of us; have ſtopt the mouths of others, not permitting them to ſpeak: have excluded other ſome againſt their wills: have brought along with them out of divers Provinces perſons depoſed; and have in their company ſuch as have been ordained contrary to the Canon* [*of the Church:*] *in ſo much that the Synod is on all ſides filled with tumult,* [a] *of which the moſt eminent* Lauricius *preſident of the Province, and the moſt Illuſtrious* Leonas *the* Comes, *have been eye-witneſſes: upon this account we interpoſe theſe things. Not that we forſake the Authentick Faith publiſhed at the Conſecration at* Antioch, *but we give that the preference, eſpecially in regard our Fathers concurred about the propoſition at that time in controverſie. But whereas the terms* Homoöuſion *and* * Homoiöuſion *have in times paſt diſturbed very many, and do ſtill diſquiet them: and moreover, whereas 'tis ſaid that there is an innovation lately coyned by ſome, who aſſert* a diſſimilitude of the Son to the Father. *Upon this account we reject* Homoöuſion *and* Homoiöuſion, *as being terms not to be met with in the Scriptures; but we* anathematize *the term* † Anomoion: *and do look upon all ſuch, as are aſſertours thereof, to be perſons alienated from the Church. But we do manifeſtly profeſs the likeneſs of the Son to the Father, agreeable to the Apoſtle, that hath ſaid concerning the Son,* || Who is the image of the inviſible God.

We acknowledge therefore, and believe in one God, the Father Almighty: the maker of heaven and earth, of things viſible and inviſible. Moreover, We believe in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his Son, begotten of him without any paſſion before all ages, God the Word, the only begotten of God, the Light, the Life, the Truth, the Wiſedom: by whom all things were made, which are in the heavens, and which are on the earth, whether viſible or inviſible. We believe him to have aſſumed fleſh from the holy Virgin Mary, *at the conſummation of ages, in order to the abolition of ſin: and that he was made man, that he ſuffered for our ſins, and roſe again, and was taken up into the Heavens, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father: and that he ſhall come again in Glory to judge the quick and dead. We believe alſo in the holy Ghoſt, whom our Lord and Saviour hath termed* The Paraclete, *having promiſed, after his departure, to ſend him to his diſciples, and he ſent him. By whom alſo he ſanctifies* [*all*] *Believers in the Church, who are Baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt. But thoſe who Preach any thing contrary to this Creed,* [[b] *we look upon*] *to be alienated from the Catholick Church.*

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[a] The reading of this place is in the Allat. M.S. more full, thus, [καθὼς καὶ ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπομνηματογράφος τῆς ἐπαρχίας λαυρίσιος, καὶ ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης λεόντιος παρέλαβον αὐτὰ] which we have expreſt in our verſion; it being confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, (only he puts *Leontius* before *Lauricius*, which is undoubtedly trueſt:) and by *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.* cap. 25. where this profeſſion of Faith is recorded entire. *Valeſ.* See *Epiphanius*, *Edit. Petav.* pag. 872, &c.

* See this term explained at chap. 30. of this book, note, (*h.*)

† See chap. 20. of this book, note (*h.*)

|| Coloſ. 1. 15.

[b] This word [νομίζομεν, *we look upon*, or *account*] is wanting in our M. SS. It was firſt inſerted by the *publiſhers of the Geneva Edition*, from *Chriſtophorſons Verſion*. But in regard we found not this reading in any *Manuſcript Copy*, we took the boldneſs to expunge it. In *Epiphanius*, (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian*, pag. 872.) and in *Athanaſius* (in *his book de Synod. Arimini & Seleuciæ*;) the reading of this place is thus [ἀλλοτρίους ὄντας ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, *The Catholick Church hath determined them to be alienated* [*from it.*] I found the ſame reading in the Allat. M. S. After theſe words there follow (in *Epiphanius*) the names of thoſe Biſhops, who ſubſcribed this Draught of the Creed; being in number about fourty. But before thoſe ſubſcriptions, ſomething is added there, which deſerves to be ſet down here. The words therefore in *Dionyſius Petavius's Edition* are theſe: ὅτι δὲ τῷ τῇ πίστει ἰσοδυναμεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐν σιρμίῳ πρώην ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις, ὅτι τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, γνωρίζουσιν οἱ ἐπυγχανόντες τῇ πίστει· i. e. *now, that that Creed lately publiſhed at Sirmium, in the preſence of the piety of our Emperour, does exactly agree with this Creed, is a thing manifeſtly known to thoſe who have read that Creed.* Then follows another Chapter, after this manner; ὑπέγραψαν οἱ παρόντες βασίλειος, μάρκος καὶ γεώργιος ὁ τῆς ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος παγκράτιος καὶ ὑπατιανὸς καὶ οἱ πλείστοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς δύσεως; (I doubt not but the reading ſhould be ἃ ὑπέγραψαν, *to which ſubſcribed.*) i. e. *To which they who were preſent ſubſcribed, Baſilius, Marcus, Georgius Biſhop of Alexandria, Pancratius, Hypatianus, and moſt of the Weſtern Biſhops.* *Valeſ.*

This is the Draught of the Creed publiſhed by *Acacius*. The perſons who ſubſcribed it were *Acacius* himſelf, and ſuch as adhered to his opinion, being as many in number, as we have mentioned a little before. After the recitation hereof, *Sophronius* [*Biſhop*] of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia* ſpake theſe words aloud: If to explain our own particular opinion every day be the expoſition of the Faith, we ſhall be deſtitute of the exact diſcuſſion of the truth. Theſe words were ſpoken by *Sophronius*. And I do affirm, that if as well thoſe who lived before theſe men, as they that ſucceeded them, had at firſt entertained ſuch ſentiments concerning the *Nicene* Creed; all contentious diſputes would have ceaſed, nor would a violent and irrational diſturbance have been prevalent in the Churches. But let ſuch as are prudent paſs their judgment concerning the ſtate of theſe matters. After they had mutually ſpoken and heard many things concerning this buſineſs, and concerning the perſons accuſed, the convention was for that time diſſolved. On the fourth day they all met again in the ſame place, and with the ſame contentiouſneſs began to diſpute again. Amongſt whom *Acacius* explained his opinion in theſe words: in as much as the *Nicene Creed* hath been once, and after that frequently, altered, nothing hinders, but a new Creed may be now publiſhed. Hereto *Eleuſius* [Biſhop] of *Cyzicum* made a return, and ſaid; the Synod is at preſent convened, not

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that it ſhould learn [c] what it had not the knowledge of before, nor to receive a Creed which it was not heretofore in poſſeſſion of: but that, proceeding on in the Creed of the Fathers, it ſhould never recede from it, either during life, or at the time of death. With theſe words *Eleuſius* oppoſed *Acacius*'s opinion, terming that Creed publiſhed at *Antioch* the Fathers Creed. But any one might have anſwered him alſo, in theſe words: how is it, that you ſtile thoſe convened at *Antioch* the Fathers, O *Eleuſius*, whereas you acknowledge not their Fathers? For they who were aſſembled at *Nice*, and by their conſent firmed the *Homoöuſian* Faith, ought more properly to be termed the Fathers, both becauſe they preceded in time, and alſo in regard thoſe convened at *Antioch* were by them promoted to the Sacerdotal dignity. Now, if thoſe [aſſembled] at *Antioch* have rejected their own Fathers, they who come after them do not perceive themſelves to be followers of Parricides. Moreover, how can they have admitted their Ordination to be Legitimate, whoſe Faith they have rejected as impious? For if thoſe perſons had not the holy Ghoſt, which is infuſed by Ordination, theſe have not received the Prieſthood. For how could theſe have received [it] from them, who had it not to give? Theſe words might have been ſpoken in oppoſition to what was ſaid by *Eleuſius*. After this they proceeded to another queſtion. For, in regard the *Acacians* aſſerted in that Draught of the Creed which had been recited, that the Son was like the Father, they enquired of one another, in what reſpect the Son was like the Father. The *Acacians* aſſerted, that the Son was like the Father in reſpect of his Will only, not as to his Eſſence. But all the reſt maintained, [that he was like the Father] in reſpect of his Eſſence alſo. They ſpent the whole day in their altercations about this query; and they confuted *Acacius*, becauſe in the books by him compoſed and publiſhed, he had aſſerted that the Son is in all things like the Father. And how can you (ſaid they) now deny the likeneſs of the Son to the Father as to his Eſſence? *Acacius* made this anſwer, no modern or ancient Authour was ever condemned out of his own writings. When they had maintained a tedious, fierce, and ſubtle diſpute againſt one another concerning this queſtion, and could in no wiſe be brought to an agreement, *Leonas* aroſe, and diſſolved the Council. And this was the concluſion, which the Synod held at *Seleucia* had. For on the day after, *Leonas* being intreated, refuſed to come any more into the Congreſs, ſaying that he had been ſent by the Emperour, to be preſent at an unanimous Synod. But in regard ſome of you do diſagree, I cannot (ſaid he) be there; go therefore and prate in the Church. The *Acacians* looking upon what had been done to be a great advantage to them, refuſed to meet alſo. But thoſe of the other party met together in the Church, and ſent for the *Acacians*, that cognizance might be taken of the Caſe of *Cyrillus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. For you muſt know that *Cyrillus* had been accuſed before; upon what account, I cannot tell. But he was depoſed, becauſe having been frequently ſummoned in order to the examination of his cauſe, he had not made his appearance during the ſpace of two whole years. Nevertheleſs when he was depoſed, he ſent an *Appellatory Libel* to them who had depoſed him, and appealed to an higher Court of Judicature. To which appeal of his the Emperour *Conſtantius* gave his aſſent. Indeed, *Cyrillus* was the [d] firſt and only perſon, who (contrary to the uſage of the Eccleſiaſtick Canon) did this, [to wit,] made uſe of Appeals, as 'tis uſually done in the publick [ſecular] Courts of Judicature. He was at that time preſent at *Selencia*, ready to put himſelf upon his trial: and therefore the Biſhops called the *Acacians* into the aſſembly, (as we have ſaid a little before,) that [e] by a general conſent they might paſs a definitive ſentence againſt the perſons accuſed. For they had cited ſome other perſons beſides, that were accuſed, who for refuge had joyned themſelves to *Acacius*'s party. But in regard, after their being frequently ſummoned, they refuſed to meet, [the Biſhops] depoſed both *Acacius* himſelf, and alſo *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, [f] *Uranius* of *Tyre*, [g] *Theodulus* of *Chæretapi* in *Phrygia*, *Theodoſius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, *Evagrius* of the Iſland *Mytilene*, *Leontius* of *Tripolis* in *Lydia*, and *Eudoxius* who had heretofore been Biſhop of *Germanicia*, but had afterwards crept into the Biſhoprick of *Antioch* in *Syria*. Moreover, they depoſed [h] *Patrophilus*, becauſe being accuſed by *Dorotheus* a Preſbyter, and ſummoned by them to make his defence, he was contumacious. Theſe perſons they depoſed. But they Excommunicated *Aſterius*, *Euſebius*, *Abgarus*, *Baſilicus*, *Phœbus*, *Fidelis*, *Eutychius*, *Magnus*, and *Euſtathius*: determining they ſhould continue Excommunicate, till ſuch time as by * making ſatisfaction they had cleared themſelves of their accuſations. Having done this, and written Letters concerning thoſe Biſhops they had depoſed to each of their Churches, they conſtitute a Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eudoxius*, whoſe name was *Annianus*. Whom the *Acacians* [ſoon after] apprehended, and delivered him to *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by whom he was baniſhed. Thoſe Biſhops who had Ordained *Annianus* [being incenſed] hereat, depoſited [i] *Conteſtatory Libels* againſt the *Acacians* with *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by which they openly declared, that the determination of the Synod was injured. And when nothing further could be done, they went to *Conſtantinople*, to inform the Emperour concerning the matters determined by them.

[c] In the *Florent.* and *Allat.* M. SS. as ſaies *Valeſ.* the reading is [ἃ μὴ μεμάθηκεν] which we have expreſt in our Verſion. But *Valeſius* follows the other reading, which is [ἃ μεμάθηκεν, *what it had the knowledge of before.*]

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[d] Nay; long before *Cyrill*, the *Donatiſts* appealed from the determination of the Council of *Orleans*, For thus the Emperour *Conſtantine* ſpeaks concerning them *in his Epiſtle*: *ô rabida furoris audacia! Sicut in cauſis Gentilium ſolet, appellationem interpoſuerunt*: i. e. *O the outragious audacouſneſs of fury! As 'tis uſually done in the caſes of the Heathens, they have put in an appeal.* Valeſ.

[e] These two lines [διαγράψαντες κοινὴν ἐξενέγκωσιν ψῆφον ἐφ' ἁλῶσι δή ποτε καὶ πῶς ἄλλως ἐκκληθησομένοις, *by a general conſent they might paſs a definitive ſentence againſt the perſons accuſed. For they had cited ſome other perſons beſides, that were accuſed,*] were at this place, wanting in the common Editions; we have inſerted them from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. To which agrees *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion. But *Chriſtophorſon* made up the chaſme at this place very unhappily by conjecture: whence it appears, that he had no Manuſcript Copies of *Socrates*, but various readings only, gathered from the Margins of Printed Copies. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *by making their defence.*

[f] This perſons name ſhould be *Uranius* (not *Urſacius*;) ſo he is called in *Athanaſius*'s book, *de Synod. Arimin. & Seleuciæ.* pag. 880. which name alſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* gives him; as does likewiſe *Epiphanius*, (*in Hæreſ. Semiarian.*) who names him among the Biſhops that ſubſcribed the *Acacian* Creed. *Valeſ.*

[g] In the *Florentine* and *Allatian* M. SS. this perſon is named (not *Theodorus*, but more truly) *Theodulus*. For that is his name in *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Philoſtorgius*. When this *Theodulus* had been diveſted of the Biſhoprick of *Chæretapi*, in the Council held at *Seleucia*, he was afterwards ordained Biſhop of *Paleſtina* by the *Eunomians*, as *Philoſtorgius* relates. Concerning *Leontius* of *Tripolis* you may meet with many paſſages in *Philoſtorgius*. Valeſ.

[h] Into his See they put one *Philippus* a Presbyter of *Scythopolis*, as *Epiphanius* atteſts, in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.* Valeſ.

[i] It ſhould be but one word, thus, *διαμαρτύρια*, So the *Greeks* term the *Libels of proteſtation*, (or, *proteſts*,) which were uſually depoſited with the *Acts*. We meet with a form of one of theſe *Libels*, at the cloſe of *Athanaſius*'s *Epiſtle ad Solitarios*. I ſuppoſe, that two *Libels of proteſtation* were delivered by the Council; one to *Leonas* the *Comes*; another to *Lauricius* Preſident of *Iſauria*. Valeſ.

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CHAP. XLI.

That, upon the Emperours return from the Western parts, the Acacians *were convened in the City of* Constantinople, *and firmed the* Ariminum *Creed, making some additions to it.*

FOr the Emperour, being returned from the Western parts, resided [in that City:] at which time also he made a person whose name was [a] *Honoratus* the first Præfect of *Constantinople*; having [b] aboliſhed the *Proconsul*'s Office. But the *Acacians* prevented and calumniated them before-hand to the Emperour, having informed him, that the [c] Creed which they had set forth was not admitted by them. Whereupon the Emperour was highly incensed, and resolved to disperse them, having commanded by an Edict [which he publiſhed,] that such of them as were subject to publick Offices, should be reduced to their former condition. For several of them were liable to [publick] Offices; some [were subject to the bearing of those Offices belonging] to the City Magistracy; others [to them appertaining] to the [d] *Sodalities* of *Officialls* or *Apparitours* in several Provinces. These persons being after this manner disturbed, the *Acacians* abode for some time at *Constantinople*, and assembled another Synod, to which they sent for the Bishops of *Bithynia*. When therefore they were all met together, being [e] fifty in number, amongst whom was *Mavis* of *Chalcedon*, they confirmed the Creed published at *Ariminum*, which had the *Consuls* names prefixt. Which Creed it would have been superfluous to have inserted here, had they made no additions to it. But in regard they added some words thereto, we thought it necessary to set it down at this place again. The contents of it are these.

[a] In the *Old Fasti* (put forth by *Jacobus Sirmondus* under the name of *Idatius*,) there is this Record concerning this thing: *Eusebio & Hypatio, his consulibus primum processit Constantinopoli præfectus Urbis, nomine Honoratus, die tertio Idûs Decembris*: i.e. *in the Consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius a Præfect of Constantinople was first made, his name Honoratus, on the third of the Ides of December.* Valeſ.

[b] Before the Emperour *Constantius* had made a *Præfect of the City* at *Constantinople*, the Province *Europa* (the chief City whereof was *Constantinople*) was governed by a *Proconsul*, as *Socrates* here atteſts. *Athanasius* mentions this *Proconsul*, in *his Apologetick de Fugâ suâ*, not far from the beginning; where he says that the Emperour *Constantius* wrote Letters to *Donatus* the *Proconsul*, against *Olympius* Bishop of *Thracia*. In the Emperour *Constantius*'s Epistle also, which he wrote to the *Senate* and *Constantinopolitan-people* concerning the praises of *Themistius*, there is mention of this *Proconsul*; at the close of that Epistle. *Valeſ.*

[c] That is, the *Creed* which had the Consuls names præfixt. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τάξεων· So this place is worded in the Original. What the τάξεις were, I have long since explained in *my notes on Amm. Marcellinus*: to wit, *the Bodies or Sodalities of Officials or Apparitours who attended upon the Presidents and Governours of Provinces*. It was their duty to collect the tribute from the Inhabitants of the Provinces, and to put in execution the Presidents Orders. Further, as they who had listed themselves in the *Camp-milice*, stood obliged by a Military-oath, and enjoyed not a compleat liberty, but were bound in a servitude as it were, till such time as they were disbanded, (as *Suidas* declares, in the word βεβεαυός·) so those *Officials*, who followed the *City-milice*, were bound to this employment as it were, and lyable to the Offices of their *Milice*; and their Farms, as well as those of the *Decurions*, were incumbred with these burdens, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodosian Code*. Valeſ.

[e] In the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, seventy two Bishops are said to have been present at the *Constantinopolitan*-Synod, in the year of Christ, 360. *Valeſ.*

We Believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things. And in the only begotten Son of God, begotten of God before all ages, and before every beginning: by whom all things, visible and invisible, were made. * *Who is the only begotten born of the Father, the only of the only, God of God, like to the Father (who begat him) according to the Scriptures. Whose generation no person knoweth, but the Father only, who begat him. We know this Person [to be] the only begotten Son of God, who upon his Father's sending of him, came down from the heavens, according as 'tis written, upon account of the destruction of Sin and Death: and was born of the holy Ghost, and of the Virgin* Mary *according to the flesh, as it is written, and conversed with the disciples; and having fulfilled every dispensation according to his Fathers Will, he was crucified, and died, and was buryed; and descended into the parts beneath the earth. At whom hell it self trembled. Who arose from the dead on the third day, and was conversant with the disciples: and after the completion of fourty days, he was taken up into the Heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; he shall come in the last day of the Resurrection in his Fathers Glory, that he may render to every man according to his works. And [we believe] in the holy Ghost, whom he himself the only begotten of God, Christ our Lord and God, promised to send as an Advocate to mankind, according as 'tis written, the Spirit of truth; whom he sent unto them, after he was assumed into the Heavens. But we thought good to remove the term* * Ousia, *(which was used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense, and being not understood by the people, has given offence,) in regard 'tis not contained in the sacred Scriptures; and that in future not the least mention should be made thereof, for as much as the sacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the substance of the Father and of the Son.* [f] *Nor ought the subsistence of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, to be so much as named. But we assert the Son to be like the Father, in such a manner as the sacred Scriptures do affirm and teach. Moreover, let all the Heresies, which have been heretofore condemned, and which may have risen of late, being opposite to this Creed published [by us,] be* Anathema.

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* Or, *who is the only begotten born, the only of the only Father*, &c.

* Substance.

[f] In *Athanasius*'s book *de Synodis*, pag. 906, the reading is [οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὀφείλει, *Nor ought*, &c.] to which agrees the Version of the *Latine Translatour*. Which is also confirmed by *Athanasius* himself, in the same book, pag. 905. the place we will quote by and by. *Valeſ.*

This Creed was at that time recited at *Constantinople*. Having now at length passed through the labyrinth of the Expositions of Faith, we will reckon up their number. After the Creed [published] at *Nice*, they set forth two Expositions of the Faith at *Antioch*, at the Dedication. A third was that delivered to the Emperour *Constans* in the *Gallia*'s, by *Narcissus* and those that accompanied him. The fourth was that sent by *Eudoxius* into *Italy*. Three [Draughts of the Creed] were published at *Sirmium*, one whereof was recited at *Ariminum*, which had the names of the Consuls prefixt. The eighth was that which the *Acacians* promulged at *Seleucia*. The last was set forth at the City *Constantinople*, with an addition. For hereto was annexed, that neither *substance*, nor *subsistence* ought to be mentioned in relation to God. Moreover, *Ulfila* Bishop of the *Goths* did at that time first agree to this Creed. For before this he had embraced the *Nicene* Creed; being *Theophilus*'s follower, who was Bishop of the *Goths*, and had been present at, and subscribed the *Nicene* Synod. Thus far concerning these things.

CHAP. XLII.

That upon Macedonius's *being deposed,* Eudoxius *obtained the Bishoprick of* Constantinople.

BUt *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, and those that were with them at *Constantinople*, made it wholly their business, that they also might on the other

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ſide depoſe ſome perſons of the contrary party. Now, you muſt know, that neither of the factions decreed theſe depoſitions upon account of Religion, but for other pretences. For though they diſſented about the Faith, yet they found not fault with one anothers Faith in their mutual depoſitions of one another. Thoſe therefore of *Acacius*'s party making uſe of the Emperours indignation, (which he had kept [concealed in his mind,] and earneſtly indeavoured to wreak it againſt others, but moſt eſpecially againſt *Macedonius*,) do in the firſt place depoſe *Macedonius*, both becauſe he had been the occaſion of many murders, and alſo in regard he had admitted a Deacon taken in Fornication to Communion. Then, [they depoſe] *Eleuſius* [Biſhop] of *Cyzicum*, becauſe he had baptized one *Heraclius Hercules*'s Prieſt at *Tyre*, a perſon known to be a Conjurer, and ordained him Deacon. [In the next place they depoſe] *Baſilius*, (or *Baſilas*, for ſo he was alſo called,) who had been conſtituted [Biſhop] of *Ancyra* in the room of *Marcellus*, as having unjuſtly tortured a certain perſon, bound him with Iron chains, and confined him to Priſon: alſo, becauſe he had faſtned calumnies upon ſome perſons: and moreover, in regard by his Letters he had diſturbed the Churches in *Africa*. *Dracontius* [was depoſed by them,] becauſe he had removed from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*. Moreover, they depoſed *Neonas* [Biſhop] of *Seleucia*, in which City the Synod had been convened, as alſo *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, *Elpidius* of [a] *Satala* in *Macedonia*, and *Cyrillus* of *Jeruſalem*; and others were ejected by them for other reaſons.

[a] *Satala* was a Town in *Armenia*; of which there is frequent mention amongſt the Antients. But in *Macedonia*, no mention is made of a City of this name by the Ancients. Wherefore I judge, that inſtead of *Macedonia*, it ſhould be *Armenia*, here in the Greek Text. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Euſtathius *Biſhop of* Sebaſtia.

BUT *Euſtathius* [Biſhop] of *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, was not ſo much as admitted to make his defence, becauſe he had been long before depoſed by *Eulalius* his own Father, who was Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, in regard he wore a garment misbecoming the Sacerdotal function. You are to know, that in *Euſtathius*'s room *Meletius* was conſtituted Biſhop, concerning whom we will ſpeak hereafter. But *Euſtathius* was afterwards condemned in a Synod convened upon his account at *Gangra* [a City] of *Paphlagonia*, becauſe, after his depoſition in the Synod at [a] *Cæſarea*, he had done many things repugnant to the Eccleſiaſtick Laws. For he had forbidden marriage, and maintained that meats were to be abſtained from: and upon this account he ſeparated many who had contracted marriages, from their wives, and perſwaded [b] thoſe who had an averſion for the Churches, to communicate at home. He alſo enticed away ſervants from their Maſters by a pretext of piety. He himſelf wore the habit of a Philoſopher, and cauſed his followers to make uſe of a new and unuſual garb, and gave order that women ſhould be ſhorn.

[a] *Sozomen*, book 4. chap. 24. ſays 'twas at *Neocæſarea*. Valeſ.

[b] Theſe words of *Socrates* [τὰς συναλλαγὰς ἐκτρεπομένους, *thoſe who had an averſion for*, or, *deteſted the Churches*] are not to be underſtood of all thoſe who declined the Churches: but they muſt be joyned to the foregoing words, and are to be meant of thoſe perſons, who by *Euſtathius*'s perſwaſion had ſeparated themſelves from the converſe of their wives. *Euſtathius* perſwaded theſe men to avoid the Churches aſſemblies, and not to communicate with other believers; but that, being as it were pure and perfect, they ſhould participate of the ſacred Myſteries by themſelves at home. See what *Epiphanius* has related concerning this *Euſtathius*, in *his Hareſie* of the *Aeriani*; and *Baſilius*, in *his Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

He [aſſerted] that ſet Faſts were to be avoided; but maintained Faſting on Sundays. He forbad Prayers to be made in the houſes of thoſe who were married; and taught, that the bleſſing and communion of a Presbyter who had a wife (whom he had lawfully married during his being a Laick,) ought to be declined as a thing moſt deteſtable. Upon his doing and teaching theſe and ſeveral other ſuch like things as theſe, a Synod (as I have ſaid) convened at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia* depoſed him, and *Anathematized* his opinions.

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[c] These things were done afterwards. But *Macedonius* being then ejected, *Eudoxius*, deſpiſing the See of *Antioch*, is conſtituted [Biſhop] of *Conſtantinople*, being conſecrated by the *Acacians*. Who forgot themſelves, in that they Decree'd what was contradictory to their former determinations. For they who had depoſed *Dracontius* becauſe of his tranſlation from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*, conſidered not with themſelves, that by Ordaining *Eudoxius* who then made a ſecond remove [to another Biſhoprick] they did what was contrary to their own Sanctions. Having done theſe things, they ſent the Creed which had been read, [d] to *Ariminum*, together with its Supplement, corrected by them; and gave order, that ſuch as would not ſubſcribe it, ſhould be baniſhed, according to the Emperours Edict. [Laſtly,] They made known what they had done, both to others in the Eaſt who entertained the ſame ſentiments with them, and alſo to *Patrophilus* [Biſhop] of *Scythopolis*. For he went from *Seleucia* forthwith to his own City. Further, *Eudoxius* having been conſtituted [Biſhop] of the **Great City*, the [e] Great Church named *Sophia* was at that time conſecrated, in *Conſtantius*'s Tenth and *Julianus Cæſar*'s third conſulate, on the fifteenth of the month *February*. As ſoon as *Eudoxius* was ſeated in that See, he was the firſt that uttered this ſentence which is [ſtill]

* *Conſtantinople.*

[c] I am not of *Socrates*'s opinion, who makes the *Synod* of *Gangra* (wherein *Euſtathius* was condemned) to have been after that aſſembled at *Seleucia*, and after the *Conſtantinopolitan* Synod. *Sozomen* (book 4. chap. 24.) makes the Synod of *Gangra* to be ancienter than the *Council* of *Antioch*, which was held at the *Dedication* in the year of Chriſt 341. Indeed, *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 361.) places the *Synod* of *Gangra* in the reign of *Conſtantine* the *Great*. But he is confuted both by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. For *Socrates* makes that Synod to be later than the *Seleucian* and *Conſtantinopolitan* Synod. But *Sozomen* places it after *Euſtathius*'s depoſition, which was done by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. Now, *Euſebius* thruſt himſelf into the *Conſtantinopolitan* See in *Conſtantius*'s reign, as 'tis agree'd amongſt all men. Laſtly, *Baſilius* (in his ſeventy fourth Epiſtle, which he wrote to the Weſtern Biſhops againſt *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*,) makes no mention of the *Council* of *Gangra*. Whence 'tis manifeſt, that at ſuch time as *Baſilius* wrote that Epiſtle (which he did in *Valens*'s reign,) the Council of *Gangra*, wherein *Euſtathius* was condemned, had not been held. Some one will peradventure ſay, (which is objected by *Baronius*) that that *Euſtathius* condemned in the Synod of *Gangra* was a different perſon from *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia*. But this is *gratis dictum*, nor is it founded on the authority of any Authour. *Valeſ.*

[d] I have rendered this place ſo, as to refer theſe words [*to Ariminum*] to theſe [*they ſent:*] which Verſion of ours is confirmed by *Athanaſius*, in *his book de Synodis*, pag. 905. his words are theſe: πάντα γεγράφασι ἐν τῇ ἰσαυρίᾳ, &c. *Having written theſe things in Iſauria, they departed to Conſtantinople, and repenting as it were* [*of what they had done,*] *according to their uſual manner they altered their Draught: and when they had added ſome words,* [*to wit*] *that* [*the term*] *ſubſiſtence ſhould not be uſed in relation to the Father, and the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, they ſent this* [*form of*] *the Creed to thoſe at Ariminum*, &c. Which paſſage in *Athanaſius*, *Socrates* does ſeem to tranſcribe here, *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred this place to this effect; *Having done this, they ſent the Creed read at Ariminum together with its ſupplement*, &c. Valeſ.

[e] I perfected and mended this place from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* Copies. Concerning the Conſecration of this Church, it is thus recorded in *Idatius's Faſti: Conſtantio decimo*, &c. *In Conſtantius's Tenth and Julianus's third Conſulate, the Great Church at Conſtantinople was conſecrated, on the fifteenth of the Kalends of March.* Cedrenus (in *his Chronicon*) ſays this was the ſecond Conſecration of this Church. For it was firſt conſecrated, ſays he, by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. But being afterwards ruined, it was re-edified by *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, and conſecrated by *Eudoxius*. See the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, where many paſſages (in no wiſe trivial) occur concerning this Conſecration. *Valeſ.*

in

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in every bodies mouth, saying; *The Father is Irreligious; the Son is Religious.* When a tumult and a disturbance arose thereupon, Be not troubled (said he) at what has been spoken by me, for, the Father is irreligious, because he worships no person: but the Son is religious, because he worships the Father. When *Eudoxius* had spoken these words, the tumult was appeased; but instead of the disturbance, there was a great laughter raised in the Church. And this saying of his continues to be a ridicule even to this day. Such cavils the Arch-hereticks made use of, and busied themselves about such expressions as these, rending the Church in sunder [thereby.] This was the conclusion, that the Synod had, which was convened at *Constantinople*.

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning Meletius *Bishop of* Antioch.

IT now remaines, that we speak concerning *Meletius*. For he (as we said a little before) was made Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, after *Eustathius*'s Deposition. He was afterwards translated from *Sebastia* to [a] *Beræa* [a City] of *Syria*. When he had been present at the Synod in *Seleucia*, and Subscribed the Creed published there by *Acacius*, he went directly from thence to *Beræa*. Upon the convention of the Synod at *Constantinople*, when the *Antiochians* understood that *Eudoxius* had despised [the presidency over their Church, and removed to the wealth of the *Constantinopolitan* See, they sent for [b] *Meletius* from *Beræa*, and install him [Bishop] over the Church of *Antioch*. At first he superseded making any discourses about points of Faith, and delivered moral Doctrine only to his hearers. But after his continuance there some time, he expounded the *Nicene* Creed, and asserted the *Homoüsian* opinion. Which when the Emperour understood, he gave order that he should be banished: and caused *Euzoïus* (who had before been deposed together with *Arius*,) to be ordained Bishop of *Antioch*. But as many as reserved an affection for *Meletius*, left the *Arian* congregation, and made assemblies apart by themselves: [although] those who originally embraced the *Homoüsian* opinion, would not communicate with them, because *Meletius* had received his Ordination from the suffrages of the *Arians*, and because his followers had been baptized by them. After this manner was the *Antiochian* Church affected towards the other party, although they agreed with them in the points of Faith. But the Emperour understanding that the *Persians* were raising another War against the *Romans*, went in great hast to *Antioch*.

[a] I can scarce believe, that *Meletius* was translated from *Sebastia* in *Armenia* to the Episcopate of *Beræa*. For *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, and (before them) *Ferome* do affirm, that he was translated from *Sebastia* in *Armenia* to the See of *Antioch*, making no mention of his being Bishop of *Beræa*. *Theodoret* says only thus much, that upon *Meletius*'s being promoted to the Bishoprick of *Sebastia*, perceiving a contumacy in those under his charge, he retired from thence to some other place. Then therefore he went to *Beræa*, as I conjecture; but he presided not over the City of *Beræa*. This mistake of *Socrates*'s was perceived by *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 360. Which he corrects so, as to affirm, that *Meletius* was translated from *Beræa* to *Sebastia*, not from *Sebastia* to *Beræa*. Which, as I suppose, is not true, in regard neither *Theodoret* nor *Sozomen* have affirmed that concerning *Meletius*. Valef.

[b] This persons name is written sometimes with an [*e*] thus *Meletius*; sometimes with an [*i*] thus *Melitius*. See *Eusebius*'s *Eccles. Hist.* book 7. chap. 32. note (*a*) pag. 138.

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning Macedonius's *Heresie.*

BUT *Macedonius*, who had been ejected out of *Constantinople*, being unable to bear his condemnation, could by no means endure to be at quiet. But joyned himself to those of the other party, who had deposed *Acacius* and his followers at *Seleucia*. He therefore sent an Embassy to *Sophronius* and *Eleusius*, exhorting them to adhere to that Creed which was at first published at *Antioch*, and afterwards confirmed at *Seleucia*, and that they should give it an [a] adulterate name, [to wit] the *Homoïousian Creed*. Wherefore many of his acquaintance and friends flock't to him, who are now from him called *Macedoniani*. And as many as dissented from the *Acacians* at the Synod of *Seleucia*, from thence forward manifestly asserted the term *Homoïousios*, [b] whereas before this they had not openly owned it. But there is a report, which has been prevalent amongst many men, that this [term *Homoïousios*] was not *Macedonius*'s invention; but *Marathonius*'s rather, whom they had made Bishop of *Nicomedia* a little before. Upon which account they call the followers of this opinion *Marathoniani* also. In like manner *Eustathius* (who had been ejected out of *Sebastia* for that reason which we have mentioned a little before,) joyned himself to that party. But after *Macedonius* refused to include the holy Ghost in the Divinity of the Trinity, then *Eustathius* said, I cannot assent to the terming of the holy Ghost God, nor dare I call him a Creature. Upon which account, those that embrace the *Homoüsian*-opinion, give these persons the name of * *Pneumatomachi*. The reason, why these *Macedoniani* are so numerous in [c] *Hellespont*, I will declare in its due place. Now, the *Acacians* used their utmost endeavours that they might be convened again at *Antioch*, in regard they repented their having asserted the Son to be wholly like to the Father. On the year following therefore, wherein *Taurus* and *Florentius* were *Consuls*, they met at *Antioch* in *Syria*, (over which Church *Euzoïus* presided, in which City the Emperour also resided [at that time]) when some few of them resumed a debate of those points which they had determined before, saying that the term † *Homoïos* ought to be expunged out of the Creed, which had been published both at *Ariminum*, and at *Constantinople*. Nor did they any longer keep their Vizours on, but affirmed bare fac'd, that the Son was in all respects unlike the Father, not only as to his Essence, but in relation to his Will also. And they openly asserted (according as *Arius* had affirmed) that he was made of nothing. To this opinion those who at that time were followers of *Aëtius*'s Heresie at *Antioch*, gave their assent. Wherefore, besides their having the appellation of *Arians*, they were also called * *Anomoei*, and

[a] Translatours understood not this place. And yet they might have been informed from *Harpocration*'s *Lexicon*, that κεκιβδηλωμένον (the term here used,) does signifie *adulterate*, or, *counterfeit*; by a Metaphor taken from money which has a false stamp. *Socrates* therefore calls *Homoïousios* (For so 'tis to be written, agreeable to the *Florentine* and *Sfortian Manuscripts*; and the import of the term is, *that the Son is of a substance*, or *Essence like to the Father:*) an adulterate name, because 'tis corrupted, and counterfeitly put instead of *Homoüsios* (i. e. *that the Son is of the same substance*, or *Essence with the Father:*) which is the name of the true and uncorrupted Creed. Further, the *Acacians* rejected as well the term *Homoïousios*, as *Homoousios*; and retained only *Homoios* (i. e. *like the Father*;) and wholly abhorred the term *Ousia* (i. e. *Substance.*) Valef.

* That is, that *the Son is of a Substance*, or *Essence like to the Father.*

[b] This place is corrupted by a transposition of the words; which may easily be rectified thus; ἤδη μὲν φανερῶς τὸ ὁμοιούσιον ἐδόξαζον, τὸ πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἐνετεχνάζοντο αὐτὸ, *from thence forward manifestly asserted the term Homoïousios, whereas before this they had not openly owned it.* Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Christophorson* and *Musculus* apprehended not the meaning of this place. But *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s rendition of it agrees with our Version: only instead of [ὅσοι τε, *and as many as:* the reading in his copy seems to have been [ὅσοι γε, for as many as] which displeaseth us not. *Valef.*

* That is, *Adversaries*, or *Opposers of the holy Spirit.*

[c] In the *Allatian Manuscript*, the reading is [περὶ τὸν ἑλλήσποντον *about Hellespont*] Valef.

† That is, *Like the Father.*

* They termed them *Anomoei*, because of their asserting *the Son to be unlike the Father.*

CONSTANTIUS.

† *Exucontii*, by thoſe at *Antioch* who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion, who [notwithſtanding] were at that time divided amongſt themſelves upon *Meletius*'s account, as has been ſaid before. When therefore they were asked by the *Homoöuſians*, why they were ſo audacious, as to term the Son to be unlike the Father, and to affirm that he exiſts of nothing, whenas in the Creed publiſhed by them they had ſaid he was God of God; they attempted to elude this objection by ſuch fallacious artifices as theſe: the phraſe *God of God* (ſaid they) has the ſame import with thoſe words of the Apoſtle, * *but all things of God*. Wherefore, the Son is *of God*, he being one of thoſe *all things*. And upon this account, in the Editions of the Creed, theſe words *According to the Scriptures* are added. *Georgius* Biſhop of *Laodicea* was the Authour of this † *Sophiſm*. Who being a perſon unskilled in ſuch expreſſions, was ignorant after what manner *Origen* had in former times diſcuſſed and interpreted ſuch peculiar phraſes of the Apoſtle. But, notwithſtanding their attempt to cavil after this manner, yet in regard of their inability to bear the reproaches and contempt [thrown upon them,] they recited the ſame Creed, which they had before [publiſhed] at *Conſtantinople*: and ſo departed every one to his own City. *Georgius* therefore returning to *Alexandria*, continued his Preſidency over the Churches there, (*Athanaſius* as yet abſconding,) and perſecuted thoſe in *Alexandria* who embraced not his Sentiments. He was alſo cruel and ſevere towards the Populace of that City; to moſt of whom he was very odious. At *Jeruſalem*, [d] *Harrenius* was Ordained in *Cyrillus* his room. You muſt alſo know, that after him [e] *Heraclius* was Conſtituted [Biſhop there,] who was ſucceeded by *Hilarius*. But at length *Cyrillus* returned to *Jeruſalem*, and recovered the Preſidency over the Church there. Moreover, at the ſame time there ſprang up another Hereſie, upon this account.

† They had this name, in regard they maintained *the Son to be made of nothing*, or, *of things which are not*. See *Athanaſius*, pag. 906. *Edit. Paris*; whence *Socrates* borrowed theſe names for theſe Hereticks.

* 1 Cor. 11. 12.

† Or, *Fallacy*.

[d] In the *Allatian* M. S. he is called *Erennius*; where this whole paſſage is thus worded: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις κυείλλε καθαιρεθέντος, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀρχιεπισκοπεῖν ἐχειροτόνησαν Ἡρέννιον· μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐφάρχει Ἡράκλειος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου Ἱλάριος· i.e. *At* Jeruſalem, Cyrillus *having been depoſed, as has been ſaid*, Erennius *ſucceeded in the Church: after whom, Eraclius: and after him Hilarius*. But *Jerome* (in his *Chronicon*) calls him *Irenius*: for this is the reading in the moſt correct copies, and in *Johannes Miræus*'s Edition; *Maximus Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus moritur. Poſt quem Eccleſiam* Ariani *invadunt, id eſt* Cyrillus, Eutychius, *rurſum* Cyrillus, Irenius, *tertiò* Cyrillus, Hilarius, *quarto* Cyrillus: *id eſt, Maximus Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *dies; after whom, the* Arians *invade that Church, that is*, Cyrillus, Eutychius, Cyrillus *the ſecond*, Irenius, Cyrillus *the third*, Hilarius, Cyrillus *the fourth*. In *Nicephorus Conſtantinopolitanus's Chronicon*, he is very corruptly called *Arſenius*. Valeſ.

[e] *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* had at his death ordained *Heraclius* to be his ſucceſſour. But *Acacius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, together with ſome other *Arian* Biſhops, ſlighting his ordination, ſubſtituted *Cyrillus* in the room of *Maximus* being now dead. This *Cyrillus* degraded *Heraclius* from his Epiſcopal dignity, and reduced him to the degree of a Presbyter; as *Jerome* relates in his *Chronicon*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning the Apollinariſtæ, *and their Hereſie.*

AT *Laodicea* in *Syria*, there were two men of the ſame name, the Father and the Son: For each of their names was *Apollinaris*. The father was dignified with a *Presbyterate* in that Church: the ſon had a Readers place. They were both Teachers of *Grecian* Literature; the father taught *Grammar*, the ſon *Rhetorick*. The father was by birth an *Alexandrian*, and having at firſt taught at *Berytus*, he removed afterwards to *Laodicea*, where he married, and begat his ſon *Apollinaris*. They both flouriſhed at the ſame time with *Epiphanius* the *Sophiſta*, and being very intimate friends, they converſed together with him. But *Theodotus* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, fearing that by their continual converſe with that perſon they ſhould be perverted to Gentiliſm, forbad their going to him. They regarding the Biſhops [prohibition] very little, continued their intimacy with *Epiphanius*. After this, *Georgius*, ſucceſſour to *Theodotus*, endeavoured to reform [and wean] them from converſing with *Epiphanius*; but being unable to perſwade them by any means, he puniſhed them both with Excommunication. *Apollinaris* the ſon lookt upon what was done to be an injury, and confiding in the fluentneſs of his *Sophiſtick* faculty of ſpeaking, he alſo ramed a new Hereſie, which flouriſheth at this preſent, and bears the name of its Inventour. But ſome do report, that they diſſented from *Georgius*, not ſo much upon account of the forementioned reaſon, but becauſe they ſaw he maintained abſurdities; ſometimes profeſſing the ſon to be like the father, (according as it had been determined [in the Synod] at *Seleucia*;) at others inclining to the *Arian* opinion. Laying hold therefore of this ſpecious pretext, they made a ſeparation [from him.] But when they ſaw no body adhered to them, they introduce a [new] *Scheme* of Religion. And at firſt aſſerted, that [a] humanity was aſſumed by God the Word in the *Oeconomy* of his incarnation, without the ſoul. But afterward, rectifying their former errour by repentance as it were, they added, that the ſoul was indeed aſſumed: but that it had not a mind, but that God the Word was in the place of a mind, in his aſſumption of Humanity. As to this point only theſe [Hereticks] do affirm that they diſſent [from Catholicks,] who from them are now called *Apollinariſtæ*. For they aſſert that the Trinity is *Conſubſtantial*. But we ſhall mention the two *Appollinaris*'s again in due place.

CONSTANTIUS.

[a] The *Arians* aſſerted a tenet neer of kin to this of the *Apollinariſtæ*, or *Apollinarians*. Ἀρξάμενοι δὲ σαρκὸς μόνην, &c. *Arius* (ſays *Athanaſius de Adv. Chriſti*,) *profeſſes the fleſh only to be the Cover of the Deity: and aſſerts the Word to have been in the fleſh, in the ſtead of our Inner man, that is, the ſoul.* In this opinion he was followed by *Euromius*, as *Theodoret* informs us, *Contr. Hæreſ.* book 5. chap. 11. But the *Apollinarians* differred from him: for they diſtinguiſhed (as we may ſee from this paſſage in our *Socrates*) between the ſoul and mind of man; acknowledging (in the ſecond Edition of their Hereſie) that God the Word aſſumed an humane Body and a Soul; (which latter *Arius* and his crew denied) but not the mind, or ſpirit of man: the place whereof was ſupplied, ſaid they, by the Word it ſelf. This Phyloſophick notion (making Man conſiſt of three parts, a body, a ſoul, and a mind;) they borrowed from *Plotinus*; ſo ſays *Nemeſeus* in *his de Nat. Hom.*

CHAP. XLVII.

Concerning the death of the Emperour Conſtantius.

MOreover, whilſt the Emperour *Conſtantius* reſided at *Antioch*, *Julianus Cæſar* engages with a numerous army of *Barbarians* in the *Gallia*'s. And having obtained a Victory, was for that reaſon greatly beloved by all the Souldiers, by whom he is proclaimed Emperour. This being told to the Emperour *Conſtantius* put him into an agony. He was therefore baptized by *Euzoius*, and * undertakes an expedition againſt *Julianus*. But arriving between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, he ended his life at *Mopſucrenæ*, (being ſeized with an Apoplexy by reaſon of his too great ſolicitude,) in the Conſulate of *Taurus* and *Florentius*, on the third of *November*. This was the firſt year of the two hundred eighty fifth *Olympiad*. *Conſtantius* lived fourty five years, and reigned thirty eight. He was his Fathers Colleague in the Empire thirteen years: after whoſe death [he Governed] twenty five: which ſpace of years this Book doth contain.

* Or, *Proceeded to a War againſt*, &c.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

Concerning Julianus, *his Extract, and Education. And how, upon his being made Emperour, he revolted to* Gentiliſm.

JULIANUS.

THE Emperour *Conſtantius* ended his life on the confines of *Cilicia*, about the third of *November*, in the Conſulate of *Taurus* and *Florentius*. During the ſame perſons Conſulate, *Julianus* arriving from the Weſtern parts [a] about the eleventh of *December* next enſuing, made his entry into *Conſtantinople*, where he was proclaimed Emperour. Now, whereas 'tis our deſign to ſay ſomething concerning the Emperour *Julianus*, a perſon fam'd for his eloquence; let none of thoſe who were his *Intimado's*, expect we ſhould do it in a pompous and majeſtick ſtile, as if it were neceſſary, that a caracter of ſo eminent a perſon ſhould in every particular correſpond with his greatneſs of whom 'tis given. But, the compoſure of an Hiſtory of the *Chriſtian Religion* being our buſineſs, we will continue our making uſe of a low, plain, and mean ſtile for perſpicuities ſake. And this we promiſed [to do] at the beginning. Being therefore to ſpeak concerning him, his Extract, Education, and how he came to the Empire: in order to our performing hereof, we muſt begin a little higher. *Conſtantinus*, he who gave *Byzantium* his own name, had two brothers begotten by the ſame father, but not born of the ſame mother. The name of the one was *Dalmatius*, the other was called *Conſtantius*. *Dalmatius* had a ſon who bore his own name. *Conſtantius* begat two ſons, *Gallus* and *Julianus*. After the death of [*Conſtantine*] the Builder of *Conſtantinople*, when the Souldiers had murthered *Dalmatius the younger*, at that time theſe *two alſo being Orphans, wanted but little of falling into the ſame danger with *Dalmatius*: had not a diſtemper which ſeemed to be mortal delivered *Gallus* [from their violence:] and the tenderneſs of *Julianus*'s age (for he was not then eight years old compleat) protected him. But, after the Emperours rage againſt them was mollified, *Gallus* frequented the Schools at *Epheſus* in *Ionia*, in which Country they had large poſſeſſions left them by their Anceſtours. And *Julianus* being grown up, was an auditour in the Schools at *Conſtantinople*, going into the Pallace (where there were then Schools) in a private habit, and was tutored by *Macedonius* the Eunuch. [b] *Nicocles* the *Laconian* taught him the Grammar; he had for his *Rhetorick*-maſter *Ecebolius* the *Sophiſta*, who was at that time a *Chriſtian*. For the Emperour *Conſtantius* took great care, leaſt by his being an hearer of a *Pagan*-maſter, he ſhould revolt to the ſuperſtition [of the Gentiles.] For *Julianus* was at firſt a *Chriſtian*. Upon his making a great progreſs in Literature, a rumour [began] to be ſpread amongſt the people, that he was fit to Govern the *Roman* Empire. Which report being more openly divulged, much diſturbed the Emperours mind. Wherefore, he removed him from the * *Great City* to *Nicomedia*, ordering him not to frequent [the School] of *Libanius* the *Syrian-Sophiſta*. For at that time *Libanius*, having been expelled *Conſtantinople* by the School-maſters, had opened a School at *Nicomedia*. Wherefore, he vented his gall againſt the School-maſters, in an [c] Oration which he wrote againſt them. But *Julianus* was forbidden to go to him, becauſe *Libanius* was as to his Religion a Pagan. Nevertheleſs, being a great admirer of *Libanius*'s Orations, He procured them privately, and peruſed them frequently and ſtudiouſly. When he had made a great proficiency in *Rhetorick*, there came to *Nicomedia*, *Maximus* the Philoſopher, not

JULIANUS.

* That is, *Gallus* and *Julianus*.

* That is, *Conſtantinople*.

[a] We have the ſame account in *Idatius's Faſti: Tauro & Florentio his Coſſ. &c. in the Conſulate of Taurus and Florentius, Conſtantius Auguſtus died at Mopſucrinæ in the confines of Cilicia a Province of Phœnicia, on the third of November. And Julianus made his entry into Conſtantinople on the eleventh of December.* But, what *Socrates* adds, to wit, that *Julian* was proclaimed Emperour in that City, muſt be ſo underſtood, not as if that were the firſt time of his being ſaluted Emperour. For he had been proclaimed Emperour in the *Gallia*'s a long while before, whilſt *Conſtantius* was alive. But, upon his entry into *Conſtantinople*, he was declared Emperour by the ſenate and *Conſtantinopolitans*, and took poſſeſſion of the Empire of the Eaſt. *Valeſ.*

[b] There are ſeveral Epiſtles of *Libanius*'s extant, written to this *Nicocles*; particularly the ſeventh Epiſtle of his fourth book, wherein *Libanius* excuſes the inſolency of a Citizen of *Antioch*, who had abuſed him: amongſt other paſſages he ſays, *that the fault of one Citizen was not to be aſcribed to the whole City. For in a City containing an hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, 'tis not to be wondred at, if one bad Citizen be found: whenas, neither in your Sparta (which yet has Lycurgus for its Law-giver) all are alike good and generous.* Valeſ.

[c] This Oration of *Libanius's Againſt the School-maſters* is not (to my knowledge) now extant. *Valeſ.*

JULIANUS.

[a] *Maximus* of *Byzantium*. [b] *Maximus* the *Epheſian*, whom the Emperour *Julianus* ordered to be ſlain afterwards, as being a practicer of Magick. But this hapned a long while after. At that time, his coming to *Nicomedia* was occaſioned by nothing elſe but *Julianus*'s fame, which induced him to go thither. *Julianus* having had a taſte of Philoſophick Literature from him, began forthwith to imitate his Maſters Religion, who alſo inſtilled into his mind a deſire of the Empire. When the Emperour was made acquainted with theſe things, *Julianus* being betwixt hope and fear, became very deſirous of avoiding ſuſpicion, and he who had before been a ſincere Chriſtian, then began to act the hypocrite. Being therefore ſhaved to the very skin, he pretended to lead a monaſtick life. Privately he imployed himſelf about the ſtudy of Philoſophy: but in publick, he read the ſacred Writings of the Chriſtians. Moreover, he was made a Reader in the Church of *Nicomedia*: and by this ſpecious pretext he avoided the Emperours fury. All this he did out of fear. But [in the interim] he rec ded not from his hope, but told many of his friends, that thoſe would be happy times, when he ſhould be poſſeſt of the Empire. Whilſt his affairs were in this poſture, his brother *Gallus* was created *Cæſar*, and in his journey into the Eaſt came to *Nicomedia*, to give him a viſit. Not long after this *Gallus* was ſlain, immediately upon which the Emperour grew ſuſpicious of *Julianus*. Wherefore he ordered a guard ſhould be ſet upon him. But a ſoon as he could get an opportunity of ſlipping away from his Keepers, he removed from place to place, and by that means made his eſcape. At length the Emperours wife *Euſebia*, having found him out during his abſconding, perſwades the Emperour to do him no harm, but to allow him a liberty of going to *Athens*, to ſtudy Philoſophy. From whence (that I may be brief) the Emperour ſent for him, and created him *Cæſar*. After which he married him to his ſiſter *Helena*, and ſent him into the *Gallia*'s againſt the *Barbarians*. For the *Barbarians* (whom the Emperour *Conſtantius* had a little before hired to be his Auxiliaries againſt *Magnentius*,) having been imployed in no ſervice againſt the Tyrant, fell to deſtroying the *Roman* Cities. And in regard *Julianus* was as yet but young, he ordered him not to enter upon any thing of action without the advice of the Commanders of the Army. Who having received ſo large a commiſſion, grew negligent in their management of affairs, upon which account the *Barbarians* increaſed in ſtrength; *Julianus* permitted the Commanders to ſpend their time in Luxury and drinking: but he made the Souldiers more couragious, by promiſing a ſet reward to him who ſhould kill a *Barbarian*. This was the original cauſe, whereby both the *Barbarians* Forces were diminiſhed, and alſo he himſelf was rendred more acceptable to the Souldiers. There is a report, that as he was entring into a Town, a [c] Crown, with which they [uſually] adorn the Cities, being hung up by Ropes between two Pillars, fell down upon his head and fitted it exactly, at which all that were preſent gave a ſhout. For by this ſign [it ſeemed] to be portended, that he ſhould be Emperour. There are thoſe who ſay, that *Conſtantius* therefore ſent him againſt the *Barbarians*, that he might periſh there, in an engagement with them. But I know not whether they who report this, ſpeak the truth. For ſhould he have framed ſuch a deſign againſt him, after he had joyned him in marriage to his own ſiſter, it would have been no other then a conſpiracy againſt himſelf. But let every one judge of this matter according to his own pleaſure. Moreover, upon *Julianus*'s making a complaint to the Emperour of the ſlothfullneſs of his Military Officers, there was another Commander ſent to him, exactly agreeable to *Julianus*'s courage. Having got ſuch an Aſſiſtant, he made a bold attack upon the *Barbarians*. They diſpatcht away an Embaſſadour to him, informing him, that they were ordered by the Emperours Letters to March into the *Roman* Territories, and the Letters were produced to him. But he clapt their Embaſſadour into priſon; and having engaged their forces, routed them totally. He alſo took the King of the *Barbarians* priſoner, and ſent him to *Conſtantius*. Upon this fortunate ſucceſs, he is proclaimed Emperour by the Souldiers. But becauſe they wanted an Imperial Crown, one of his guards took the Chain which he wore about his own neck, and put it upon *Julianus*'s head. After this manner therefore *Julianus* came to be Emperour. But what he did afterwards, let the hearers judge, whether or no they became a Philoſopher. For he neither ſent an Embaſſage to *Conſtantius*, nor did he ſhew him that Reverence which was due to him, as being his Benefactour, but managed all affairs according to his own arbitrement. He changed the Governours of Provinces; and reproacht *Conſtantius* in every City, by reciting in publick his Letters ſent to the *Barbarians*. Whereupon [thoſe inhabitants] revolted from *Conſtantius*, and came over to him. At that time, he manifeſtly pull'd off his mask of Chriſtianity. For he went from City to City, opened the Heathen Temples, offered ſacrifice to Idols, and termed himſelf the * *Pontifex Maximus*. And ſuch as profeſſed Gentiliſm celebrated their heatheniſh Feſtivals [after their own manner.] By theſe proceedings of his he [f] takes an occaſion of raiſing a Civil War againſt *Conſtantius*. And, as far as in him lay, [he took care] that all thoſe calamities ſhould have hapned, which are the conſequents of a War. For this Philoſophers deſire could not have been [g] fulfilled without much bloud-ſhed.

JULIANUS.

[a] *Maximus* Maximus the *Epheſian*, whom the Emperour *Valentinianus* ordered to be ſlain afterwards, as being a practicer of Magick. But this hapned a long while after. At that time, his coming to *Nicomedia* was occaſioned by nothing elſe but *Julianus*'s fame, which induced him to go thither. *Julianus* having had a taſte of Philoſophick Literature from him, began forthwith to imitate his Maſters Religion, who alſo inſtilled into his mind a deſire of the Empire. When the Emperour was made acquainted with theſe things, *Julianus* being betwixt hope and fear, became very deſirous of avoiding ſuſpicion, and he who had before been a ſincere Chriſtian, then began to act the hypocrite. Being therefore ſhaved to the very skin, he pretended to lead a monaſtick life. Privately he imployed himſelf about the ſtudy of Philoſophy: but in publick, he read the ſacred Writings of the Chriſtians. Moreover, he was made a Reader in the Church of *Nicomedia*: and by this ſpecious pretext he avoided the Emperours fury. All this he did out of fear. But [in the interim] he rec ded not from his hope, but told many of his friends, that thoſe would be happy times, when he ſhould be poſſeſt of the Empire. Whilſt his affairs were in this poſture, his brother *Gallus* was created *Cæſar*, and in his journey into the Eaſt came to *Nicomedia*, to give him a viſit. Not long after this *Gallus* was ſlain, immediately upon which the Emperour grew ſuſpicious of *Julianus*. Wherefore he ordered a guard ſhould be ſet upon him. But a ſoon as he could get an opportunity of ſlipping away from his Keepers, he removed from place to place, and by that means made his eſcape. At length the Emperours wife *Euſebia*, having found him out during his abſconding, perſwades the Emperour to do him no harm, but to allow him a liberty of going to *Athens*, to ſtudy Philoſophy. From whence (that I may be brief) the Emperour ſent for him, and created him *Cæſar*. After which he married him to his ſiſter *Helena*, and ſent him into the *Gallia*'s againſt the *Barbarians*. For the *Barbarians* (whom the Emperour *Conſtantius* had a little before hired to be his Auxiliaries againſt *Magnentius*,) having been imployed in no ſervice againſt the Tyrant, fell to deſtroying the *Roman* Cities. And in regard *Julianus* was as yet but young, he ordered him not to enter upon any thing of action without the advice of the Commanders of the Army. Who having received ſo large a commiſſion, grew negligent in their management of affairs, upon which account the *Barbarians* increaſed in ſtrength; *Julianus* permitted the Commanders to ſpend their time in Luxury and drinking: but he made the Souldiers more couragious, by promiſing a ſet reward to him who ſhould kill a *Barbarian*. This was the original cauſe, whereby both the *Barbarians* Forces were diminiſhed, and alſo he himſelf was rendred more acceptable to the Souldiers. There is a report, that as he was entring into a Town, a [c] Crown, with which they [uſually] adorn the Cities, being hung up by Ropes between two Pillars, fell down upon his head and fitted it exactly, at which all that were preſent gave a ſhout. For by this ſign [it ſeemed] to be portended, that he ſhould be Emperour. There are thoſe who ſay, that *Conſtantius* therefore ſent him againſt the *Barbarians*, that he might periſh there, in an engagement with them. But I know not whether they who report this, ſpeak the truth. For ſhould he have framed ſuch a deſign againſt him, after he had joyned him in marriage to his own ſiſter, it would have been no other then a conſpiracy againſt himſelf. But let every one judge of this matter according to his own pleaſure. Moreover, upon *Julianus*'s making a complaint to the Emperour of the ſlothfullneſs of his Military Officers, there was another Commander ſent to him, exactly agreeable to *Julianus*'s courage. Having got ſuch an Aſſiſtant, he made a bold attack upon the *Barbarians*. They diſpatcht away an Embaſſadour to him, informing him, that they were ordered by the Emperours Letters to March into the *Roman* Territories, and the Letters were produced to him. But he clapt their Embaſſadour into priſon; and having engaged their forces, routed them totally. He alſo took the King of the *Barbarians* priſoner, and ſent him to *Conſtantius*. Upon this fortunate ſucceſs, he is proclaimed Emperour by the Souldiers. But becauſe they wanted an Imperial Crown, one of his guards took the Chain which he wore about his own neck, and put it upon *Julianus*'s head. After this manner therefore *Julianus* came to be Emperour. But what he did afterwards, let the hearers judge, whether or no they became a Philoſopher. For he neither ſent an Embaſſage to *Conſtantius*, nor did he ſhew him that Reverence which was due to him, as being his Benefactour, but managed all affairs according to his own arbitrement. He changed the Governours of Provinces; and reproacht *Conſtantius* in every City, by reciting in publick his Letters ſent to the *Barbarians*. Whereupon [thoſe inhabitants] revolted from *Conſtantius*, and came over to him. At that time, he manifeſtly pull'd off his mask of Chriſtianity. For he went from City to City, opened the Heathen Temples, offered ſacrifice to Idols, and termed himſelf the * *Pontifex Maximus*. And ſuch as profeſſed Gentiliſm celebrated their heatheniſh Feſtivals [after their own manner.] By theſe proceedings of his he [f] takes an occaſion of raiſing a Civil War againſt *Conſtantius*. And, as far as in him lay, [he took care] that all thoſe calamities ſhould have hapned, which are the conſequents of a War. For this Philoſophers deſire could not have been [g] fulfilled without much bloud-ſhed.

[a] *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, *Euclid*'s Father, but *Maximus*

JULIANUS. But God the *Arbiter* of his own Councils, repressed the * *Impetus* of one of these two *Antagonists* without any † damage to the Republick. For when *Julianus* arrived amongst the *Thracians*, news was brought him, that *Constantius* was dead. And thus the *Roman* Empire at that time escaped a Civil War. But *Julianus* having made his entry into *Constantinople*, began immediately to consider with himself, after what manner he might win the favour of the people, and procure their benevolence towards himself. He makes use therefore of this Artifice. He very well understood, that *Constantius* was odious to all such as embraced the *Homoousian* opinion, both because he had driven them from their Churches, and also in regard he had proscribed and banished the Bishops belonging to them. He assuredly knew also, that the Heathens were sorely vexed, because they were prohibited sacrificing to their Gods: and that they were very desirous of getting an opportunity, wherein their Temples might be opened, and they have a liberty of offering sacrifices to their Idols. He was sensible, that for these reasons both those sorts of people had privately rancoured minds against his predecessour [*Constantius.*] He also found, that all people in general highly resented the violence of the Eunuches, and the rapines [h] of *Eusebius* the principal person of the Bed-chamber to him. He therefore treated them all with a great deal of craft and subtlety. With some he dissembled: others he obliged by kindnesses, being a great affectour of vain glory. But He made it evident to all in general how he was affected towards the superstition [of the Heathens.] And first, that he might make *Constantius* odious for his cruelty towards his Subjects, and render him infamous amongst the Vulgar, he commanded that the exiled Bishops should be recalled; and restored to them their estates which had been confiscated. Then, he issued out an Order to his Confidents, that the Heathen Temples should be forthwith opened. He also ordered, that such persons as had been injured by the Eunuches, should be repossessed of their goods which were unjustly taken from them. He punished *Eusebius* the principal person of the Imperial Bed-chamber with death, not only because many persons had been wronged by him, but also in regard he was assured that his brother *Gallus* had been murthered upon account of his calumny [against him.] He took care that *Constantius*'s body should be honoured with an Imperial Funeral. He expelled the Eunuches, Barbers, and Cooks out of his Pallace. The Eunuches, because he had lost his Wife, after whose death he resolved not to marry any other. The Cooks, in regard he fed upon a very slender and mean diet. And the Barbers, because, said he, one is sufficient for a great many. For these reasons he put these sorts of men out [of the Pallace.] Most of the Notaries he reduced to their former condition, and ordered that the rest should be allowed a salary befitting a Notary. He also retrenched the [i] publick way of conveyance of necessaries for [publick] uses: for example, [the use] of Mules, Oxen, and Asses; and permitted horses only to serve for such publick conveniences. These Acts of his are commended by some few persons: but most men discommend them, because the grandeur and magnificence of the Imperial riches being lost, which creates an admiration in the minds of the Vulgar, he thereby rendred the dignity of an Emperour despicable and obnoxious to contempt. Moreover, he sate up all night, composing Orations, which he recited at his going into the Senate-house. For he was the first and only Emperour since *Julius Cæsar*'s times, that made Speeches in the Senate-house. He had an high esteem for such as were studious about [any part of] Literature: but more especially for those who professed Philosophy. Wherefore, the report hereof brought such as were pretenders to this sort of Learning from all parts to the Pallace, who wore their * *Palliums*, and were most of them more conspicuous for their garb, than their Learning. But they were all troublesome to the Christians, being persons that were Impostours, and who always owned the same Religion with the Emperour. He himself also was so excessively vain glorious, that he reviled all his predeceessours in the Empire, in a book he composed, which he entitled *The Cæsars*. The same proud temper of mind excited him to write Books against the *Christians* also. His expulsion of the Cooks and Barbers was an act [befitting] a Philosopher indeed, but not an Emperour. But in his reproaching and reviling [of others,] he did neither like a Philosopher, nor an Emperour. For both those sorts of persons are to be [of a temper of mind] superiour to all detraction and envy. An Emperour may indeed be a Philosopher, in what bears a respect to modesty and temperance. But a Philosopher, should he imitate an Emperour in all things, would transgress his Rules. Let thus much be cursorily said concerning the Emperour *Julianus*, his Extract, Education, and disposition, and after what manner he came to the Empire.

JULIANUS.

* Or, *Force.*

† Or, *without the damage of others.*

[h] Translatours perceived not that this place was faulty. I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote thus: [Εὐσεβίῳ τε τῷ προπόσῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κοιτῶνος, *and the rapines of* Eusebius *the principal person of the Bed chamber to him.*] For προπόσῳ signifies the *Provost*, or *chief Officer of the sacred Bed-chamber*, which Office *Eusebius* then bore. *Socrates* does frequently use this word in this sense; as we may see in his second book chap. 2. *Vales.*

[i] *Gregory Nazianzen*, in *his former Invective against Julian*, does confess also that the publick way, or manner of travelling and conveying of necessaries from place to place, was well rectified by *Julian.* For *Constantius* had impaired it much, by allowing the Bishops every where the use thereof, that they might come to the Synods convened by him. But, what regulations *Julianus* made in this matter, 'tis hard to determine. And yet we may conjecture from *Socrates*'s words, that the way of travelling by Chariots (which was also called the *Cursus Clavularis*,) was put down by him, and that travelling on Horse-back (upon Horses provided for publick uses) remained only in use. *Johannes Lydus* has treated at large *de publico Cursu*, in his book *de Mensibus.* Vales.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Sedition which hapned at Alexandria, *and after what manner* Georgius *was slain.*

WE come now to mention what was tranfacted in the Churches at that time. In the great City *Alexandria* there hapned a disturbance upon this account. There was a place in that City, which had for a long time lain wast and neglected, (being filled with a great deal of filth,) wherein the Heathens had formerly celebrated their Mysteries to || *Mithra*, and had sacrificed men. This place being vacant

* See *Eusebius's Eccles. Hist.* book 6. chap. 19. note (p.)

|| The *Persians* suppose *Mithra* to be the Sun to whom they offer many sacrifices. No person was initiated into the Mysteries hereof, before he had arrived to them by certain degrees of torture, and had declared himself holy, and approved by sufferings.

and

JULIANUS.

and uſeleſs, *Conſtantius* had ſometime before beſtowed upon the Church of the *Alexandrians*. *Georgius*, deſirous to erect an Oratory therein, gave order that the place ſhould be cleanſed. Whilſt they were clearing of it, there was an † *Adytum* diſcovered, of a vaſt depth, wherein were hid the Myſteries of the Heathens. Which were the Skulls of many men, young and old, who, as report ſays, had heretofore been ſlain, at ſuch time as the Heathens made uſe of divinations by the inſpection of entrails, and performed Magick ſacrifices in order to the inchantment of mens ſouls. The Chriſtians therefore, upon their diſcovery of theſe things in the *Adytum* of the Temple of *Mithra*, made it their buſineſs to expoſe theſe Heatheniſh myſteries to the view and deriſion of all men. And they began forthwith to carry them in triumph as 'twere about the City, ſhowing the multitude mens bare Skulls. When the Heathens that were at *Alexandria* beheld this, being unable to endure this ignominious affront, they became highly enraged: and making uſe of what came next to hand for a weapon, they fell with great violence upon the Chriſtians, and deſtroyed many of them [a] by various ſorts of death. Some of them they killed with ſwords, others with clubs or ſtones. Others they ſtrangled with ropes. Some they crucified, inflicting this ſort of death on them deſignedly, in contumely to the Croſs [of Chriſt.] They wounded moſt of them. At which time, as it uſually happens in ſuch [riots,] they ſpared not their neereſt friends and relatives. But one Friend ſlew another, Brother [murdered] Brother, Parents their Children, outragiouſly embrewing their hands in one anothers blood. For which reaſon the Chriſtians left off cleanſing *Muthra*'s Temple. But the Heathens dragg'd *Georgius* out of the Church, and having bound him to a Camel, tore him to pieces, after which they burnt him, together with the Camel.

† That is, *A ſecret place in the Heathen Temples, to which none but their Prieſts had acceſs.*

[a] Or, *by all manner of treacheries*; for that's the reading in the *Sfortian* M. S. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. III.

That the Emperour incenſed at Georgius*'s murder, ſharply rebuked the* Alexandrians *by his Letter.*

BUT the Emperour highly reſented *Georgius*'s murther, and by his Letter ſeverely reprehended the Citizens of *Alexandria*. There was a report ſpread abroad, as if they had done this to *Georgius*, who hated him upon *Athanaſius*'s account. But my opinion is, that ſuch as entertain malice and hatred in their mindes, do uſually put themſelves into their company who make inſurrections againſt unjuſt perſons. The Emperour's Letter, 'tis certain, lays the blame upon the populace, rather than upon the Chriſtians. But *Georgius* was then, and had before [a] appeared, troubleſome and offenſive to all perſons. And for this reaſon the multitude was incenſed againſt him in ſuch an high degree. But, that the Emperour [as I ſaid] does rather blame the people, you may hear from the Letter it ſelf.

[a] For an account of the reaſons of the *Alexandrians* hatred towards *Georgius*, conſult *Ammianus Marcellinus*, book 22. pag. 223, &c. *Edit. Paris* 1631. See alſo *Epiphanius*, in *Hereſ.* 76, to wit, that of the *Anomæi*. Valeſ.

EMPEROUR CÆSAR JULIANUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Citizens of *Alexandria*.

Although you have no Reverence for Alexander *the Builder of your City, and (which is more) for that Great God the moſt holy* Serapis; *yet how is it that you have forgot both that humanity, and* * Decorum, *due to mankind in general? We will add,* [*which is due*] *to Us alſo, to whom all the behaviour. Gods, eſpecially the Great* Serapis, *have aſſigned the Empire of the World. For whom it was fit you ſhould have reſerved the Cognizance of their caſe who had injured you. But perhaps, you were impoſed upon by anger and rage, which where it inhabits the mind, does uſually perpetrate moſt enormous facts.* [b] *But when you had repreſſed your fury, you afterwards added the commiſſion of an unjuſt act to what had on a ſudden been adviſedly reſolved by you. Nor were you of the Commonalty aſhamed of perpetrating thoſe things, for which you deſervedly hated them. For, declare to Us,* [*We adjure you*] *by* Serapis, *for what unjuſt acts were you incenſed againſt* Georgius? *You will undoubtedly make anſwer, becauſe he exaſperated* Conſtantius *of Bleſſed memory againſt us: alſo, becauſe he brought an Army into the ſacred City, and the* [c] *King of* Egypt *poſſeſt himſelf of Gods moſt holy Temple, and took away from thence the images, the conſecrated gifts, and the furniture in thoſe ſacred places. At which when (as it was meet) you were highly incenſed, and attempted to defend God, (or rather his goods and poſſeſſions,) from violence; He, contrary to juſtice, Law, and Piety, audaciouſly ſent armed men againſt you.* [*But*] *perhaps (in regard he was more afraid of* Georgius *than* Conſtantius,) [d] *He had made better proviſion for his own ſafety, had he at firſt behaved himſelf more moderately and civilly towards you, and not ſo tyrannically. You being therefore for theſe reaſons enraged againſt* Georgius *the enemy of the Gods, have again polluted your ſacred City, whenas you might have brought him to his Trial before the Judges. For by this means neither Murder, nor any other unlawful Fact had been committed: but juſtice had been equitably and exactly done, which would have preſerved you guiltleſs from all manner of wickedneſs, and would have puniſhed him who had impiouſly committed ſuch enormous Crimes, and* [*laſtly*] *would have curbed all thoſe who contemn the Gods, and diſreſpect ſo great Cities and ſuch a flouriſhing people; making the barbarity they practiſed againſt them the* Præludium [*as it were*] *of*

JULIANUS.

* Or, good-add, [*which is due*] *to Us alſo, to whom all the behaviour.*

[b] In the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. SS. inſtead of [ἀναστείλας] the reading is [ἀναστείλασθες·] wherefore, I doubt not but this whole place is to be thus reſtored: εἶτα τῆς ὁρμῆς ἀναστείλασθες, τοῖς παροχρήμα βεβουλευμένοις καλῶς, ὕστερον ἐπῆλθες τὰ ἀδικήματα; *But when you had repreſſed your fury,* &c. *Valeſ.*

executed as a Criminal. If any one therefore has a mind to follow our Verſion, 'tis but inſerting one particle only, thus: ἴσως δὲ. *But perhaps,* &c. But *Petavius* (*in his notes on this Epiſtle of Julianus*, ſee the forementioned Edition) has produced another emendation from ſome M. SS. Copies; after this manner, ὃς αὐτὸν παρεφύλαξεν. *who had preſerved himſelf.* &c. *Valeſ.*

[c] He means *Artemius*, *Commander in chief of the Forces in Egypt*; as he is ſtiled by *Theodoret*, (book 3. chap. 17. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.*) who relates, that he was deprived of his eſtate, and beheaded by *Julian*; becauſe, being Captain of *Egypt* in the reign of *Conſtantius*, he had broken many images. It was he, who allowed *Georgius* the *Arian* a guard of ſouldiers for his aſſiſtance, whilſt he deſtroyed the heathen Temples in *Alexandria*. See *our notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, book 22. pag. 228. The Martyrdom of this *Artemius* is extant in *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, in which many things are contained that do much illuſtrate the Hiſtory of thoſe times. *Valeſ.*

[d] *In that Edition of* Julianus's *works publiſhed by* Petavius, *printed at Paris* 1630, (where this Letter of *Julianus*'s to the *Alexandrians* is reckoned to be *his tenth Epiſtle*:) and in *Nicephorus* (book 10. chap. 7.) the reading and punctation of this paſſage is thus: ἧσσον παρεφύλαττεν, εἰ μετριώτερον ὑμῶν καὶ πολιτικώτερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννικώτερον πόρρωθεν προσοῤῥέοντος. The beſt verſion of which paſſage (for no leſs than four have rendred it into *Latine*) is *Langus*'s; who his rendred it thus: *Qui melius ſibi ipſi conſuluiſſet, ſi moderate vobiſcum & civiliter, nec tam tyrannicè ab initio egiſſet.* We have followed the ſame ſenſe in our rendition. But *Chriſtophorſons* Verſion is reprovable, both for his inſerting the word [γὰρ, *for*] contrary to the authority of all Copies; and alſo, becauſe he excuſes *Artemius* Commander of the Forces in *Egypt*, as if he had carried himſelf civilly and moderately at the beginning of his Government. It would certainly have been moſt abſurd, ſhould *Julian* have excuſed him, whom he had ordered to be

their

JULIANUS. their power. Compare therefore this Our Letter [e] with that We sent a while since, and consider the difference between them. How highly did We then commend you? But now, by the [immortal] Gods! When We should praise you, We cannot, by reason of your heinous offence. The people are so audacious as to tare a man piece-meal like dogs. Nor are they afterwards abashed or carefull of preserving their hands pure, that they * may stretch them out undefiled with bloud in the presence of the Gods. But Georgius deserved to undergo these sufferings. We might perhaps grant, [that he deserved] more horrid and acute tortures. And should you say, [he deserved them] upon your account, We also assent to that. But should you add, [he deserved to have this inflicted on him] by you; that We can in no wise allow. For you have Laws, which ought to be observed and revered by you all, as well privately as in publick. Now, suppose it happens, that some private persons do violate these Laws, yet the Community must be regulated by good Laws, and you are to pay obedience to those laws, and not transgress what has from the beginning been well and prudently constituted. It has hapned very fortunately for you, O ye Alexandrians! that you have perpetrated such a fact as this in Our Reign; Who, by reason of Our Reverence towards God, and upon account of our [f] Grandfather and Uncle whose name We bear, (who Governed Egypt and your City,) do retain a fraternal affection for you. Certainly, that power which suffers not it self to be disrespected, and such a Government as is severe, entire, and of an healthy constitution, [g] could not connive at such an audacious insolence in its Subjects, but would diligently purge out that deadly distemper as it were by a more acute Medicine. But We, for the reasons now mentioned, make use of that most mild and gentle Remedy in your case, [to wit] Exhortation and Discourse. To which, We are Confident, We shall find you more readily submissive, because (as We are informed) you are not only Grecians by original extract, [h] but do also still retain in your minds and endeavours a splendid and generous Character of that your noble Descent. [i] Let it be published to Our Citizens of Alexandria. Thus wrote the Emperour.

JULIANUS. [a] The reading in the Florent. M. S. and in Nicephorus is better than that in the vulgar Editions: it is thus [ὑπὲρ μικρῶν πρόσθεν ἐπέστειλα, with that we sent, &c.] Vales.

* Or, produce them undefiled with bloud before the Gods.

[f] In Nicephorus the reading is truer; where the term [πάππου Grandfather] is left out; and the clause is thus worded [διὰ τὸν θεῖον τὸν ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμώνυμον, upon account of our Uncle whose name we bear] He means Julian Exprefect of Egypt; concerning whom *Amm. Marcellinus* relates much. In *Julianus*'s *Epistles*, both readings are retained thus: διὰ τὸν πάππον ἢ ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν θεῖον ὁμώνυμον, upon account of our Grandfather and Uncle whose name we bear. But this reading is not to be endured; for, what reason has *Julianus* to mention his Grandfather here? *Sozomen* does confirm *Nicephorus*'s reading, as we may see, book 5. chap. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* Vales.

[g] I doubt not but this place should be thus worded; ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν πεῖθοιεν τόλμημα; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[h] The reading should doubtless be [καὶ παῦν ἔτι, τῆς εὐγενείας ἐκείνης, &c. but do also still, &c.

[i] It must be [πεισθήτω Let it be published.] We have spoken concerning this clause (which was usually annext to the Emperours Edicts) in our *Annotations on Eusebius*, and think it superfluous to repeat it here. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

How, upon Georgius*'s being murdered,* Athanasius *returned to* Alexandria, *and recovered his own Church.*

NOt long after, *Athanasius* returning from his Exile, was kindly received by the people of *Alexandria*, who at that time expelled the *Arians* out of the Churches; and gave *Athanasius* possession of the Oratories. But the *Arians* assembled themselves in some obscure and mean houses, and Ordained *Lucius* in the place of *Georgius*. Such was the state of affairs then at *Alexandria*. JULIANUS.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Lucifer, *and* Eusebius.

AT the same time *Lucifer* and *Eusebius* were by an Imperial Order recalled from banishment. *Lucifer* was Bishop of *Caralis*, a City of *Sardinia*: *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ*, which is a City of the *Lygurians* in *Italy*, as we have said before. Both these persons therefore returning from Exile out of the *Upper Thebais*, [a] held a consult how they might hinder the impaired Laws of the Church from being violated and despised.

[a] *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were not the only persons who entred into a consult about repairing the decayed state of the Church, and establishing the Canon of Faith; but other Bishops besides them, who by *Julianus*'s Edict were at that time recalled from Exile: to wit, *Hilarius*, *Asterius*, and the rest, as *Theodoret* truly remarks, book 3. chap. 4. *Eccles. Histor.* These Prelates, moved thereto by a zeal to the Catholick Faith, took in hand to reduce Hereticks and Schismaticks to the path of Truth, and recall them to their former Concord. Therefore, what *Baronius* says, to wit, that *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were created Legates of the Apostolick See by *Liberius*, in order to their repairing the state of the Church, can in no wise be true. For the same must have been said concerning *Hilarius* and the other Prelates. Besides, *Rufinus* does expresly disprove this. For he relates, that *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were Commissionated with this *Legantine* power by the *Alexandrian* Synod. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

How Lucifer *arriving at* Antioch, *Ordained* Paulinus.

IT was concluded therefore, that *Lucifer* should go to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and *Eusebius* to *Alexandria*: that, by assembling a Synod together with *Athanasius*, they might confirm the opinions of the Church. [a] *Lucifer* sent a Deacon as his Substitute, by whom he promised his assent to what should be determined by the Synod. But he himself went to *Antioch*, and finds that Church in a great disturbance. For the people disagreed amongst themselves. For, not only the *Arian* Heresie, which had been introduced by *Euzoïus*, divided the Church: but (as we have said * before) *Meletius*'s followers also, by reason of their affection towards their Master, differed from those who embraced the same Sentiments with them. *Lucifer* therefore, when he had constituted *Paulinus* Bishop over them, departed from thence again.

[a] *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*; who (in book 1. chap. 27. *Eccles. Histor.*) has these words: *Lucifer autem cùm exoraretur ab Eusebio*, &c. *But Lucifer, being entreated by Eusebius, that they might go together to see Athanasius at Alexandria, and in a general Consult with those Prelates that were left, determine concerning the state of the Church; refused to be present himself, but sends his Deacon in his Deputy.* But from the *Synodick Epistle*, which *Athanasius* wrote in the name of the *Alexandrian* Synod to the Catholick Bishops which were in the City of *Antioch*, we are informed that *Lucifer* sent two of his Deacons to the Synod of *Alexandria*, *Herennius* and *Agapetus*; whom he sent after he had Ordained *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For the Legates of *Paulinus* himself were present at this Synod, and subscribed *Athanasius*'s *Synodick Epistle*. For these things were transacted thus. Soon after *Eusebius*'s going to the *Alexandrian* Synod, *Lucifer* together with these two Bishops *Cymatius* and *Anatolius* (the one whereof was Bishop of *Paltus*, the other of *Berœa*,) created *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*. Who, immediately after his Ordination, sent his Legates *Maximus* and *Calamerus* to the *Alexandrian* Synod. Also, *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Laodicea* (who had a peculiar Sect, and a Bishop of his own faction, at *Antioch*) sent his Legates at the same time. The Bishops

* Book 2. Chap. 44.

of

of *Egypt* therefore who were met at *Alexandria*, when they had heard that *Euſebius*, *Aſterius*, and *Lucifer*'s Legates were ſent by *Lucifer*, *Cymatius*, and *Anatolius*, and when they had admitted the Legates ſent by *Paulinus* and *Apollinaris*; departed every one to their own Sees, and gave order to *Athanaſius* and ſome other Biſhops who continued at *Alexandria*, that they ſhould write a Letter to the Biſhops convened at *Antioch*, concerning receiving the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks into communion, how they ought to behave themſelves in that affair. In obedience to their Order, *Athanaſius* wrote a Letter to the Biſhops convened at *Antioch*, to wit, to *Lucifer*, *Euſebius*, and *Aſterius*, (for theſe were now returned from the *Alexandrian* Synod:) *Cymatius*, and *Anatolius*. This Letter is extant in *Athanaſius*'s works, which *Baronius* ſuppoſed to be the *Synodick* Epiſtle of the *Alexandrian Synod*. But 'tis manifeſt from the Contents of that Letter, that it was not written from the Synod it ſelf, but from *Athanaſius*; nor was it ſent to all the Biſhops, but to thoſe of *Antioch* in particular. Which may be concluded both from the inſcription it ſelf, and alſo from the Text of the whole Letter. For he treats therein concerning the affairs of the *Antiochian* Church only, as (beſides others) we are informed from this paſſage: Πάνλες πίνυν τὸν ἐυλομένυς εἰρηνδίειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, μάλιτα τὸν ἐν τῇ παλαίᾳ σωαγομένυς, ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρειανῶν, προσκαλέσαδε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς. Which place *Athanaſius*'s Tranſlatour has rendred ill: the import of it in *Engliſh* is this; *invite therefore to you all thoſe that are deſirous of continuing in peace with you, eſpecially thoſe who celebrate their conventions in the Old City, and ſuch as* [come] *from the Arians*. *Athanaſius* means thoſe that adhered to *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. For they, being Separatiſts from the *Euſtathians*, had their Religious meetings in the *Palæa* (that is, in the *Old City*,) as *Theodoret* atteſts, book 2. chap. 31. and book 3. chap. 4. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* *Athanaſius* ſpeaks of the ſame perſons afterwards in the ſaid Epiſtle; and diſtinguiſhes thoſe that had their meetings in the *Old City*, from the followers of *Paulinus*, that is, the *Euſtathians*. For *Paulinus* was one of their number. Thoſe therefore that had their aſſemblies in the *Palæa* can be no other than *Meletius*'s favourers, whom *Athanaſius* does moſt eſpecially commend. *Valeſ.*

JULIANUS.

CHAP. VII.

How Euſebius *and* Athanaſius *accorded together, and aſſembled a Synod of Biſhops at* Alexandria, *wherein they expreſly declared, that the Trinity is* Conſubſtantial.

BUt, as ſoon as *Euſebius* arrived at *Alexandria*, he, together with *Athanaſius*, was very diligent about convening a Synod. There aſſembled Biſhops out of ſeveral Cities, and conferred amongſt themſelves concerning many and moſt weighty matters. In this Synod they aſſerted the Divinity of the holy Ghoſt, and included him in the Conſubſtantial Trinity. They likewiſe determined that Chriſt at his incarnation aſſumed not only Fleſh but an humane Soul, which was alſo the opinion of the primitive Eccleſiaſticks. For they introduced not any new Doctrine, invented by them, into the Church, but [confirmed] thoſe points which Eccleſiaſtick tradition had from the beginning aſſerted, and which the Learnedeſt perſons amongſt the Chriſtians had demonſtratively affirmed. For ſuch Sentiments as theſe all the Antients in their diſputations concerning this point have left us in their Writings. *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, and *Serapion* preſident of the Church in *Antioch*, do aſſert this in the Books by them compoſed, [a] as an opinion by general conſent acknowledged, [to wit,] that Chriſt at his aſſumption of Fleſh was endowed with a [humane] Soul. Moreover, the Synod convened upon [b] *Berillus*'s account, who was Biſhop of *Philadelphia* in *Arabia*, in their Letter to the ſaid *Berillus* hath maintained the ſame Doctrine. *Origen* alſo doth acknowledge every where, in his works which are extant, that Chriſt at his incarnation aſſumed an humane Soul: but more particularly, in the *ninth Tome of his Comments upon Geneſis*, he has explained the Myſtery hereof; where he hath copiouſly proved, that *Adam* is a type of Chriſt, and *Eve* of the Church. Holy *Pamphilus*, and *Euſebius* who borrowed his Sirname from him, perſons worthy to be credited, do atteſt this. For both theſe perſons (who club'd in their drawing up the Life of *Origen* in writing, and anſwered ſuch as were prepoſſeſt with a prejudice againſt that perſon, in thoſe famous Books, wherein they made *an Apology in defence of him,*) do affirm, that *Origen* was not the firſt perſon engaged in this Subject, but that he interpreted the myſtical tradition of the Church. But, thoſe Biſhops preſent at the Synod of *Alexandria*, omitted not their reſearches into this queſtion, to wit, concerning * *Ouſia* and † *Hypoſtaſis*. For *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spaine*, (whom we formerly mentioned) who was ſent before by *Conſtantine* the Emperour, to compoſe the diſturbance at that time raiſed by *Arius*, being deſirous to root out the opinion of ‖ *Sabellius* the *Libyan*, raiſed a diſpute concerning *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis*, which was the occaſion of another diſſention. But the *Nicene* Synod, which was ſoon after convened, made not the leaſt mention of this diſpute. Notwithſtanding, in regard ſome perſons were afterwards deſirous of contending about this matter, for that reaſon theſe determinations were made in this Synod concerning *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis*. [c] It was reſolved by them, that theſe terms ought not to be uſed concerning God. For, [they ſaid that] the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghoſt* are *one thing*. Which words, the terms *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* are not condemned: but this only is aſſerted, that it is more ſafe to uſe the terms of the *Nicene* Creed, than theſe, *of three Hypoſtaſis's and of one Hypoſtaſis*. For the debate at that time was only concerning theſe words; ſome affirming there were three *Hypoſtaſis*'s in the ſacred Trinity, as did the followers of *Meletius*: others, with *Paulinus*, profeſſing there was but one *Hypoſtaſis*. But no queſtion was then ſtarted concerning the term *Ouſia*. For both ſides aſſerted that there was one ſubſtance in the Trinity. How therefore can that which *Socrates* here ſays ſtand good, to wit, that it was Decreed in the *Alexandrian Synod*, that theſe terms *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* were not to be uſed concerning God? Perhaps alſo *Sabinus* (whoſe *Collection Socrates* had diligently peruſed) had led him into this miſtake. *Valeſ.*

JULIANUS.

* *Eſſence*, or *Subſtance*.

† *Subſtence*, *Exiſtence*, or *Perſonality*.

‖ See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 7. chap. 6. note (*b.*)

This was the difference betwixt the *Sabellian* and *Arian* Hereſie; *Sabellius confounded the perſons in the ſacred Trinity*, *Arius divided the ſubſtance*.

[a] This clauſe is thus worded in the Greek [ὡς ὁμολογέμενον αὐτοῖς;] where the term [αὐτοῖς] ought in my judgment to be expunged, as being unneceſſarily inſerted here by ſome careleſs Tranſcriber out of the foregoing line, where it occurs. But *Nicephorus* (book 10. chap. 14. where he writes out this paſſage of *Socrates*) makes uſe of the term [ὁμοούσιον,] inſtead of [ὁμολογέμενον;] either becauſe that was the reading in his Copy; or elſe in regard he thought [ὁμολογέμενον] was to be ſo explained. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Nicephorus* (at the book and chapter now mentioned) calls this perſon *Cyrillus*. But, from the authority of the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. we have termed him *Berillus*. Our emendation is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion. *Berillus* was not Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, as *Socrates* ſays here, but of *Boſtra* (or of *Boſtri*) in *Arabia*: he denied Chriſt to have been God before his incarnation, as *Euſebius* informs us, book 6. chap. 33. of *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; where ſee note (*a.*) That paſſage of *Origens* muſt be underſtood concerning this Hereſie of *Berillus*'s, which occurs in *his Comment on the Epiſtle to Titus*: where his words are theſe: *Sed & eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jeſum*, &c. *Alſo thoſe, who affirm the Lord Jeſus to be a man fore-known, and predeſigned, who before his coming in the fleſh had no peculiar exiſtence of his own, but that being born man he had the Deity of the Father only in him; theſe perſons, I ſay, cannot, without great danger, be accounted members of the Church.* This paſſage occurs alſo in *Pamphilus*'s *Apologetick in defence of Origen*. And *Gennadius* has mentioned it, in *his book De Dogmatibus Eccleſiaſticis*, cap. 4. *Valeſ.*

[c] The *Acts* of the Synod of *Alexandria* are not now extant; but 'tis ſufficiently apparent, both from that Synodick Epiſtle which *Athanaſius* wrote in the name of that Council, and alſo from hence, becauſe *the Great Athanaſius* was preſent at that Synod, that what *Socrates* here ſays is falſe. For, as to the Synodick Epiſtle, there occurs no ſuch paſſage in that, as this, *that the terms Ouſia and Hypoſtaſis are not to be uſed as often as we ſpeak concerning God*. Nor, would *Athanaſius* ever have ſuffered that to have been determined in his Synod, which does manifeſtly contradict the *Nicene Creed*. For in that Creed the term *Ouſia* does occur. *Socrates* ſeems to have been deceived by this paſſage in the Synodick Epiſtle: Πάνλες τὲ τῇ τὸ Θεὸ χάριτι, &c. *And, by the grace of God, all perſons, after ſuch interpretations of thoſe terms, unanimouſly agreed, that that Creed, which the Fathers made profeſſion of at Nice, was better and more accurate, and that in future, it was ſufficient, that the terms thereof ſhould be made uſe of.* In which words, the terms *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* are not condemned: but this only is aſſerted, that it is more ſafe to uſe the terms of the *Nicene* Creed, than theſe, *of three Hypoſtaſis's and of one Hypoſtaſis*. For the debate at that time was only concerning theſe words; ſome affirming there were three *Hypoſtaſis*'s in the ſacred Trinity, as did the followers of *Meletius*: others, with *Paulinus*, profeſſing there was but one *Hypoſtaſis*. But no queſtion was then ſtarted concerning the term *Ouſia*. For both ſides aſſerted that there was one ſubſtance in the Trinity. How therefore can that which *Socrates* here ſays ſtand good, to wit, that it was Decreed in the *Alexandrian Synod*, that theſe terms *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* were not to be uſed concerning God? Perhaps alſo *Sabinus* (whoſe *Collection Socrates* had diligently peruſed) had led him into this miſtake. *Valeſ.*

term

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term *Ousia* was not so much as mentioned in the sacred Scriptures: and, that the * Apostle, obliged thereto upon a necessity of [delivering some] opinions, had not rightly used the word *Hypostasis*. But they Decreed, that these terms were to be admitted of upon another account, to wit, when they refute *Sabellius*'s opinion, least, for want of expressive words, we should suppose [the Trinity to be] one thing called by a triple name; but we must rather believe every one [d] of those named in the Trinity to be truly God in his proper Person. These were the determinations of the Synod at that time. But nothing hinders, but we may briefly declare our knowledge concerning [the terms] *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*. Such persons amongst the *Greeks* as were Expositours of their Philosophy, have given various definitions of *Ousia*; but they have not made the least mention of *Hypostasis*. [e] *Irenæus Grammaticus*, in *his Alphabetical Lexicon* entitled *Atticistes*, affirms this word [*Hypostasis*] to be a barbarous term: For it is not [says he] used by any of the Antients: but should it be any where found occurring, it is not taken in that sense wherein 'tis now used. For, in *Sophocles* (in [his Tragedy entitled] *Phœnix*,) the term *Hypostasis* signifies *Treachery*. In *Menander* [it imports] *Sauces*; [f] as if any one should term *the Lees in an Hogshead of Wine Hypostasis*. But, you must know, that although the Antient Philosophers did not make use of this term *Hypostasis*, yet the more modern Philosophick Writers used it frequently instead of * *Ousia*. Moreover, they have given us (as we said) various definitions of *Ousia*. But if *Ousia* may be circumscribed by a definition, how can we properly make use of this term in reference to God, who is incomprehensible? *Evagrius*, in [his piece intitled] *Monachicus*, dissuades us from discoursing rashly and inconsiderately concerning God. But he altogether forbids the defining of the Divinity, in regard it is a most † Simple thing. For definitions, says he, belong to things that are compounded. The same Authour delivers these very words. *Every proposition, says he, has either a* Genus *which is predicated, or a* Species, *or a* Differentia, *or a* Proprium, *or an* Accidens, *or what is compounded of these; but none of these can be supposed to be in the sacred Trinity. Let that therefore which is inexplicable, be adored with silence.* Thus [argues] *Evagrius*, concerning whom we shall speak hereafter. But, although we may seem to have made a digression by relating these things; yet we have mentioned them here, in regard they are useful and pertinent to the subject of our History.

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* They mean, I suppose those words of the Apostle at *Hebr.* 1. 3. Χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, *the Character of his Subsistence*, or (as our *English* Version words it) *the express image of his person.* Some of the *Antients* were very cautious about acknowledging *three Hypostases* in the Deity. Particularly St *Jerome*, who thought that the term *Hypostasis* in this Text signified *Substantia*: and therefore in *his Version* 'tis thus rendred *figura substantiæ ejus, the figure of his substance.* See Dr *Owens* account of this phrase, in *his Exposition on the Hebrews*, pag. 55, &c. *Edit. London.* 1668.

* That is, *Substance.*

† *Unmixt*, or *uncompounded.*

[d] Instead of [ὀνομάτων, *of the names*,] which is the common reading; the *Florentine* M. S. words it thus [ὀνομαζομένων, *of those named.*] But *Nicephorus* maintains the common reading; for he has recorded this passage of *Socrates* thus: ἀλλὰ ἔκρυπτον ἐν τῇ τριάδι τῶν ἀγαμένων ὀνομάτων ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει θεολογοῦντο τρεῖς διαφυῶν. Which his Learned Translatour *Langus* has thus rendred: *Sed tribus usurpatis nominibus, res quæque in Trinitate tripliciter distincta peculiari subsistentiâ suâ intelligatur.* But I cannot approve of this rendition, in regard it recedes too far from the Authours words. *Langus* was puzled with these words [ὀνομάτων, *of the names*,] and not without reason. For the bare name of the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, is neither believed, nor asserted to be God; but the things [or persons] signified by those names. Wherefore, the reading in the *Florentine* M. S. is, in my judgment, to be preferred before the vulgar reading; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valesius.*

[e] *Irenæus Grammaticus* was an *Alexandrian*, the Scholar of *Heliodorus Metricus*, who by a *Latine* name was called *Minucius Pacatus.* He wrote many books *concerning the propriety of the Attick Language.* For he compiled three Books *of Attick names*, and as many more *de Atticâ consuetudine in dictione & in prosodia*, which were alphabetically digested: he composed one Book also *de Atticismo*, as *Suidas* relates in *his Lexicon.* Valesius.

[f] *Nicephorus* (book 10. chap. 15.) reads this passage otherwise. For, instead of [ὡς εἴ τις λέγοι, *as if any one should term*] he words it thus [ᾧ ἄλλος τινὶ ἐν πίθῳ τρύγα φησίν· *And another stiles it the Lees in an Hogshead.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* translates this place thus: *Apud Menandrum vero veluti fæces quæ ex vino colliguntur in dolio, ὑπόστασιν, id est, subsistentiam designare dicit.* But, I think that there is another sense of these words, to wit, that *Menander* should term *Sauce Hypostasis*, because it settles in the bottom of the dish, like *Lees*, or *Sediment*, in an Hogshead. *Valesius.*

CHAP. VIII.

[*Some passages quoted*] *out* of Athanasius's Apologetick *concerning his own Flight.*

AT the same time *Athanasius* recited *the Apologetick* he had formerly made *concerning his own Flight*, in the audience of those that were present. Some passages whereof, being useful and profitable, I will here insert, and leave the whole Book, in regard 'tis large, to be inquired out and perused by the Studious. *Behold* [*says he*] *these are the audacious villanies of those impious wretches. These are their practises, and yet they blush not at the mischiefs they have formerly* [a] *contrived against us, but do even at this time accuse us, because we were able to escape their murdering hands. Yea rather, they are sorely troubled, because they have not quite dispatcht us. In fine, under a pretence and colour they upbraid us with fear, but are ignorant that whilst they make a noise about this, they retort the crime upon themselves. For, if it be bad to fly, it is much worse to pursue. For, the one absconds that he may not be murdered: but the other pursues with a design to murder. Yea, the Scripture informs us that we must fly. But he that seeks an occasion to murder, violates the Law, and does himself give* [*others*] *an occasion of flying. If therefore they upbraid us with our flight, they should rather be ashamed of their own pursuit. Let them leave plotting, and those that fly will soon desist from making their escape. But they cease not from acting their own villanies; but do all they can to apprehend: being very sensible, that the flight of such as are pursued is a great evidence against them that pursue. For no body flies from a meek and good-natured person, but rather from one that is of a barbarous and malitious disposition. And therefore,* * Every one that was discontented and in debt *fled from* Saul *to* David. *Wherefore, these persons also endeavour to slay such as conceal themselves, that there may seem to be no evidence to convince them of their wickedness. But in this case also these mistaken persons seem to be blinded. For by how much the more manifest the flight is, by so much will the slaughters caused by their treacheries, and the banishments be more evidently exposed to the view of all men. For, whether they kill, death will make a greater noise against them; or again, whether they banish, they do in every place* † *erect monuments of their own injustice against themselves. Were they therefore sound as to their intellectuals, they might perceive themselves intangled herein, and egregiously mistaken in their own measures. But in regard they are infatuated, for that reason they are incited to persecute, and whilst they seek*

[a] In *Athanasius*, pag. 705. the reading is [καθ' ὑμῶν ἐτυράννουσαν, *Tyrannically acted against us:*] But I do rather approve of *Nicephorus*'s reading, to wit, [καθ' ὑμῶν ἐπήρθη, *contrived against us*;] which *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has followed in his Version. *Valesius.*

* 1 Sam. 22. 2.

† Or, *send forth.*

JULIANUS.

ſeek to murder others, perceive not their own impiety. For, if they reproach ſuch as conceal themſelves from thoſe that ſeek to murder them, and calumniate ſuch as fly from their purſuers, what will they do when they ſee Jacob *flying from his brother* Eſau; *and* Moſes *retreating into* [*the Country*] *of* * Madian *for fear of* Pharaoh? *what anſwer will theſe Bablers make to* David *who fled from* Saul, (*when he* †*ſent* [*Meſſengers*] *from his own houſe to murder him,*) *hid himſelf in a Cave, and changed his countenance, untill he had paſſed by* * Abimelech, *and avoided the treachery? Or, what will theſe fellows, who are ready to utter any thing, ſay, when they ſee the Great* Elias (*who called upon God and raiſed a dead man*) *hiding himſelf for fear of* Ahab, *and flying becauſe of* Jezebels *Menaces? At which time the Sons of the Prophets alſo, being ſought for* [*to be ſlain,*] *abſconded, concealing themſelves in Caves with* † Abdia. *Or have they not read theſe paſſages, in regard they are antient? But they have alſo quite forgot what is related in the Goſpel. For the Diſciples for fear of the Jews retreated and hid themſelves. And* || Paul, *when he was ſought for at* Damaſcus *by the Governour, was let down from the wall in a basket, and eſcaped the hands of him that ſought him. Since therefore the Scripture records theſe things concerning the Saints, what excuſe can they invent for their raſh precipitancy? For, if they upbraid* [*them*] *with timidity, that audacious reproach recoyls upon themſelves being madmen as it were. But if they calumniate thoſe* [*Holy*] *perſons as having done this contrary to the will of God, they* [*demonſtrate themſelves*] *to be altogether unskilled in the Scriptures. For in the Law there was a command that* * Cities of refuge ſhould be appointed, *to the intent that ſuch as were ſought for to be put to death, might ſome way or other be enabled to ſecure themſelves. But, in the conſummation of ages, when the Word of the Father (he who ſpake to* Moſes,) *came himſelf into the world, he did again give this command, ſaying,* † But when they perſecute you, flee from this City to another. *And a little after he ſays:* * When ye therefore ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, ſpoken of by Daniel the prophet, ſtand in the holy place, (who ſo readeth, let him underſtand:) then let them who be in Judea flee into the mountaines. Let him who is on the houſe-top, not come down to take any thing out of his houſe. Let not him who is in the field, return back to take his clothes. *When therefore the Saints underſtood theſe things they entred upon ſuch a courſe of life as was agreeable hereto. For, the ſame commands which the Lord has now given, he had delivered by the Saints before his coming in the fleſh. And this is a rule for* [*all*] *men, which leads them to perfection,* [*that is*] *To do what ever God hath commanded. Upon this account, the Word himſelf alſo, (made man for our ſakes,) when he was ſought for, vouchſafed to conceal himſelf, as we do; and being perſecuted again, he* [*was pleaſed*] *to fly, and avoid the conſpiracy. For, it became Him, that as by hungring, thirſting, and undergoing theſe afflictions, ſo by this means alſo he ſhould demonſtrate himſelf to be made man. At the very beginning, as ſoon as he was made man, he himſelf, being as yet but a child, gave this command to* Joſeph *by an Angel,* * Ariſe, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt. For Herod will ſeek the young childs life. *And after the death of* Herod, *it appears, that (for fear of his Son* Archelaus,) *he retired to* Nazareth. *Afterwards, when he had demonſtrated himſelf to be God, and had healed the withered hand, the Phariſees went out and entred into a conſult againſt him,* * how they might deſtroy him. But when Jeſus knew it, he withdrew himſelf from thence. *Moreover, when he had raiſed* Lazarus *from the dead,* † From that day forth (*ſays the Evangeliſt*) they took counſel for to put him to death. Jeſus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence unto a country near to the wilderneſs. *Further, when our Saviour had ſaid,* || Before Abraham was, I am; the Jews took up ſtones to caſt at him: But Jeſus hid himſelf, and went out of the temple. And going thorow the midſt of them, went away, and ſo eſcaped. *When therefore they ſee theſe things,* [b] *or rather hear them, (for they ſee them not,) ought they not, according as 'tis written, to be burnt with fire, in regard they deſign and ſpeak the contrary to what our Saviour did and taught. In fine, when* John *had ſuffered Martyrdom, and his diſciples had buried his body;* * When Jeſus heard of it, he departed thence by Ship into a deſart place apart. *Theſe things our Lord did, and thus he taught. But I wiſh theſe perſons could* [*be perſwaded to*] *be even in ſuch a manner aſhamed, that they would confine their raſhneſs to men only, and not proceed to ſuch an heighth of madneſs, as to charge our Saviour with fearfulneſs,* [c] *againſt Whom they have once already deſignedly invented Blaſphemies. But no man will ever tolerate this their madneſs: but rather by their ignorance in the Goſpels they will be confuted by all men. For, there is a rational and true cauſe for ſuch a retreat and flight as this is: which as the Evangeliſts have recorded,* * *was made uſe of by our Saviour. And from hence we ought to ſuppoſe, that the very ſame* [*cauſe of flight*] † *was made uſe of by all the Saints. For what ever is recorded concerning our Saviour as man, the ſame ought to be referred to mankind in general. For he aſſumed our nature, and demonſtrated in himſelf* † *ſuch affections and diſpoſitions of mind as are agreeable to our infirmity. Which* John *has ſet forth in theſe words:* * Then they ſought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, becauſe his hour was not yet come. *Yea, before that hour came, he himſelf ſaid to his mother,* ‡ Mine hour is not yet come. *And to thoſe who were called his brethren* [*he ſaid*] * My time is not yet come. *Again, when the time was come, he ſaid to his diſciples,* || Sleep on now, and take your reſt: for behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man ſhall be betrayed into the hands of ſinners. *Neither therefore permitted he himſelf to*

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[b] Inſtead of [μᾶλλον δὲ κρίναντες, *or rather conſider them*] we follow the reading in the Edition of *Athanaſius*, which is thus [μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν εἰκάσῃς, ἐπεὶ μὴ βλέπουσι, πῶς καὶ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐθέλησουσι πυρὶ καυθῆναι, &c. *or rather hear them, (for they ſee them not,) ought they not, according as 'tis written, to be burnt with fire,* &c. Which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* followed, as 'tis apparent from his verſion. But *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* joyn theſe words [*according as 'tis written*] with theſe [*for they ſee not*;] as if *Athanaſius* had alluded to that ſaying of the Goſpel, *Matt.* 13. 13; *they ſeeing, ſee not:* which rendition I like not. For the *Arians* could not then ſee thoſe things, which had been done long before their age. I am alſo of the ſame opinion with *Langus*, that the term [πυρὶ καυθῆναι, *burnt with fire*] is to be underſtood of *eternal fire*, or *of fire ſent from* heaven. Laſtly, the word [θέλουσι] ſeems to be uſed here inſtead of [μέλλουσι, *ſhall they not,*] or [ὀφείλουσι, *ought they not,*] and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[c] All Tranſlatours have rendred this place ill; excepting *Langus* only, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlatour: whoſe rendition of it is this: *Qui ſemel blaſphemare, & maledictis cum inceſſere conſulto inſtituerunt*, i. e. *who have once already with deliberation undertaken to blaſpheme and aſſail him with ſlanderous reproaches.* For he means the *Arians*, who rancked Chriſt amongſt the creatures. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *was in our Saviour.*
† Or, *was in the Saints.*

* Or *Midian*; See Exod. 2. 15.
† 1 Sam. 19. 11, &c.
* See 1 Sam. 21. the *Septuagint* (the words of which verſion *Athanaſius* quotes here) calls this man *Abimelech*: but in the *Hebrew* his name is *Ahimelech*.
† Or, *Obadiah*. See 1 Kings 18. 13.
|| 2 Cor. 11. 32, 33.
* Numb. 35. 11.
† Matt. 10. 23.
* Matt. 24. 15, 16, 17, 18.
* Matt. 2. 13.
* Matth. 14. 13.
† Τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας παθήματα, *the paſſions*, or *affections of our infirmity.*
* John 7. 30.
‡ John 2. 4.
* John 7. 6.
|| Matt. 26. 45.

to

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CHAP. IX.

How (after the Synod at Alexandria [*made up*] *of those who asserted the* Homoöusian *Faith,)* Eusebius, *returning to* Antioch, *found the* Catholicks *disagreeing there upon account of* Paulinus's *Ordination; and being unable to bring them to an agreement, he departed from thence.*

BUt *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellæ*, immediately after the Synod, went from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*. Where finding *Paulinus* Ordained by *Lucifer*, and the Populace disagreeing amongst themselves, (For the followers of *Meletius* had their assemblies apart by themselves:) he was troubled, because all people did not unanimously agree to the Ordination that had been made, and in his own thoughts disapproved of what was done. But, by reason of the reverence and respect he bore to *Lucifer*, he held his peace, and went away, having promised, that he would rectifie what had been done, in a Synod of Bishops. Afterwards, he used his utmost diligence to unite the dissenters, but could not effect it. In the interim *Meletius* returned from his Exile. And finding his followers celebrating their assemblies apart by themselves, he headed them. But *Euzoïus*, a Prelate who embraced the *Arian* Tenets, was possessed of the Churches. *Paulinus* had only one of the lesser Churches within the City, out of which *Euzoïus* had not ejected him, by reason of the reverential respect he had for him. But *Meletius* had his meetings without the gates of the City. After this manner therefore did *Eusebius* depart from *Antioch* at that time. But when *Lucifer* understood that his Ordination was not approved by *Eusebius*, he lookt upon it as an injury, and was highly incensed. Wherefore he separated himself from *Eusebius*'s communion, and out of a pertinacious contentiousness presumed to reprove what had been determined by the Synod. These things being transacted in a time of sadness and discord, caused many persons to separate from the Church. For there sprung up another new Heresie, [the followers whereof were termed] *Luciferians*. But *Lucifer* was not in a capacity of satisfying his anger. For he was bound by his own [a] promises, by which (being sent by his Deacon) he had engaged that he would assent to the Synods determinations. Wherefore, he retained the Ecclesiastick Faith, and departed into *Sardinia* to his own See. But such as at first were agrieved together with him, do hitherto continue Separatists from the Church. Further, *Eusebius*, like a good Physitian, travelled over the Eastern Provinces, where he perfectly recovered those that were weak in the Faith, teaching and instructing them in the doctrines of the Church. Departing from thence, he arrived in *Illyricum*, and afterwards went into *Italy*, where he took the same course.

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[a] The term here in the original is [ἀπολογίας, *defences,*] which is in no wise agreeable here. Therefore, instead thereof, *Nicephorus* substituted these words [τῶν ἰδίων πίστεων, *by his own nets.*] In my judgement, it should be [τῶν ὁμολογίας, *by his own promises*;] and so *Epiphanius* read it, as appears by his Version. But *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 30. *Eccles. Hist.*) has this passage only; *sed constringebatur*, &c. *But he was bound by the bond of his Legate, who by his authority had subscribed in the Council.* Afterwards, *Rufinus* adds these words concerning *Lucifer*, *si vero recepisset Alexandrini decreta concilii*, &c. *But, had he admitted of the determinations of the Alexandrian Council, he saw that all his attempts must have been frustrated.* But I see no reason why *Lucifer* should reject the *Alexandrian Synods* determinations. For that Synod had approved of *Paulinus*'s ordination, as I have remarkt before from *Athanasius's Synodick Epistle*. And whereas *Eusebius* subscribed that Epistle, he also may seem to have approved of *Lucifers* Ordination of *Paulinus*. Yet, the same *Eusebius* coming to *Antioch* after the *Alexandrian* Council, and perceiving the disagreement between the *Catholicks*, would communicate with neither party, as *Rufinus* attests in the forequoted book and chapter: that is, he abstained as well from *Paulinus*'s as *Meletius*'s communion. *Vales.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning Hilarius *Bishop of* Poictiers.

BUt *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poictiers* (which is a City of *the second Aquitania*) had prevented him, having before-hand laid the foundations of such points as were agreeable to the Catholick Faith [in the minds] of the Bishops in *Italy* and *Gallia*. For he, returning first from banishment, arrived in those Countries before him. Both of them therefore vigorously defended the Faith. But *Hilarius*, being a person endowed with a great stock of Eloquence, asserted the *Homoöusian* opinion in Books which he wrote in the Latine tongue: wherein he sufficiently confirmed * that Faith, and powerfully confuted the *Arian* Tenets. These things hapned a little after the recalling of those who had been banished. But you must know, that at the same time, *Macedonius*, *Eleusius*, *Eustathius*, and *Sophronius* (and [the rest of that Sect] who were all called by one general name *Macedoniani*) held frequent [a] Synods in various places. And having called together those who in *Seleucia* were followers of their opinion, they *Anathematized* the Prelates of the other party, I mean, the *Acacians*. They also rejected the *Ariminum* Creed, and confirmed that which had been recited at *Seleucia*. Which Creed was the same that had before been set forth at *Antioch*, according as we have remarked in our foregoing * Book. And when by some persons they were asked this question: You who are termed *Macedoniani*; if you differ in your Sentiments from the *Acacians*, how comes it to pass, that you have [b] communicated with them [c] untill now, as which was with good reason objected against the *Macedonians*, that whereas they dissented from the *Acacians* in the Draught of the Creed, and were deposed by them in the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod; yet notwithstanding this, they communicated with them. *Basilius*, 'tis certain, accuses them upon this account in *his 73 Epistle ad suos Monachos*. *Basilius*'s words there are to be understood concerning *Eustathius* and the *Macedonians*, who blamed *Basilius*, because he had heretofore communicated with *Eudoxius*, as 'tis apparent from his 79th Epistle to *Eustathius*. *Vales.*

That is, *the Homoüsian Faith.*

[a] Concerning these little Synods, or Conventicles, of the *Macedoniani*, this passage in *Basilius*'s 72 Epistle, *Ad Evæsenos* is to be understood; πίστις παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλη καὶ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ, &c. *There is not amongst us one faith at Seleucia, another at Constantinople: a third at Zela, a fourth at Lampsacum, and a fifth at Rome.* Vales.

* See book 2. chap. 39.

[b] This was

[c] *Nicephorus* understood this passage of *Socrates* otherwise; he words it thus: πάλαι ποτὲ νῦν τοῖς πρὸ ἀμαχίου διαφέρονται, ὁμόφρονες αὐτοῖς· τὸ πρότερον καὶ κοινωνοὶ καθεστῶτες, i. e. *Why do you now dissent from the Acacians, with whom you have heretofore agreed and communicated? Nicephorus* therefore seems to have taken these words [ἄχει νῦν, *untill now*] for [ἄχει τότε, *hitherto.*] But I like not this exposition, and am of opinion, that [ἐκοινωνεῖτε, *did communicate*] is by *Socrates* used instead of [κοινωνεῖτε, *do communicate.*]

Which *Baſilius* does mightily confirm in his forequoted Epiſtle, and *Epiphanius* (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.*) Where he ſays, that although the *Semiarians* were divided into ſeveral factions, yet they diſſented in words only, but in reallity agreed in the ſame opinion: in ſo much that it would be very difficult to aſſign the point wherein they diſagreed amongſt themſelves. But upon a more mature conſideration of the matter, I judge *Nicephorus*'s ſenſe of theſe words to be truer. For *Socrates* ſays, that *Eleuſius*, *Euſtathius*, and the reſt of the *Macedonians* did at this time (that is, in the Reign of *Julian*) firſt make up a Body of their own Sect, and, having convened Synods, did confirm the Creed of the *Antiochian* Synod, and *anathematize Acacius* with his followers: and that when they were queſtioned by ſome, why they had communicated with the *Acacians* (whoſe Creed they did reject) ſo long after the *Seleucian Synod*; they returned this anſwer by *Sophronius*; to wit; *the Weſtern Prelates erred, in regard they aſſerted the Homoüſian Faith: the Eaſterns, being followers of Aëtius's opinion, profeſſed the Son to be diſlike the Father: but we keeping the middle way, do affirm the Son to be like the Father according to his ſubſiſtence.* This is *Sophronius*'s anſwer. Which that it may ſatisfie the queſtion propoſed, this muſt neceſſarily be underſtood, to wit; *Since therefore the Acacians entertained the ſame Sentiments, it need not be wondred at, that we have hitherto held communion with them. Acacius*, 'tis certain, did profeſs the Son to be like the Father, in the ſame manner as the *Macedonians* did. See *Sozomen*, book 5. chap. 14. *Valeſ.*

JULIANUS. being of the ſame opinion with you? To this demand they returned an anſwer by *Sophronius* Biſhop of *Pompeiopolis* a City of *Paphlagonia*, after this manner: The Weſtern Biſhops, ſays he, were infected (as it were with a diſeaſe) with the *Homoüſian* opinion. *Aëtius* in the Eaſt, having adulterated [the doctrine of the Faith,] introduced [an opinion whereby he maintained] a diſſimilitude of ſubſtance [between the Son and the Father.] Both theſe opinions were impious. For, the Weſtern Biſhops did raſhly knit together in one the diſtinct perſons of the Father and Son, binding them together with that Cord of iniquity, the term *Homoüſios*. *Aëtius* wholly ſeparated that affinity of nature which the Son hath to the Father, by [introducing] this expreſſion, *Unlike according to* * *Eſſence*. Since therefore, [the Aſſertours of] both theſe opinions fall into the higheſt extreams of oppoſition, the middle way between theſe two aſſertions ſeemed to us to be more agreeable to truth and piety, whereby 'tis affirmed, that the Son is like to the Father † *according to Subſiſtence*. [d] This is the anſwer which the *Macedoniani* returned by *Sophronius* to that queſtion, as *Sabinus* ſays in *his Collection of the Acts of Synods*. But, whereas they accuſe *Aëtius* as being the Authour of the * *Anomoian* opinion, and not *Acacius*, 'tis apparent, they do fallaciouſly corrupt the truth, thinking to avoid the *Arians* on the one ſide, and the *Homoüſians* on the other. For they are confuted by their own words, that through a deſire of innovating they have made a ſeparation from them both. But let thus much be ſaid concerning theſe [perſons.]

* Or, *ſubſtance.*

† Καθ' ὁμοίωσιν; See chap. 7. of this book.

[d] This place is very intricate. The anſwer of the *Macedoniani* (which *Socrates* has related above, out of *Sabinus*) is obſcure enough.

* See book 2. chap. 20. note (*b.*)

But the cenſure and reprehenſion of that anſwer (which *Socrates* now ſubjoyns,) ſeems to be much more obſcure. Nor does *Nicephorus* give us any aſſiſtance here; for he has tranſcribed this paſſage of *Socrates*'s almoſt word for word. Notwithſtanding, we will endeavour to produce ſomething in order to the illuſtration of this place. This therefore is our Sentiment. The *Macedoniani* were asked, why they diſſented from *Acacius*, with whom they had before held communion. In their anſwer they blamed the *Homoüſians* and *Aëtius*. *This is nothing to the purpoſe, ſays Socrates. For you were not queſtioned concerning Aëtius, but concerning Acacius; you do meerly ſophiſticate: for Acacius, as well as you, does condemn Aëtius's opinion. Now, whereas you condemn Aëtius's opinion, you are not for that reaſon any whit leſs Hereticks. For by your own words you are convinced of Novelty or Hereſie, whilſt you aſſert the Son to be like the Father according to ſubſiſtence. Wherein you diſſent as well from the Catholick followers of the Nicene Creed, (who profeſs him to be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father,) as from the Arians, who aſſerted him to be a Creature, or diſlike in reſpect of his Subſtance.* 'Tis certain, Theodoret (book 4. *Hæret. Fabul.*) does ſay, that *Macedonius* aſſerted the Son of God to be every way like to the Father, and that he was the firſt who invented the term *Homoiouſios*. He was therefore one of the *Semiarians*, as well as *Acacius*. Valeſ.

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CHAP. XI.

How the Emperour Julianus *exacted money from the* Chriſtians.

But, the Emperour *Julianus*, having at the beginning of his Reign ſhown himſelf mild and gratious to all perſons, in proceſs of time did not demonſtrate himſelf to be of ſuch a like temper towards every one. For whenever there hapned any occaſion of calumniating *Conſtantius*, he moſt readily granted the Chriſtians requeſts. But when no ſuch [reflections] were to be made, he made all men apparently ſenſible of that private hatred which he had conceived againſt the Chriſtians in general. Forthwith therefore he iſſues out an Order, that the Church of the *Novatians* in *Cyzicum*, which had been totally demoliſhed by [a] *Enzoius*, ſhould be rebuilt; impoſing a moſt burthenſome penalty upon *Eleuſius* Biſhop of that City, if he did not perfect that building at his own charge within the ſpace of two months. He alſo promoted gentiliſm with his utmoſt endeavour. And (as we have ſaid before) he opened the Pagan Temples. Yea, he himſelf did publickly offer ſacrifice to the *Genius* of the City *Conſtantinople* in the [b] *Baſilica*, where the image of the *Publick Genius* was erected.

[a] It muſt be [ὑπὸ ἐλαδσίς, by *Euleuſius*] as 'tis apparent from the following words. So *Chriſtophorſon* found the reading to be, as is evident from his Verſion. See *Sozomen.* Valeſ.

[b] He means I ſuppoſe, that *Baſilica* [or Cathedral] which was in the fourth Ward of the City *Conſtantinople*. For this was ſimply and abſolutely called *The Cathedral*. The other was termed the *Theodoſian Cathedral*, which ſtood in the ſeventh Ward of the City, as we are informed from *The old deſcription of that City*. In the former *Baſilica* therefore, *the Image of the City Conſtantinople's publick Genius* had heretofore been placed. For ſo theſe words of *Socrates* [τῆς κωνσταντίου πόλεως τύχη δημοσία] muſt be rendred. For the *Greeks* do uſually call that τύχη, which the *Latines* term *Genius*; and τυχία are *the Temples of the publick Genius*; ſee *Euſeb. book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, chap. 11. note (*q.*) Valeſ.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Maris *Biſhop of* Chalcedon.

Moreover, at this time, *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia* being led by the hand into the Emperours preſence, (for he was very aged, and had that diſtemper in his eyes termed *the Pin and Web:*) when he came before him, he reproved him ſharply, terming him an impious perſon, an Apoſtate, and an Atheiſt. The Emperour returned him opprobrious language for his reproaches, calling him blind fellow. And your *Galilæan* God (ſaid he) will never cure you. (For *Julianus* did uſually term Chriſt *The Galilæan*; and *Chriſtians Galilæans.*) But *Maris* anſwered the Emperour with a greater confidence: I thank God (ſaid he) for depriving me of mine eyes, that I might not behold your face, who have fal'n into ſuch horrid impieties. The Emperour made no return hereto, [a] but was ſeverely revenged on him [afterwards.] For when he perceived, that thoſe who ſuffered Martyrdom in the Reign of *Diocletian*, were honoured by the Chriſtians; and having obſerved that many perſons were very deſirous of being made Martyrs, as if he reſolved to be

[a] In the *Florent.* and *Sforſtian* M. SS. the reading here is [ἐν τῷτο μέλλησε χεῖρο, *but revenged it afterwards:*] which reading pleaſes me beſt. For *Julianus* was not afterwards in any inſtance revenged upon *Maris* in particular; but he perſecuted all the *Chriſtians* in general, with that ſort of perſecution which *Socrates* relates. *Nicephorus* met with the ſame reading in his Copy: for thus he has expreſt this paſſage in *Socrates*: δεινῶς δὲ λίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα μέλλησε χεῖρο, *but he was in a very horrid manner revenged for that thing.* Valeſ.

revenged

JULIANUS. revenged on the Christians upon this very account, he took another course. He declined indeed that extremity of cruelty [practised] in the Reign of *Diocletian:* nevertheless, he did not wholly abstain from [raising] a Persecution. For I call that a Persecution, when those who live peaceably, are by any means whatever disquieted and molested. Now, he disturbed them after this manner: He made a Law, that the Christians should not be allowed an education in humane Literature; *least* (said he) *when they have sharpned their tongues, they should with a greater readiness answer the* * *Disputants amongst the Heathens.*

* Or, Logicians.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the tumult raised by the Heathens *against the* Christians.

HE also issued out an Order, that those who would not relinquish the Christian Religion, and come and offer sacrifice to Idols, should not hold any Military imploy about Court. Nor would he permit the Christians to be Governours of Provinces, saying, that their Law forbad the use of the sword against such delinquents as had deserved a capital punishment. Moreover, he induced many persons, partly by flatteries, and partly by gifts, to sacrifice. Immediately therefore both those who were true Christians, and also they who pretended [the profession of that Religion, being tryed] in a furnace as it were, were apparently manifested to all men. For such as sincerely and cordially professed Christianity, willingly left their Military Offices, being resolved to suffer any thing, rather then renounce Christ. Amongst whom were *Jovianus*, *Valentinianus*, and *Valens*, all which persons afterwards wore the Imperial Crown. But others, who were not found Christians, [a] who preferred riches and Secular Honours before the true felicity, without the least delay submitted and offered sacrifice. One of which number was *Ecebolius*, a *Sophista* of *Constantinople*. Who, making himself conform to the dispositions and humours of the Emperours, was in *Constantius*'s time pretendedly a very zealous Christian: In *Julianus*'s Reign he seemed a very fierce assertour of Gentilism. After *Julianus*'s death, he would needs profess Christianity again: For, having prostrated himself before the door of the Oratory, he cried out, *Trample upon me who am salt without savour.* This is the true Character of *Ecebolius*, a person, as at first, so afterwards, light and inconstant. At that time the Emperour, desirous to be revenged upon the *Persians* for the frequent incursions they had made into the *Roman* Territories in the Reign of *Constantius*, went in great hast through *Asia* into the East. But being sensible of the many mischiefs which accompany a War, and that a vast Treasure is required [to carry it on,] without which it cannot be commodiously managed; he craftily devised a way to extort money from the Christians. For he imposed a pecuniary mulct upon those that refused to sacrifice: and the exaction was very severe upon such as were sincere Christians. For every one was compelled to pay proportionably to his estate. And thus the Emperour, by an unjust collection of ill-gotten money, JULIANUS. was in a short time mightily enriched. For that Law was put in execution, not only where the Emperour was present, but in those places also to which he came not. At the same time also the *Pagans* made incursions upon the professours of Christianity: and there was a great conflux of such as termed themselves Philosophers. Moreover, they constituted certain detestable Rites; in so much that they sacrificed young children, as well males, as females, inspected their entrails, and tasted of their flesh. And these were their practises, both in other Cities, and also at *Athens* and *Alexandria*. At which City likewise they framed a calumnious accusation against *Athanasius* the Bishop, acquainting the Emperour that he would destroy that City and all *Egypt*, and therefore that it was requisite he should be driven from that City. The [b] Prefect also of *Alexandria*, according to the Emperours command, made an attempt against him.

[a] In stead of [ὅσοι τὰ χρήματα, *who preferred riches*, &c.] I suppose it should be [ὡς τὰ χρήματα, *in regard they preferred*, &c. [Which emendation is confirmed by *Epiphan. Scholasticus*'s Version; and by *Nicephorus*'s expressing of this passage, in his tenth book, chap. 23. *Vales.*

[b] The name of this Prefect of *Egypt* [who in the Greek is called *Prefect of Alexandria*] was *Hermogenes*, as we are informed from *Julian*'s 23d Epistle. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning Athanasius's *Flight.*

BUT * he Fled again, saying these words to his intimate acquaintance, Friends, let us recede a little while; for 'tis a small cloud, which will soon vanish. Having spoken these words, with all possible celerity he went aboard of a ship, and passing over the *Nile*, fled into *Egypt*. They who endeavoured to apprehend him, made a close pursuit after him. When he understood that his pursuers were not far behind, those that accompanied him, perswaded him to fly into the wilderness again. But by making use of prudent advice, he escaped those that pursued him. For he perswaded his followers to turn back and meet the pursuers, which was done with all possible speed. When therefore they, who a little before fled, approacht the pursuers, [a] the persons who sought [for *Athanasius*,] ask't his followers nothing [but this,] whether they had seen *Athanasius*. They gave them notice, that he was not far off, and said, that if they made hast, they would soon apprehend him. Being after this manner imposed upon, they pursued him very hotly, but in vain. *Athanasius* having made his escape, came privately to *Alexandria*, and absconded there till such time as the Persecution ceased. Such were the miseries which befell the Bishop of *Alexandria*, after his frequent persecutions and troubles occasioned partly by the Christians, and partly by the Heathens. Moreover, the Presidents of Provinces, supposing the Emperours superstition to be a fair opportunity of [increasing] their private gain, treated the Christians very ill, beyond [what] the Imperial Order [commissioned them to do:] one while exacting greater sums of money from them than they ought to have done; at other times inflicting on them corporal punishments. These things the Emperour was sensible of, but connived at them. And to the Christians, making their addresses to him upon this account, his answer was, *'Tis your duty, when you are afflicted, to bear it patiently: for this is the command of your God.*

* *Athanasius.*

[a] In my judgment, this passage should be worded thus [ὅτε ζητοῦντες ἠρώτων τοὺς ἑπομένους, εἰ ἀκολουθοῦσιν, εἰ πού ἀδυνάσιον τεθέασται, *Those who sought for him, ask't his followers, whether they had seen Athanasius:*] the term [οὐδὲν *nothing*] being expunged; which is superfluous. *Nicephorus* confirms our emendation; in whom this word [*nothing*] occurs not, either because he found it not in his Copy; or else in regard he disliked that expression. Further, this whole story is taken out of *Rufinus*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning thoſe who in the Reign of Julianus *ſuffered Martyrdom at* Merus *a City of* Phrygia.

AT the City *Merus*, *Amachius* Preſident of the Province of *Phrygia*, gave order for the opening of the Temple there, and commanded it ſhould be cleanſed from the filth heapt up therein by length of time, and that the images in it ſhould be poliſhed and trim'd up. This fact did ſorely trouble the Chriſtians. One *Macedonius*, *Theodulus*, and *Tatianus*, out of their zeal to the Chriſtian Religion, were unable to bear that indignity. But, having acquired a warmth and fervency of affection towards Vertue, they ruſhed into the Temple by night, and brake the images in pieces. The Governour, highly incenſed at what was done, reſolved to deſtroy many in that City who were guiltleſs; whereupon the authours of this Fact rendred themſelves on their own accord. And choſe rather to die themſelves in defence of the Truth, than to ſee others put to death in their ſtead. The Governour having ſeized theſe perſons, ordered them to expiate the crime they had committed, by ſacrificing. Upon their refuſal to do that, he threatned them with puniſhment. But, being perſons endowed with a great courage of mind, they diſregarded his menaces, and ſhewed themſelves prepared to undergoe any ſufferings whatever. And choſe to die, rather than be polluted by ſacrificing. When therefore he had made theſe men undergoe all manner of tortures, at laſt he gave order they ſhould be laid on Grid-irons, under which he commanded fire to be put, and ſo deſtroyed them. At which time they gave the higheſt and moſt Heroick demonſtration of their fortitude, by theſe words of theirs to the Preſident: *Amachius, if you deſire to eat broyled fleſh, turn us on the other ſide, leaſt we ſhould ſeem half broyled to your taſt.* After this manner theſe perſons ended their lives.

CHAP. XVI.

How (when the Emperour prohibited the Chriſtians *from being educated in the* Grecian *Literature,) the two* Apollinaris's *betook themſelves to writing of Books.*

BUt, that Imperial Law, which prohibited the Chriſtians from being educated in the *Grecian* Literature, made the two * above mentioned *Apollinaris*'s far more eminent than they had been before. For, whereas both of them were perſons well skilled in humane Learning, the father in Grammar, the ſon in Rhetorick, they ſhewed themſelves very uſefull to the Chriſtians at that juncture of time. For the father, being an exquiſite Grammarian, † compoſed a Grammar agreeable to the form of the Chriſtian Religion: he alſo turned *the Books of Moſes* into that termed *Heroick verſe:* And likewiſe paraphraſed upon all the Hiſtorical Books of the *Old Teſtament*; putting them partly into ‡ *Dactylick* Verſe, and partly reducing them into the form of * *Dramatick* Tragedy. He [deſignedly] made uſe of all ſorts of Verſe, that no mode of expreſſion [peculiar to] the *Grecian* Language, might be unknown, or un-heard-of amongſt the Chriſtians. But the Younger *Apollinaris*, a perſon provided with a good ſtock of Eloquence, explained the Goſpels, and Apoſtolick writings, by way of Dialogue, as *Plato* amongſt the *Grecians* [had done.] Having rendred themſelves uſefull after this manner to the Chriſtian Religion, by their own Labours they vanquiſhed the Emperours ſubtlety. But Divine Providence was more prevalent and powerfull, than either theſe perſons induſtry, or the Emperours attempt. For that Law quickly became extinct, together with the Emperour [who made it,] as we will manifeſt in the procedure [of our Hiſtory.] And theſe mens Works are reputed no otherwiſe, than if they had never been written. But ſome one will perhaps make this formidable objection againſt us; How can you affirm theſe things to have been effected by Divine Providence? For, it is indeed evident, that the Emperours ſudden death proved very advantagious to the Chriſtian Religion. But certainly, the rejecting of the Chriſtian writings compoſed by the two *Apollinaris*'s, and the Chriſtians beginning again to be cultivated with an education in the *Grecian* Literature, can in no wiſe be of advantage to Chriſtianity. For, the *Grecian* Literature, in regard it aſſerts * *Polytheiſm*, is very pernicious. To this objection we will (according to our ability) make ſuch a return, as at preſent comes into our mind. The *Grecian* Learning was not admitted of, either by Chriſt, or his diſciples, as being divinely inſpired; nor was wholly rejected, as hurtfull. And this, in my opinion, was not inconſiderately done by them. For, many of the Philoſophers amongſt the *Grecians* were not far from the knowledge of God. For, [being furniſhed] with a diſcurſive knowledge, they ſtrenuouſly oppoſed thoſe that denied Gods Providence, of which ſort were the *Epicureans*, and other contentious [Cavillers;] and confuted their ignorance. And by theſe Books they rendred themſelves very uſefull to the Lovers of piety: but they apprehended not the principal head of Religion, becauſe they were ignorant of the Myſtery of Chriſt, † *Which hath been hid from generations and ages.* And that this is ſo, the Apoſtle in *his Epiſtle to the Romans* does declare, in theſe words: * *For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs, and unrighteouſneſs of men, who hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs. Becauſe that which may be known of God, is manifeſt in them. For God hath ſhewed it unto them. For the inviſible things of him from the Creation of the world, are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made,* even *his eternal power and Godhead, that they may be without excuſe: becauſe that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.* From theſe words 'tis apparent, that they had the knowledge of the truth, which God manifeſted unto them. But they were obnoxious, in regard when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. Whereas therefore [the Apoſtles] prohibited not an education in the Grecian Learning, they left it to the choice of ſuch as were deſirous of it. Let this be one argument, in anſwer to the objection made againſt us. Another is this, The divinely inſpired Scriptures do indeed deliver doctrines that are admirable and truly divine: they do likewiſe infuſe into [the minds of] thoſe that hear them, both an eminent piety, and exact courſe of life; and alſo exhibit to perſons that are ſtudious a faith acceptable to God. But they teach not an art of reaſoning, whereby we may be enabled to anſwer thoſe that reſolutely oppoſe the truth.

JULIANUS.

* Or, *a multitude of Gods.*

† Col. 1. 26.

* Rom. 1. 18, 19, 20, 21.

Beſides,

* Book 2. chap. 46.

† Τὴν τέχνην γραμματικὴν χειστιανικῷ τύπῳ συνέταξε, *compiled an art of Grammar conform to the Chriſtian mode.*

‡ See *Scalig. Poet.* book 2. chap. 6.

* Or, *Tragedy that might be repreſented by Actors.*

JULIANUS. Besides, the Adversaries are then most effectually baffled, when we make use of their own weapons against them. (But, the *Christians* could not be furnished herewith, from the Books written by the *Apollinaris*'s.) Which when the Emperour *Julianus* had accurately considered, he by a law prohibited the *Christians* from being instructed in the *Grecian* Literature. For he very well knew, that the fables [therein contained] would render the opinion he had imbibed, obnoxious to reproach. Which fabulous stories when *Socrates* (the eminentest of the Philosophers amongst them) contemned; as if he had been a person that attempted to violate their Deities, he was condemned. Further, both [a] Christ and also his Apostle do give order, *that we should be skilfull Exchangers of money*, * *that we should prove all things, holding fast that which is good*; and *to* † *beware, least any man spoil you through Philosophy and vain deceit.* But, we shall never obey this [precept,] unless we can possess our selves of the Adversaries weapons; and whilst we are in possession of them, we are not to entertain the same sentiments with our Adversaries: but must abominate the evil: and, retaining what is Good and true, examine all things we embrace. For Good, where-ever it is, is the property of truth. But if any one does suppose, that by asserting these things we use violence [towards the Scriptures by wresting of them,] let such a one consider, that the Apostle does not only not forbid our being instructed in the *Grecian* Learning; but he himself seems not to have neglected it, in regard he knew many sayings which were spoken by the *Grecians*. For, whence took he an occasion of using this saying, * *The Cretians are always lyers, evil beasts, slow-bellies,* except it were from his perusal of the [b] *Oracles of Epimenides* the *Cretian*, a person that was an *Initiator?* Or whence knew he this, * *For we are also his off-spring*, unless he had been acquainted with the *Phœnomena* of *Aratus* the *Astronomer*. Moreover, this, † *Evill communications corrupt good manners*, is a sufficient evidence that he was not unacquainted with *Euripides's Tragedies*. But, what need is there of making a large discourse concerning these things? For, 'tis evident, that antiently, by an uninterrupted usage as it were, the Ecclesiastick Doctors studied the *Grecian* Arts and Sciences, untill they arrived at a very great age: and this [they did,] partly upon account of [gaining] Eloquence, and of *polishing the mind; and partly in order to a confutation of those things, concerning which [the Heathens] were mistaken. Let thus much be said by us, according to our capacity, upon account of the two *Apollinaris*'s.

[a] At what place this precept of our Saviours [*that we should be skilfull mony-changers*] does occur, is uncertain. For 'tis not to be met with in the Gospels. But, in as much as *Origen* and *Ferome* do agree, that this command was given by our Saviour, and was afterwards inculcated by the Apostle; I am of the same opinion with the Learned *Usher*, who supposes, that that saying of our Saviour was recorded *in the Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Further, this saying is frequently mentioned amongst the Antients. Amongst the rest, *Palladius* makes mention of it *in the Life of John Chrysostome*. See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 7. chap. 7. note (*a.*) and the following remark. *Vales.*

* Titus 1. 12.

[b] *Epimenides* did indeed predict many things, partly to the *Athenians*, partly to the *Lacedæmonians*, and partly to the *Cretians*, as may be seen in *Diogenes Laërtius*: (See *Laërtius in Epimened.*) But I never read, that oracles were written by him. *Suidas* affirms, that he wrote some *mysticall and expiatory Poems*, and *some other obscure things*. These therefore must be stiled *Oracles*. *Epimenides* was a person incomparably well skilled in *Lustrations* and *Consecrations*. In his *Lustrations* or purgations, he made great use of the *Sea-Onyon*: and therefore one kind of it was from him called the *Epimenidian-Sea Onyon*. So *Theophrastus*, book 7. chap. 10. Hence it appears, why *Socrates* termed *Epimenides* ἀνδρ. τελετὴν, *an Initiator*. Vales.

* Acts 17. 28.

† 1 Cor. 15. 33.

* Or, *exercising*.

JULIANUS.

CHAP. XVII.

How the Emperour, making preparations for an expedition against the Persians, *arrived at* Antioch: *and being derided by the* Antiochians, *he* [*published*] *an Oration* [*against them*] *entitled* * Misopogon.

* That is, *Beard-hater.*

But, the Emperour, having extorted a vast treasure from the *Christians*, and hastning his expedition against the *Persians*, goes to *Antioch* in *Syria*. When he was come thither, being desirous to demonstrate to the *Antiochians* how superabundantly he affected glory, he depressed the prizes of vendible commodities lower than was fitting: [for] he respected not the present time, nor considered with himself, that the presence of a numerous Army does necessarily endammage the inhabitants of a Province, and cut off plenty [of provisions] from the Cities. Wherefore, the [a] petty Merchants and Provision-sellers, unable to endure the loss they sustained by the Imperial Edict, at that time left off trading. Whereupon, [the Markets] were unfurnished with Provisions. The *Antiochians* could not tolerate this violence [used towards them;] (for they are persons naturally prone to revile:) but presently brake forth [into invectives] against the Emperour, and cried out upon him. They also derided his beard; (for he wore a very large one:) saying, it ought to be shaved, and ropes made of it. [They said] likewise, that he had the stamp of a Bull on his Coyn, [which was an Emblem] that he had turned the world upside down. For the Emperour, extreamly addicted to superstition, and continually * sacrificing Bulls upon the Altars of his Idols, had commanded, that an Altar and a Bull should be stamp't upon his Coyn. The Emperour, enraged at these scoffs, threatned that he would most severely punish the City of *Antioch*; [b] and that he would return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia* [and reside there.] And having given order for a provision of necessaries to be made there, he prepared for his departure thence. Upon which account, *Libanius* the *Sophista* took an occasion of writing two Orations; the one he composed by way of address to the Emperour, in behalf of the *Antiochians*; the [c] other he wrote to the *Antiochians* giving a Character of him, says thus: *Præsagiorum scisciatationi nimiæ deditus, ut æquiparare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum: superstitiosus magis, quàm sacrorum legitimus observator innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes Maltans: ut æstimaretur si revertisset de Parthis boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis Cæsaris, in quem id accepimus dictum, ὁι λευκοὶ βόες Μαρκῷ τῷ κράσει. Αν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπολόμεθα.*

[a] Ὁι μαλακολεῖς. So the *Greeks* do in general term all *small* and *minute-Merchants*, because they barter'd their Wares for a mean value. For μαλακάλλειν signifies *to buy and sell for gain*; and μαλακολὴ imports *a Merchandizeing trade*, as *Julius Pollux* informs us, book 3. chap. 25. Hence, *he was termed* παλίμβολος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐμπολῆ μαλακελληδόν, (says *Harpocration*) *who had been frequently sold.* These Traders are in *Latine* termed *Cociones*, *Arilatores*, and *Dardanarii*. But *Nicephorus* calls them παλιγκάπηλους, whom *Socrates* here terms μαλακολεῖς; παλιγκάπηλοι may in *English* be termed *Retailers*, such as the *Dardanarii* heretofore were. *Vales.*

* Hence 'tis that *Gregor. Nazianzen* (in *his first Invective against Julian,*) stiles him καυστὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ. *Ammian. Marcellinus* (book 25. pag. 294, Edit. *Paris.* 1636;)

[b] In the original, the reading here is [ἡ ὁπὶ ταρσὸν τῆς κιλικίας ὀξυπεστρέφει; *And returns to Tarsus in Cilicia:*] which reading *Nicephorus* has followed. But in my opinion, it should be thus [ἡ ὁπὶ ταρσὸν τῆς κιλικίας ὀξυποστρέφειν, *and that he would return to Tarsus in Cilicia* [*and reside there.*] For *Julian* threatned, that when he returned from *Persia*, he would go to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and would not Winter any more at *Antioch*. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, book 23. pag. 239. *of our Edition.* Vales.

[c] This Oration of *Libanius*'s is in my hands; 'tis transcribed from two M. SS. Copies, the one belonging to *Johannes Aurispa*, the other to the *most eminent Cardinal Francis Barberini*. We will (God willing) translate this, and more than twenty other Orations of the same *Sophista*'s into *Latine*, and publish them within a little while. *Vales.*

JULIANUS. concerning the Emperours diſpleaſure.* But, 'tis ſaid, this *Sophiſta* wrote theſe Orations only, and did not recite them in publick. Moreover, the Emperour, relinquiſhing his reſolution of revenging himſelf upon thoſe revilers by deeds, diſcharged his rage by reciprocal Taunts and Scoffs. For he compiled a book [againſt them,] which he entitled *Antiochicus* or *Miſopωγων*, wherein he has left a perpetual brand upon the City of *Antioch*. Thus much concerning theſe things. We muſt now relate what [miſchiefs] the Emperour then did to the *Chriſtians* in *Antioch*.

CHAP. XVIII.

How, when the Emperour was deſirous to conſult the Oracle, the Dæmon *gave no anſwer, being afraid of* Babylas *the Martyr.*

FOr, having given order, that the Heathen Temples in *Antioch* ſhould be opened, he was very deſirous of receiving an Oracle from *Apollo* * *Daphnæus*. But, in regard the *Dæmon* inhabiting that Temple, feared his neighbour, (I mean [a] *Babylas* the Martyr,) he gave no anſwer. For the Coffin lay hard by, wherein was incloſed the body of that Martyr. When the Emperour underſtood the reaſon thereof, he forthwith iſſued out an order for the immediate tranſlation of the Coffin. The Chriſtians of *Antioch* underſtanding this, [flockt together all of them] as well women, as young children, and carried the Coffin from *Daphne* into the City, with great rejoycings and ſinging of Pſalms. [The contents of] thoſe Pſalms were reproachfull reflections upon the Heatheniſh gods, and upon thoſe that confided in them, and in their images.

* There was a Grove in the ſuburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphne*, which was conſecrated to *Apollo*; whence he was termed *Apollo Daphnæus*. *Sozomen* ſpends a great many words in deſcribing this Grove, at chap. 19. book 5. of *his Eccleſ. Hiſtor.*

[a] He ſucceeded *Zabinus* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, ſays *Euſebius*, book 6. chap. 2. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* The ſame Authour (chap. 39. book. 6.) ſays that he died in priſon (but *Chryſoſtome*, Lib. de S. *Babyl.* Tom. 9. pag. 669. tells us he was beheaded,) in *Decius*'s Reign. Where his body was firſt buried, is not known: but wherever it was, there it reſted, till *Gallus*, *Julian*'s brother, built a Church over againſt the Temple of *Apollo Daphnæus*, (ſee *Sozom.* book 5. chap. 19.) into which he cauſed S. *Babylas*'s body to be tranſlated. After this removal of it, mentioned in this chapter, 'twas intombed within the City *Antioch*, in a Church dedicated to his name and memory.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Emperours wrath, and concerning Theodorus *the Confeſſour.*

MOreover, the Emperours *Genius* and diſpoſition, which he had [hitherto] kept concealed, was at that time clearly diſcovered and manifeſted. For he who before profeſt himſelf to be a Philoſopher, could not moderate himſelf any longer. But being very eaſily provokt to anger by thoſe reproachfull Hymns, was ready to inflict the ſame puniſhments upon the *Chriſtians*, which *Diocletian* heretofore laid on them. But in regard his ſollicitude about the *Perſian* Expedition afforded him not a convenient opportunity of proſecuting this deſign, he ordered *Saluſtius Prefect* of the *Pretorium*, to apprehend thoſe perſons that had been moſt zealous and buſie in ſinging Pſalms, in order to their being puniſhed. The *Prefect* (although as to his Religion he was an Heathen, yet) did not willingly receive that Order. But, in regard he could not contradict it, he commands many of the *Chriſtians* to be apprehended, and confines ſome of them to Priſon. Upon one young man (whoſe name was *Theodorus*, whom the Heathens brought before him,) he inflicted Tortures, and various ſorts of puniſhment, ordering that his body ſhould be lacerated all over; and then, when 'twas ſuppoſed he could live no longer, he releaſed him from his tortures. But God preſerved this perſon. For he ſurvived that confeſſion a long time. *Ruſinus*, who wrote *an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory in Latine*, * ſays, that he converſt with this *Theodorus* a long while after this, and enquired of him, whether, during his being ſcourged and racked, he felt an acuteneſs of pain. And that his anſwer was, that the pain [proceeding] from his tortures was very little: and that there ſtood by him a certain young man, who both wiped off the ſweat cauſed by his agony, and alſo corroborated his mind, and that he cauſed that ſpace of time wherein he was tortured, to be a delight to him, rather than a conflict. Let thus much be ſaid concerning the admirable *Theodorus*. At the ſame time arrived Embaſſadours from the *Perſians*, requeſting [the Emperour] to put an end to the War [a] upon certain expreſs articles and conditions. But he diſmiſt them, with theſe words, *You ſhall ere long ſee Us in perſon, and ſo there will be no need of an Embaſſy.*

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* See *Ruſinus*'s *Eccleſ.* Hiſt. book 1. chap. 36.

[a] Ἐπὶ φιλίαις, is the phraſe in the Original; which neither *Muſculus*, nor *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood, as appears from their Verſions. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

How the Emperour perſwaded the Jews *to ſacrifice, and concerning the utter deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

WHilſt the Emperour was very deſirous to endammage the *Chriſtians* ſome other way beſides this, he betrayed his own ſuperſtition. For, being much addicted to ſacrificing, he not only delighted in the bloud [of ſacrifices] himſelf, but thought himſelf wronged, unleſs others would do ſo too. But, in regard he found but few ſuch men as thoſe, he ſent for the *Jews* and enquired of them, upon what account they abſtained from ſacrificing, whenas the Law of *Moſes* injoyned it. Upon their anſwering him, that they could not ſacrifice in any other place, but only at *Jeruſalem*, he gave order, that *Solomon*'s Temple ſhould be forthwith re-edifyed. [In the interim] he himſelf proceeds in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*. But the *Jews* (who for a long time had been deſirous of getting an opportune time, wherein their Temple might be rebuilt, in order to their offering ſacrifice,) were then very induſtrious about that work. They alſo ſhewed themſelves very formidable to the *Chriſtians*, and their behaviour towards them was proud and inſolent, threatning they would do them as much miſchief, as they themſelves had formerly ſuffered from the *Romans*. In regard therefore the Emperour had given order, that the charge [of that Structure] ſhould be paid out of his Exchequer, all things were ſoon provided; [to wit,] Timber, Stone, burnt Brick, Clay, Lime, and all other materials neceſſary for Building. At which time, *Cyrillus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* call'd to mind the Propheſie of *Daniel*, (which Chriſt alſo has confirmed in the holy Goſpels,)

JULIANUS. Goſpels,) and [a] predicted in the preſence of many perſons, that that time would come very ſhortly, wherein one ſtone ſhould not be left upon another in that Temple, but that our Saviours Prophecy ſhould be fulfilled. Theſe were the Biſhops words. And in the night there hapned a great earthquake, * which tore up the ſtones of the old foundation of the Temple, and diſperſed them all, together with the adjacent edifices. By reaſon of this accident, the *Jews* were extreamly terrified. And the fame of it brought many perſons, who lived at a great diſtance, to that place. When therefore a numerous multitude were gathered together, there hapned another prodigie. For there came down a fire from Heaven, which conſumed all the Builders Tools. You might have ſeen Mallets, Irons to ſmooth and polliſh Stones with, Saws, Hatchets, Axes; in ſhort, all things the workmen had, which were to be uſed about that work, deſtroyed by the flames. The fire prey'd upon theſe things for a whole day together. The *Jews*, being in the greateſt fear imaginable, acknowledged (though unwillingly) that Chriſt was God. But they obeyed not his will; but were prepoſſeſſed with an opinion of their own Religion, and continued firm thereto. For neither did a third Miracle, which hapned afterwards, induce them to a belief of the truth. For, the night following, the impreſſions of a Croſs, which caſt forth beams of brightneſs, appeared printed upon their garments. Which impreſſions when they ſaw the next day, they endeavoured to waſh and rub them out, but could not. They were blinded therefore, as the Apoſtle ſays, and caſt away that good they had in their hands. Thus was the Temple, inſtead of being rebuilt, at that time totally demoliſhed.

[a] That is, *Cyrillus predicted in the preſence*, &c. For the term [προεῖπε τοῦτο] muſt not be referred to *Chriſt*; though *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* both render it ſo. *Nicephorus* does evidently confirm our Verſion, at book 10. chap. 33. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Valeſ.

* Ἀνέβρηξε τοὺ λίθους ἢ πᾶλαι θεμελίων τῦ νεῦ, *which made the ſtones of the old foundation of the Temple ſeeth*, or, *boyle.*

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Emperours inroad into Perſia, *and concerning his Death.*

MOreover, the Emperour made an irruption into *Perſia*, a little before the Spring, being informed that the *Perſians* were a people that were weakeſt, and of the leaſt courage in the Winter. For, being unable to endure cold, they abſtain from undertaking any Military action at that time. But, according to the proverb, *a Mede will not pull ſo much as his hand from under his Cloak at that time.* [On the contrary,] in regard he very well knew, that the *Romans* were able to endure a Winter Campaigne, he poured his Army into the *Perſian* Territories. When therefore they had depopulated a large tract of ground, [laid waſte] many Villages, and Garriſons, they then [began] to take Cities. And, having inveſted the great City *Cteſiphon*, he reduced the *Perſian* King to ſuch ſtraights, that he diſpatcht frequent Embaſſies to *Julian*, entreating him that he might be puniſhed with the loſs of ſome part of his Country only, provided he would depart out of his Territories, and put an end to the War. But *Julianus* was not in the leaſt affected in his mind, nor ſhewed any compaſſion towards theſe ſuppliants. Neither did he take into his conſideration this common ſaying, to wit, *To conquer is famous, but to* * *be more than Conquerour, is odious.* But, giving credit to certain divinations, which *Maximus* the Philoſopher (with whom he converſt continually) ſuggeſted to him; and imagining, that he ſhould not only equal, but exceed the glory of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*; [for theſe reaſons, I ſay,] he rejected the humble addreſſes of the *Perſians*. And he ſuppoſed, agreeable to the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, that by a *Tranſmigration* of ſouls he was poſſeſt of *Alexanders* ſoul; or rather, that he himſelf was *Alexander* in another body. This opinion deceived him, and was the cauſe of his not admitting of the *Perſian* Kings humble addreſs at that time. The King of *Perſia* therefore, perceiving his Embaſſie to be ineffectual, was reduced to a neceſſity [of fighting.] Whereupon, the next day after he had ſent his Embaſſie, he draws out all the forces he had, againſt the *Roman* Army, in order to his giving them Battel. The *Romans* did indeed blame the Emperour, in regard he would not avoid an engagement, when as he might have done it with Advantage. Nevertheleſs, they gave the Enemy Battel, and routed them again. The Emperour was in the Engagement in perſon, on Horſe-back, and encouraged his men: but he had no Armour on, in regard he ſolely confided in his hope of ſucceſs. But [on a ſudden] a Dart is caſt at him from an unknown place, which pierced through his Arm, and entred his ſide. [a] Of which wound he died, the perſon that killed him being unknown. For ſome ſay, [the Dart] was thrown by a certain *Perſian* who fled: others, [that it was caſt] by one of his own men, which is the ſtrongeſt and moſt common report. But *Caliſtius* (who had a Military imploy in this [b] Emperours Guards, and recorded his Acts in *Heroick Verſe*,) in his Narrative of this War, ſays, that *Julian* was wounded by a *Dæmon*, of which he died. This was perhaps a Poetical Fiction of his; peradventure 'twas really true. For revengefull Furies have deſtroyed many perſons. But, however that matter was, this is not unknown, that [this Emperour] was a perſon, by reaſon of his too great heat and ardency of mind, unwary; becauſe of his Learning, vain glorious; upon account of his counterfeit mildneſs, obnoxious to contempt. *Julianus* therefore ended his life in *Perſia* (as we have ſaid) in his fourth Conſulate, which he bore with *Saluſtius* [his Colleague,] about the twenty ſixth of *June*. This was the third year of his Empire; the ſeventh from his having been created *Cæſar* by *Conſtantius*; and the thirty firſt year of his age.

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* Ὑπερνικᾶν; the term occurs, *Rom.* 8. 37; where our *Engliſh* Verſion renders it, *more than Conquerour.*

[a] *Theodoret* (*Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 3. chap. 25.) has recorded this paſſage of *Julian*: Ἐκεῖνον δὲ γέ φασι δεξαμένον τῷ πληγῇ, εὐθὺς πλῆσαι τῷ χεῖρα τῦ αἵματος, καὶ τῦτο ῥίψαι εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ φάναι, Νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαῖε, &c. 'Tis reported, *that upon the receipt of his wound, he filled his hand with bloud, and threw it up into the air, and ſaid, O Galilean:* [ſo he termed our Saviour, and the Chriſtians he called *Galileans*] *Thou haſt overcome*, &c.

[b] The *Greek* term οἰκέτας, ſignifies in this place *Protectores Domeſticos*, *The Emperours Guards*; concerning whom we have ſpoken at large, in *our Notes* on book 14. of *Amm. Marcellinus*; pag. 33. In this ſenſe *Socrates* uſes this term, book 4. chap. 1. This is that *Caliſtus* (if I miſtake not) whom *Libanius* (Epiſt. 120. book 4.) calls *Caliſtio*, friend to *Saluſtius Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. For *Libanius* atteſts there (as well as *Socrates* does here) that he was a Poet. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Jovianus's *being Proclaimed Emperour.*

THe *Roman* Army, reduced to the greateſt ſtreight imaginable, without delay, on the day after, Proclaim *Jovianus* Emperour, a perſon

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son couragious and nobly descended. He being *Tribune of the Souldiers*, * when *Julianus* by publishing of an Edict, gave the Souldiers their choice, whether they would sacrifice, or leave their Military Employments; chose rather to lay down his Commission, then obey the command of the impious Emperour. But *Julianus*, necessitated thereto by the then imminent War, had continued him in Commission, amongst his chief Commanders. Being at that time Elected to the Empire, he refused it. And when he was forcibly drawn forth by the Souldiers, he cried out, saying, that being himself a *Christian*, he would not reign over men firmly addicted to *Gentilisme*. But, after all of them with one voice answered, professing that they also were *Christians*, he accepted of the Empire. Moreover, in regard he was on a sudden left in very great streights † in an Enemies Country, and his men being destroyed by a Famine, upon terms he put an end to the War. The conditions were indeed misbecoming the *Roman* glory: but they were necessary in that conjuncture. For, being punished with the loss of the [a] Borders of the Empire, and having surrendred *Nicibis* (a City in *Mesopotamia*,) to the *Persians*, he departed out of *Persia*. At the relation of these things the Christians were encouraged [b]: But the *Pagans* bewailed *Julianus*'s death. Further, the whole Army blamed his imprudent heat and rashness, and ascribed the disgrace of the loss of their Borders to him; because, being imposed upon by a *Persian* desertour, he had burnt the Ships, which supplied them with provision by water, whereupon the Army was reduced to a great extremity by a Famine. Further, at that time *Libanius* the *Sophista* composed a Funeral Oration upon *Julian*, which he entitled *Julianum*, or *The Epitaph*. In which Oration he does at large recite and extol almost all his Actions: he has also mentioned the Books which *Julian* wrote against the *Christians*, wherein he says, the Emperour has demonstrated the Books of the *Christians* to be ridiculous, and stuft with trifles. Had it sufficed this *Sophista*, to have commended the Emperours other Actions only, I should quietly have proceeded to the following part of my History. But whenas, being a sharp Oratour, by mentioning *Julians* Books he does enveigh against the *Christian* Religion; for this reason we are resolved to speak something concerning this matter: and in the first place we will produce his own words.

* See Chap. 13.

† Or, *in the Country of the* Persians.

[a] In the original, the reading is [Ζημιωθεὶς γὰρ τοῦ σύρας τῆς ἀρχῆς, *For, being punished with the loss of the dominion over the Syrians:*] which reading is retained in all our copies. Agreeable to which is *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version; who renders it thus: *Amissâ namque Syriâ, & traditâ Persis Nisibi, For having lost Syria, and surrendred Nicibis to the Persians:* And *Nicephorus* words this passage thus: Καὶ δή τινα ἧσσ' ἐπιστελλῶν ῥωμαίοις παραδὸς Πέρσαις, τοῦ σύρων ἀρχὴν φημὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ νισιβίν, &c, *Moreover, surrendring some places to the Persians, that were tributary to the Romans, I mean the Government of the Syrians, and Nisibis in Mesopotamia.* But, *Jovianus* surrendred not *Syria* to the *Persians*. He gave them *Nisibis* only, and the Countries beyond the *Tigris*. Wherefore, I doubt not, but instead of [τοῦ σύρας, *the Syrians*] it should be [τοῦ ὅρους τῆς ἀρχῆς, *the Borders of the Empire*;] and accordingly we have rendred it. Than which emendation, there is nothing more certain. *Socrates* himself confirms it, who speaking concerning this matter a little after, in this chapter, says thus, καὶ τοῦ αἰτίαν τῆς ζημίας ἧσσ' ὅρων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέφερον, *and ascribed the disgrace of the loss of the Borders to him.* Vales.

[b] Between these two words [*encouraged*] and [*death*,] there was wanting in the printed Copies of *Socrates* this whole line [ὁι δὲ τοῦ θρησκείαν ἕλληνες, πένθος ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ ἰουλιανοῦ, *But the Pagans bewailed Julianus*'s;] which we have inserted from the *Florent.* and *Sforzian* M. SS. Further, from this very one place 'tis evident, that *Christophorson* made use of no M.S. copies, in his translation of *Socrates*. Vales.

CHAP. XXIII.

A confutation of what Libanius *the* Sophista *has said concerning* Julianus.

THE *Winter*, says he, *having lengthened the nights, the Emperour undertook those Books, which make the man of* Palestine *God, and the Son of God; and by a long dispute and validitie of arguments he evinced, that those* [*Records*] *revered and honoured* [*by the Christians*] *are ridiculous and meer trifles: having in this matter demonstrated himself to be more skilfull and wiser, than the* * Tyrian *Old man. But, may that* Tyrian *be propitious to me, and not be disgusted at what is said,* [a] *in regard he was out-done by his Son!*

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* Porphyrius.

[a] In the *Florent.* and *Sforzian* M. SS. the reading is [ὡς ἂν ᾧ ἡττώμενος, *in regard he was out-done by his Son.*] But in *Libanius*'s *Oration*, which I have read in Manuscript, it is thus worded [ὡς ἂν υἱέως ἡττώμενος,] which reading pleases me best. This *Funeral Oration* of *Libanius*'s concerning the praises of *Julian* the Emperour, is published indeed by *Morellus*, in the *Second Tome* of the said *Libanius*'s works; but very corruptly. For, two parts in four of it are transposed; and besides, there are some pages of it wanting. We have some time since found out the transposition of this Oration; and made up its defects from *Johannes Altinus*'s Manuscript; in which Copy this passage is extant, which *Socrates* does here quote. *Vales.*

These are *Libanius* the *Sophista*'s words. I am indeed of opinion, that he was a most incomparable *Sophista*: but, I am confident, had he not entertained the same sentiments with the Emperour, as to Religion, he would have spoken against him all that hath been said by *Christians*, and (as 'tis very likely,) being a *Sophista*, would have enlarged upon that subject. For, whilst *Constantius* was living, he wrote * *Encomiums* upon him; but after his death, he loaded him with reproaches and abusive accusations. Wherefore, had *Porphyrius* been an Emperour, he had undoubtedly preferred his books before *Julian*'s: and, had *Julianus* been a *Sophista*, he would have termed him an ill *Sophista*, as he does *Ecebolius*, in *his Epitaph upon Julian*. Since therefore he, as being of the same Religion with the Emperour, as a *Sophista*, and as the Emperour's friend, has related what he thought good; we, according to our ability, will answer what he has written. In the first place therefore, he says, that the Emperour undertook those Books, when Winter had lengthened the nights. This term, *to undertake* or *attempt*, imports, that he made it wholly his business to write a discommendation, as the *Sophistæ* usually do, when they instruct young men in the rudiments of their Art. For he had been acquainted with those Books long before, but then he made his attempts against them. And, having spent a great deal of time in a tedious contest, he did not [oppose them] (as *Libanius* says) with solid arguments; but for want of truth betook himself to Jests and Drollery, (whereof he was a great admirer,) by which means he derided what is firmly established in those Books. For, whosoever undertakes a Contest against another, does usually belie him against whom he manages the dispute, one while by perverting the truth, at another by concealing it. And he that has a Pique against another, as an adversary endeavours, not only to act, but to speak against him in all things: and delights to turn the * faults that are in himself, upon him with whom he is at variance. That *Julianus* and *Porphyrius* (whom *Libanius* calls *The Tyrian Old man*) did both of them take great delight in scoffing, is evident from their own Books. For *Porphyrius*, in the Books he wrote *concerning Philosophick History*, has made the Life of *Socrates* a ridicle, who was the eminentest of the Philosophers: and has left such passages upon Record concerning him, as neither *Melitus*, nor *Anytus*, *Socrates*'s Accusers, would have attempted to say. Concerning *Socrates*, I say a person admired amongst the *Grecians*,

* Commendations.

* *The ills.*

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cians, for his modesty, Justice, and other Virtues. Whom *Plato* the most admirable Philosopher among them, *Xenophon*, and the whole †Or, *quire.* † company of Philosophers, not only honour as a person beloved by God, but also repute him to have been endowed with a wisdom more than humane. And *Julianus*, imitating his * Father, has discovered the distemper of his own mind in [the Book he entitled] *The Cæsars*, wherein he has discommended all the Emperours his predecessours, not sparing even *Marcus the Philosopher*. That both of them therefore took great delight in Scoffs and Taunts, their own writings do sufficiently declare. Nor need I many or solid arguments, but this is sufficient to represent the humour and disposition of them both [b]: This Character I give of them, grounding my conjecture concerning their disposition, upon the works of each of them. But, what *Gregorius Nazianzenus* has said concerning *Julianus*, you may hear [delivered] in his own words. For, in * *His second Oration against the Gentiles*, he says thus. *Experience, and his assuming the Imperial Dignity and Authority, evidenced these things to others. But to me they were in a manner apparently manifest long before, at such time as I was conversant with him at* Athens. *For he came thither immediately after the innovations attempted by his* † *Brother, having requested this of the Emperour. The design of this his journey was twofold; the one was more honourable, [namely,] to see* Greece, *and the Schools there: the other was kept secret, known but to a very few, [to wit,] that he might consult the Sacrificers and Impostours there concerning his own affairs: for his impiety was not yet in possession of confidence and liberty. At that time therefore, I well remember, I was no bad Diviner concerning this person, although I pretend not to be one of their number, who are well versed in the knowledge and use of these predictions. But, the unevenness and inconstancy of his disposition, and the incredible extravagancy of his mind, made me a Prophet, if he be the best Prophet, who gives the truest conjecture. For, 'twas my opinion, that no good could be portended by an instable neck, by shoulders which sometimes he brandished, at others* [c] *represt; by wandring and rowling eyes; a furious countenance; feet unsteady and stumbling; a nose breathing forth reproach and contempt; ridiculous cuttings of faces signifying the same thing; immoderate and excessively loud laughter; noddings, and then denials by his countenance, without any reason; a voice represt and cut off by his breath; immethodicall and indiscreet questions; answers no whit better then these, crowding one after another, inconstant to themselves, nor yet proceeding in a Learned Order. What need I give a particular description of every thing? Before his Actions I saw he would be the same that I have since found him to be by his Actions. And, were some of those persons here, who were then present and heard me, they would be easily induced to attest this. To whom, when I saw these things, I forthwith spake these words,* How great a mischief to its self does the Roman Empire breed up! *When I had uttered these words, I prayed to God, that I might be a false Prophet. For that was better, than that the world should be filled with such horrid mischiefs, and that such a monster should appear, the like to which had never been seen before; although many deluges are recorded; many devastations by fire, many earthquakes, and* * *chasms*; [d] *and moreover, many monstrous and inhumane men, and beasts that were prodigious and compounded of several kinds, of which Nature produced new forms. Upon this account, he ended his life in a manner answerable to his madness.*

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* Or, openings of the earth.

[d] This passage is to be made good from *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, thus: Ἐπ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπανθρώπων καὶ θηρίων ἀλλοκότων τε καὶ σωμάτων, ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐκαινοτόμησε· and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[b] After these words this line [ἐξῶ μηδὲν ταῦτα ὀκνῶ ἐκλέγων λόγων οὐδὲ ἤθους ἀνθρ] was wanting in the Printed Copies; which I inserted from the *Sfortian* M. S. *Vales.*

This Character *Gregorius* has given us concerning *Julianus*. Moreover, that in those many Books (in the compiling whereof they imployed themselves,) they have attempted to violate the truth, by perverting some passages of the sacred Scriptures, by making insertions in other some, and by explaining all things agreeable to their own design; [e] many persons have demonstrated in their answers to them, who have also overturned and confuted their Fallacies. But, above all other [Ecclesiastick Writers,] [f] *Origen*, (who lived long before *Julianus*'s times,) by raising objections against himself from such passages in the sacred Scripture as seemed to disturb the Readers, and after that by clearing of them, has put a stop to the fallacious cavills and verbose niceties of ill-affected persons. Which works of his had *Julianus* and *Porphyrius* perused carefully, and given them a candid reception, undoubtedly they would have turned their discourses to some other subject, and would not have applied their minds to the writing of fallacies stuft with impiety and blasphemy. That the Emperour made it his business to cavil in his discourses before ignorant and the simpler sort of men, not in their presence who retain a representation of the truth taken from the sacred Scriptures; is evident from hence: For, having pickt out as many expressions as upon account of necessity are by way of dispensation used concerning God in a more humane manner, and put them and many such like phrases all together; at length he subjoynes these very words; *Every one of these expressions therefore (unless the phrase contains in it some secret and occult sense and meaning, which I suppose,) is stuft with a deal of Blasphemy against God.* Thus much he has said in expres words, in *his Third Book against the Christians*. And in that Book of his, to which he gave this title [g] *Concerning the Cynick Phyloso-*phy, declaring after what manner sacred Fables ought

[e] Many of the Antients have undertaken to refute *Porphyrius* and *Julianus*'s books *against the Christians*. *Methodius*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinaris* wrote books against *Porphyrius*. *Cyrillus* wrote against *Julian*; which books of *Cyrillus*'s are still extant, but are not extraordinarily acute. *Vales.*

[f] In what books *Origen* has explained such passages in sacred Writ as might trouble the Readers, and has confuted the fallacious arguments brought against the Christian Religion; 'tis hard to assert. For, in *his books against Celsus*, he has in no wise done this. Nor, was it his design in that work, to explain those passages in the sacred Scripture, which had any difficulty in them, but only to answer *Celsus*'s objections. Perhaps, *Socrates* does mean *Origens* τραπεζίτας. For in those books *Origen* shewed the congruity of the opinions of our Religion with those of the Philosophers, as *Jerom* informs us in his *Epistle to Magnus the Orator*. In order to his effecting of this, 'twas requisite for *Origen* to expound those places of Scripture, which seemed to contradict the sentiments of the Philosophers. *Vales.*

[g] He means his book against *Heraclius the Cynick*; the title whereof is, πῶς κυνιστέον, *the way of living like a Cynick*. For, in the 403 pag. of that book, this passage here quoted occurs. *Vales.*

[c] In *Gregory Nazianzens* second Invective against *Julian* (out of which this passage is quoted) the term here is ἀνασκέμενοι which word *Billius* renders, *attollebat, he lifted up*. But I had rather it should be rendred *Librator, poyzed*. *Nicephorus* retains the vulgar reading, to wit, ἀναχαιτίζωσι, *repress*; whose Translatour gives this rendition of these words: *Humeri, quos subinde jactaret ac reduceret mobiles*, i. e. *Moveable shoulders which he would sometimes thrust out, at others pluck back*. Vales. See Mr *Montagu*'s account of this term, in *his notes on* pag. 98. of *Nazianzens* second Invective, Edit. Eton. 1610.

* This passage occurs in *Nazianzen*'s second Invective against *Julian*, pag. 97. Edit. Eton. 1610.

† He means *Gallus Cæsar*; See chap. 34. book 2. and chap. 1. book 3.

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ought to be feigned, he ſays, that in ſuch things as theſe Truth muſt be concealed: theſe are his very words: *For Nature loves concealment: and the hidden ſubſtance of the Gods cannot endure to be thrown into polluted ears in bare and naked words.* From theſe words 'tis apparent, that the Emperour had this ſentiment concerning the divine Scriptures, [to wit,] that they were myſtical Diſcourſes, containing in them an abſtruſe ſenſe and meaning. Moreover, he is very angry, becauſe all men do not entertain the ſame opinion concerning them; and inveighs againſt thoſe perſons amongſt the *Chriſtians*, who take the ſacred Oracles in their plain and obvious ſenſe. But, it was not decent to rail in ſuch a manner againſt the ſimplicity of the Vulgar, nor upon their account to uſe ſuch inſolence towards the ſacred Scriptures: nor yet, to hate and have an averſion for [h] thoſe things which are rightly underſtood by others, becauſe all perſons underſtood them not, as he had a mind they ſhould. But now, the ſame accident ſeems to have befal'n him, which hapned to *Porphyrius*. For he, having been beaten by ſome *Chriſtians* at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*; and being unable to maſter his paſſion, in a great fury [i] relinquiſhed the Chriſtian Religion: and out of his hatred towards thoſe that had beaten him, he fell to writing Blaſphemous Books againſt the *Chriſtians*; as *Euſebius Pamphilus* has manifeſtly made it out againſt him, who has clearly confuted his Books. But the Emperour, having uttered diſdainfull expreſſions againſt the *Chriſtians* in the preſence of unthinking perſons, through the ſame diſtemper of mind fell into *Porphyrius*'s Blaſphemy. Since therefore both theſe perſons voluntarily [deſerted the truth and] brake out into impiety, they are puniſhed by the very knowledge and conſciouſneſs of their own crime. Further, whereas *Libanius* the *Sophiſta* in deriſion to the *Chriſtians* does ſay, that they make a man of *Paleſtine* God and the Son of God; in my opinion he ſeems to have forgot, that he himſelf has deified *Julianus* at the cloſe of his Oration. *For they almoſt ſtoned to death* (ſays he) *the firſt meſſenger of his death, as if he had bely'd the God.* Then, a little afterwards he adds theſe words, *O Thou darling* (ſays he) *of the Dæmons, Thou Diſciple of the Dæmons, Thou Aſſeſſor with the Dæmons!* Although *Libanius* himſelf underſtood this otherwiſe; yet, in regard he avoided not the ambiguity of the term [*Dæmons*,] which is [ſometimes] taken in an ill ſenſe, he ſeems to have ſaid the ſame which the *Chriſtians* uſually do in their reproaches. Wherefore, had it been his deſign to have commended the Emperour, he ought to have ſhun'd an ambiguous term; as he did avoid another word; for which being reproacht, he afterwards raz'd it out of his Orations. Moreover, how man in Chriſt may be ſaid to be God, and how he was apparently man but inviſibly God; and after what manner both theſe aſſertions are infallibly true, the Divine Books of the *Chriſtians* do evidently ſhew. But the Heathens, before they believe, cannot underſtand. For 'tis the Oracle of God which ſaith, that * *If ye will not believe, ſurely you ſhall not underſtand.* Wherefore, they are not aſhamed to deify many men; and I wiſh at leaſt they had been men good as to their morals, juſt, and ſober; and not rather impure, unjuſt, and perſons addicted to drunkenneſs: I mean, the *Hercules's*, *Bacchus's*, and *Æſculapius's*, by whom *Libanius* bluſhes not to ſwear frequently in *his Orations*. Whoſe Sodomies and Adulteries ſhould I give a particular account of, my diſcourſe thereof would be long and a tedious digreſſion. Thoſe that are deſirous of information about theſe things, will find a ſatisfactory account thereof in [k] *Ariſtotles Peplum*, [l] *Dionyſius's Corona*, [m] *Rheginus's Polymnemon*, and in the crowd of the Poets: who by writing concerning theſe things, do demonſtrate to all men, that the Heathen Theology is trifling and ridiculous. Further, that 'tis the peculiar practiſe of the Heathens and a thing uſual amongſt them, with great readineſs to deifie men, 'twill be ſufficient to advertize you by a few inſtances. To the *Rhodians* (who conſulted the Oracle upon their being faln into a calamitous diſtreſs,) an anſwer was given, that they ſhould worſhip *Attis* the *Phrygian*, an Heathen Prieſt who inſtituted mad ceremonies in *Phrygia*. The contents of the Oracle are theſe.

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Appeaſe [n] Attis, *the great God, chaſt* Adonis,
The Doner of a proſperous Life, and happineſs,
The beautifully-hair'd Bacchus.

Bacchus, *Clemens Alexandrinus* alſo does inform us (in *his Protrepticon*) in theſe words: Διὰ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπεικότως τὸν Διόνυσόν τινες αὐτὸν προσαγορεύειν ἤθελον αἰδοίων ἐστερημένον, *upon which account ſome will have* Attis, *deprived of his Genitals, not unfitly termed* Bacchus. *Demoſthenes*, in *his Oration pro Coronâ*: καὶ βοῶν ἐυοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπαχθόμενος ὑῆς ἄττης, i. e. *and ſhouting Euoi Saboi* [theſe were the uſual acclamations of thoſe celebrating *Bacchus*'s Feaſts] *and triumphing in words, Hues Attis.* Which words of *Domoſthenes's Harpocration* ſuppoſed were meant of *Attis* the *Phrygian*. But ſome of the Antients, read not in that place of *Demoſthenes*, *Attis*, but *Ates*, which is *an Additional name* to *Bacchus*, as is alſo ὑῆς. See the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the term ὑῆς and ἄττης. *Valeſ.*

The Oracle calls *Attis* (who by reaſon of his Love-madneſs caſtrated himſelf,) *Adonis*, and *Bacchus*. And when *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians* paſſed over into *Aſia*, the *Amphictyones* made him preſents, and *Pythia* uttered this Oracle.

Adore the ſupream God *Jove*,
And *Minerva Tritogenia*,
The King concealed in a mortal Body,
Whom *Jove* has begotten [o] of a race ineffable,
Mortals Defender of Equity, King *Alexander*.

[o] Inſtead of [ἀείστοις γονάϊς, *of a race moſt incomparably the beſt*] the reading (as the rule of verſe requires) ſhould be [ἀῤῥήτοισι γονάϊς, *of a race ineffable.*] Valeſ.

Theſe are the words of the Oracle which the *Dæmon* uttered at *Delphos*: He himſelf, when he would flatter Potentates, Deified them. And this was perhaps done meerly out of flattery. But, what ſhall we ſay concerning *Cleomedes* the *Champion*, whom they have made a God, and uttered this Oracle concerning him.

The laſt of the *Hero's*, *Cleomedes Aſtypalæus*.
Him worſhip with ſacrifices, as being no longer a Mortal.

Upon

[h] In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading here is τὰ καλῶς αὐτῷ νοούμενα. But I am better pleaſed with my former conjecture, which was to read it thus, τὰ καλῶς ἄλλοις νοούμενα, *thoſe things which are rightly underſtood by others.* Although, the reading may be barely thus, τὰ καλῶς νοούμενα, *thoſe things which are rightly underſtood.* For the word [αὐτὰ] crept in hither, from the following line. *Valeſ.*

[i] Ἀπέλειπε in the *Florentine* M. S. the reading is καθέλειπε, *he deſerted.* *Nicephorus* (book 10. chap. 36. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*) words it thus, ἐξόμνυσι, *abjured.* Valeſ.

[k] Concerning *Ariſtotles Peplum*, ſee what the Learned *Guillelmus Canterus* has remarkt. *Valeſ.*

[l] It ſhould be *Dionyſius*, not *Dionyſus*. 'Tis hard to ſay, who this *Dionyſius* was, who wrote a book with this title. I am of opinion, it was *Dionyſius Mileſius*; who (as *Suidas* atteſts) wrote κύκλον ἰσοπλευρικὸν, *an Hiſtorical Circle*; For κύκλος and στέφανος are the ſame. *Valeſ.*

[m] *Suidas* relates, that *Reginus Grammaticus* wrote a book with this title, *Polymnemon*. Valeſ.

[n] That *Attis* is the ſame perſon with

* See *Eſai.* 7. 9. *Socrates* quotes the words of the Septuagint; and we render it accordingly.

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Upon account of this Oracle, *Diogenes* the *Cynick*, and [p] *Oenomaus* the Philosopher condemned *Apollo Pythius*. The Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* have declared *Adrianus* to be the thirteenth God. And *Adrianus* himself has deified *Antinous* his own **Catamite*. These things *Libanus* does not term ridiculous, and meer trifles; although he very well knew these Oracles, and that single Book, which [q] *Adrias* wrote *concerning the Life of Alexander*. [r] Nor is he himself ashamed to Deifie *Porphyrius*. For his words are these, *May the Tyrian be propitious to me*, whose Books he preferred before the Emperours. Let thus much suffice to have been said by us by way of digression, upon account of the *Sophista*'s scoffing and reproaches. I thought fit to omit the rest, which requires a particular Treatise. We must now subjoyn the remaining part of our History.

[p] *Oenomaus a Cynick* Philosopher, having been deluded by *Apollo*'s Oracle, resolved to revenge himself; and wrote a book *concerning the falseness of Oracles*, to which he gave this title, φωραγορῶν, i. e. *A discovery of Cozeners*: this *Eusebius* tells us from *Porphyrius*, in *his fifth book De Præparat.* Vales.

* That is, *his favorite whom he kept to abuse contrary to nature.*

[q] *Musculus* and *Christophorson* took [Ἀδρείας] to be a proper name. *Langus* (in his notes on *Niceph.* book 10. chap. 36.) was of opinion, that instead of *Adrias*, it should be *Adrianus*. Indeed, the word *Adrias* is not to be endured. For no body was ever called by that name. Therefore *Nicephorus*, instead of [Ἀδρείας] substituted this word [Ἀλεξανδρεὺς;] very erroneously. In this place *Socrates* means that book of *Lucian*'s, which has this title, Ἀλέξανδρος, ἢ ψευδόμαντις, *Alexander* or *The false Prophet*. In which book *Lucian* describes the frauds and impostures of one *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, who had craftily forged an *Oracle*. Wherefore instead of Ἀδρείας (or Ἀνδρείας, as 'tis in the *Florentine* M. S.) it must be *Lucianus*. Unless we should say, that *Socrates* mistook, and ascribed this book to one *Adrianus*, or *Arrianus*. Vales.

[r] Before these words I placed a full point, following herein *Nicephorus*'s authority. Moreover, the reading should be [οὐδὲ ἐπαλύνεται, *nor is he himself ashamed.*] Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Bishops flockt from all places to Jovianus, *every one of them hoping they should induce him to embrace their own Creed.*

After *Jovianus*'s return out of *Persia*, the Ecclesiastick commotions were again renewed. For the Prelates of the Churches made it their business to prevent one another, each of them expecting, that the Emperour would give his assent to their Creed. But he had from the beginning adhered to the *Homoüusian* Faith; and openly declared, that he preferred that Creed before all others. And by his Letters he encourages *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who immediately after *Julianus*'s death, had recovered the *Alexandrian* Church. But, being then made more confident and couragious by the Emperours Letters, he was freed from fear on all hands. The Emperour likewise recalled those Bishops, who had been banished by *Constantius*, and had not procured their own revocation by *Julianus*. Moreover, all the Heathen Temples were then shut up. And [the *Dæmon Priests*] themselves absconded, some in one place, some in another. The * Philosopers also laid aside their *Palliums*, and cloathed themselves in the common and ordinary habit. Likewise, that [a] Publick pollution caused by the bloud [of sacrifices,] which they had celebrated in *Julianus*'s Reign even to loathsomness, was then taken away.

* Οἱ τριβωνοφόροι, *The Pallium-wearers.*

[a] He seems to mean the *Taurobolia* and *Criobolia*, after the undertaking whereof, the *Pagans* believed they were eternally regenerated; as the old inscriptions inform us. This whole ceremony is incomparably well described at large by *Prudentius*, *in the passion of Romanus the Martyr*; pag. 255, &c. *Edit. Basil.* It was in short thus: *The Priest to be consecrated, being habited in his Sacerdotal Vestments, (adorned with a Crown of Gold, and wrapt about with a silken Gown,) was put into a deep Pit dug into the earth. Over this Pit an Altar made of planks was erected, through which many holes were bored. Upon this Altar a great Bull was laid, adorned with Garlands, and his horns were guilded: his breast they divided with a consecrated Weapon. A stream of reeking bloud gushing immediately out of the large wound, flowed upon the boarded Altar, and running through the holes made therein, rained down upon the Priest inclosed under the boards; who catcht the shower of gore by putting his head under the falling drops; wherewith he besmeared his garments, and his whole body.* See *Prudentius*, ut supra.

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CHAP. XXV.

That the Macedonians *and* Acacians, *meeting together at* Antioch, *confirmed the* Nicene *Creed.*

But the affairs of the *Christians* were in no wise in a sedate posture. For the principal heads of every party made their [a] addresses to the Emperour, supposing they should obtain from him power and authority against those by them reputed to be their adversaries. And in the first place, those termed *Macedoniani* present a Libel to him, requesting that they who asserted the Son to be unlike the Father, might be ejected out of the Churches, and themselves put into their places. The persons who presented this *Supplicatory Libel*, were *Basilius* [Bishop] of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis*, *Pasinicus* of [b] *Zelæ*, *Leontius* of *Comani*, *Callicrates* of *Claudiopolis*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabali*. The Emperour having received their Libel, sent them away without an answer. He expresst himself only thus to them: *I abominate* (said he) *Contentiousness: But I Love and Honour those that are* * *desirous of Unity and Concord.* When these expressions were divulged in the hearing of the other parties, they mollified the stiffness of those who were desirous of Contention. And this fell out agreeable to the Emperours intent and design. Moreover, the contentious disposition of the *Acacians* was then also clearly manifested, and they evidently demonstrated their continual usage of complying with their sentiments who were vested with the supream power. For, meeting together at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they entred into discourse with *Melitius*, who having separated from them a little before, had embraced the *Homoüusian* opinion. And this they did, in regard they saw *Melitius* was highly esteemed by the Emperour, who then resided at *Antioch*. Having therefore made a profession of the *Homoüusian* opinion, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, by a general consent they drew up a Libel, which they presented to the Emperour. The Contents whereof are these.

[a] It must be μεταλήψεις, which has the same import with πρόσοδος, *approaches*, or *addresses*. Περιλήψεις signifies another thing, to wit, *Progressus, proceedings*. Vales.

[b] Instead of [Ζήνων, *Zeni*] it should be [Ζήλων, *Zelæ*] according as *Epiphan. Scholasticus* read it. *Zelæ* or *Zela* is a Town of *Cappadocia*, as *Pliny* and others do affirm. *Basilius* mentions this place in his 72 *Epist. ad Evæsenos*; and in *Epist.* 73. *ad Monachos suos*. Vales.

* Περιφερόντας, *those that hasten towards, &c.*

To the most Pious and most Dear to God, Our Lord JOVIANUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, *The* SYNOD *of Bishops present at* ANTIOCH, *Assembled out of divers Provinces.*

Even we our selves are fully satisfied, most Pious Emperour, that your Piety has in the first place studied to Assert and Constitute the Peace and Unity of the Church. Nor are we insensible, that You have rightly judged a Draught of the true and Orthodox Faith to be the Head and Fountain of this Unity. Wherefore, that we may not be reputed

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of their number who adulterate the Doctrine of truth, we declare to Your Piety, that we do embrace and firmly adhere to the Creed of the holy Synod heretofore convened at Nicæa. *Especially, since that term therein, which to some seems* [c] *new and unusual, (we mean the term* Homoöusios,*) has with Caution been explained by the Fathers; so, as to denote, that the Son was begotten of the Fathers substance, and that he is like the Father as to his substance. Not, as if any passion were to be understood in relation to that inexplicable Generation: nor, is the term* Ousia *taken by the Fathers according to any usual signification of it amongst the* Grecians; *but,* [*'tis made use of*] *in order to the subversion of what has been impiously and audaciously asserted by* Arius *concerning Christ,* [*to wit,*] *that he existed of things which are not. Which* [*Tenet*] *the* Anomæans, *who are newly sprung up, do with a far greater boldness and audaciousness impudently assert, to the utter ruine of Ecclesiastick unity. Wherefore, we have annexed to this our Declaration a Copy of that Creed set forth by the Bishops convened at* Nicæa, *which we also embrace. It is this,* We believe in one God the Father Almighty, *and* [d] *all the rest of the Creed.*

[c] The term [Ξένον, new or unusual] was added by *Christophorson* out of *Nicephorus*. For, in the Kings M.S. (which *Robert Stephens* followed,) and in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. this word is wanting. Nor did *Epiphanius Scholasticus* meet with it in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Quando etiam Consubstantialitatis nomen, quod aliter se quibusdam habere videtur, dicimus cautam interpretationem a patribus excepisse.* Vales.

[d] We remarked before (*Socrat.* book 1. chap. 8. note (*a.*)) that the term μαθημα, is by the *Greeks* used to signifie the Creed, because 'twas commonly learnt by heart. But, the word πλήρης is useless here. In my judgment, it would be placed better after these words [ὅλης ὄζης,] thus, ὅλης ἐσὶν πλήρης, *It is this in full.* Vales.

* Here follow the names of those Bishops who presented and consented to this Libel.

* *I* Meletius *Bishop of* Antioch *have presented* [*this Libel,*] *and do give my consent to what is above written.* [*And so do I*] Eusebius *of* Samosata, Evagrius *of* [e] Siculi, Uranius *of* Apamæa, Zoilus *of* Larissa, Acacius *of* Cæsarea, Antipater *of* Rhosus, Abramius *of* Urimi, Aristonicus *of* Seleucia *upon* Belus, [f] Barlamenus *of* Pergamus, Uranius *of* Melitina, Magnus *of* Chalcedon, Eutychius *of* Eleutheropolis, [g] Isacoces *of* Armenia The Great, Titus *of* Bostra, Petrus *of* [h] Sippi, Pelagius *of* Laodicæa, [i] Arabianus *of* Antros,

[e] In the *Sfortian* M. S. it is [σικελῶν *Siculi,*] which reading is truer than [σικελὸς, *Sicelus.*] It is the name of a City Situate in the East, concerning which I have yet met with nothing. Amongst the Bishops of the *Acacian* party who subscribed the *Seleucian* Synod, *Evagrius* of *Mitilene,* of the Province of the Islands, is recounted. *Vales.*

[f] This is neither a *Greek,* nor a *Latine* name. In the *Tripartite-History* it is *Barbabentus.* Vales.

[g] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* terms him *Isacius.* He seems to be the same person with him that is called *Isaces* in *Basilius*'s 69 Epistle, which is the Synodick Epistle of the *Antiochian* Council under *Meletius.* He is recounted between *Cosroes* and *Narses.* Vales.

[h] Upon my warrant, make it *Hippi.* This *Petrus* was Bishop of *Hippi,* a Province of *Palestine.* He subscribed the *Seleucian* Synod, together with the others of the *Acacian* party here recounted, to wit, *Zoilus* of *Larissa, Eutychianus* of *Eleutheropolis*; as you may read in *Epiphanius,* in *Hæres. Semiarian. Hippos* was a Town in *Palestine,* thirty *Stadium*'s distant from *Tiberias*; *Josephus* mentions it *in his own Life.* Vales.

[i] In *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version he is called *Arabianus Adrensis,* very right. For this is the *Arabianus,* or *Arabion,* Bishop of the *Adrai,* who subscribed the *Seleucian* Synod, amongst the Bishops of the *Acacian* party, as *Epiphanius* relates in *Hæres. Semiarian.* Where he is placed after *Exercsius* Bishop of *Gerasi,* and next before *Charisius* Bishop of *Azotus. Adra,* or *Adraön,* is a City of *Arabia,* under the Bishoprick of *Bostra,* as *Guillelmus Tyrius* informs us. 'Tis certain, *Uranius* Bishop of *Adra* is reckoned amongst the Bishops of the Province of *Arabia* in the first *Constantinopolitan-Synod.* But, in the fifth *Constantinopolitan-Synod,* one *Dorymenius* is counted Bishop of *Adra.* Vales.

Piso *of* Adani, *by* [k] Lamydrion *the Presbyter,* Sabinianus *of* Zeugma, Athanasius *of* Ancyra, *by* Orphitus *and* Aëtius *Presbyters,* [l] Irenius *of* Gaza, Piso *of* Augusta, Patricius *of* Paltus, *by* Lamyrion *the Presbyter,* Anatolius *of* Berœa, Theotimus *of* Arabi, Lucianus Arcenus.

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[k] I should rather write it *Lamurio,* agreeable to *Epiphanius Scholasticus*; for 'tis a name formed ἀπὸ τῆς λαμύρας, which signifies *Talkative.* A little after this, instead of *Aetius,* the said *Epiphanius* reads *Aëtius*; and so I found it written in the *Florentine* M. S. *Vales.*

[l] This person is mentioned by *Marcus* the *Deacon,* in *his Life of Porphyrius* Bishop of *Gaza,* which you have in *Surius.* Vales.

We found this Libel recorded in that work of *Sabinus*'s, entitled *A Collection of Synodick Acts.* Moreover, the Emperour had taken this resolution with himself, that by kind words and perswasives he would extirpate the contentiousness of the disagreeing parties; and he declared that he would not create trouble to any person of what belief soever he were of: but that he would love and highly value such as should be the principal promoters of the Churches Unity. That these things were after this manner done by him, *Themistius* the Philosopher does also attest. For in the Oration he composed upon his Consulate, he admires the Emperour, [m] for his allowing every person a free liberty of worshipping the Deity in such a manner as he desired; whereby he repressed the humours of flatterers. Upon whom he made very facetious reflections, saying, 'tis experimentally known, that they worship the Purple, not God; and that such persons differ not from the *Euripus,* which sometimes throws its Waves this way, at others the quite contrary.

[m] Instead of [ὡς τὸ ἐφεῖναι θρεσκεύειν] it should be [διὰ τὸ ἐφεῖναι θρεσκεύειν;] and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Death of the Emperour Jovianus.

After this manner did the Emperour at that time repress their fury, who made it their business to cavill and contend. Departing immediately from *Antioch,* he went to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia,* where he buried *Julianus*'s Body. Having performed all the Solemnities of his Funeral, he is declared Consul. Designing to go directly from thence to *Constantinople,* he arrived at a place, the name whereof is *Dadastana*; it is Situate in the Frontiers of *Galatia* and *Bithynia.* There *Themistius* the Philosopher (with others of the *Senatorian* Order,) met him, and recited his *Consular* Oration before him, which he afterwards spoke in the presence of the people at *Constantinople.* Indeed, as well the Civill, as Ecclesiastick affairs of the *Roman* Empire, being blest with so good an Emperour, would have been managed fortunately and successfully; had not a sudden death ravish't so eminent a personage from the publick. For, being seized with a distemper [termed] an Obstruction, in Winter time, he ended his life at the fore mentioned place, in his own and his Son *Varronianus*'s Consulate, upon the seventeenth of *February.* Having Reigned seaven months, and lived thirty three years. This Book contains the [transactions of affairs during the] space of two years and five months.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

That, after Jovianus's *death,* Valentinianus *is Proclaimed Emperour, who made his Brother* Valens *his Colleague in the Empire. And, that* Valentinianus *was a* Catholick, *but* Valens *an* Arian.

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THE Emperour *Jovianus* having ended his life (as we have declared) at *Dadaſtana,* in his own and his Son *Varronianus*'s Conſulate, on the ſeventeenth of *February*; the Souldiers departing from *Galatia,* on the ſeventh day after came to *Nicæa* in *Bythinia,* where by a general ſuffrage they proclaim *Valentinianus* Emperour, on the five and twentieth of *February,* [a] in the ſame Conſulate. By original extract he was a *Pannonian,* born at the City *Cibalis.* Having been entruſted with the leading of an Army, he had given a demonſtration of his great skill in *Tacticks.* He was a perſonage of a large ſoul, and always appeared ſuperiour † to that degree of honour he had arrived at. When therefore they had created him Emperour, He went immediately to *Conſtantinople,* and thirty days after his being proclaimed, he makes his Brother *Valens* his Colleague in the Empire. They were both Chriſtians, but they diſagreed about the Faith of the Chriſtian Religion. For *Valentinianus* had a veneration for the Creed of the *Nicene* Synod: but *Valens,* by reaſon of a prepoſſeſſion, adhered rather to the *Arian* opinion. The reaſon of this his prepoſſeſſion was, becauſe he had been baptized by *Eudoxius* [Biſhop] of *Conſtantinople,* a Prelate of the *Arian* Religion. Both of them entertained a warmth and ardency for that Religion which each adhered to: and yet after they came to the Empire, they differed one from the other very much, in their diſpoſitions. For formerly, in the Reign of *Julianus,* (when *Valentinianus* was *Tribune* of the Souldiers, and *Valens* had a Military employ in the Emperours Guards) each of them gave a demonſtration of the zeal they had for their Religion. For being compelled to ſacrifice, they choſe to leave their Military employments, rather than relinquiſh Chriſtianity. But, at that time the Emperour *Julianus,* knowing them to be perſons uſefull to the Publick, removed neither of them from their Military preferment; nor yet *Jovianus,* who was his Succeſſour in the Empire. But, being afterwards promoted to the Empire, * they were at firſt like to one another, as to their care about the management of the publick affairs; but they differed (as I have ſaid) about the Chriſtian Religion, and behaved themſelves after a diſagreeable manner towards the *Chriſtians.* For *Valentinianus* did indeed favour ſuch perſons as embraced his own ſentiments; but he was not in the leaſt troubleſome to the *Arians.* But *Valens,* deſirous to promote the *Arians,* did moſt grievouſly diſquiet and diſturb thoſe who differed in opinion from them; as the procedure of our Hiſtory will evidence. At that very time, *Liberius* preſided over the *Roman* Church: at *Alexandria Athanaſius* [was Biſhop] of the *Homoöuſians*; and *Lucius* of the *Arians,* whom the *Arians* had conſtituted *Georgius*'s ſucceſſour. *Euzöius* preſided over the *Arians* at *Antioch.* Thoſe of the *Homoöuſian* opinion in that City, were divided into two parties, *Pauliñus* headed the one party, and *Melitius* the other. *Cyrillus* was again put into poſſeſſion of the Church at *Jeruſalem.* The Government of the Churches at *Conſtantinople* was in the hands of *Eudoxius,* an aſſertour of the *Arian* opinion: the *Homoöuſians* kept their aſſemblies in a little Oratory within that City. Thoſe of the *Macedonian* Hereſie, who had [b] diſſented from the *Acacians* at *Seleucia,* at that time retained their Churches in every City. In this poſture were the affairs of the Church at that time.

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[a] I doubt not, but inſtead of [ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ, *in his Conſulate*] *Socrates* wrote [ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ, *in the ſame Conſulate*;] that is, in the Conſulate of *Jovianus Auguſtus* and *Varronianus* that noble young Prince, his Son. *Valeſ.*

* That is, in Marſhalling of an Army.

† Or, *to his preſent fortune.*

* That is, *Valentinianus,* and *Valens.*

[b] I am of the ſame mind with *Chriſtophorſon,* who inſtead of [διακεχωρισμένοις τοῦ περὶ ἀκάκιον, *had declared for the Acacians*] read [διενεχθεῖσι, περὶς τοῦ περὶ ἀκάκιον, *had diſſented from the Acacians.*] Which reading I have followed in my Verſion. The reading may be [διακεκριμένοις, *ſeparated from*] which is perhaps trueſt. *Nicephorus* has altered this paſſage of *Socrates* thus, διδασκάλοις ἅ ὅτι περὶ ἀκάκιον, *aſſerting the ſame things with the Acacians,*] which is worſt of all. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. II.

That Valentinianus *went into the Weſtern parts* [*of the Empire,*] *and* Valens *reſided at* Conſtantinople, *who, upon the* Macedonians *addreſs to him that a Synod might be convened, granted their requeſt. And that he perſecuted the* Homoöuſians.

BUt, the one of the Emperours, to wit, *Valentinianus*, went forthwith into the Weſtern parts [of the Empire.] For the care of the publick affairs * neceſſarily required his preſence there. But *Valens*, after he had reſided a little while at *Conſtantinople*, had an addreſs made to him by moſt of the Biſhops of the *Macedonian* Hereſie, who requeſted another Synod might be convened, in order to the amendment of the † Creed. The Emperour, ſuppoſing they embraced the ſame ſentiments with *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, permitted it to be done. And ſo theſe perſons made it their buſineſs to aſſemble a Synod in the City *Lampſacus*. But *Valens* went with all ſpeed poſſible towards *Antioch* in *Syria*, fearing leaſt the *Perſians* ſhould break the League they had entred into for thirty years in the Reign of *Jovianus*, and invade the *Roman* Territories. But the *Perſians* were quiet. Which calm *Valens* made an ill uſe of, and raiſed an irreconcileable War againſt thoſe who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion. He did indeed no harm to *Paulinus* the Biſhop, by reaſon of that perſons exemplary and eminent Piety. But he puniſhed *Melitius* with Exile. He drove all others, who refuſed to communicate with *Euzoius*, from the Churches in *Antioch*, and ſubjected them to loſſes and various puniſhments. 'Tis ſaid, that he drowned many perſons in the River *Orontes* which runs by that City.

* Or, *drew him thither.*

† Or, *Faith.*

CHAP. III.

That, whilſt Valens *Perſecuted thoſe who embraced the* Homoöuſian *opinion in the Eaſt, there aroſe a Tyrant at* Conſtantinople, [*by name*] Procopius. *And that at the ſame time an Earthquake hapned, and an inundation of the Sea, which ruined many Cities.*

WHilſt *Valens* did theſe things in *Syria*, there aroſe a Tyrant at *Conſtantinople*, by name *Procopius*. He got together a great force in a ſhort time, and made preparations for an expedition againſt the Emperour. This being told to the Emperour, put him into a very great Agony, which for a little while repreſt the fury of his Perſecution againſt the Catholicks. In the interim that the diſquietude of a Civil War was with pangs expected, an Earthquake hapning ruined many Cities. The Sea alſo altered its own boundaries. For, in ſome places it overflowed ſo much, that Veſſels might Sail, where there was a foot paſſage before. And it departed from other places in ſuch a manner, that they were found to be dry ground. And this hapned in the firſt Conſulate of the two Emperours.

CHAP. IV.

That there being a diſturbance in the Secular *as well as the* Eccleſiaſtick *State of affairs, the* Macedonians, *having convened a Synod at* Lampſacus, *did again confirm the* Antiochian *Creed, and* Anathematized *that* [*publiſhed*] *at* Ariminum, *and did again ratifie the depoſition of* Acacius *and* Eudoxius.

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THeſe things hapning to be thus, neither the Civil, nor the Eccleſiaſtick State of affairs was in a ſedate poſture. Thoſe therefore who had requeſted of the Emperour a power of convening a Synod, met at *Lampſacus* in the ſame Conſulate [which I have even now mentioned.] This was the ſeventh year from the Synod which had been aſſembled at *Seleucia*. Having again confirmed the * *Antiochian* Creed there, to which they had ſubſcribed at *Seleucia*, they *Anathematize* that Creed publiſhed at *Ariminum* by thoſe [Biſhops] with whom they had heretofore agreed in opinion: and again condemned *Acacius*'s and *Eudoxius*'s party, as having been juſtly depoſed. *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* could not in any wiſe contradict theſe determinations; for the Civil War, which was imminent, permitted him not to revenge himſelf of them. Wherefore, *Eleuſius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum* and his Adherents, were at that time for ſome little while the ſtronger party, in regard they aſſerted that termed *Macedonius*'s opinion, [a] which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendred more conſpicuous and better known in the Synod at *Lampſacus*. I ſuppoſe this Synod to have been the reaſon, why thoſe termed the *Macedoniani* are ſo numerous in the *Helleſpont*. For *Lampſacus* is Scituate in a narrow Bay of the *Helleſpont*. This was the concluſion of the Synod of *Lampſacus*.

* This Creed occurs in *Socrates*'s *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book. 2. chap. 10

[a] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred theſe words [μικρὸν τε ἔμπροσθεν] *Paulo antea, a little before*; as if it had been [μικρῷ πρότερον.] I am of the opinion, that this place is faulty, and by a ſmall change is thus to be reſtored: μικρὸν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ κατ' λαμπάκου συνόδῳ γενόμενον φανερώτερον, *which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendred more conſpicuous and better known in the Synod at* Lampſacus. He ſpeaks concerning *Macedonius*'s Hereſie, which hitherto (ſays he) had been obſcure and unknown: but then, in the Synod of *Lampſacus*, it became moſt apparently known. I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote agreeable to my emendation. Concerning this Synod of *Lampſacus*, ſee *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt, 365. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. V.

That, an engagement hapning about a City of Phrygia *between the Emperour* [Valens] *and the Tyrant* Procopius, *the Emperour took the Tyrant by the treachery of his Commanders, and put him and them to death, by inflicting new and unuſual puniſhments upon them.*

ON the year following, wherein *Gratianus* and * *Dagalaifus* were *Conſuls*, [a] the War was in good earneſt begun. For when the Tyrant *Procopius*, having removed from *Conſtantinople*, was upon the March with his Army towards the Emperour; *Valens*, informed thereof, haſtens from *Antioch*, and engages *Procopius* neer a City of *Phrygia*, the name whereof is *Nacolia*. In the firſt encounter he was worſted. But, not long after, he took *Procopius* alive, *Agilo* and *Gomoärius* his Commanders having betrayed him: upon [all] whom *Valens* inflicted new and unuſual puniſhments. For, diſregarding the Oathes

* Or, *Dagalaiphus.*

[a] Τὰ κατὰ πολέμων ἐπέθετο. *Epiphanius* renders it *bella parabantur, the War was prepared. Chriſtophorſon*, following the ſenſe, rather than the words, tranſlates it, *Bellum geri cœptum eſt, the War was begun to be waged.* But, in order to the expreſſing the ſignificativeneſs and propriety of the *Greek* phraſe, it muſt be rendred, *Bella incubuerunt*, or, *belli vis graſſata eſt*; *the War was with all diligence taken in hand*, or, *the force of the War raged.* Valeſ.

he

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he had bound himself in to the Traitours, [b] he put them to death by cutting them in sunder with Saws. And, having bound each of the Tyrants legs to two trees standing neer one another, which were bowed down, [c] he afterwards permitted the bended trees to erect themselves. By the rise whereof *Procopius* was torn in sunder. And thus the Tyrant, rent into two pieces, ended his Life.

[b] *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates no such thing concerning *Agilo* and *Gomoarius Procopius*'s Captaines. He does indeed affirm, that they revolted to *Valens*'s side, but says not, that they were cut in sunder with Saws. *Marcellinus* gives us this narrative only, (See *Amm. Marcellinus*, book 26. pag. 328, 329, *Edit. Paris.* 1636.) that the *Tribunes Florentius* and *Barchalba*, after the fight at *Nacolia*, delivered *Procopius* bound to *Valens*. And, that *Procopius* was immediately beheaded; and *Florentius* and *Barchalba* soon after underwent the same punishment. Therefore, what *Socrates* relates here concerning *Agilo* and *Gomoarius*, and concerning *Procopius*'s being torn in sunder, is false. *Philostorgius* also, in *his ninth book*, relates that *Procopius* was beheaded, and that *Florentius*, who delivered him to *Valens*, was burnt. *Vales.*

[c] This place is corrupted, as 'tis evident. In my judgment, 'tis thus to be restored: Ἔπειτα τὰ δένδρα ὑπαμφθέντα ἀφῆκεν ὀρθῶσθαι; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

That, after the death of the Tyrant, the Emperour forced those who had been present at the Synod, and all the Christians, *to embrace* Arius's *Opinion.*

THE Emperour, having at that time been fortunate and successfull in that action, began immediately to disquiet the *Christians*, being desirous to bring over all persons to *Arianism*. But he was in a more especial manner incensed against the Synod which had been convened at *Lampsacus*, not only because it had deposed the *Arian* Bishops, but in regard that Draught of the Creed published at *Ariminum*, had been *Anathematized* there. Being therefore come to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, he sent for *Eleusius* Bishop of *Cyzicum* to him. This Prelate had more closely adhered to *Macedonius*'s opinion, as I have said before. Wherefore the Emperour, having convened a Synod of *Arian* Bishops, compelled *Eleusius* to give his assent to their Faith. At first he denied to do it. But when he was threatned with Banishment and Proscription of his Goods, being terrified he gave his assent to the *Arian* opinion. He repented immediately that he had consented. And returning to *Cyzicum*, in the presence of all the people he complained of his being forc't, saying, that he had given his assent by compulsion, not voluntarily: he also advised them to seek out for another Bishop, because he had been compelled to renounce his own opinion. But the inhabitants of *Cyzicum*, by reason of that great love and affection they had for him, refused to be subject to another Bishop, nor would they permit any other [to govern] their Church. They continued therefore under his presidency, and would in no wise recede from their own Heresie.

CHAP. VII.

That Eunomius, *having ejected* Eleusius *the* Macedonian, *was made Bishop of* Cyzicum. *And concerning* Eunomius's *original, and that having been* * Amanuensis *to* Aëtius [*surnamed*] Atheus, *he imitated him.*

* Or, Notary.

WHen the Bishop of *Constantinople* heard this, he prefers *Eunomius* to the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum*, in regard he was a person able by his eloquence to draw [the minds of] the multitude to his own Lure. Upon his arrival at *Cyzicum*, an Imperial Edict was published, by which order was given, that *Eleusius* should be ejected, and *Eunomius* installed. This being done, those of *Eleusius*'s party, having erected an Oratory without the City, celebrated their assemblies therein. Let thus much be said concerning *Eleusius*. We must now give an account of *Eunomius*. *Eunomius* had been *Amanuensis* to *Aëtius*, surnamed *Atheus*, of whom we have made mention * before. Conversing with him, he imitated his *Sophistick* way of discoursing: addicting himself [to the use of] certain insignificant and impertinent terms, and was insensible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to the deceiving of himself. Upon this account he was puf't up with pride, and fell into [a] Blasphemy, being indeed a follower of *Arius*'s opinion, but was various ways an adversary to the doctrines of truth. He had but a very mean skill in the sacred Scriptures, and was unable to understand their meaning. But he was very full of words, always making a repetition of the same things over and over, but could not arrive at the design he had proposed to himself. His seven books which with a great deal of vain labour he wrote upon the Apostles Epistle to the *Romans*, are a demonstration hereof. For, although he has spent a great many words in the explanation thereof, yet he could in no wise [b] apprehend the scope and design of that Epistle. Of the same sort are those other Books of his that be extant. Of which he that should be desirous to make tryal, would find a great scarcity of sense amidst a multitude of words. This *Eunomius* therefore was by *Eudoxius* [c] preferred to the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum*. [d] When he was come thither, by making use of his usual *Dialectical* art, he amazed his Auditours by his unusual expressions, whereupon there arose a disturbance at *Cyzicum*. [At length] the inhabitants of *Cyzicum*, not able to endure his arrogant and haughty manner of expressing himself, drove him from their City. He went to *Constantinople*, where he made his abode with *Eudoxius*, and was [reputed a [e] Vacant Bishop. But, that *Eunomius* was made Bishop of *Cyzicum* under the Emperour *Constantius*, in that Synod of *Constantinople*, which was held immediately after the Synod of *Seleucia*, as *Philostorgius* does in expres words affirm, book 5. chap. 3 and *Theodoret*, book. 2. chap. 27 & 29. *Eccles. Histor.* which two Authours have recorded *Eunomius*'s affairs with a far greater accuracy, than *Socrates* has related them. 'Tis certain, that in *Valens*'s Reign, *Eunomius* was banished by *Valens*, because he was reported to be a favourer of the Tyrant *Procopius*, as *Philostorgius* affirms. So unlikely is it, that he should have had the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum* then bestowed upon him. *Sozomen* has followed *Socrates*'s mistake, in book 6. chap. 8. *Eccles. Histor.* Vales.

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* See *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 35.

[a] In the *Florentine* M. S. the reading is [εἰς βλασφημίας into *Blasphemies*:] which is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

[b] The common reading is [τὸν σκοπὸν λαβεῖν, *apprehend the scope*, or *designe*;] in the *Florent.* M.S. it is [τὸν σκοπὸν ἐλεῖν, *comprehend the designe.*] Vales.

[c] *Socrates* has done ill, to place *Eunomius*'s promotion to the Episcopate of *Cyzicum*, in the Reign of *Valens Augustus*. For *Eunomius* was made Bishop of *Cyzicum* under the Emperour *Constantius*, in that Synod of *Constantinople*, which was held immediately after the Synod of *Seleucia*, as *Philostorgius* does in expres words affirm, book 5. chap. 3 and *Theodoret*, book. 2. chap. 27 & 29. *Eccles. Histor.* which two Authours have recorded *Eunomius*'s affairs with a far greater accuracy, than *Socrates* has related them. 'Tis certain, that in *Valens*'s Reign, *Eunomius* was banished by *Valens*, because he was reported to be a favourer of the Tyrant *Procopius*, as *Philostorgius* affirms. So unlikely is it, that he should have had the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum* then bestowed upon him. *Sozomen* has followed *Socrates*'s mistake, in book 6. chap. 8. *Eccles. Histor.* Vales.

[d] Instead of [ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο κατὰ τοῦτο] it should undoubtedly be [ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο κατ' αὐτοῦ, *when he was come thither.*] I wonder this was not perceived by *Chrysostophorson*. For *Epiphanius* might have shown him the true reading, who renders it thus, *cum illuc venisset, when he was arrived there.* Vales.

[e] In Civil and Military offices, some persons were actually employed in bearing of them; others were *Vacantes*, [that is, *persons that had the title of such an Office, but were not actually concerned in the management of it; we may term them titular Officers:*] who *in the Code* are said to be *præcincti honore otiosi cinguli.* So some *Tribunes* are termed *Vacantes* in *Amm. Marcellinus*, as I have remark't *in my notes on that Historian.* After the same manner those Bishops are termed *Vacantes* by our *Socrates, who had the bare name of a Bishop, without a Church, without a Clergy and people, over whom they might preside.* Of the same nature almost are those, who now a days are stiled Bishops in Infidel Countries, such a one therefore was *Eunomius*, when, being

being driven from *Cyzicum*, he reſided with *Eudoxius at Conſtantinople*. Which hapned in *Conſtantius*'s Empire, not in *Valens*'s Reign, as *Socrates* here relates. Further, after *Eunomius*'s expulſion, *Eleuſius* ('tis probable) recovered his See again. *Valeſ.*

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we may not ſeem to have ſaid theſe things upon account of calumny and reproach, hear *Eunomius*'s own words, after what manner he takes the boldneſs to expreſs himſelf in his *Sophiſtick* and fallacious aſſertions concerning God. For he ſays word for word thus. *God knows no more than we do concerning his own ſubſtance. Nor is that more known to him, and leſs to us. But, whatever we know concerning the divine ſubſtance, that is wholly known to God. And on the contrary, whatever he* [*knows,*] *the ſame you will without any difference find in us.* Theſe, and many other ſuch like fallacies, *Eunomius* framed, being inſenſible [of his own errour.] But how he afterwards became a Separatiſt from the *Arians*, we will in due place relate.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Oracle, which was found cut upon a ſtone, when the Wall of Chalcedon *was demoliſhed by reaſon of the Emperour* Valens*'s anger.*

But, the Emperour gave order, that the Walls of *Chalcedon* (a City Scituate over againſt *Byzantium*,) ſhould be demoliſhed. For he had obliged himſelf by Oath to do this (after he ſhould have vanquiſhed the Tyrant *Procopius*,) becauſe the *Chalcedonians*, ſiding with the Tyrant, had ſhamefully [a] railed at and abuſed him, and had ſhut their gates upon him as he [b] paſſed by their City. The Wall therefore was by the Emperours order pulled down. And the ſtones were conveyed to the publick Baths of *Conſtantinople*, which are called [c] *Conſtantianæ*. There was a Prophecy found, cut on one of the ſtones, which had for a long time lain concealed, but was then diſcovered; ſignifying, that when the City ſhould be furniſhed with plenty of water, then the Wall ſhould ſerve for a Bath: and that numerous tribes of Barbarous Nations, having overrun the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and done a great deal of miſchief, at length ſhould themſelves alſo be deſtroyed. Nothing hinders, but we may here inſert the Prophecy it ſelf, in favour to ſuch as are ſtudious.

[a] *Amm. Marcellinus* relates, that *Valens* laid ſiege to *Chalcedon*, during his War with *Procopius*. At which ſiege the Inhabitants of that City reviled him from the Walls, and contemptuouſly ſtiled him *Sabaiarius*, *Small-bear-drinker*. *Sabaia* (as *Marcellinus* deſcribes it) was a ſmall ſort of Liquour made of Barly, very uſually drank in *Pannonia*. In which Country *Valens* was born, (ſee *Socrates* book 4. chap. 1.) and therefore was, by way of reproach, called *Sabaiarius*, or *Sabiarius*. That this was the *Pannonians* uſual drink, *Dio* atteſts *Lib.* 49. where he ſays, that the *Pannonians* fed upon a very mean diet; that they had very little Wine, or Oyle; and that *Barly* and *Millet* was their food and drinke. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, book 26. pag. 325. *Edit. Park.* 1636; and *Valeſius's notes thereon*, pag. 324.

[b] Inſtead of [πεϱιόντ Θ,] it ſhould in my mind be [παϱιόντ Θ,] as I have expreſt it in my Verſion. But the *Chalcedonians*, becauſe of that Revolt of theirs, were not only puniſhed with the demoliſhment of their walls; but had this infamous brand alſo ſet upon them, *viz.* that no *Chalcedonian* ſhould ever be preferred to any Office. *Iſidorus Peluſiota* (book 1. Epiſt. 485.) does atteſt this, in theſe words: Καϱχηδονίους νόμ Θ κωλύ ἀϱχὴν ἄϱχειν, *the Law probibits the Carthaginians from bearing any Office.* On my peril make it καλχηδονίους, *Chalcedonians.* For the *Carthaginians* have no concern with this place, in regard they were not ſubjects of the Eaſtern Empire, concerning which *Iſidorus* here ſpeaks. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Sozomen* mentions theſe Baths, termed *Conſtantianæ*, in his *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 8. chap. 21. They were in the *Tenth Ward* of the City *Conſtantinople*, as we are informed from *the old deſcription of that City.* Alſo, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (book 3.) relates, that *Valens* built a Bath at *Conſtantinople*, of the ſtones of the walls of *Chalcedon*. But *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* do affirm, that an *Aquæduct* or *Conduit*, not a Bath, was built of thoſe Stones. Which relations do not contradict one another. For an *Aquæduct* is neceſſary for a Bath. It was doubtleſs a very famous work; whereof mention is made by *Themiſtius*, (*in Oratione decennali ad Valentem*,) and by *Gregorius Nazianzenus* in his 25th *Oration*; who very elegantly terms this *Aquæduct* of *Valens*'s, a *Subterraneous and Aërial River*. So alſo *Themiſtius*, in his Oration entitled *Amatorium*, or *de Regiâ pulchritudine ad Gratianum*; the paſſage wherein I will ſo much the more willingly annex here, becauſe the *Oration* is not yet Printed: Αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ δεσμῶσαι ἠλιβάτους, πρῶναι ἔγγειοι καὶ ἐναέριοι, σφυλῇ τὰ νῶτα ἀπεικασμέναι, πλέον ἢ σαθρὰς γαλίας ἀναῤῥαπτα καὶ χαῦλα, ὅτε μὲν ἄνωθεν ὅτε καὶ ἀντίπω διαδεσμῶσαι, καὶ ὅτε ὑποτεθεῖσαι, ὅτε ἐπιχωθεῖσαι, σωφρονίσαι ὑπερφύοι, καὶ ὑπήκοον ἤδη ποιῆ τὴν πυλῶν, &c. Moreover, in *Socrates* here, I had rather read *Caroſianæ*, than *Conſtantianæ*. For the Baths called *Conſtantianæ* were built by the Emperour *Conſtantius*, as their name does declare. But the *Caroſianæ* Baths were finiſhed by *Valens*, and dedicated after *Gratianus*'s third and *Æquitius*'s Conſulate, *Vindalonius Magnus* being then *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Faſti*, and by *the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*. They were named *Caroſianæ* from *Caroſia Valens*'s daughter, as *Sozomen* atteſts, book 6. And they were in the *Seventh Ward* of the City, as *the deſcription* of *Conſtantinople* declares. *Valeſ.*

When Nymphs *their myſtick daunce with watry-feet*
Shall tread through proud Byzantium*'s ſtately ſtreet;*
When Rage the City-wall ſhall overthrow,
Whoſe Stones to fence a Bathing place ſhall go.
Then Savage Lands ſhall ſend forth num'rous ſwarms,
(Shining with Golden locks and burniſh't Arms,)
Which having Iſter*'s Silver ſtreames o're paſt,*
Shall Scythian *Fields, and* Mœſia*'s Meadows waſt:*
But when, proud with ſucceſs, they enter Thrace,
They'l meet their fate, and find a burial-place.

This was the Prophecy. But it afterwards hapned, that the *Aquæduct* built by *Valens*, furniſhed the City with plenty of water: and then the Barbarous Nations made an inſurrection, as we ſhall hereafter declare. This prediction, as it fell out, was by ſome perſons taken in another ſenſe. For when that *Aquæduct* was brought into the City, [d] *Clearchus*, being *Præfect* of the City, built a ſtately [e] Bath, in that now called *Theodoſius's Forum*: which Bath was named *The plentifull water*. Upon which account the City celebrated a Feſtival with great ſolemnity.

[d] This is the *Clearchus*, who was afterwards *Conſul* with *Richomeres*, in the Empire of *Theodoſius*. Concerning whom *Eunapius* makes mention, in *the Life of Maximus the Philoſopher*: and ſays that he had firſt been *Vicarius* of *Aſia* in the *Procopian* War; and was afterwards made *Proconſul* of all *Aſia* by *Valens*, for the eminent ſervice he had done in the War with *Procopius*. *Libanius* has very many Epiſtles written to this *Clearchus* in his *fourth* and *fifth book*; wherein he commends him highly, and intimates that he had a *Royal command* over *Aſia*. He was *Preſect* of *Conſtantinople* in the Conſulate of *Modeſtus* and *Arinthæus*, as we are informed from the *Theodoſian Code*. Valeſ.

[e] *Cedrenus* and *Zonarus* call it a *Nymphæum*. But the *Nymphæa* are not the ſame with *Baths*, as 'tis apparent from *the deſcription of Conſtantinople*. For the *Nymphæa* are the *Nymphs Temples, watered with pleaſant Fountains*; as I have long ſince remarkt in *my notes on Am. Marcellinus*, pag. 46. *Valeſ.*

And this is that, ſay they, which is ſpoken of in the Prophecy, in theſe words,

———*Their myſtick daunce with watry feet*
Shall tread through proud Byzantium*'s ſtately ſtreet.*

But, what belonged to the completion of this Prophecy hapned ſometime afterwards. At that time, when the Walls ſhould have been pulled down, the *Conſtantinopolitans* entreated the Emperour to deſiſt from demoliſhing of them. Alſo, [ſome of] the Inhabitants of *Nicomedia* and *Nicæa* came from *Bithynia* to *Conſtantinople*, and made the ſame requeſt. The Emperour, being highly incenſed, was with great difficulty induced to admit of the ſuppliants Petition. But, that he might perform his Oath [wherein he had bound himſelf,] he gave order, both that the Walls ſhould be pulled down, and alſo that the breaches made by that demoliſhment ſhould at the ſame time be repaired

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repaired with other ſmall ſtones. At this preſent therefore there is to be ſeen in ſome parts of the Wall, patches baſely wrought up with very mean materials, laid upon vaſt and prodigious ſtones, which [patches] were at that time made. Let thus much be ſaid concerning the Wall of *Chalcedon*.

CHAP. IX.

That the Emperour Valens *Perſecuted the* Novatians *alſo, who (in like manner as did the* Catholicks*) embraced the* Homoöuſian *Faith.*

BUt the Emperour deſiſted not from Perſecuting thoſe that embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion: but drove them from *Conſtantinople*; and together with them the *Novatians* alſo, in regard they owned the ſame ſentiments with them: whoſe Churches he ordered to be ſhut up. And gave order, that their Biſhop alſo, by name *Agelius*, ſhould be puniſhed with Baniſhment. He was a perſon, that had preſided over their Churches from the times of *Conſtantine*, and had led an Apoſtolick life. For he always went bare foot, and made uſe of but one coat, obſerving the command of the Goſpel. But the Emperours rage againſt the *Novatians* was ſtopt by a pious and alſo an Eloquent perſon, by name *Marcianus*. He had before born a Military employ in the Imperial Pallace, but was at that time a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, and taught *Anaſtaſia* and *Caroſa*, *Valens*'s daughters, the Grammar; [a] by whoſe names the publick Baths which *Valens* erected at *Conſtantinople*, yet ſtanding, [were called.] Out of veneration therefore to this perſon, the *Novatian* Churches, which for ſome ſmall time had been ſhut up, were opened again. But the *Novatians* were not perfectly free from diſturbances cauſed by the *Arians*. For they were hated by the *Arians*, becauſe the *Novatians* loved and had an extraordinary kindneſs for the *Homoöuſians*, with whom they agreed in opinion. This was the poſture of affairs at that time. Further, you are to know, that the war againſt the Tyrant *Procopius* was finiſhed in the Conſulate of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaifus*, about the latter end of *May*.

[a] 'Tis falſe, what *Socrates* here ſays, that the *Anaſtaſian Baths* at *Conſtantinople* had their name from *Anaſtaſia Valens*'s daughter, and were erected by *Valens*. They were built by *Conſtantine The Great*, and from his Siſters name were called *the Anaſtaſian Baths*. *Amm. Marcellinus* tells us thus much, (book 26. pag. 320, *Edit. Paris* 1636.) Where he deſcribes *Procopius*'s Tyrannick deſign: his words are theſe; *Idem Procopius diductus in cogitationes varias, Anaſtaſianas Balneas Petit, a Sorore Conſtantini Cognominatas, the ſame Procopius, divided into various thoughts, went to the Anaſtaſian Baths, which had their name from Conſtantines* Siſter. At which place in *Amm. Marcellinus* I have long ſince remark't *in my notes thereon*, that *Anaſtaſia, Conſtantines* Siſter, was married to *Baſſianus Cæſar*. After my publiſhing of *thoſe my notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, there was a noble and Learned perſon in *England*, who found fault with *this Annotation* of mine, and has ſtiffly denyed, that *Baſſianus* was ever created *Cæſar*. Upon what account therefore I was induced to affirm this, I will in ſhort here declare. When the Emperour *Conſtantine* (after his conqueſt of *Maxentius*) had given his Siſter *Conſtantia* in marriage to *Licinius*; quickly after that he returned into the *Gallia*'s, and ſent his Brother *Conſtantius* to *Licinius*, entreating him that *Baſſianus* might be created *Cæſar*; to which *Baſſianus*, *Anaſtaſia*, *Conſtantines* other Siſter, was married. *Sed Licinio talia fruſtrante*, &c. that is, *But when* Licinius *diſappointed him as to thoſe things*, Baſſianus (*by the inſtigation of* Senicio *his Brother, who was his boſom-friend*) *takes up Arms againſt* Conſtantine. *Who being apprehended in the very attempt, was by* Conſtantines *order convicted and put to death. When* Sinicius *the Author of this treachery, was demanded in order to his being puniſhed*; Licinius *denying that, the agreement betwixt them was broken.* This paſſage occurs in *the excerptions de Vita Conſtantini*, which I heretofore publiſhed at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*. From which words I draw theſe concluſions: (1) That *Conſtantine* treated with *Licinius*, in order to *Baſſianus*'s being created *Cæſar*. (2) That *Baſſianus* being ſollicited by *Licinius*, did not only conſpire againſt *Conſtantine*, but made War alſo againſt him. *Baſſianus* therefore muſt of neceſſity [be allowed] to have played the Tyrant, and therefore to have by force aſſumed the Title of *Cæſar*, which *Conſtantine* had thoughts of giving him, had *Licinius* conſented. Being moved by theſe reaſons, I have termed *Baſſianus*, *Cæſar*, whom notwithſtanding I do acknowledge to have been a Tyrant, and do grant that he never was duely and Lawfully made *Cæſar*. Moreover, in regard the *Anaſtaſian Baths* were at *Conſtantinople* before *Procopius*'s inſurrection, (as we have ſhown from *Amm. Marcellinus*) it may be evidently concluded from thence, that they were not built by *Valens*, in regard at that time he was but newly made Emperour. Further, the reading here in *Socrates* ſhould be thus [δημόσια λατρεῖα, *the publick Baths.*] Valeſ.

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CHAP. X.

That the Emperour Valentinianus *begat a ſon, who bore his Fathers name* [*to wit*, Valentinianus;] *he having begat* [*his ſon*] Gratianus *before his being created Emperour.*

NOt long after this War, [a] during the ſame Conſulate, a ſon was born to *Valentinianus* the Emperour in the Weſtern parts, who had his Fathers name given him. For he had begotten *Gratianus* long before his [undertaking the Government of the] Empire.

[a] *Socrates* is grievouſly miſtaken here. For *Valentinianus the Younger*, who was born in the Conſulate of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaiphus*, was not *Valentinianus*'s, but *Valens Auguſtus*'s Son. *Idatius* does expreſly affirm this in *his Faſti*, in theſe words: *Gratiano Nob. & Dagalaiſo Conſulibus*, &c. *In the Conſulate of the moſt noble Gratianus, and Dagalaiſus, Valentinianus the Younger, Son to Valens Auguſtus, was born, on the fifteenth of the Calends of February.* I know indeed, that in *Jacobus Sirmondus*'s Edition of *theſe Faſti*, the common reading is, *Filius Auguſti Valentiniani, the Son of Valentinianus Auguſtus.* But, in that moſt antient *Manuſcript* belonging to the *Colledge of Clermont*, from which *Sirmondus* publiſhed *theſe Faſti*, I found it in expreſs words written thus, *Filius Auguſti Valentis, the Son of Valens Auguſtus.* Beſides the teſtimony of *theſe Faſti*, it may be made evident by many other arguments, that this *Valentinianus the Younger*, (who was born in the Conſulate of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaiphus*, in the year of *Our Lord*, 366,) was the Son of *Valens Auguſtus*. For, this is the very ſame *Valentinianus*, as 'tis on all hands agreed, who was afterwards *Conſul* with *Victor*, in the year of Chriſt 369; and to whom *Themiſtius* ſpake *his Conſular-Oration*, which is at this day extant under this title: πρεσβευτικὸς ὐαλεντινιανῷ νεῷ. Now, in this Oration, *Themiſtius* frequently calls *Valens* the Father of this *Valentinian*, and ſtiles *Gratianus* ἀνεψιὸν, that is, *his Couſin German by the Fathers ſide.* See pag. 253. *in that Oration.* Beſides, *Themiſtius* does affirm (pag. 254,) that the ſlaughter and overthrow of the Tyrant *Procopius* was foreſignified by God, by the birth of this *Valentinian.* 'Tis certain, *Valentinianus Junior* was born when *Gratianus* and *Dagalaiphus* were Conſuls, on the 15th of the *Calends* of *February*; as 'tis recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle.* In which year the Tyrant *Procopius* was vanquiſhed by *Valens*, on the ſixth of the *Calends of June*, as 'tis affirmed in the ſame *Faſti.* But, if *Valentinianus Junior* had been Son to *Valentinianus Senior*, his birth had ſignified nothing to *Valens.* Further, if this *Valentinianus* had in reality been Son to *Valentinianus Senior*, why did he make his reſidence in the *Eaſt*? How could he have been ſent ſo long a journey from his Father, being as yet but an Infant? For he accompanied *Valens* in the *Gothick Expedition*, as *Themiſtius* atteſts not far from the beginning of *this Oration.* Laſtly, 'tis evident from *Themiſtius*'s *Quinquennalian Oration* [i. e. *His Oration upon* Valens's *having arrived at the fifth year of his Empire*,] near the cloſe thereof, that *Valens* had an only Son then when he celebrated his *Quinquennalia*, that is, in the year of our Lord 368. In regard therefore, the moſt noble *Valentinianus* was made Conſul in the *Eaſt* on the year following, he can be no other perſon than *Valens*'s Son. And *Themiſtius*, in the cloſe of *his Quinquennalian Oration* (after he had ſpoken concerning *Valens*'s only Son,) adds theſe words: ὃν ἐγὼ Ἀλέξανδρον ποιοῦμαι, καὶ δρέμμα αὖθις τοιοῦτον αὐχήσει φιλοσοφία, *whom I would make an Alexander, and Philoſophy ſhall again boaſt of ſuch an Iſſue.* And in *his Exhortatory Oration*, which he ſpake the year after to *Valentinianus Junior*, he makes an addreſs to the Child almoſt in the ſame words: δεῦρ' ἴθι παῖ, ἐπὶ σὸν ἐμὸν καθίζε γονάτων, *come* [*Royal*] *Babe, ſit upon my knees!* And a little after: συμπαιδαγωγήσει δέ σε ἐμοὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, οἵ καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπαιδαγώγησαν, *Plato and Ariſtotle ſhall together with my ſelf inſtruct Thee, by whom the Great Alexander was tutored.* From whence 'tis apparent, that it is one and the ſame perſon concerning whom *Themiſtius* ſpeaks in both places; and therefore that *Valentinianus Junior*, whom *Themiſtius* ſpeaks to in *his Exhortatory Oration*, was the ſame only Son of *Valens.* But, this *Valentinianus Junior* was, by another name, called *Galates.* For *Socrates* and *Sozomen* give him

him this name. *Sozomen* (book 6. chap. 16.) does expreſly affirm, that *Valens* had one only Son by [*Dominica*] his Wife, whoſe name was *Galates*. Since therefore, 'tis manifeſt from what I have juſt now ſaid, that the moſt noble *Valentinianus* was *Valens*'s Son, *Valentinianus* and *Galates* muſt neceſſarily be one and the ſame perſon. I ſhould think that the Child might have the ſurname of *Galates* given him, becauſe he was born in *Galatia*, at ſuch time as *Valens* was at War with *Procopius*. Moreover, *Socrates*'s miſtake (in which errour he is followed by *Sozomen*, book 6. chap. 10.) did, in my judgment, proceed from hence; *viz.* becauſe he confounded the two *Junior Valentinians*, (one whereof was Son to *Valens*, the other to *Valentinianus Senior*,) and made but one perſon of two. For he thought, that the moſt noble *Valentinianus* (who was *Conſul* with *Victor*) was the ſame perſon with that *Valentinianus Junior*, who, after the death of his Father *Valentinianus Senior*, Governed the Empire with *Gratianus*. But we have long ſince refuted this errour, in *our notes on book* 30. *of Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 413. Valeſ. *Valeſius*, at the now quoted pag. of *his notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, does indeed evidently prove that there were two *Junior Valentinians*; but (contrary to what he affirms here,) he aſſerts they were both Sons to *Valentinianus Senior*, whom he there ſtiles *Magnus*. See his note.

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CHAP. XI.

Concerning a hail of an unuſual bigneſs which fell from heaven, and concerning the Earthquakes in Bithynia, *and the* Helleſpont.

ON the following Conſulate, which was *Lupicinus*'s and * *Jovianus*'s, there fell a hail at *Conſtantinople* † of a Vaſt bigneſs, on the ſecond of *July*, which was like ſtones. Many perſons ſaid, that this hail was ſent by reaſon of Gods anger, becauſe the Emperour had baniſhed ſeveral of the Sacerdotal Order, in regard they refuſed to communicate with *Eudoxius*. A little after this time, during the ſame Conſulate, the Emperour *Valentinianus* proclaimed his Son *Gratianus* || *Auguſtus*, on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*. On the year after, wherein *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the ſecond time *Conſuls*, there hapned an Earthquake in *Bithynia*, which ruined the City *Nicæa*, on the eleventh of *October*. This was the twelfth year after the ruine of * *Nicomedia*. Soon after this Earthquake, moſt part of *Germa*, a City in the *Helleſpont*, was deſtroyed by another Earthquake. Notwithſtanding theſe accidents hapned, yet neither was *Eudoxius* Biſhop of the *Arians*, nor the Emperour *Valens*, put into any fear. For they deſiſted not from perſecuting thoſe who diſſented in opinion from them. [Moreover,] theſe Earthquakes ſeemed to denote the diſturbance of the Churches. Wherefore, many of the Sacerdotal Order (as I have ſaid) were baniſhed. Only *Baſilius* and *Gregorius*, by a certain diſpenſation of divine providence, ſuffered not baniſhment, by reaſon of their eminent piety. [a] The firſt of theſe perſons was Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; and the ſecond [preſided over] *Nazianzum*, a ſmall City near *Cæſarea*. But we ſhall mention *Baſilius* and *Gregorius* in the procedure [of our Hiſtory.]

* Or, *Jovinus*'s.

† Χεγομήης, *as big as would fill a mans hand.*

|| *Emperour.*

* *Nicomedia* was deſtroyed by an Earthquake, in the conſulate of *Dacianus* and *Cercalis*, about the 28th of *Auguſt*. See *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 39.

[a] *Baſilius* was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, in the year of Chriſt 369, as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved. But *Socrates* ſeems to make *Baſilius*'s promotion to that Biſhoprick ſomewhat ancienter. For, in his account at this place of thoſe affairs that were tranſacted in *Valentinianus*'s and *Valens*'s *ſecond Conſulate*, which was the year of Chriſt 368, he does acknowledge that *Baſilius* was then Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*. But, as to *Gregorius*, *Socrates* is manifeſtly miſtaken. For he was not at that time made Biſhop of *Nazianzum* by *Baſilius*, but of *Saſimi*: which Biſhoprick he notwithſtanding never entred upon, as he himſelf atteſts *in his Epiſtles*. But in *his Verſes concerning his own Life*, he evidently complaines of *Baſilius*, who (when as he had ſixty Biſhopricks under him,) had preferred him to the Church of a pittifull little Town, although he himſelf was nothing inferiour to *Baſilius*. Valeſ.

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CHAP. XII.

That thoſe who embraced Macedonius's *Opinion, being reduced into ſtreights by reaſon of the Emperours violence towards them, ſent an Embaſſage to* Liberius [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome, *and ſubſcribed to the* Homoöuſian *Creed.*

WHen thoſe who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion had at that time been ſorely diſquieted and put to flight, the Perſecutors renewed their rage againſt the *Macedonians*. Who, being reduced to great ſtreights by fear rather then force, ſent Embaſſies to one another throughout every City; ſignifying, that they muſt of neceſſity fly, both to the Emperours Brother [*Valentinianus*,] and alſo to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*; and that ['twas more eligible for them] to embrace their Faith, than to communicate with *Eudoxius*'s party. [a] They ſent therefore *Euſtathius* [Biſhop] of *Sebaſtia*, (who had been many times depoſed,) *Silvanus* of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and *Theophilus* of *Caſtabali*, which is alſo a City of *Cilicia*: and gave them order, that they ſhould not diſſent from *Liberius* concerning the Faith, but ſhould enter into communion with the *Roman* Church, and confirm the *Homoöuſian* Creed. Theſe perſons, carrying along with them their Letters who had diſſented [from *Acacius*] at *Seleucia*, arrived at Old *Rome*. They could not go to the Emperour [*Valentinian*] himſelf; for he was engaged in a War with the [b] *Sarmatæ* in the *Gallia*'s. But they delivered their Letters to *Liberius*. He [at firſt] wholly refuſed to admit them: for he ſaid, that they were of the *Arian* Faction, and could in

[a] *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 365, proves *Socrates*, becauſe he places this Embaſſy of the *Macedoniani* to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome* (the chief of which was *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*,) on the year of Chriſt 368, in which year *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the ſecond time *Conſuls*. *Baronius* thinks 'twas ſent in the year of Chriſt 365, and grounds his opinion on theſe two arguments eſpecially. Firſt, *Euſtathius*, with his companions, was ſent Embaſſadour by the Synod of *Lampſacus*. Now, that Synod was convened in the year of Chriſt 365, ſeven years after the *Seleucian* Synod, as *Socrates* atteſts. 'Tis certain, the Embaſſadours (in their *Libel* of Faith which they preſented to *Liberius*,) do expreſly profeſs that they were *Legates* from the *Synod* of *Lampſacus*, and that they brought the Letters of that Synod to *Liberius*. Secondly, if this Embaſſy of the *Macedoniani* were ſent on the year of Chriſt 368, it would not have been ſent to *Liberius*, but to *Damaſus*. For *Liberius* died on the year of Chriſt 367, in the Conſulate of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*; and on the ſame year *Damaſus* entred upon that See. But, the *Macedonian* Embaſſadours preſented a *Libel* of their Faith to *Liberius*, and from the ſame *Liberius* received Letters to the Prelates of their own party, as *Socrates* relates in this chapter. This Embaſſy therefore was not ſent in the year 368. Theſe are *Baronius*'s arguments. But I would rather place this Embaſſy on the year of Chriſt 367, and will determine hereof againſt *Baronius*, upon this account. *Baronius* confeſſes, that *Elpidius* Presbyter of *Rome* was ſent, together with *Euſtathius* and his companions, to the *Illyricum* Synod; the Synodick Letter whereof *Theodoret* has recorded, book 4. chap. 9. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* But, the *Illyricum* Synod, at which *Elpidius* and *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia* were preſent, was convened in the year of Chriſt 367, or 368; as appears from the inſcription of that Letter which the Emperour *Valentinianus* wrote to the Biſhops of *Aſia*, that he might confirm that Synod. For that Imperial Letter has this title: *Valentinianus, Valens and Gratianus, Auguſti, to the Biſhops*, &c. as you may read in *Theodoret*, book 4. chap. 8. Now *Gratianus* was proclaimed *Auguſtus* by his Father, in the Conſulate of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, on the ninth of the *Calends* of *September*, as (beſides *Socrates*) *Idatius* in *his Faſti*, and the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, do declare. Therefore, if the *Illyricum* Synod hapned on the ſame year whereon the *Macedonians* Embaſſy was ſent; the *Macedonians* Embaſſy muſt neceſſarily be placed on the year of Chriſt 367, in which year *Liberius* died in the beginning of *September*. *Euſtathius* therefore might go to *Liberius* in *June*, and receive Letters from him in *Auguſt*. Now, I am of opinion, that the *Illyricum* Synod was held on the ſame year, in the month of *September*, which Synod *Valentinianus* the Emperour confirmed, after *Gratianus* was created *Auguſtus*. Valeſ.

[b] *Socrates* ſhould have ſaid *The Alamanni*, rather than *the Sarmatæ*. For at this time *Valentinian* was detained in the *Gallia*'s, by reaſon of his War againſt the *Alamanni*. Towards the end of his Reign, he went into *Illyricum*, in order to his engaging in a War againſt the *Sarmatæ*. Valeſ.

no

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no wise be received [into communion] by the Church, in regard they had rejected the *Nicene* Creed. They made answer, that by a * retractation they had acknowledged the Truth, that they had long since renounced the *Anomoian* Creed, and had professed that the Son was every way like to the Father; and that the term *Homoios* differed not in its import from *Homoousios*. Having said thus much, *Liberius* required of them a profession of their opinion in writing. They presented him a *Libel*, wherein were inserted the Contents of the *Nicene* Creed. I have not here inserted the Letters written from *Smyrna* in *Asia*, and from *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphilia*, and *Lycia*, (in which places they had held Synods,) because of their length. But the Libel, which the Embassadours, sent with *Eustathius*, delivered to *Liberius*, runs thus.

* Or, Repentance.

TO OUR LORD, BROTHER, AND FELLOW MINISTER *LIBERIUS*; *EUSTATHIUS*, *THEOPHILUS*, AND *SILVANUS*, GREETING IN THE LORD.

By reason of the mad opinions of Hereticks, who desist not from giving cause of offence to the Catholick Churches; upon this account [*we say*] *we*, [*desirous*] *to deprive them of all opportunity* [*of giving offence*] *do approve of and assent to the Synod of Orthodox Bishops which has been convened at* Lampsacus, Smyrna, *and at several other places:* [c] *from which Synod We being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter to your Benignity, and to all the* Italian *and* Western *Bishops, to hold and keep the Catholick Faith, which having been established in the holy* Nicene *Synod in the Reign of* Constantine *of Blessed Memory, by three hundred and eighteen Bishops, hath hitherto always continued intire and unshaken: in which* [*Creed*] *the term* Homoousios *is holily and piously made use of, in opposition to* Arius's *perverse doctrine: in like manner We also,* [d] *together with the foresaid persons, do under our own hands profess, that We have held the same Faith, and do hold, and will keep it to our last breath: and We do condemn* Arius, *and his impious doctrine, together with his disciples, and those that embrace his sentiments; as also, all the Heresie of* Sabellius, *the* * Patripassians, Marcionistæ, Photinians, Marcelliani, *and that of* Paul *of* Samosata, *and the doctrine of these Hereticks, and all those who maintain the same Tenets with them; in fine, all the Heresies that are opposite to the foresaid holy Creed, which was piously and Catholickly set forth by the holy Fathers at* Nicæa. *But in a more especial manner we* Anathematize *that Draught of the Creed recited at the* Ariminum *Synod, as being contrary to the foresaid Creed of the holy Synod* [*convened*] *at* Nicæa. [c] *To which (it being brought from* Nice [*a Town*] *of* Thracia) [*the Bishops*] *subscribed at* Constantinople, *being over perswaded by fraud and perjury. But, our Creed, and the foresaid persons* [*confession of Faith*] *also, from whom we are employed as Legates, is this.*

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[c] In my judgment it should be thus worded [οἷς τε ὅλῳ καὶ ὑποκειμένῃ ὑποτεθέντες ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει κομιδεῖσιν ὑπὸ νίκης, &c.] which we have expressed in our Rendition. For they *Anathematize* not only that Form of the Creed which had been recited in the *Ariminum Council*, but the *Acts* also at *Nice* in *Thracia*, (See *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 37, neer the close of that chapter,) to which, being brought to *Constantinople*, the Bishops, induced thereto by fraud, had subscribed, as if they had been the *Acts* of the *Nicene* Synod. *Vales.*

We Believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Framer of all things visible and invisible: and in one only begotten God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made, of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made which are in heaven, and which are on the earth: who, for us men, and for our salvation, descended [*from heaven,*] *became incarnate, and was made man; and suffered, and rose again the third day; and ascended into the heavens; and shall come to judge the quick and dead. And* [*we believe*] *in the holy Spirit. But, those that affirm there was a time when he was not, and that he was not before he was born, and that he was made of things which are not; or those that assert the Son of God existed of another* Hypostasis *or Substance, or that he is Changeable or mutable; these persons the Catholick and Apostolick Church of God does* Anathematize.

I Eustathius *Bishop of the City* Sebastia, *I* Theophilus, *and I* Silvanus, *Legates of the Synod of* Lampsacus, *of* Smyrna, *and of other* [*Synods,*] *have Voluntarily and willingly written this confession* [*of Faith*] *with our own hands. And, if any person, after the publication of this Creed by Us, shall be desirous of bringing any accusation, either against Us, or those that have sent Us, let him come with Your Holiness's Letters before such Orthodox Bishops as Your Sanctity shall approve of, and go to Tryal with Us in their presence. And if any crimination shall be made out, let the Authour thereof be punished. Liberius* having bound up and secured the Legates by this Libel, admitted them to communion, and afterwards dismist them with this Letter.

THE LETTER OF *LIBERIUS* BISHOP OF *ROME*, TO THE BISHOPS OF THE *MACEDONIANI*.

To Our dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow-Ministers, Evethius, Cyrillus, Hyperechius, Uranius, Heron, Elpidius, Maximus, Eusebius, Eucarpius, Heortasius, Neon, Eumathius, Faustinus, Proclinus, Pasinicus, Arsenius, Severus, Didymion, Brittannius, Callicrates, Dalmatius, Ædesius, Eustochius, Ambrosius, Gelonius, Pardalius, Macedonius, Paulus, Marcellus, Heraclius, Alexander, Adolius, Marcianus, Sthenelus, Johannes, Macer, Charisius, Silvanus, Photinus, Antonius, [f] Anytho, [f] In the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. this persons name is constantly written thus, *Autho.* So he is also called in *Epiphanius Scholasticus.* In *Christophorson's* Version 'tis *Aytho*, with three Syllables. I never met with this name in all my reading. Perhaps it should be *Autho.* Vales.

Celsus,

[c] The studious Reader may observe from this place, that *Eustathius*, *Silvanus*, and *Theophilus* (after they had spoken concerning many Synods, to wit, of that at *Lampsacus*, of that at *Smyrna*, and of others held in *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Pisidia*, and *Isauria*,) do now say, that they came as *Legates* from one Synod, and that they brought the Letters of one Synod. For these are their words: ἧς συνόδου πρεσβείαν ποιούμενοι --γράμματα κομίζομεν, *From which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter.* The reason why they expresst themselves thus, is, because the *Smyrna* Synod, and those other Synods which were held by the *Macedonians* in *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, had been compoled according to the pattern and likeness of the Synod at *Lampsacus*, and had expresst their Faith and Doctrine, as being the original Draught. Upon which account, all these Synods are by the *Macedonian* Legates taken for one Synod: and the Letters of each of those Synods, which *Socrates* has a little before told us were brought by those Legates, are taken for one and the same Letter, because they contained one and the same Doctrine of Faith. I made this remark, because in *Christophorson's* Version all things are here confused and altered: *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has rendred this place much better. *Vales.*

[d] Instead of [καὶ τοῦ σὺν αὐτοῖς συνεπιδόντων] the reading should be [καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς συνεπιδόντων.] So *Epiphan. Scholast.* reads; and accordingly we have rendred it. *Vales.*

* See *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 19. note (*g.*)

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Celſus, Euphranor, Mileſius, Patricius, Severianus, Euſebius, Eumolpius, Athanaſius, Diophantus, Menodorus, Diocles, Chryſampelus, Neon, Eugenius, Euſtathius, Callicrates, Arſenius, Eugenius, Martyrius, Hieracius, Leontius, Philagrius, Lucius, *and to all the Orthodox Biſhops in the Eaſt*; Liberius *Biſhop* g *of* Italy, *and the Biſhops in the West*, [*wiſh*] *health always in the Lord.*

g The words [*of Italy*] muſt be expunged; *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* acknowledges them not: or elſe it muſt be thus worded: *Liberius Biſhop, and the Biſhops of Italy, and thoſe in the Weſt*, &c. For thus *Liberius* diſtinguiſhes the Biſhops of *Italy* from the reſt of the Weſtern Prelates, in the beginning of this his Letter, in theſe words; *both to our ſlenderneſs and alſo to all* [*the Biſhops*] *in Italy and in the Weſtern parts.* Nor is it otherwiſe expreſt in the *Libel of Faith* which the Legates preſented to *Liberius*. Valeſ.

h It muſt undoubtedly be [προλαμπόμενα,] that it may be referred to the foregoing word [γεγράμμεθα, Letters.] And thus *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, and *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlatour, read it. It would doubtleſs have been fooliſh to term antient Biſhops τοὺς τῆς πίστεως φωτὶ προλαμπόμενοι, *perſons illuminated with the light of Faith*; as if they had been ſome *Neophytes*, or late Converts to the Faith. *Valeſ.*

i Inſtead of [μέχει τῆς χθὲς νίκαιαν συνόδου] it would be better thus [μέχει νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς χθὲς νίκαιαν συνόδου, *from the Nicene Synod hitherto*] So in the Libel of Faith preſented to *Liberius* by the Legates: ἥτις ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ, &c. *Which having been eſtabliſhed in the holy Nicene Synod---hath hitherto always continued intire and unſhaken.* So *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* read this place. *Valeſ.*

k It ſhould not be [ἀυ]οῖς] but [ἀυ]οὶ,] that is, *your Legates themſelves*. For *Liberius* means the Libel of Faith, which the *Macedonian Legates* had preſented to him. In which Libel the Legates profeſs, that as well thoſe perſons by whom they had been ſent did conſtantly retain that Creed which had heretofore been ſet forth at *Nicæa*; as alſo that they themſelves did and always would obſerve and keep to the ſame Creed. *Maſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* ſuppoſed that by theſe words the *Nicene* Fathers were meant; than which nothing is more abſurd. *Langus* led them into this miſtake, who in *his Verſion of Nicephorus* has rendred this paſſage in relation to the *Nicene* Fathers. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* (more truly) ſuppoſed, that hereby the *Macedonian* Legates were meant; which is apparent from his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

Your Letters (Dearly beloved Brethren,) h *Reſplendent with the Light of Faith, delivered to Us by Our highly eſteemed Brethren, the Biſhops,* Euſtathius, Silvanus, *and* Theophilus, *brought the moſt wiſh't-for joy of Peace and Unity to Us: and that moſt eſpecially upon this account, becauſe they have affirmed and demonſtrated, that Your opinion and Your ſentiments are conſonant and agreeable, both to Our Slenderneſs, and alſo to all* [*the Biſhops*] *in* Italy *and in the Weſtern parts. And this we acknowledge to be the Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, which* i *from the Nicene Synod hitherto has continued entire and unſhaken. This Creed* k *Your Legates themſelves have profeſſed that they do hold and embrace, and being filled with great joy, have wiped out all impreſſions and* [*quenched*] *the remaining ſparks of an abſurd opinion, and have made a publication of this Creed, not only in words, but under their own hand-writing. The Copy whereof We have judged neceſſary to be annexed to theſe Letters, that we might not leave the Hereticks any pretext of framing another conſpiracy, whereby they ſhould again excite the Incentives of their own malice, and according to their uſage, rekindle the flames of diſcord. Moreover, Our deareſt Brethren,* Euſtathius, Silvanus, *and* Theophilus, *have profeſſed and acknowledged this alſo, that both they themſelves, and alſo Your Love, have always had this Creed, and will retain it to the laſt; to wit, the Creed approved of at* Nicæa *by three hundred and eighteen Orthodox Biſhops: which does contain the perfect Truth, and ſtops the mouthes, and vanquiſhes all the ſhoals of Hereticks. For, not of their own accord, but by divine appointment ſo great a Company of Biſhops was convened againſt the madneſs of* Arius; *as were* * *equal in number to thoſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance Bleſſed* Abraham *through faith deſtroyed ſo many thouſands* [*of his enemies.*] *Which faith being comprehended in the* Hypoſtaſis, *and in the term* Homoöuſios, *does (like a ſtrong and impregnable fortreſs) beat back and repell all the aſſaults and miſchievous machinations of* Arius's *perverſe opinion. Wherefore, when all the Weſtern Biſhops had met at* Ariminum, *whither the improbity of the* Arians *had called them together, that either by ſome kind perſwaſives, or (which is trueſt)* [*by compulſion*] *of the Secular power, they might deſtroy, or perverſely deny what had with all imaginable caution been inſerted into the Creed; their ſubtilty advantaged them not in the leaſt. For, almoſt all thoſe perſons then convened at* Ariminum, *who had at that time been either enticed into errour, or impoſed upon, are now returned to a right mind, have* Anathematized *that Draught* [*of the Creed*] *publiſhed by them convened at* Ariminum, *and have ſubſcribed to that Catholick and Apoſtolick Creed ratified and eſtabliſhed at* Nicæa. *And having entred into a communion with Us, they are with a greater warmth incenſed againſt* Arius's *Opinion, and againſt his diſciples. Of which buſineſs when the Legates of Your Love perceived an evident proof, they annexed You Your Selves to their own Subſcription; and do* Anathematize Arius, *and what was tranſacted at* Ariminum *againſt the Creed ratified at* Nicæa: l *to which* [*tranſactions*] *You Your Selves, beguiled by perjury, have ſubſcribed. Wherefore, it ſeemed agreeable to Us, to write to Your Love, and to give aſſiſtance to thoſe, whoſe requeſts are juſt and equitable. More eſpecially, becauſe we are aſcertained by the profeſſion of Your Legates, that the* Eaſtern [*Biſhops*] *are come to themſelves, and do embrace the ſame Sentiments with the Orthodox* Weſtern [*Prelates.*] *We make known this to you alſo, (leaſt you ſhould be ignorant of it,) that the Blaſphemies of the* Ariminum *Synod are now* Anathematized, *by thoſe who ſeem to have been damnified at that time by Fraud, and that all perſons have unanimouſly conſpired in an agreement to the* Nicene *Creed. And this ought to be made known to all men by You, that ſuch as have been damnified* [*in their Faith*] * *by force and Fraud, may now at length return from Heretical darkneſs to the divine light of Catholick Liberty. Who (if after this Synod they will not vomit up the poyſon of perverſe doctrine,* † *renounce all* Arius's *Blaſphemies, and* Anathematize *them,) may know that they themſelves, together with* Arius, *and his diſciples, and the reſt of the Serpents, whether* Sabellians, *or* Patropaſſians, *or what ever other Hereſie they are* [*followers*] *of, are excluded from, and are no members of the Church's Aſſemblies, which admits not illegitimate Sons. God preſerve You in ſafety, Dearly beloved Brethren.*

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l The erroneous punctation in *Rob. Stephen*'s Edition deceived *Chriſtophorſon*. For, he renders it thus: *Cum jurejurando adhibito ſubſcripſiſtis, to which* [*Tranſactions*] *You Your Selves by taking an Oath have ſubſcribed, Langus*, and (before him) *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* have rendered it truer, thus, *Quibus vos perjurio capti ſubſcripſiſtis, to which you, beguiled by perjury, have ſubſcribed.* In the *Macedonians Libel* of Faith, 'tis ſaid in expreſs words, that the Biſhops, being impoſed upon by Fraud and Perjury, had ſubſcribed the Creed ſet forth at *Nice* in *Thracia*. For the *Arians*, (ſee note (*e.*) in this chapter,) after they had drawn up a Form of the Creed in a Synod held at *Nice* in *Thracia*, ſwore that that was the Creed of the Synod of *Nicæa*. Valeſ.

* Καθ' ὑπερβαίαν, *by impudency and improbity.*

† Or, *deſtroy.*

Euſtathius and thoſe that accompanied him, having received theſe Letters, went over into *Sicilia*: where after they had cauſed a Synod of *Sicilian* Biſhops to be convened, they made a profeſſion of the *Homoöuſian* Faith in their preſence, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed; and having received from them Letters written to the ſame

* See Gen. 14. 14. where we find, that the number wherewith *Abraham* routed the four Kings forces, was *three hundred and eighteen*, being all his own ſervants.

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same effect, they returned to the persons by whom they had been sent. Who, upon receipt of *Liberius*'s Letter, sent Legates from City to City, to the principal Assertours of the *Homoöusian* Faith, exhorting them to meet together unanimously at *Tarsus* [a City] of *Cilicia*, in order to the confirming of the *Nicene* Creed, and that they might put an end to all manner of contentious disputes, which had since that been raised. And this had perhaps been effected, had not *Eudoxius* (a Prelate of the *Arian* Religion, one who at that time was in great favour with the Emperour) hindred it. Who being more exasperated because of the Synod summoned to meet [at *Tarsus*,] framed greater mischiefs against them. Moreover, that the *Macedonians*, by sending Legates to *Liberius*, entred into a Communion with him, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed; *Sabinus* himself has confessed in *his Collection of Synodick Actions*.

CHAP. XIII.

How Eunomius *separated himself from* Eudoxius, *because he adhered to* [*his Master*] Aëtius. *And that (a disturbance being raised at* Alexandria *by* Eudoxius's *means,)* Athanasius *fled again. And that (when the Populace were tumultuous hereupon,) the Emperour being afraid, by his Letters* **pacified the* Alexandrians, *and ordered that* Athanasius *should be put into quiet possession of his Church again.*

*Or, *interceded with.*

ABout the same time *Eunomius*, being separated from *Eudoxius*, held his assemblies apart by himself, because, after he had several times entreated him to embrace his Master *Aëtius*'s [opinion,] *Eudoxius* refused to do that. And yet *Eudoxius* did not this willingly: (For he rejected not *Aëtius*'s opinion; in regard it was the same with his own:) but because all those who embraced the same Sentiments with *Eudoxius*, *declined [*Aëtius*] as being Heterodox. This was the reason why *Eunomius* made a separation from *Eudoxius*. After this manner were these matters transacted at *Constantinople*. But an [b] Edict of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* sent thither by *Eudoxius*'s care, disturbed the Church at *Alexandria*. Wherefore, *Athanasius*, afraid of the irrational and mad violence of the multitude, and fearing least he should *be look't upon as the occasioner of those mad absurdities which might be committed; hid himself four whole months in his Fathers Monument. But, when the Populace, [vexed] because of his absence, were tumultuous by reason of their love and affection towards him; the Emperour, understanding that upon this account *Alexandria* was sorrowfull and sad, signified by his Letters, that *Athanasius* should securely and without fear continue possest of the Churches. And this was the reason why the *Alexandrian* Church continued undisturbed untill the death of *Athanasius*. But how, when he was dead, those of the *Arian* faction got possession of the Churches again, we will relate a little after this.

*Or, *bear the blame of*, &c.

[a] Πεεὶσαδευ (the term here used) signifies in this place *to decline*, or *have an aversion for*: in which signification *Lucianus* uses it *in Hermotimo*. *Langus* and *Christophorson* render it *abhorrere*, *to abhorre*. But *Epiphanius*, unacquainted with this signification of the word, has rendred it thus: *Sed quoniam omnes unanimes, illius, eum Sectæ alterius fatebantur. But because all those of Eudoxius's Opinion confessed him to be of another Sect.* Vales. This term [Αἱρετικὸς,] occurs 2 Tim. 2. 16. where in our *English* Version 'tis rendred [to shun.]

[b] He means an order of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. For 'twas usual, that the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, as often as he issued out any Edict, should annex the names of the other *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. An instance whereof occurs both in the *Gesta purgationis Cecilliani*, which are published after the *Carthaginian Collation*, and also in *Theodosius* and *Valentinianus*'s *Novells*. There is a famous evidence of this thing in the antient Writer *De Quæstionibus veteris ac Novi Testamenti*. Cap. 97. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

That after the death of Eudoxius *at* Constantinople, *the* Arians *Ordained* Demophilus; *but the* Orthodox, *by* [*the assistance of*] Eustathius *of* Antioch, [*made*] Evagrius [*Bishop of* Constantinople.]

FUrther, the Emperour *Valens* departed from *Constantinople*, and [a] hastned towards *Antioch* again. And being arrived at *Nicomedia* a City of *Bithynia*, he made a stop there upon this account. *Eudoxius* the chief Prelate of the *Arian* Faction ended his life soon after the Emperours departure [from *Constantinople*,] in *Valentinianus*'s and *Valens*'s third Consulate, having been in possession of the Chair of the *Constantinopolitane* Church [b] Nineteen years. Wherefore, the *Arians* constituted *Demophilus* [Bishop] in his room. But the *Homoöusians*, supposing that a fair opportunity was offered to them, elected one *Evagrius*, a person that owned the same Creed with them. And [c] *Eustathius* (who had sometime before been Bishop of *Antioch*, and had formerly been recalled from exile in *Jovianus*'s Reign,) Ordained him. This *Eustathius* was at that time present at *Constantinople*, [to which City he came] with a designe of setling and strengthening those of the *Homoöusian* Faith; where he continued, absconding himself.

[a] The Emperour *Valens* had gone towards *Antioch* before. But hearing of *Procopius*'s defection ---whilst he was in his journey, he was forced to come back; as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests, book 26. *Baronius* therefore finds fault with *Socrates* without cause. For *Socrates* says not, that *Valens* came to *Antioch* before, but that he went towards that City; which is certainly most true. But *Christophorsons* Version seems to have been the cause of *Baronius*'s mistake; for he renders it thus: *Imperator Valens denuo Antiochiam ire maturans, the Emperour Valens hasning to go to Antioch again.* Vales.

[b] *Sozomen*'s account is truer, who makes *Eudoxius* to have been Bishop but eleven years. 'Tis certain, *Eudoxius* thrust himself into the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Consuls, which was the year of Christ 359. He died in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, in the year of our Lord 370. Wherefore, at this place of *Socrates* (in stead of [Ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ, *nineteen*]) it ought to be Ἑνδεκάτῃ, *eleven*,] which is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. Wherefore, *Baronius* does here also undeservedly reprove *Socrates*; in regard, not *Socrates* himself, but the Copies of *Socrates*'s History are here false. Concerning *Eudoxius*'s death, consult *Philostorgius*, book 9. *Vales.*

[c] *Sozomen* tells us the same story, in *his Eccles. Histor.* book 6. chap. 13. But *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 370, reproves both these *Historians*. For he maintains, that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* was dead long before, in *Constantius*'s Reign. Indeed, *Jerome* (in *his book de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*) does relate, that *Eustathius* died in exile, and was buried at *Trajanople* in *Thracia*, to which place he had been banished. If this be true, *Eustathius* must necessarily have died in *Constantius*'s Reign. For *Julianus*, and after him *Jovianus*, recalled all the Bishops from exile. It is indeed scarce credible, that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* could live to these times. For, in regard he was at the *Nicene* Council, which was held in the year of Christ 325; we may suppose him to have been then in the forty fifth year of his age. From this year to the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens* (wherein *Eustathius* is said to have ordained *Evagrius* at *Constantinople*) there are five and fourty years. So that *Eustathius* must necessarily have been ninety years old, if he ordained *Evagrius* Bishop in this year. Further, I must not omit, what I have been informed of, from *Victor Tununensis*'s *Chronicon*; to wit, that *Eustathius* was not interred at *Trajanople*, as *Jerome* relates, but at *Philippi*. For these are his words: *Post Consulatum tertium Longini*, &c. *After Longinus's third Consulate*, Calendio *Bishop of* Antioch *got together the reliques of his predecessour* Eustathius, *Bishop and Confessour, from Philippi in Macedonia, and with great honour conveyed them to Antioch. Theodorus Lector* says the same, in *his second book Excerpt. Histor. Ecclesiast. Baronius* does ill, to place this translation of *Eustathius*'s reliques on the year of Christ 482, in regard, as 'tis evident from *Victor Tununensis*'s *Chronicon*, 'twas performed in the year of our Lord 490, when *Longinus* II, and *Faustus* were Coss. But what *Theodorus Lector* adds at that place, to wit, that the *Eustathians*, who before had meetings by themselves, were then at length united to the Catholicks, an hundred years after *Eustathius*'s death; is in my judgment false. For, this being supposed, *Eustathius* would have lived to the year of Christ 390. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

That when the Emperour had baniſhed Evagrius *and* Euſtathius, *the* Arians *ſorely oppreſſed and afflicted the* Homoöuſians.

UPon the doing hereof, the *Arians* renewed their perſecution againſt the *Homoöuſians* afreſh. What had hapned, ſoon came to the Emperours knowledge, who fearing, leaſt a Sedition, cauſed by a contention of the multitude, ſhould ruine the City, ſent ſome Forces from *Nicomedia* to *Conſtantinople*: and gave order, that both perſons, as well he that was ordained, as he that had ordained him, ſhould be apprehended, and baniſhed, the one to one place, the other to another. *Euſtathius* therefore was exiled to [a] *Bizua* a City of *Thracia*; and *Evagrius* was conveyed away to another place. Theſe things having been performed after this manner, the *Arians*, growing more inſolent and bold, ſorely afflicted the *Catholicks*: [ſometimes] they beat them, [at others] they gave them contumelious language; [ſome] they ſhut up in priſon, [others] they puniſhed with *Pecuniary Mulcts*; in fine, they practiſed all ſorts of afflictive and moſt unſufferable miſchiefs againſt them. Which when they were unable to endure, they went to the Emperour, [with a deſign] to beſeech him, that they might, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, be freed from the Violence [of the *Arians*.] But, [although] they had propoſed this deſign to themſelves, [yet] they were wholly fruſtrated of their hope, becauſe they expected to obtain it from him, who had been the Authour of their injurious uſage.

[a] This account diſagrees both from what we have related before (chap. 14. note *c*.) out of *Jerome*, and alſo from the relation of *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*. For *Jerome* ſays, that even in his age *Euſtathius* lay buried at *Trajanople*, whither he had been baniſhed. But *Theodorus Lector* and *Theophanes* relate, that he was baniſhed to *Philippi*, and there buried. That *Euſtathius* therefore, who was baniſhed by *Valens* to *Bizua*, muſt neceſſarily be a different perſon from *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. *Bizua* is a City of *Thracia*, heretofore the pallace of the *Thracian Aſtores*, as *Stephanus* atteſts. *Eutropius* mentions it in *his ſixth book*, where he ſpeaks of *Lucius Lucullus*, who ſubdued the *Thracian Beſſi*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the holy Presbyters who were burnt in a Ship, and concerning the Famine, which by the wrath of God hapned in Phrygia *upon that account.*

FOr, when ſome choice pious perſons, who were Eccleſiaſticks, being eighty in number, (the principal men amongſt whom were *Urbanus*, *Theodorus*, and *Menedemus*,) were arrived at *Nicomedia*, and had preſented a *Supplicatory* Libel to the Emperour, informing him of the violence and calamitous ſufferings which were inflicted on them [by the *Arians*:] the Emperour, highly incenſed, concealed his anger, till ſuch time as he had given a ſecret order to *Modeſtus* the *Præfect*, for the apprehending of theſe perſons, and putting of them to death. The manner of their death was new and unuſual; therefore it ſhall be recorded. The *Præfect* being afraid, leaſt if he ſhould murder theſe men in publick, *he might raiſe a tumult of the unthinking crowd againſt himſelf, pretends to ſend them away into baniſhment. [This news] being received by theſe perſons with a couragiouſneſs of mind, the Præfect orders them to be put aboard a Ship, as if [he deſigned] they ſhould be carried away and baniſhed: but he commanded the Sea men, that when they came to the middle of the Sea, they ſhould ſet the Veſſel on fire: that ſo, being deſtroyed after this manner, they might be deprived of a Burial. Thus therefore it was performed. The Mariners ſailed out of the Haven, and being arrived at the middle of the *Aſtacum-Bay*, do what they were ordered: and having ſet the Ship on fire, went aboard another ſmall Veſſel which followed them, and ſo came off. But, a very boyſterous Eaſterly wind hapned to blow, whereby the burning Ship was fiercely driven: in ſo much that it ſailed with a great deal of ſwiftneſs; and laſted till it came to a Sea-Port, the name whereof is [a] *Dacidizus*, where it was wholly conſumed together with the men in it. Many have reported, that this [horrid Villany] continued not unpuniſhed. For there hapned ſo ſore a [b] Famine all over *Phrygia* immediately after, that many of the Inhabitants were forced to remove out of that Country for ſome time, and betake themſelves, partly to *Conſtantinople*, and partly to other Provinces. For *Conſtantinople*, although it nouriſhes a vaſt multitude of people, yet always abounds with plenty, both becauſe it has all manner of neceſſaries for proviſion imported into it from all places by Sea, and alſo in regard the *Euxine*-Sea, lying near it, furniſhes it with plenty of Bread-corn, as often as it wants.

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* Or, *be*

[a] *Sozomen* (book 6. chap. 14.) tells the ſame ſtory, where he calls this place *Dacibyza*, and ſays 'tis a Maritime-City of *Bithynia*. *Cedrenus* alſo terms it *Dacibyza*. But *Theophanes* gives it the name of *Dacidiza*. Valeſ. [b] Concerning this Famine there is this Record, in the *Old Faſti*, with *Sirmondus* has publiſhed under the name of *Idatius*: *Valentiniano* III, and *Valente* III, &c. i. e. *in the third Conſulate of Valentinianus and Valens there was a great Famine in the parts of Phrygia*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVII.

That the Emperour, arriving at Antioch, *did again Perſecute thoſe that Embraced the* Homoöuſian *Opinion.*

BUt the Emperour *Valens*, little regarding the calamities cauſed by the Famine, went to *Antioch* in *Syria*. During his reſidence there, he deſtroyed ſuch as would not profeſs *Arianiſm*. For although he had perfectly ejected the Embracers of the *Homoöuſian* Opinion out of the Churches of almoſt all the Eaſtern Cities; yet he was not ſatisfied therewith, but did beſides inflict various puniſhments upon them. And he deſtroyed many more than formerly [had been murdered by him,] by expoſing them to different ſorts of death; but more eſpecially by drowning them in a River.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning what was done at Edeſſa, *and the reproachfull affront put upon the* Præfect, *and concerning the Faith, couragiouſneſs, and conſtancy of thoſe Citizens; and concerning a pious woman.*

BUt, we muſt relate what was done at *Edeſſa* [a City] of *Meſopotamia*. In that City there is a ſtately and ſplendid * Church [which bears the name] of *Thomas* the Apoſtle, wherein aſſemblies in order to the performance of the publick duties of Religion are without intermiſſion convened, by reaſon of that places ſanctity. The Emperour *Valens*, deſirous to view this Church, and being informed that the whole congregation met therein were [followers] of that Hereſie which he deteſted, ſtruck the *Præfect* with his own hand, (as 'tis ſaid,) becauſe he had not taken

* Μαρτύριον; it ſometimes ſignifies *a place where the reliques of ſome Martyr are depoſited*: 'tis plain from what follows, that by it our Authour here means a Church.

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taken care to have them driven from that place. When the *Præfect*, after this manner abused, made preparations (though unwillingly) to obey the Emperours rage; (for he was not willing to be the instrument of the murder of so many persons;) he gave them notice secretly, to the intent that no person might be found within that Church. But no body heeded either his advice, or his menaces. For on the day following all persons flock't to the Church. And when the *Præfect* with a great company of Souldiers hastened to the Oratory, in order to his fulfilling the Emperours rage; a poor woman, leading her own little son by the hand, went with great speed towards the Church, and broke through the [a] ranks of Souldiers which Guarded the *Præfect*. At which the *Præfect* being highly displeased, orders the woman to be brought to him. And speaks to her after this manner, *Miserable woman! Whither runnest thou in this* * *undecent manner?* She replied, *To the same place that others run too. Have you not heard*, said he, *That the Præfect is going to put to death all persons that shall be found there? I have heard so*, answered she, *and do therefore make haste, that I may be found there* [b]: *And whither draggest thou that little child*, said the *Præfect*; the woman replied, *that he also may be voutsafed the honour of Martyrdom.* Upon hearing hereof, the *Præfect* made a conjecture of the constancy and resolution of the persons assembled [in the Church.] And he went back immediately to the Emperour, and informed him, that all of them were ready to die for their own faith. And declaring withall, that it would be absurd to destroy so many persons in so short a time, he thereby perswaded the Emperour, to desist from being enraged. After this manner the *Edessens* escaped their being destroyed by their own Emperour.

[a] *Rufinus* (from whom *Socrates* borrowed this story) book 2. chap. 5. *Eccles. Hist.* words this passage thus: *Infantem quoque parvulum secum trahentem, cursuque rabido, irrupto etiam officii agmine, festinantem. Leading her little child with her, and making such great haste, that she broke through the Præfects Guards.* This memorable fact of the woman of *Edessa* hapned on the year of Christ 371 or 372; as we shall see by and by. *Baronius* has done ill to place it on the year of our Lord 370. *Vales.*

* Ἀκόσμως. *Rufinus* (in the book and chapter just now quoted) says, *she made such haste, that she would not stay to shut her door, nor dress herself in the usual garb that women appeared in in publick.*

[b] After these words, there were wanting in *Robert Stephens's Edition* these two whole lines [Καὶ τὸ τοῦτο τὸ μικρὸν ἔλαχες παιδίον φήσ-τ' ἐπέρχε· ἡ δὲ ἀντιφησίν, ὅτε κἀκεῖσε μαρτυρείας καταξιωθῆναι, *And whither draggest thou that little child, said the Præfect, the woman replied, that he also may be voutsafed the honour of Martyrdom*] which I have inserted from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* acknowledges them; and so does *Rufinus*, from whom *Socrates* borrowed this story. Moreover, from this place also 'tis evident, that *Christophorson* had perused no M. S. Copies of *Socrates*. Vales.

CHAP. XIX.

That the Emperour Valens *slew many persons, the first letter of whose name was* * Theta, *upon account of a certain* Necromantick-*divination, whereby that was foretold.*

* Or. Th.

[a] This whole scene of that unhappy Oracle, which some Heathens had consulted that they might know who should succeed *Valens* in the Empire, is at large set forth by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his 29th book. But, 'tis difficult to assign the year whereon it hapned. *Baronius*, in *his Annalls* places it on the year of Christ 370. I am of opinion, that it was acted in the year of our Lord 371, or at the beginning of the year 372. For *Valens*, in the year of Christ 371, made his entry into *Antioch*, at the end of Summer, *Gratianus* II, and *Probus* being *Consuls*, as I have demonstrated in *my notes on the foresaid book of Marcellinus*, partly from *the Laws of the Theodosian Code*, and partly from *Libanius's book concerning his own Life*. Now, that Tragedy and Conspiracy of those wicked wretches against *Valens*, hapned after his entry into the City *Antioch*, as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*. Therefore, it must necessarily happen at the close of the year 371, or at least at the beginning of 372. 'Tis certain, *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* do place *Valens's* entry into *Antioch* on his eighth year. But, the same *Theophanes* does ascribe that conspiracy of those impious wretches, who had consulted the Oracle concerning the future Emperour, to *Valens's* ninth year. Which agrees exactly with our opinion, if we may compute *Valens's* first year from the Consulate of *Jovianus* and *Varronianus*. Vales.

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To which persons, having made use of a certain Magicall inchantment, the *Dæmon* gave responses, not plain and manifest, but (as he usually does) oblique and ambiguous: by shewing only four Letters, * *Theta*, and *Epsilon*, and *Omicron*, and *Delta*; saying, that his name, who should Reign after *Valens*, did begin with these Letters; and that his name was compounded. The report of what had been done came to the Emperours ears. But he permitted not God (who manages all things in a due and orderly manner) to have the knowledge of things future, and to do what seemed good to him: but, slighting the sanctions of Christianity, for which he supposed himself to have a zeal and ardency, he put many to death, of whom he had a suspicion that they would seize upon the Empire. Therefore, the *Theodorus's*, the *Theodotus's*, the *Theodosius's* and the *Theodulus's*, and as many as had such like names as these, were deprived of their lives. Amongst whom [b] one *Theodosiolus*, a person of great Valour and Courage, a descendant of a Noble Family in *Spain*, was also put to death. And out of a fear of the imminent danger, many persons [at that time] changed their names, denying those names their Parents had given them, when they were young, in regard they were liable to danger. But, let thus much be said concerning this.

* Or, *Th, E, O, D.*

[b] In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading here is [Θεοδόσιος ἢ ἄλλος τις, *another Theodosius.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* also calls him *Theodosius*. Who this *Theodosius* [or, *Theodosiolus*] should be, 'tis uncertain. For I cannot think, it was that *Theodosius*, (father to *Theodosius* the Emperour,) of whom *Ammianus* makes frequent mention in his History. For he lived in the West, and was not slain by the fraud and treachery of malevolent persons, till after *Valentinianus's* death. And yet this Character added by *Socrates* [*a personage of great Valour and Courage, a descendant of a Noble Family in Spain,*] does exactly fit him. *Vales.*

CHAP. XX.

Concerning Athanasius's *death, and the promotion of* Peter [*to his See.*]

FUrther, you are to know, that as long as *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* lived, the Emperour (upon account of some [over-ruling dispensation] of Gods providence) forbore disquieting *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, knowing for certain, that there was a numerous multitude of persons there, who favoured *Athanasius*; and for this reason he was afraid, least a sedition being raised at *Alexandria*, the populace, who are naturally hot and violent, should endammage the publick state of affairs. [Moreover,] *Athanasius*, after those many Conflicts [He had undergone] upon the Church's account, departed this life in the second Consulate of *Gratianus* which he bore with *Probus*; he governed that Bishoprick amidst many dangers fourty and six years, and left *Peter*, a pious and eloquent person, to succeed him in his See.

Athanasius's death.

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CHAP. XXI.

That after Athanaſius's *death, the* Arians *by the Emperour* Valens's *Order, delivered up the Churches in* Alexandria *to* Lucius *who had been Ordained by them before, and committed* Peter *to Priſon.*

THe *Arians* therefore took courage immediately, being rendred inſolent by the Emperour's Religion; and without delay they give an account hereof to the Emperour, who then reſided at *Antioch*. At the ſame time alſo *Euzoïus* (who preſided over the profeſſours of *Arianiſm* at *Antioch*,) with greedineſs catches that opportunity ſo ſeaſonably offered; and makes it his deſign to procure himſelf to be ſent to *Alexandria*, to the intent that he might deliver poſſeſſion of the Churches there to *Lucius* the *Arian*. Which was alſo approved of by the Emperour. And forthwith he went to *Alexandria*, [accompanied] with the Imperial Forces. For [a] *Magnus*, *Lord Treaſurer* to the Emperour, went along with him. The Imperial Order was directed to *Palladius* * *Præfect* of *Egypt*, and a command was iſſued forth that the Military Forces there ſhould give their aſſiſtance. Wherefore, they apprehended *Peter*, and confined him to Priſon. After they had diſperſed the other *Eccleſiaſticks* ſome into one place, ſome into another, they ſeated *Lucius* in the Epiſcopal Chair.

[a] This *Magnus* is termed κομης λαργιτιόνων κόμης, *Comes of the Court-Largeſſes*, in the Letter of *Petrus Alexandrinus* (the perſon ſpoken of in this chapter,) part of which Letter *Theodoret* has recorded, book 4. chap. 22. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.*

* In the original he is termed *Præfect of Alexandria*; which title was ſometimes given to the *Præfects of Egypt*; as it has been obſerved before.

CHAP. XXII.

That Sabinus *the* Macedonian *Heretick has made no mention of thoſe many miſchiefs which happened at* Lucius's *inſtallment. But they are recorded in a Letter written by* Peter; *who made his eſcape, and fled to* Damaſus [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome. *But the* Arians *and* Lucius *were the Authours of many miſchievous practiſes and cruelties againſt thoſe holy perſons who led a* Monaſtick *life in the Solitudes.*

MOreover, what miſchiefs hapned at *Lucius*'s induction [into the Sea of *Alexandria*,] or what was done againſt thoſe perſons that were ejected, as well in, as without the Courts of Judicature, and how ſome were ſubjected to various Tortures, and others were baniſhed, even after they had been tortured; [of any of theſe particulars] there is not the leaſt mention made by *Sabinus*. For, in regard he was a *Semi-Arian*, he concealed the enormous villanies of his friends. But *Peter* has manifeſtly diſplaied them to the view of all men, in his own Letters, which he ſent about to the Churches every where, after his eſcape * out of Priſon. This † perſon, as ſoon as he could make an eſcape out of his impriſonment, fled to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*. But the *Arians*, although few in number, notwithſtanding were repoſſeſſed of the *Alexandrian* Churches. Not long after, an Imperial Edict [came forth, wherein] it was ordered, that [all] the Embracers of the *Homoöuſian* Opinion ſhould be ejected out of *Alexandria*, and [driven] from all parts of *Egypt*. And the Governour of *Egypt* was commanded, with a numerous Army of Souldiers every where to put to flight and chaſe away thoſe, whom *Lucius* ſhould order [to be ejected.] At the ſame time they moleſted, diſturbed, and in a moſt cruel and hoſtile manner aſſaulted the Monaſteries in the Deſart. For Armed men ruſh't in upon perſons unarmed, who would not ſtretch forth ſo much as their hand to ſtrike a ſtroak; and deſtroyed them with ſuch cruelty and barbarity, that what they perpetrated againſt them is inexpreſſible.

* Or, *out of his bonds.*
† *Peter.*

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CHAP. XXIII.

A Catalogue of the holy Monks [*who lived*] *in the Deſart.*

BUt, in regard we have made mention of the Monaſteries in *Egypt*, nothing hinders but we may give an account in ſhort concerning them. The Monaſteries in *Egypt* had their original ('tis probable) from very great antiquity: but they were enlarged and much increaſed by a pious man, whoſe name was *Ammon*. This perſon, when young, had an averſion for marriage. But when ſome of his neareſt relatives entreated him not to ſpeak reproachfully of Matrimony, but that he would marry a wife; he was prevailed upon, and entred into a Matrimonial ſtate of life. And immediately after he had taken the Virgin out of the * Bride-chamber, and with the uſual ſolemnity lead her into his Lodging-room, at length when his friends and acquaintance were gone away, he took the Apoſtolick Book, read Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and expounded to his wife the Apoſtles admonitions to married perſons. And making an addition of ſeveral particulars from elſewhere, he informed her, how many burdenſome inconveniences do accompany marriage, how full of grief and diſquietude the cohabitation of man and woman is, and what pangs attend a woman great with child; adding withall the grief and troubles [which ariſe] from the breeding up of children. [On the other hand] he added the conveniencies of Chaſtity, how great a freedom attends a pure life, how unpolluted it is, and void of all uncleanneſs; and that virginity places perſons in the neareſt alliance to God. Having diſcourſt of theſe and many other ſuch like particulars to his virgin-wife, he perſwades her, that before they ſhould have any carnal knowledge of each other, ſhe would together with him renounce a Secular life. When they had made this agreement between themſelves, they retired to the mountain called *Nitria*. There they lived in a Cottage, and for ſome ſhort time made uſe of one *Aſcetick* apartment in common, without the knowledge of any difference between the Maſculine and Feminine Sex, but being (according to the Apoſtle) *one in Chriſt*. Not long after, the new and unpolluted Bride ſpake theſe words to *Ammon*: it is not decent for you (ſaid ſhe,) who with the greateſt ſtrictneſs immaginable do profeſs Chaſtity, to look upon

* Ἀπὸ τῆς παστάδος. Παστὰς, or (which has the ſame import) παστὸς, ſignifies a *Wedding-chamber, Dining-room*, or *entertaining-room*. See *Stephens*'s *Theſaur. Græc. Ling.* in the word πάστος. The *Seventy two Tranſlatours* do uſe this term (at *Joel* 2. 16, and at *Pſalm* 19. 5.) to expreſs the Hebrew word חֻפָּה *Chuppa*; which was *a Tabernacle or Tent ſet up on purpoſe, for the performance of the ſolemnities* (*uſual amongſt the Jews*) *of betrothing between the man and woman.*

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upon a woman [a] in so narrow an habitation. Wherefore if you please, we will perform our *Ascetick* exercises apart. With this compact also both parties were well pleased. And being separated one from the other, they thus spent the remainder of their lives; abstaining from Wine and Oyle, and feeding upon dry bread only, which they eat some times after one days [fasting,] at others after two, at other times after more. *Antonius*, who was this *Ammon*'s Cotemporary, saw his soul after his death taken up [into heaven] by Angels, as *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* does declare in *his Life of Antonius*. Moreover, very many persons imitated his *Ammon*'s Life. And by degrees the mountaines of *Nitria* and *Scetis* were filled with multitudes of Monks. To write whose lives, would be the Subject of a particular work. But in regard there were amongst them persons of great piety, who were eminent for their *Ascetick* discipline, lived Apostolick Lives, and did, and said some things that were usefull and worthy to be recorded, I thought it expedient [to select] some few passages out of many, and intermix them with my History, in order to the Readers advantage. 'Tis reported therefore, that this *Ammon* never saw himself naked, saying, *that it was misbecoming a Monk to behold his own naked body*. And, being one time desirous to pass a River, he was † loath to uncloath himself; but prayed to God, that he might have a passage over without impeding the resolution he had taken: and an angel conveyed him to the other side of the River. *Didymus*, another Monk, although he lived Ninety years, yet kept company with no man during his whole life. Another, by name *Arsenius*, would not separate the younger Monks, who had committed an offence, from Communion, but those only that were elderly: for he said, *that a young Monk being excommunicated, becomes* || *contumacious: but an elderly Monk does quickly become sensible of the grief of Excommunication*. *Ptor* eat his meat walking. When one asked him why he fed after that manner; *I will not (said he,) go to meat, as to a serious and set work, but as to an incident and by businesse*. To another, questioning him concerning the same thing, he answered; *least (says he,) whilst I am eating, my mind should be affected with any bodily pleasure*. *Isidorus* said, *that it was fourty years since he was sensible of sin in his mind; and that he never consented, either to lust, or anger*. *Pambos*, a man illiterate, went to a person, that by him he might be taught a Psalm. And having heard the first verse of the thirty eighth Psalm, which runs thus, * *I said I will take heed to my ways that I offend not with my tongue*; he refused to hear the second verse, and went away; saying, *that this one verse was enough for him, in case he could learn it perfectly, and in reality practise and perform it*. And when he who had given him the verse to learn, reproved him, because he had not seen him in a whole six months space, he answered; *I have not yet truly and indeed learnt the verse of the Psalm*. Many years after this, to one of his acquaintance enquiring of him whether he had learnt the verse, his answer was, *during the space of these Nineteen years I have scarce learned to* * *fulfill it effectually*. The same person (when one gave him Gold [to be bestowed] for the maintenance of the poor, and said to him, tell the sum which I have given,) replyed, *there is no need of telling the money, but of a right and sound disposition of mind*. The same *Pambos*, upon the entreaty of *Athanasius* the Bishop, came out of the Desart to *Alexandria*. And seeing a woman-player there, he brake forth into tears. When the persons in presence asked him, why he wept; *two things (said he) trouble me; the one is, this womans destruction: the other, because I do not use so much diligence and industry to please God, as she does to delight obscene men*. Another of them said, *that a Monk, unless he will work, is to be involved in the same condemnation with the covetous and rapacious person*. *Petirus* was well furnished with a knowledge in *Natural Speculations*, and frequently expounded sometimes one thing, at other times another, to such as addressed themselves to him. At every one of his † Lectures he made a prayer to God. But, amongst the Monks [who lived] at that time, there were two pious persons who bore the same name. For each of them had the appellation of *Macarius*. The one was born in *The Upper Egypt*, the other came from the City *Alexandria*. Both of them were famous upon several accounts, [to wit,] for their *Ascetick* exercises, for their Morals, for their Converse, and for the Miracles wrought by their hands. The *Egyptian Macarius* wrought so many cures, and drove so numerous a company of devils out of persons possest, that [to relate] what he performed by the grace of God, would require a particular and separate Work. Towards those who came to him, he behaved himself with an austere gravity, tempered with caution and circumspection. But the *Alexandrian Macarius*, although he was every way like the *Egyptian Macarius*, yet he differed from him in this, that he shewed himself chearfull and pleasant towards those who came into his company, and by his courteous behaviour and complaizance induced young men to embrace an *Ascetick* course of life. *Evagrius*, Scholar to these *Macarius*'s, having before been a Philosopher in words only, learned [from them] that Philosophy [which consists] in deeds and actions. * He having been ordained Deacon by *Gregorius Nazianzenus* at *Constantinople*, went afterwards with him into *Egypt*, where he conversed with those forementioned persons, and imitated their course of life. Nor were the Miracles wrought by his hands, fewer in number than those performed by his Masters. The same *Evagrius* wrote Books of very great use: one whereof has this Title, [b] *The Monk*, or *Concerning Active Virtue*: another is entitled, *The Gnostick*, or *to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge*. This Book is divided into Fifty Chapters. A third is termed *Antirreticus* [or *The Refutation*, being a Collection] from the sacred Scriptures, against the tempting evil spirits; it is divided into eight parts, *The Monastick*]

[a] In the original 'tis thus worded, ἐν τοσούτῳ οἰκήματι, *in so great an house*. *Christophorson* has rendred it, *in tantillo domicilio, in so small an house*. But the Greek term will not admit of this rendition. Wherefore, I had rather it should be thus worded, ἐν τῷ σῷ οἰκήματι, *in your dwelling*. Vales.

* See *Socrates* book 1. chap. 21.

† Or, *ashamed*, or, *be refused*.

|| Or, *a contemner*.

* See Psal. 39. v. 1.

* Or, *practise*.

† Or, *Theorems*, or, *Expositions*.

* *Evagrius*.

[b] Instead of [Μοναχὸς *is reputed worthy of knowledge*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* in his copy read Μοναστικὸς, *The Monastick*] as 'tis apparent from his Version. Notwithstanding, *Nicephorus* (book 11. chap. 22) confirms the common reading. But, as to *Evagrius*'s other book here mentioned he words the title of it thus. Γνωστικὸς, ἢ περὶ τῆς καλαξιωθέντος γνώσεως, *The Gnostick, or concerning him who is reputed worthy of knowledge*. It may also be written (as it is here in *Socrates*) thus, *or to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge* which reading we have followed in our Version. Concerning this *Evagrius*'s books, see *Jerome*'s sentiment, in *his Epistle to Ctesiphon against the Pelagians*: where he informs us, that *Evagrius* was an *Origenist*. *Palladius* (*in Lausiaca*) says *Evagrius* wrote three books. The first of these he calls Ἱερὸς, *The Saint*: the second Μοναχὸς, *The Monk*; the third Ἀντιῤῥητικὸς, *The Refutation*; which is against the frauds of the Devil. *Palladius* terms that book of *Evagrius*'s, *The Saint*, which *Socrates* here calls *The Gnostick*. Vales.

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according to the number of the eight thoughts. [He wrote] alſo ſix hundred *Prognoſtick Problems:* and moreover, *two Books in Verſe*; the one *to thoſe Monks* [*who live*] *in Monaſteries or Covents*; the other *to the Virgin*. How admirable theſe Books of his are, they that read them will perceive. It is not unſeaſonable, as I ſuppoſe, to annex to what has been ſaid before, ſome few paſſages recorded by him, concerning the Monks. For he ſays word for word thus. *It is alſo neceſſary to make an enquiry into the ways of thoſe Monks, who have heretofore walked* * *uprightly, and to conform* [*our ſelves*] *to the pattern thereof: For many things have been well ſaid and done by them. Amongſt which this was the ſaying of one of them, that a drier, ſlender, and not irregular ſort of diet, joyned with love, will in a ſhort time bring a Monk to a Port void of all inquietude. The ſame Monk freed one of his brethren from his being diſturbed with apparitions in the night, enjoyning him to miniſter to the ſick, whilſt he was faſting. And being asked* [*why he commanded him to do that,*] *ſuch troubles as theſe (ſaid he) are compoſed and extinguiſhed with nothing ſo eaſily, as with mercy and compaſſion. A Philoſopher of thoſe times came to* Antonius the Juſt, *and ſaid unto him, O Father, how can you hold out, being deſtitute of the comfort of Books?* Antonius *replied,* my Book, O Philoſopher, is the nature of things made, and 'tis ready at hand as often as I am deſirous of reading the Words of God. *That aged perſon the* Egyptian Macarius, *that choſen veſſel, asked me, why by remembring the injuries we receive from men, we deſtroy that ſtrength and faculty of memory which is in our minds: but by remembring the miſchiefs done to us by the devils, we continue unhurt? And when I was doubtfull what anſwer I ſhould make, and entreated him to explain the reaſon hereof to me; the firſt (ſaid he,) is an affection of the mind, which is contrary to nature: the ſecond is agreeable to nature. I went one time to the holy Father* Macarius, *at noon-day, when it was very hot, and being moſt extreamly thirſty, requeſted ſome water to drink. His anſwer to me was,* Content your ſelf with the ſhade; for many perſons who are at this time travelling by Land, or making a voyage by Sea, do want [the refreſhment of] that. *Then, I conferred with him about Abſtinence, and he ſaid unto me,* Be couragious and confident my Son: For theſe twenty years compleat, I have not taken my fill either of bread, water, or ſleep. For I have eaten my bread by weight; I have drank my water by meaſure: and I have ſtollen [c] a little part of a ſleep, by leaning my ſelf againſt a wall. *One of the Monks had the news of his Fathers death brought to him. His return to him that told him this, was,* forbear ſpeaking impiouſly; for my Father is immortal. *One of the Brethren was poſſeſſour of nothing elſe but the Book of the Goſpels: when he had ſould that Book, he gave* [*the money he had for it,*] *to feed the hungry, and uttered this ſaying worthy to be recorded,* I have ſould that Book which ſaieth, * Sell that thou haſt and give to the poor. *There is an Iſland about* Alexandria, *ſcituate at the Northern part of that City, beyond the* Lake *called* Mareotis. *Near that Iſland dwells a Monk* [d] *of* Parembole, *a moſt approved perſon amongſt the* Gnoſticks, *who has declared, that all things practiſed by the Monks, are done for five reaſons, for the ſake of God, of Nature, on the account of Cuſtom, of Neceſſity, and of the work of the hands. It was the uſual ſaying of the ſame perſon alſo, that by nature there was only one virtue, but that in reſpect of the faculties of the ſoul it was divided into ſeveral* Species. *For the light of the Sun, ſaid he, is without any figure; but it does uſually receive its figure from the windows through which it enters. Another of the Monks was wont to ſay, I do therefore every way eſchew pleaſures, that I may* * *prevent the occaſions of anger. For I know very well, that anger does always* † *militate for pleaſures, and does diſquiet my mind, and expell knowledge. One of the aged Monks ſaid, that Charity knows not how to keep the* || *Depoſitum of meat or money. This was another ſaying of the ſame perſon, I do not remember that I was ever twice deceived as to the ſame thing by the Devil.*

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A Tranſlatours have been notoriouſly miſtaken at this place. For *Chriſtophorſon* renders it thus; *in ea Monachus ex Sectâ Gnoſtico-rum vir ſanctiſſimus habitavit, in that* [*Iſland*] *dwelt a Monk, a moſt eminent perſon of the Sect of the Gnoſticks.* Lan-gus, *Nicephorus's* Tranſlatour, has rendred this paſſage in *Evagrius* thus: *Habitat in ea Monachus Gnoſticorum Ordinis celeberrimus, in that* [*Iſland*] *dwells a moſt famous Monk of the Order of the Gnoſticks.* But firſt, *Evagrius* does not ſay, that that Monk dwelt in that Iſland beyond the Lake *Mareotis*; but only, that he dwelt near that Iſland. For that's the import of the word παροικεῖ. Secondly, παρεμβολὴ [*Parembole*] does not ſignifie *a Sect*, or *an Order*: nor are the *Gnoſticks* taken in this place for a Sect of Hereticks; but 'tis a ſort of Monks, concerning whom *Evagrius* wrote a book. *Parembole* therefore is a Village not far from *Alexandria*, near the Lake *Mareotis*. *Athanaſius* makes mention of it in *his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*, where he produces the Catalogue of Clergy-men, whom *Meletius* had in the City and within the Territory of *Alexandria*. After his mentioning of the Presbyters and Deacons of *Meletius*'s party, which he had at *Alexandria*, he adds theſe words; καὶ Μακαρίου Πρεσβύτερον τῆς Παρεμβολῆς, *and Macarius Presbyter of Parembole. Parembole* is alſo mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, wherein were the Quarters of the *ſecond Trajan Legion* under the command of the *Comes* of the Military affairs throughout *Egypt*. *Ptolemæus* alſo (in *Ammoniaca*) places *Alexander*'s *Parembole* near the *Lake Mareotis*. Here therefore dwelt that Monk, who was ſo eminent amongſt the *Gnoſticks*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Rightly.*

* Or, *cut off.*

† Or, *fight or, ſtrive.*

|| Or, *that which one is entruſted with to keep.*

* Or, *without words.*

† Μὴ ἐμβαλεύειν, *not to intrude into,* &c. See Coloſ. 2. 18; where this term occurs.

* He alludes, I ſuppoſe, to the parable of the tares; ſee Matth. 13. 24, &c.

[c] In ſtead of [μικρὸν π τῦ ὕπνυ μέρυς,] the reading in the *Florentine* M. S. and in *Nicephorus* is [μικρὸν π τῦ ὕπνυ μέρ☉, *a little part of a ſleep, or, a nap.*] For that ſleep, which *Macarius* took by leaning his head againſt a wall, was a part of a ſleep, rather than a ſleep. For he ſlept but a very little while. Wherefore, he is ſaid to have ſtollen, rather than to have taken a ſleep. *Valeſ.*

* Matth. 19. 21.

These paſſages are word for word recorded in *Evagrius*'s Book, entitled *The Practick*. In that Book of his, to which he gave this Title, *The Gnoſtick*, he ſays thus: *We have been informed from* Gregorius the Juſt, *that the Virtues and their Contemplations are four; Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Juſtice. And the buſineſs of Prudence, he ſaid, was, to contemplate thoſe Intelligent and holy powers* * *without any reaſons. For his doctrine was, that theſe were manifeſted by Wiſdom:* [*the property*] *of Fortitude* [*as he affirmed,*] *was, to perſiſt in what was true, although a reſiſtance were made, and* † *not to turn aſide towards thoſe things which are not. He made anſwer, that 'twas the property of Temperance, to receive the Seed from the Firſt* [*and Great*] *Husbandman, and to repell him who would* * *Sow over again.* [*Laſtly, he aſſigned this work*] *to Juſtice, to give an account* [*of things*] *agreeable to the worth and dignity of every perſon;* [*which virtue*] *does ſet forth ſome things obſcurely; it gives the knowledge of others by Riddles; and it plainly manifeſts other ſome, for the benefit and advantage of the more unskilfull and ſimple hearers. That Pillar of truth* Baſilius *the* Cappadocian *ſaid, that that knowledge, which is accidentally procured from men, is improved by a continual meditation and exerciſe: but, that infuſed by the Grace*

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Grace of God [*is increased*] by *Justice*, * *Patience, and Mercy. And that the former* [*sort of knowledge,*] *'tis possible, may be received by those who are lyable to disquietude and troubles of mind: but that they only are capable of the latter, who are free from all such disquietude and troubles; who also, during the interim of their being at prayer, do contemplate that proper and peculiar light of their mind, which does illuminate them.* Athanasius *that holy Luminary of the* Egyptians, *says, that* Moses *is ordered* † To place the Table on the North-side. *The* Gnosticks *therefore may know, who it is that blows against them, and let them couragiously endure every temptation; and with a chearfull mind nourish those that come unto them.* [c] Serapion *the Angel of the Church of the* Thmuitæ *said, that the mind having drank a full draught of spiritual knowledge, is* [*thereby*] *perfectly cleansed: but, that the parts of the mind inflamed with anger, are cured by Love: and that wicked desires, which flow into* [*the mind,*] *are stopt by Abstinence. Exercise your self with a continual meditation upon the Discourses and Reasons which relate to Providence and the Judgment* [*of God,*] *(says that great and skilfull Doctor* Didymus;) *and attempt to bear in mind the Subject of those Reasons and Discourses. For, almost all persons do err in these matters. And the Reasons and Discourses which concern a Judgment, you will find in the difference of Bodies, and* * *in all parts of the world. But the accounts and discourses which relate to a Providence,* [*you will discern*] *in those ways which lead us from vice and ignorance, to virtue and knowledge.*

* Or, *placability*, or, *slowness to anger.*

† See Exod. 26. 35.

[c] Concerning this *Serapion*, *Jerome* (in his book *de Scriptor. Eccles.*) speaks these words: *Serapio Thmuëos Ægypti Urbis Episcopus, qui ob eleganti-am ingenii Scholasticus dictus est*, &c. *Serapion Bishop of Thmuis a City of Ægypt, who for the Elegance of his wit was stiled Scholasticus*, &c. He died in *Constantius*'s Reign, before the *Seleucian Synod*, that is, before the year of Christ 359. For in the *Seleucian Synod*, amongst the Bishops of *Acacius*'s party, *Ptolomæus* is reckoned Bishop of *Thmuis* a City of *Augustonica*, or *Augustanica*. For *Baronius* is not to be heeded, who (in *his Annotations on the Roman Martyrology*,) says, *Thmuis* was a City in the Province *Scethis*. *Scethis* was not the name of a Province, but was it self rather in the Province *Augustanica*. And yet *Marcellinus* (book 22.) places *Thmuis* in (that properly called) *Egypt*. Vales.

* Καλὰ τὸν κόσμον, *throughout all parts of the world.*

Thus much we have taken out of *Evagrius*'s Books and inserted here. There was also another admirable person amongst the Monks, by name *Ammonius*, who had so little of curiosity in him, that being at *Rome* with *Athanasius*, he was desirous of viewing none of those magnificent works in that City; but saw only the Cathedral of *Peter* and *Paul*. This *Ammonius*, when he was to have been forced to take a Bishoprick, fled away, and cut off his own right ear, that by a * Mutilation of his body he might avoid being ordained a Bishop. Some time afterwards, *Evagrius* (who was also to have been forc't to [take] a Bishoprick by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and had made his escape, without making any mutilation upon his own body;) accidentally met *Ammonius*, and in a facetious manner said unto him, *That he had done ill to cut off his own ear, and that upon that account he was culpable before God.* To whom *Ammonius* made this return: *But do not you think*, Evagrius, *that you shall be punished, because you have cut out your own tongue, and out of a love to your self, would not make use of that Grace which was bestowed upon you?* Moreover, at that time, there were in the Solitudes many other admirable and pious persons, the mention of whom in this Work of ours would be too long and tedious. Besides, we must of necessity digress from the design we have proposed to our selves, should we give a particular account of the Lives of every one of these persons, and of the Miracles they performed by that eminent Sanctity wherewith they were endued. If any one be desirous of an accurate account of these men, and would know what actions they performed and did, what sayings they uttered conducive to the profit and advantage of the hearers, and how the wild-beasts were obedient to them: there is a particular Book, elaborated by *Paladius* the Monk, who was *Evagrius*'s Scholar; wherein all things appertaining to these persons, are with great accuracy discourst of at large. In which Book [*Palladius*] makes mention of women also, who followed a course of life like to the foresaid men. Further, *Evagrius* and *Palladius* flourished a little after the death of *Valens* [*Augustus.*] But we will now return to that place, whence we have digressed.

* Or, *maiming.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning those holy Monks who were exiled; how God (by the Miracles they performed) attracted all persons to himself.

WHen therefore the Emperour *Valens* had by his Edict given order, that as well the Orthodox, in *Alexandria*, as those in the other parts of *Egypt*, should be forcibly driven from their habitations; depopulation and ruine forthwith defaced and overthrew all things: whilst some persons were drag'd before the seats of judicature; others thrown into Prison; and others tortured by other methods. For they inflicted various sorts of punishment upon persons that were great lovers of peace and quietness. After these things were done at *Alexandria*, in such a manner as *Lucius* thought good, and when *Euzoïus* was returned to *Antioch*, these [two] persons hastned immediately to the Solitudes of *Egypt*; [I mean] the Commander in chief of the Milice, with a numerous company of Souldiers, and *Lucius* the *Arian*. For he himself was not at that time absent, but (without shewing any compassion in the least towards the assembly of those holy men,) perpetrated worse barbarities than the Souldiers themselves did. When they arrived at the place, they apprehended the men performing their usual exercises; [to wit,] praying, curing diseases, and casting out devils. But these [wretches,] little regarding God's Miracles, would not permit so much as the usual and solemn prayers to be performed in the Oratories; but drove the holy persons even out of those places. Nor did they acquiesse in the doing hereof only, but proceeded on further, and [a] made use of weapons against them. These [cruelties] *Rufinus* says he was [b] present at and saw, and was a fellow-sufferer with these persons. Wherefore, the words of the Apostle were renewed against them. For, they were mocked,

[a] Instead of [Τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐκέχρηντο, *made use of the multitudes*] I read [τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκέχρηντο, *made use of weapons.*] This reading is confirmed by *Rufinus*, book 2. chap. 3. Which passage in *Rufinus Socrates* does here take notice of. *Vales.*

[b] Instead of [παρ' ὧν] we read [παρὼν, *was present at.*] See *Rufinus* book 2. chap. 4. where his words are these *Quæ præsens vidi loquor, & eorum gesta refero, quorum in passionibus socius esse promerui. I speak what I was present at, and saw; and I relate their actions, of whose sufferings I had the favour to be a Companion.* Vales.

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and * *had triall of Scourgings*, they were ſtript naked, were bound, *were ſtoned, were ſlain with the Sword*, [they were] perſons that *wandred about* in the Solitudes, *in Sheep-skins, and Goat-skins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy, they wandred in Deſerts, and in Mountaines, and in Dens, and Caves of the earth*: † notwithſtanding they received a Teſtimony both from their Faith, and from the Works and Cures, which the Grace of God performed by their hands. But (as 'tis probable,) divine Providence permitted theſe perſons to ſuffer theſe things, *having provided ſome better thing*, that by thoſe miſeries which they underwent, others might obtain ſalvation in God. And this was demonſtrated by the Event. When therefore theſe admirable perſons were ſuperiour to all that force and violence uſed towards them, *Lucius*, quite out of heart, advices the Commander of the Military Forces, to baniſh the Fathers of the Monks. Theſe [Fathers of the Monks] were, the *Egyptian Macarius*, and he of *Alexandria* who bore the ſame name. Theſe perſons therefore were exiled into an Iſland, wherein there was no Chriſtian Inhabitant. In that Iſland there was an [Heathen] Temple, and a Prieſt in it, whom all the Inhabitants worſhipped like a God. But when theſe pious perſons arrived in that Iſland, all the *Dæmons* there were ſeized with a fear and trembling. At the ſame time alſo, this accident hapned. The Prieſts daughter, poſſeſt on a ſudden by a Devil, fell into a rage and overturned all things. She was extreamly unruly, and could by no means be quieted: but cried out with a loud voice, and ſpake to thoſe pious perſons, ſaying, why are you come to caſt us out from hence alſo? Theſe men therefore did in that place give another demonſtration of that * power of theirs which they had received from the Grace of God. For they drove the Devil out of the Virgin, and [having reſtored her] to her right mind, delivered her to her Father; whereby they induced both the Prieſt, and alſo all the Inhabitants of that Iſland, to [embrace] the Faith of the Chriſtian Religion. Wherefore, [c] they caſt away their Images immediately; changed the Fabrick of their Temple into the form of a Church; received Baptiſm, and with cheerfulneſs learned all the [Doctrines] of Chriſtianity. Thus theſe admirable perſons, perſecuted upon account of the *Homoöuſian* Faith, rendred themſelves more approved, brought ſalvation to others, and made the Faith more firm and ſtrong.

* He alludes to that paſſage, at Hebr. 11. 36, 37, 38.

† Καὶ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθέντες, *eſpecially when as they received a Teſtimony*, or *Commendation*, &c.

* Or, *Work*.

[c] Here there was a whole line wanting, which we have made good from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. after this manner [τὰ μὲν ἀγάλματα ἐξέβαλον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ εἰς ἐκκλησίας, *they caſt away their Images* [immediately changed] *the Fabrick of their Temple into* [the form] *of a Church*.] *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* found this reading in his Copy; as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Didymus, *a blind man.*

ABout the ſame times, God produced another perſon, by whoſe Teſtimony he thought fit the Faith ſhould be corroborated and confirmed. For *Didymus*, a man admirable and eloquent, adorned with all ſorts of Learning, flouriſhed at that time. This perſon being very young, when he had but juſt learned to read; fell into a diſtemper of his eyes; wherewith he was ſorely troubled, and loſt his eye-ſight. But God, inſtead of corporal eyes, gave him thoſe of the mind. For what he could not be inſtructed in by ſeeing, he learnt by hearing. For being of an apt and ingenious diſpoſition from his childhood, and endued with an excellent wit, he far ſurpaſſed even thoſe [a ripe-witted children] who had the acuteſt ſight. For he became Maſter of the Rules of *Grammar* with much eaſe, and arrived to the knowledge of thoſe of *Rhetorick* with more celerity. Proceeding on from thence to *Philoſophy*, with an admirable facility he learnt *Logick*, *Arithmetick*, and *Muſick*; and treaſured up with n his own mind the other Precepts of the Philoſophers, in ſuch a manner, that he could readily diſpute againſt thoſe, who had perfectly learnt thoſe Arts by the benefit of their eyes. Moreover, he was ſo exactly well-skilled in the divine Oracles of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, that he publiſhed many diſcourſes upon them: he dictated *Three Books concerning the Trinity*; and interpreted *Origens* Books *Concerning Principles*, ſetting forth [b] Comments thereupon, wherein he aſſerts that thoſe Books were incomparably well written, and that their Cavils are trivolous, who accuſe *Origen*, and make it their buſineſs to ſpeak reproachfully of his Works: for they are not able, ſays he, to arrive at the knowledge of that Authours perſpicacity and prudence. If any perſon therefore be deſirous of knowing *Didymus*'s great Learning, and the fervency of his mind, he may have an account thereof by a peruſal of the Books elaborated by him. It's reported, that *Antonius* [the Monk] diſcourſed with this *Didymus*, [c] long before the times of *Valens*, at ſuch time as he left the deſart, and came to *Alexandria* upon account of the *Arians*; and that perceiving the Learning and knowledge of this perſon, he ſpake theſe words to him; O *Didymus*! *Let not the loſs of your bodily eyes trouble you. For you are deprived of ſuch eyes,* [d] *as the Flies and Gnats can ſee with. But rejoyce, that you have thoſe eyes, wherewith the Angels ſee, by which even God himſelf is diſcerned, and his Light comprehended.* This was the ſaying of the pious *Antonius* to *Didymus*, long before theſe times [we are treating of.] But at that time, *Didymus* was look't upon to be the greateſt Patron and Defender of the genuine Faith, who diſputed againſt the *Arians*, unravelled their Sophiſtick Cavills, and confuted their adulterate and fraudulent diſcourſes.

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[a] The word [ἐνφυεῖς] which we have rendred [*ripe-witted children*] muſt be expunged; which ſeems to have crept in here, out of the foregoing line. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* acknowledges it not. For thus he renders it; *Qui cum a pucro fuiſſet ingenioſus, vincebat etiam acuta conſpicientes, who being from a boy of an ingenious diſpoſition, excelled even thoſe who ſaw with the greateſt acuteneſs.* Valeſ.

[b] Concerning *theſe Comments of Didymus's on Origens books* περὶ ἀρχῶν, *Ferome* ſpeaks, in *his* 1ſt, and 2d book againſt *Rufinus*. Valeſ.

[c] *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, and the other tranſlatours have rendred this place ill; as if *Antonius* the Monk had come to *Alexandria* in the times of *Valens Auguſtus*. But, 'tis manifeſt, that *Antonius* died in the Reign of *Conſtantius*. *Ferome* informs us hereof, in *his Chronicon*, and in *his Life* of *Hilarion*. 'Tis uncertain, in what year of *Conſtantius*'s Empire *Antonius* left the Solitudes, and came down to *Alexandria*; whether it was about the beginning of *Conſtantius*'s Reign, before the ordination of *Gregorius* the *Arian*; or rather, after the Synod of *Seràica*, and *Athanaſius*'s ſecond reſtitution. *Valeſ.*

[d] Inſtead of [οἷς καὶ μῦαι καὶ κώνωπες βλέπουσιν, *as the Flyes and Gnats can ſee with*,] in *Cedrenus*, at the *ſixth year* of *Conſtantius*, the reading is [οἷς καὶ μῦαι καὶ κώνωπες βλάπτουσιν, *as the Flyes and Gnats can do harm to*. Nor did *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* find it written otherwiſe in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from this his Verſion: *quibus & Muſcæ & Culices nocere poſſunt, to which the Flyes and Gnats can do harm*. And yet *Rufinus*, (*Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 2. chap. 7.) out of whom *Socrates* borrowed this ſtory, defends the common reading, which we have followed in our Verſion. And *Ferome* alſo does confirm this our reading, in *his Epiſtle to Cuſtrutius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Baſilius *of* Cæſarea, *and* Gregorius *of* Nazianzum.

DIvine Providence ſet up *Didymus* indeed as an opponent to the *Arians* at *Alexandria*: but [in order to their Confutation] in other Cities,

[it

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[it made use of] *Basilius Cæsariensis*, and *Gregorius Nazianzenus*. Concerning whom I judge it now opportune to give a short account. The memory and fame of these two persons, which is still preserved amongst all men, and the Learning contained in the Books written by them, might indeed be sufficient to set forth the praises and commendations of each of them. But, in regard they were persons in an eminent manner usefull to the Church at that time, and were preserved [by God,] as being the Incentives of the [Orthodox] Faith; the Subject of our History does of necessity ingage us, in an especiall manner to make mention of these two men. Should any one therefore be desirous of comparing *Basilius* and *Gregorius* with one another, and of giving an account of the Life, Morals, and Virtues that were in them; he would be in a great doubt which of them he should prefer before the other. For they were both equal to one another, whether you respect their [pious and] exact course of Life, or their Learning; I mean as well their *Grecian* Literature, as their knowledge in the sacred Scriptures. For, when very young, they went to *Athens*, and were the hearers of *Himerius* and *Prohæresius*, the two most eminent *Sophistæ* of those times; afterwards they frequented [the School of] *Libanius* at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and by their industry arrived at the highest accomplishments of *eloquence. And when they were judged worthy to be professours of eloquence, many persons perswaded them to enter upon the teaching and profession thereof. Others advised them to practise the Law, but they despised both these sorts of Life: and discontinuing their studies of eloquence, embraced a Monastick life. Having therefore had a taste of the precepts of Philosophy from him who at that time taught Philosophy at *Antioch*, not long after they procured *Origen's* Works, and from them got an insight into the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures. For the great fame of *Origen* did at that time fill the whole world. When they had with great studiousness exercised themselves in the perusal of those Books, they powerfully opposed the Assertours of *Arianism*. And although the *Arians* *cited *Origen's* Books, in confirmation (as they supposed) of their own opinion; yet these two persons confuted them, and evidently demonstrated, that they understood not the meaning of *Origen*. Indeed, the *Arians*, and their then Abettor *Eunomius*, although they were at that time accounted persons of great eloquence, yet, as often as they engaged in a discourse with *Gregorius* and *Basilius*, 'twas made evidently apparent that they were men altogether ignorant and unlearned. *Basilius* was first promoted to a †Diaconate by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*; after that, he was preferred to the [b] Bishoprick of his own Country, I mean *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and undertook the care of the Churches.

[a] What *Socrates* says here, is in my opinion false; *viz.* that *Basilius* and *Gregorius*, after they had finished the course of their Learned studies at *Athens*, were hearers of *Libanius* the *Sophista* at *Antioch*. *Gregorius* himself does refute this, in *his Poem concerning his own Life*; where he says, that he was in the thirtieth year of his age when he left *Athens*, and that his friends would have detained him at *Athens*, that he might be a professour of eloquence; (the same is attested by *Rufinus*, book 2. chap. 9. *Eccles. Hist.*) but that he fled secretly from thence, and went into his own Country. *Vales.*

* Or, *Rhetorick.*

* Or, *quoted.*

† Or, *the Office of a Deacon.*

[b] *Baronius* says, *Basilius* was prefered to the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea*, in the year of Christ 369: and this he attempts to prove from *Gregorius Nyssenus's* testimony. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, in *his Chronicon*, do place the beginning of *Basilius's* Episcopate, on the ninth year of *Valens*, which was the year of Christ 371. But the same Authours do affirm, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter, in the eighth year of *Valens*. See *Theophanes's* and *Cedrenus's* words at the said eighth year of *Valens*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does confirm the same, in his *Oration de Laudibus Basilii*. Where he does attest in expres words, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter only of the Church of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Valens*, guarded with a part of Heretical Prelates, undertook an expedition against the Churches of the East, which he hastned to deliver up to the *Arians*. Moreover, *Valens* undertook this expedition against the Orthodox on his own third Consulate, that is on the year of Christ 370, as our *Socrates* does affirm: (compare the 14th and 17th chapters of this 4th book.) *Gregorius Nyssenus* confirms this, *in his first book against Eunomius* (who had upbraided *Basilius* with fearfulness and pusillanimity,) where he describes *Valens's* preparations and expedition against the Churches, in these words: Ἐξήλασεν μὲν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὅτι τὴν ἑῴαν ὁ Βασιλεύς, &c. *The Emperour went from Constantinople into the East, puft up in his mind with the late successfull and fortunate Actions he had performed against the Barbarians.* That is, after the War against the *Goths*, and the League made with them. Which hapned in the year of Christ 369, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Wherefore, that expedition of *Valens's* to destroy Gods Churches, hapned in the year of our Lord 370, as I have now said. Now, that *Basilius* was then no more than a Presbyter, his Brother *Gregorius* does in the same place inform us. For, he says, that the *Præfect* of the *Pratorium*, to wit, *Modestus*, *at first made use of flatteries, and promised Basilius a Præsulate and an Ecclesiastick presidency, provided he would obey the Emperour.* *Nyssen's* words are these: πειθόντι μὲν τὸν ἐκ Βασιλέως πιμὴν, ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀφεῖναι. Therefore *Basilius* was not Bishop of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Modestus* endeavoured to pervert him. Moreover, *Modestus* first bore the *Præfecture of the Prætorium*, when *Gratianus* II and *Probus* were Coss. in the year of Christ 371, as I have remark *in my notes* on the 29th book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 380. It may also be proved by another argument, that *Basilius* was preferred to the Episcopate of *Cæsarea* after the year of Christ 370. For *Nazianzen* in the *Funeral Oration* which he wrote on him, says that *Basilius* was but a Presbyter, at such time as that Famine (by far the forest of all the Famines that are mentioned to have hapned at any time) hapned in *Cappadocia*. Now, this is the Famine, which our *Socrates* mentions in the *sixteenth* chapter of this book; it hapned in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*. Vales.

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For being afraid, least the novelty of the *Arian* opinion should prey upon and devour the Provinces of *Pontus*, he went [c] with great hast into those parts. Where he constituted Monasteries, instructed the inhabitants in his own doctrines, and confirmed the minds of those that wavered. [d] *Gregorius* [being constituted] Bishop of *Nazianzum* a small City in *Cappadocia*, over which Church his own father had before presided, took the same course that *Basilius* did. For he also went up and down to the Cities, and corroborated those that were feeble and dispirited as to the faith. But more especially, he made frequent journeys to *Constantinople*, and confirmed the Orthodox in that City by his Preaching and Discourses. Upon which account, he was soon after by him made Bishop of *Sasima*, a small City in the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, and ordained him Bishop of the same. But *Gregorius* never resided there, but only passed through it, when he went to or came from *Nazianzum*. For he was not willing to be Bishop of any City, but of *Nazianzum*, his native City. Which City, when *Valens* had divided into two parts, and had made *Thyanis* the Metropolis of the one part, he was constrained to be Bishop of both. Which City, when *Valens* had divided into two parts, and had made *Thyanis* the Metropolis of the one part, he was constrained to be Bishop of both.

[c] *Gregorius Nazianzenus* (who is more to be credited in these things) does attest in *his Funeral Oration concerning the praises of Basilius*, that *Basilius*, as yet but a Presbyter, went into those parts, with a design to oppose himself against the perfidiousness of the *Arians*. Vales.

[d] *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*; who (in book 2. chap 9. *Eccles. Histor.*) writes thus: *Gregorius vero apud Nazianzon*, &c. *But Gregorius, being substituted Bishop in his father's stead, at the Town Nazianzum, faithfully bore the storm of the Hereticks.* And yet 'tis manifest, that *Gregorius* was not made Bishop, but *Coadjutor* only to his own father *Gregorius*, in the Episcopate of *Nazianzum*: and upon this condition too, that he should not succeed his father in that Bishoprick; as he himself attests in his *Eighth Oration*, and in *his Poem concerning his own Life*. He was first constituted Bishop of *Sasimi* by *Basilius the Great*, who had been the first Founder of this Bishoprick, that he might assure that place to his own Church; as *Gregorius* attests in the *Poem concerning his own Life*. From thence he was translated to the *Constantinopolitan* See, which he quickly left, betook himself to *Nazianzum*, and governed the Bishoprick of that place some while, till such time as, being wearied out with age and diseases, he made choise of his own successour. *Jerome's* account therefore is true, whose words (in *his book De Script. Eccles.*) are these: *Gregorius primùm Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus*, &c. *Gregorius, Bishop first of Sasimi, and afterwards of Nazianzum*, &c. And 'tis strange, that although he governed three Bishopricks, yet they were all doubtfull and uncertain. 'Tis plain, that in *his Epistles* he himself does frequently deny, that he ever presided over the Episcopate of *Sasimi*, or ever performed any sacerdotal office there. Neither *Jerome* his Scholar, nor *Rufinus*, do ascribe the *Constantinopolitan* Bishoprick to him. Lastly, he delivered the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* to another, rather than governed it himself. *Vales.*

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ter conſtituted Biſhop over the people at *Conſtantinople*, by the ſuffrage of many Biſhops. When therefore what * both theſe perſons did, came to the Emperour *Valens*'s ears, he forthwith ordered [c] *Baſilius* to be brought from *Cæſarea* to *Antioch*. Immediately therefore he was conveyed thither, and by the Emperours order was ſet before the Tribunal of the *Præfects*: [f] when the Præfect put this queſtion to him, *why he would not embrace the Emperours Faith*; *Baſilius* with a great deal of confidence found fault with the Emperours Religion, and commended the *Homoöuſian* Faith. But when the Præfect threatened him with death, *would to God* (ſaid *Baſilius*) *it might happen to me, to be delivered from the bonds of the body upon account of the truth!* Then, upon the *Præfects* admoniſhing him to inſpect and conſider the matter more ſeriouſly with himſelf, 'tis reported that *Baſilius* ſaid, *I am the ſame this day that I ſhall be to morrow*: [g] *I wiſh that you would not have changed your ſelf*. After this *Baſilius* continued that day in cuſtody. Not long after, it hapned, that *Valens*'s ſon, a young child, whoſe name was [h] *Galates*, was ſeized with a ſore diſtemper, in ſo much that his recovery was deſpaired of by the Phyſitians. The Empreſs *Dominica*, his mother, did poſitively affirm to the Emperour, that ſhe had been ſorely diſquieted with fearfull and horrid viſions in her dreams; and that the child was viſited with ſickneſs, becauſe of the Biſhops injurious uſage. The Emperour, taking theſe things into conſideration, ſends for *Baſilius*. And to make tryal of him, expreſſes himſelf to him after this manner. If your Opin on be true, pray that my ſon may not dye. If you will believe, O Emperour! (replied *Baſilius*,) as I doe; and if [you will aſſent that] the Church ſhall be united, the child ſhall live. When the Emperour would not conſent to that, the will of God therefore be done (ſaid *Baſilius*) concerning the child. After *Baſilius* had ſpoken theſe words, [the Emperour] ordered he ſhould be diſmiſt. But the child died not long after. Let thus much be compendiouſly ſaid concerning theſe perſons.

Moreover, each of them wrote and publiſhed many, and thoſe incomparable Books. Some of which *Rufinus* ſays were by * him tranſlated into *Latine*. *Baſilius* had two brothers, *Petrus* and *Gregorius*. *Petrus* imitated *Baſilius*'s monaſtick courſe of life: but *Gregorius* [followed] his eloquent way of teaching. He alſo finiſhed *that Book concerning the Six days-work*, (which *Baſilius* had taken pains about, and left imperfect) after his Brother's death. And recited a Funeral Oration in [praiſe of] *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, at *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo ſeveral other Orations of his extant.

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* So *Rufinus* ſays, book 2. chap. 9. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

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Concerning Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

BUt, in regard ſome are apt to miſtake, becauſe of the likeneſs of the name, and by reaſon of the Books which in their title are aſcribed to *Gregorius*, you are to know, that there was another *Gregorius* of *Pontus*; who had his original extract at *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*, and was ancienter than theſe [*Gregorius*'s.] For he was * *Origen*'s Scholar. This *Gregorius*'s fame is very great at *Athens*, at *Berytus*, over the whole [a] *Pontick Diœceſis*, and (I had almoſt ſaid) over the whole world. For having left the Schools at *Athens*, he went to *Berytus*, and ſtudied the Civill Law. Where being informed that *Origen* did interpret the ſacred Scriptures at *Cæſarea*, he went in great haſt to that City. And having been an hearer of the Magnifick expoſition of the ſacred Scriptures, he bad far-well to [his ſtudy of] the *Roman* Laws, and in future became wholly addicted [to *Origen*.] By whom he was inſtructed in the true Philoſophy, and after that, his Parents recalling him, he returned into his own country. Where firſt of all, whilſt he was a Laick, He did many miracles; ſometimes healing the diſeaſed; at others driving away devills by * Letters; [in fine,] he brought over the profeſſours of Gentiliſm [to the faith,] not only by his words, but much more by the works he did. He is mentioned alſo by *Pamphilus the Martyr*, in the Books he wrote [b] concerning *Origen*. Whereto is annexed [c] *Gregorius*'s *Oration, wherein he returned thanks to Origen at his departure from him*. There were therefore, that I may ſpeak briefly, [many] *Gregorius*'s. The firſt is this ancient, *Origens* Scholar; the ſecond, *Nazianzenus*; the third, *Baſilius*'s Brother. There was alſo another *Gregorius* at *Alexandria*, whom the *Arians* conſtituted Biſhop [of that City] during the time of *Athanaſius*'s exile. Thus much concerning theſe perſons.

* So *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book. 6. chap. 30.

[a] At this place I have followed *Nicephorus*'s authority; and inſtead of [παντικῆ διοικήσει] I have amended it thus [πουντικῆ διοικήσει *Pontick diœceſis*;] although our M. SS. copies make no alteration here. See *Socrat.* book 1. chap. 9. note (*f.*) *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Epiſtles.*

[b] Inſtead of [περὶ ὧν ἐγκώμιος, *concerning Origen,*] it would be better thus [ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκώμιος, *in defence of Origen*;] for he means *Pamphilus*'s *Apologetick in defence of Origen*: concerning which conſult *Photius*, in *his Bibliotheca*. Valeſ.

[c] In the Greek, 'tis thus worded: συγκλητικὸς λόγος Γρηγορείς εἰς Ὠριγένην· which *Muſculus* renders thus; *Liber Gregorii quo Origenem commendavit, Gregorius's book wherein he has commended Origen. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it thus: *Oratio Gregorii in Origenis commendationem conſcripta, Gregorius's Oration written in praiſe of Origen*. But, I cannot approve of this Verſion: for that Oration was not written by *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* in commendation of *Origen*; but to return thanks to his maſter, when he left his School. Indeed, *Commendatory Letters* are termed συγκλητικαὶ· but there were never any *Orationes* συγκλητικαὶ, *commendatory Orations*. Wherefore, I doubt not but it ſhould be σωτηριακτικὸς; although *Nicephorus* confirms the vulgar reading. Now, λόγος σωτηριακτικὸς is *a Valedictory Oration*, as we have remarked in *our notes on Euſeb. Life of Conſtant.* book 3. chap. 21. note (*a.*) *Valeſ.*

[f] *Socrates* took this out of *Rufinus*, book 2. chap. 9. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* But *Gregorius Nyſſenus*, in *his firſt book againſt Eunomius*, ſays that *Baſilius* ſtood before the Tribunal of *Modeſtus* the *Præfect* twice; once when he was Presbyter, and a ſecond time when he was Biſhop. But *Nazianzen* makes no mention of *Baſilius*'s former examination. *Valeſ.*

[g] In *Rufinus* (*Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 2. chap. 9.) this paſſage is thus worded; *utinam te non mutares, I wiſh you would not have changed your ſelf*. In which words *Baſilius* reproves *Modeſtus*, becauſe from being a Catholick he was become an *Arian*, that he might pleaſe the Emperour. We are indeed told by *Gregorius* (in *his funeral Oration*) that *Modeſtus* was an *Arian*. Valeſ.

[h] Here *Valentinianus Junior* is called by another name, as we have obſerved before, chap. 10. of this book note (*a.*) He was ſurnamed *Galates*, becauſe he was born in *Galatia*. Further, in regard *Socrates* does here term him νήπιον, *a young child*; our opinion (which we have given in before) is very much confirmed; to wit, that theſe things were done about the year of our Lord 371, or 372. For *Valentinianus Junior* was born in the year of Chriſt 365; as we have remarked before: from which year to the year 372, are ſix years compleat. So *Valentinianus Junior*, called alſo *Galates*, died at ſix years old. For a child of that age is rightly termed νήπιον. *Valeſ.*

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CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Novatus, *and those from him termed* Novatians. *And, that those* Novatians *who inhabited* Phrygia, *altered* [*the time of celebrating*] *the Festival of* Easter, *and kept it on the same day the* Jews *did.*

ABout this very time, the *Novatians*, who inhabited *Phrygia*, altered the day of celebrating the Feast of *Easter*. How this was done, I will declare; having first of all told you, upon what account the accurate and exact Canon of their Church does at this present flourish in the Provinces of *Phrygia* and *Paphlagonia*. [a] *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, made a separation therefrom, in regard *Cornelius* the Bishop admitted those Believers to communion, who had sacrificed in that Persecution, which the Emperour *Decius* raised against the Churches. Becoming a Separatist therefore upon this account, and being elected to the Bishoprick [of *Rome*] by such Prelates as embraced the same sentiments with him, he wrote to the Churches every where, that they should not admit such persons as had sacrificed, to the [sacred] Mysteries: but should exhort them to repentance, and leave the pardoning of their offences to God, who is able, and has power to remit sins. The Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these, gave their judgments of the things therein signified, according to their own * dispositions and humours. For whereas *Novatus* had given notice, that those were not to be † vouchsafed the participation of the Mysteries, who after Baptism had fallen into [any] deadly sin; the promulgation of this Canon seemed severe and cruel to some: but others admitted of this Rule, as just and equitable, and [of great use] for the establishing a pious and more regular course of life. [b] In the interim that this great controversie was in debate, arrive the Letters of *Cornelius* Bishop [of *Rome*,] promising indulgence to those who had sinned after Baptism. Upon these two persons writing thus contrary to one another, and each of them confirming what he asserted by testimony of the sacred Scriptures; [c] every inhabitant of the Provinces betook himself to that party, whereto he had before entertained a greater propensity and inclination. For, such persons as delighted in sin, laid hold of the Indulgence then granted, and in future abused it to all manner of impiety. [Moreover,] the people of *Phrygia* seem to be more sober, and persons of better Moralls, than other Nations. For 'tis very rare that the *Phrygians* do swear. Indeed, the *Scythians* and *Thracians* are very ready to be overcome with anger and passion: and those who inhabit that Region [which lyes] towards the rising Sun, are more addicted to the serving of their lusts. But the *Paphlagonians* and *Phrygians* are not prone to either of these vices. For, neither *Cirque-Sports*, nor *Theatrical-Shews*, are at this present * esteemed amongst them. On which account, as well these persons, as others who embrace the same Sentiments with them, in my judgment seem to have given their assent to what was then written from *Novatus*. For, amongst them whoring is reputed a most enormous wickedness. 'Tis apparently known, that the *Phrygians* and *Paphlagonians* do live more modestly and temperately, than any other Sect of men what ever. I am of opinion, that it was the very same reason likewise [which prevailed] with those that inhabit the Western parts; who also have followed *Novatus*'s opinion. But, *Novatus* (although he was a Separatist upon account of an accurate and more strict course of life, yet) made no alteration in [the celebration of] the Feast of *Easter*. For he always celebrated that Festival, after the same manner that those in the Western parts did. Now, the Inhabitants of those parts do always keep that Feast after the *Æquinox*, agreeable to an usage very anciently delivered to them, even from the time that they first embraced Christianity. [Further,] this * person suffered [d] Martyrdom afterwards, [to wit] in the Reign of the Emperour *Valerian*, who raised a Persecution against the *Christians*. But those in *Phrygia* who from his name are called *Novatians*, [e] having an aversion even for that communion they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholicks in the celebrating] of this [Festival,] about this time changed the Feast of *Easter* also.

[a] The Greeks usually term him *Novatus*, whose right name was *Novatianus*. Concerning whose Heresie, you may consult *Eusebius*, (*Eccles. Hist.* book 6. chap. 43,) *Epiphanius*, the *Author of the questions on the Old and New Testament*, and *Theodoret*. Vales.

* Or *Moralls*.

† He means the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

[b] Instead of [ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τούτῳ] it is doubtless to be thus worded [ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοσούτῳ, &c.] Questionless, *Socrates* left it written thus; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[c] The expression in the original is, ἕκαστος καθ' ἕθος; which *Musculus* renders thus, *sicut fieri solet, as it is usually done*; and *Christophorson* thus; *ut moris est, as the manner is.* But I cannot approve of these Versions. For the *Grecian* writers make use of (not κατ' ἔθος, but) ὡς ἔθος, to signifie, *as it is usually done*, or, *as the manner is.* Wherefore, I am rather of opinion, that it should be ἕκαστος κατ' ἔθνος, *every inhabitant of the Provinces*: so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read it. For he renders it thus; *Singuli Provincialium*, &c. *Every Subject of the Provinces.* Κατ' ἔθνος has the same import with κατ' ἐπαρχίαν; which phrase *Socrates* has made use of a little before, in this chapter; where his words are, τοιαύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίαν δεχόμενοι, *the Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these.* Vales.

* *Novatus.*

[d] The *Novatians* did boast, that the Founder of their Sect was a Martyr; and they wrote a book, the Title whereof was, *The Martyrdom of Novatianus*. But this book, which was stuft with Lies and Fables, has long since been confuted by *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in *his sixth book against the Novatians*, the *Excerptions* whereof occur in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*, p. 1621. Edit. *David Hoeschel.* 1610. Moreover, in those Acts of the Martyrdom of *Novatianus*, *Novatianus* was not said to have suffered Martyrdom, but only to have been a Confessour of the Faith of Christ. For, the *Author of the Acts* says, that of the eight Presbyters of the Roman Church who were under *Macedonius* Bishop of *Rome*, seven offered sacrifice to Idols together with *Macedonius*, and that only *Novatus* underwent an egregious Martyrdom of confession. And that together with *Novatianus* three Bishops (almost the only persons of the Western parts) termed it a Martyrdom; to wit, *Marcellus* and *Alexander* Bishops of *Aquileia*, and *Agamemnon* Bishop of *Porta*, or rather of *Tibur*. Who lived apart after that confession, held assemblies with *Novatianus*, and avoided their communion who had sacrificed to Idols. A little afterwards they laid their hands on *Novatianus*, and ordained him Bishop of *Rome*. Vales.

[e] This place is strangely corrupted. Nor is this fault new; but the copies were faulty even in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s time; for thus he renders it: *Hi vero qui ex eo nomen habuerunt, ejusque fuere participes*, &c. *But these who had their name from him, and were partakers thereof*, &c. How *Nicephorus* read this passage in *Socrates*, 'tis uncertain, in regard his Greek Text is at this place defective. But *Langus*, who had seen a Greek Copy of *Nicephorus*, renders it thus: *Qui vero ejus nomine in Phrygia Censentur*, &c. *But those who are accounted of his name in Phrygia, when by indulging themselves, they had degenerated from his institutions and communion, at this time altered the Paschal Festival also.* I say nothing concerning the other Translatours, in whose Versions you will find nothing of soundness. I am of opinion, that the place, by a small alteration, is thus to be made good: ἐν τῷ κοινωνίαν τύλις συγχωρηθεῖσαν ἑτεροπώρους. That is, *having an aversion even for that communion they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholicks in the celebrating] of this [Festival.]* There is nothing more plain than this sense. Before *Valens*'s time, the *Novatians* in *Phrygia* kept *Easter* at the same time the rest of the Catholicks did. After that, they began to shun the communion and society of the Catholicks in this matter also. Further, although I do very much approve of *Socrates*'s judgment, who gives an account why the *Phrygians* more especially embraced the *Novatian* Heresie; yet there may another reason be given hereof. For, *Novatus*, or rather *Novatianus*, was (as 'tis said) by Country a *Phrygian*: so *Philostorgius* asserts book 8. Wherefore, 'tis no wonder, that he had many followers of his own opinion in that province. *Vales.*

For,

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For, ſome few (and thoſe in no wiſe eminent) Biſhops of the *Novatians* in *Phrygia*, having convened a Synod in the Village *Pazum*, (at which place are the * heads of the River *Sangarius*,) promulged a Canon, that it ſhould be obſerved [yearly on what day] the *Jews* celebrated their Feaſt of unleavened bread, and that together with them the Feaſt of *Eaſter* ſhould be kept. Theſe things were told me by a certain [f] old man, who ſaid that he was the ſon of a Presbyter, and was together with his Father preſent at the foreſaid Synod. At which Synod, neither *Agelius* Biſhop of the *Novatians* at *Conſtantinople*, was preſent, nor yet *Maximus* of *Nicæa*; neither were the Biſhops of *Nicomedia*, or *Cotiæum* at it: although theſe perſons were the chief Regulatours of the *Novatian* Religion. Theſe things were after this manner tranſacted at that time. But, not long after, the Church of the *Novatians* was divided into two parties upon account of this Synod, as we will declare in due place. We muſt now paſs from hence, to [a relation of] what hapned at this very time in the Weſtern parts.

* Or, *Fountains.*

[f] I conjecture, that this was long-lived *Auxano*, a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church; whoſe teſtimony *Socrates* makes uſe of, book 1. chap. 10, & 13. But, we muſt not here omit *Nicephorus*'s words concerning our *Socrates*: he ſays thus, book 11. chap. 14; *Hæc ſibi renuntiata eſſe Socrates, qui hoc loco non abhorrere ſe à Novatianorum inſtitutis palàm præ ſe fert, à ſene quodam ſcribit,* &c. *Socrates (who in this place plainly ſhews himſelf not to be a deteſter of the Novatian principles) relates that theſe things were told him by a certain old man,* &c. Notwithſtanding, I am not of *Nicephorus*'s opinion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Damaſus *Biſhop of* Rome, *and* Urſinus. *How, a Diſturbance and Sedition hapning in* Rome *upon their account, there followed a great ſlaughter of men.*

WHilſt the Emperour *Valentinianus* lived in peace and tranquillity, and was vexatious towards no Sect; *Damaſus* ſucceeded *Liberius* in the Government of the Biſhoprick of *Rome*. [a] Under whom the Church of *Rome* hapned to be diſturbed, upon this account. One *Urſinus*, a Deacon of the ſame Church had been a competitor, when the Election of a Biſhop was made. But, in regard *Damaſus* was preferred [before him,] *Urſinus*, unable to bear the being fruſtrated of his expectation, made it his buſineſs to [b] hold aſſemblies that were Schiſmatical and ſeparate from the Church; and perſwades certain mean Biſhops to ordain him [clandeſtinely] in a ſecret place. And he is ordained, not in a Church, but in an obſcure place, in that called [c] *Sicinius*'s Pallace. Upon the doing hereof, a diſſention was raiſed amongſt the populace. They diſagreed amongſt themſelves, not upon account of the Faith, or [any] Hereſie, but about this only, [to wit] who ought to be put in poſſeſſion of the Epiſcopal Chair. Hereupon there hapned [frequent] conflicts of the multitudes; in ſo much that many were killed, on account of that variance. For which reaſon, many perſons as well Laicks, as Eccleſiaſticks, were puniſhed by [d] *Maximinus* the then *Præfect* [of the City;] and ſo both *Urſinus* at that time ceaſed from [*proſecuting*] his attempt, and alſo thoſe who had a mind to be his followers, were quieted.

[a] Inſtead of [Ἀφ' ἧς] read [Ἐφ' ᾧ, *under whom*; for that's the reading in the *Florent.* M.S. and in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[b] Παραστιάζαι. A very elegant term, to ſignifie Scifmatical aſſemblies and conventicles, who are ſaid to erect one Altar contrary to another. Hence comes the term ἀβασταγωγή, a ſort of Schiſm, concerning which *Baſilius* ſpeaks, in *his Canonicall Epiſtle to Amphylochius, de Baptiſmo Hæreticorum.* Valeſ.

[c] *Amm. Marcellinus* (book 27. pag. 337. *Edit. Valeſ.*) calls it *Sicininus*'s Pallace; *where*, ſays he, *there is a little private aſſembling place of* [the profeſſours of] *the Chriſtian Religion; in which* [during the conflicts between *Damaſus*'s and *Urſinus*'s parties] *there was in one day an hundred and thirty dead bodies found*, &c. Read the Hiſtorians following words; from the whole paſſage 'tis plain, how diſorderly the Elections of a Biſhop of *Rome* then were, and at what an height they lived.

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[a] *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Ruſinus*, book 2. chap. 10. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* In that year, whereon *Urſinus* raiſed his Schiſm, *Juventius*, not *Maximinus*, was *Præfect* of the City, as *Amm. Marcellinus* atteſts, book 27. pag. 337. But, in regard this Schiſm laſted many years, 'tis poſſible that *Maximinus* (who was *Præfect* of the *Annona*,) might take cognizance of this buſineſs, and torture ſome Eccleſiaſticks, as *Ruſinus* relates. This *Maximinus* was *Præfect* of the *Annona*, in the ſeventh year of *Valentinian*; as *Jerome* does aſſert in *his Chronicon. Marcellinus* ſpeaks much concerning this *Maximinus*, in his 28th book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXX.

How (after the death of Auxentius *Biſhop of* Millain,*) a Sedition hapning on account of the Election of a Prelate to ſucceed in that Sea; Ambroſius, Preſident of the Province, going with a Military Force to appeaſe the tumult, was by a general ſuffrage (the Emperour* Valentinianus *having given his conſent alſo) preferred before all perſons, and Elected Biſhop of that Church.*

ABout the ſame time, there hapned another thing worthy to be recorded, which came to paſs at *Millain*. For, [a] *Auxentius* Biſhop of that Church being dead, who had been ordained by the *Arians*, the Inhabitants of *Millain* were again diſturbed about the Election of a Biſhop: and there was a great contention amongſt them, ſome making it their buſineſs to elect one perſon, others another. When a Sedition was raiſed about this matter, the Governour of that Province (a perſon veſted with a *Conſular* dignity, whoſe name was *Ambroſius*,) fearing leaſt ſome abſurdity might happen in the City, [cauſed] by that tumult, ran into the Church, in order to his appeaſing of the uproar. After that the people upon his coming thither were quieted, and that he had repreſt the irrational fury of the multitude by a long and very uſefull exhortatory Oration; there hapned on a ſuddain an unanimous agreement amongſt all perſons; who cried out, that *Ambroſius* deſerved the Biſhoprick, and all made it their requeſt, that he might be ordained. For, by that means only ['twas ſaid] the people would be united, and embrace a concordant opinion concerning the Faith. In regard therefore, this unanimous conſent of the people ſeemed to the Biſhops that were preſent, to proceed from ſome divine [order and appointment,] without delay they laid hold of *Ambroſius*: and having baptized him, (for he was then but a *Catechumen*,) they forthwith went about the promoting of him to the dignity of that Biſhoprick. But, becauſe *Ambroſius* (though he received Baptiſm with much willingneſs, yet) refuſed the Epiſcopal dignity with all imaginable earneſtneſs; [the Biſhops] acquaint the Emperour *Valentinianus* with what hapned. The Emperour, admiring the unanimous conſent of the people,

[a] *Socrates* has tranſcribed this following paſſage, almoſt word for word out of *Ruſinus*'s book 2. chap. 11. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* For, he obſerves the ſame order that *Ruſinus* does, after *Damaſus*'s ordination forthwith ſubjoyning *Ambroſius*'s promotion. But, although *Ruſinus* and *Socrates* have conjoyned theſe two Ordinations, as if they had been made at one and the ſame time; yet there was a great interval of time between each ordination. For *Damaſus* entred upon the Biſhoprick of *Rome* in the Conſulate of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, on the year of Chriſt 367. But *Ambroſius* was promoted to the Epiſcopate of *Millain* in the year of our Lord 374, in the third Conſulate of *Gratianus* which he bore with *Equitius*; as *Baronius* has obſerved from Saint *Jerom*'s *Chronicon.* Valeſ.

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people, and acknowledging what had come to pass, to be the work of God, declared to the Bishops, that they ought to obey God, who had commanded he should be ordained: for that he was elected by the suffrage of God, rather than of men. *Ambrosius* being after this manner constituted [Bishop,] the Inhabitants of *Millaine*, who had been at variance before, were by his means reduced at that time to unity and concord.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning Valentinianus's *death.*

BUt after this, when the *Sarmatæ* made incursions into the *Roman* Territories, the Emperour undertook an expedition against them, at the head of a vast Army. The *Barbarians*, informed of these great preparations for a War, and being sensible of their own inability to make a resistance, sent an Embassy to the Emperour, and requested that they might obtain a Peace upon certain conditions. When the Embassadours were introduced into the Emperours presence, and appeared to him to be * vile and despicable fellows, he asked, whether all the *Sarmatæ* were such sort of persons. The Embassadours made answer, that the noblest personages of † their whole Nation were come to him; whereupon *Valentinianus* was highly incensed, and crying out with a very loud voice, said; *that he was very unfortunate to have the Roman Empire devolve upon him, when such a Nation of* Barbarians, *so vile and contemptible, was not satisfied to continue in safety within its own limits; but would take up Arms,* || *depopulate the* Roman *Territories, and audaciously break out into a War.* And he tore himself in such a manner by his crying out, that all his Veines were opened, and every one of his Arteries broken. [A vast quantity of] bloud gushing out after this manner, he died in the Castle called *Bergition*, after *Gratianus*'s third Consulate [which he bore] with *Equitius*, about the seventeenth of the month *November*; when he had lived fifty four years, and reigned thirteen. *Valentinianus* therefore having ended his life, the Milice in *Italy*, on the sixth day after his death, proclaimed his Son (who had the same name with his Father,) *Valentinianus* (a very young child,) Emperour, in [a] *Acincum* a City of *Italy*. The Emperours, informed hereof, were displeased, not because *Valentinianus Junior* (who was brother to the * one Emperour, and the † others Nephew) was made Emperour: but in regard he had been proclaimed without either of their being acquainted with it, whom they themselves were about to proclaim. Notwithstanding, both of them gave their consent to his being made Emperour. After this manner was *Valentinianus Junior* seated on his own Fathers Throne. Further, you must know, that this *Valentinianus* was begotten by *Valentinianus Senior*, of *Justina*, which woman * he married whilest *Severa* his former wife was living, on this occasion. *Justus*, Father to *Justina*, (who heretofore, to wit, in *Constantius*'s Reign, had been Governour of the Province *Picenum*,) had a Dream, wherein (to his own thinking) he saw himself delivered of the Imperial purple [which he brought forth] out of his right side. This Dream being divulged, at length came to *Constantius's* hearing also. He guessing at the meaning of the Dream, to wit, that an Emperour should * descend from *Justus*, sent one who dispatcht him. His daughter *Justina*, bereaved of her Father, for a considerable while continued a Virgin. Some time after, she became known to *Severa*, wife to the Emperour *Valentinianus*, and was continually conversant with the Empress. And after a firm familiarity was contracted between them, she bathed her self also together with her. When therefore *Severa* had seen *Justina* washing her self, she was † wonderfully taken with the Virgins beauteous composure of body, and discoursed concerning her in the Emperours presence; [saying] that that Virgin, *Justus*'s daughter, was endowed with so admirable a compleatness of body, that she her self, although a woman, was notwithstanding inamoured with her delicate shape. The Emperour treasured up his Wives discourse in his mind, and consulted about his marriage of *Justina*; yet so as not to divorce *Severa*, of whom he had begotten *Gratianus*, and had created him *Augustus* but a little before. He therefore dictated a [b] Law, and made it publick throughout every City, that any one that would, might have two Lawfull wives. This Law was promulged. And he married *Justina*, by whom he had *Valentinianus Junior*, and three daughters, *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*. The two former of which persisted in their resolution of continuing Virgins: but *Galla* was afterwards married to the Emperour * *Theodosius the Great*, of whom he begat a daughter, by name *Placidia*. For he had *Arcadius* and *Honorius* by [c] *Flaccilla* his former wife. But we shall speak in particular concerning *Theodosius*, and his sons, in due place.

* Or, *persons unworthy of praise.*

† That is, of the whole nation of the *Sarmatæ*.

‖ Or, *trample upon.*

[a] We met with a double mistake here, the one committed by *Socrates*'s Transcribers, the other by *Socrates* himself. We have corrected the Transcribers errour (who, in stead of *Acincum*, had made it *Aconcum*,) from the Authority of the *Sfortian* and *Florent.* M. SS. It will be sufficient only to take notice of *Socrates*'s mistake here; who calls *Acincum* a City of *Italy*, whenas it belonged to *Pannonia*. Vales.

* That is, To *Gratianus*.

† To wit, *Valens*'s brother's son.

* That is, *Valentinianus Senior.*

[b] There is no mention of this law of *Valentinianus*'s, any where. No, not in *Amm. Marcellinus*, who has with great accuracy recorded *Valentinianus*'s affaires. Indeed such a law as this (in my judgment) is in no wise agreeable to *Valentinian*, a serious Prince, and a Christian. Therefore, this whole story of *Justina*'s marriage, is in my opinion, of a credit doubtfull and uncertain. *Vales.*

* Or, *Theodosius Senior.*

[c] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* calls her (not *Placida*, but) *Flaccilla*; which is truest. For so the ancient Coynes term her. But, 'tis strange that *Greek* writers should so frequently be mistaken in this name. For we have remark't before, that *Placitus* is by *Socrates* often used, instead of *Flaccillus*, who was Bishop of *Antioch*. Further, this *Flaccilla* was the daughter of that *Antonius*, who was *Consul* with *Sigrius*, as *Themistius* informs us, in *his Gratiarum Actione*, to *Theodosius*, for the peace made with the *Goths*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Philosopher Themistius. *And, that* Valens, *appeased by the Oration he spake to him, did in some measure mitigate his Persecution against the* Christians.

VAlens, making his Residence at *Antioch*, continued in the interim undisturbed by forreign Wars. For the *Barbarians* did on every side contain themselves within their own Territories. But he * Persecuted those who embraced the *Homoöusian* opinion, in a most grievous manner, and every day invented greater and more acute punishments [to be inflicted] on them. Till such time as the Philosopher *Themistius* reduced his great cruelty to something of a moderation,

* Or, *warred against.*

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ration, by that [a] Speech he ſpake to him; wherein the Philoſopher advertizes the Emperour, *that he ought not to admire at the diſagreement of Opinions amongſt the Chriſtians. For, that the diſcrepancy of ſentiments amongſt them was ſmall, if compared with the multitude and confuſion of Opinions amongſt the* Grecians. *For they entertained above three hundred Opinions.* [*Further,*] *that as touching Opinion there would of neceſſity ariſe a wonderfull diſſent* [*from the variety thereof.*] *And yet, that God is delighted with this difference of Opinion* [*concerning himſelf,*] *to the end that all perſons may more highly revere his Majeſty, even upon this very account, becauſe 'tis not obvious and eaſie to have a knowledge of him.* The Philoſopher having ſpoken theſe and ſuch like words as theſe to the Emperour, he became more mild in future. Notwithſtanding, his rage was not hereby perfectly and entirely appeaſed; but, inſtead of death, he impoſed Exile as a puniſhment, upon Eccleſiaſtick perſons; till at length, this fury of his alſo was repreſt by this accident.

[a] This Oration of *Themiſtius*'s to *Valens*, is at this time extant, publiſhed in *Latine* by *Duditius*. For, what *Socrates* ſays *Themiſtius* ſpoke in that oration concerning the difference of Philoſophick opinions, occurs in *Duditius*'s Verſion, at pag. 507: the words are theſe;

Artes quidem, quarum magnus in vitâ uſus & delectatio eſt, &c. *Indeed, thoſe Arts, of which there is great uſe in this life, and which are very delightfull, had never arrived at ſuch an height and elegancy, had there not been a diſcrepancy of judgments, and a certain ſtriſe amongſt the Artiſts themſelves. For, has not Philoſophy it ſelf (the Mother of all laudable Arts.) raiſed from mean and ſmall beginnings, increaſed by the diſſent of Learned men in ſuch a manner, that nothing may ſeem wanting to its abſolute perfection?* Further, what *Socrates* ſays was ſpoken by *Themiſtius* in that oration, to wit, *that God is deſirous of this variety of opinions concerning himſelf, that men may have a greater reverence for the Majeſty of his Deity, becauſe the knowledge of his divinity is in no wiſe obvious and eaſily attainable*; occurs in *Duditius*'s Verſion, at pag. 508: where 'tis thus worded: *Quocirca quod à cognitione noſtrâ ſe longiſſimè removit,* &c. *Wherefore, in regard he has removed himſelf at the greateſt diſtance from our knowledge, nor does humble himſelf to the capacity of our wits; 'tis a ſufficient argument, that he does not require one and the ſame Law and Rule of Religion from all perſons, but leaves every man a Licence and faculty of thinking concerning himſelf, according to his own, not another mans liberty and choice. Whence it alſo happens, that a greater admiration of the Deity, and a more Religious veneration of his Eternal Majeſty, is ingendred in the minds of men. For, it uſually comes to paſs, that we loath and diſregard thoſe things which are readily apparent, and proſtrated to every underſtanding,* &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Goths, *under the Reign of* Valens, *embraced Chriſtianity.*

THoſe *Barbarians* who dwell beyond the *Danube*, having kindled a Civil War amongſt themſelves, were divided into two parties: the one of which was headed by *Fritigernes*, the other by *Athanarichus*. When 'twas apparent that *Athanarichus*'s party was the ſtronger, *Fritigernes* flies to the *Romans*, and implored their aſſiſtance againſt his Adverſary. This is made known to the Emperour *Valens*: and he orders thoſe Souldiers, who were engarriſoned all over *Thracia* for the defence of that Country, to aſſiſt the *Barbarians* being at War againſt the *Barbarians*. And they obtain a Victory over *Athanarichus* beyond the *Danube*, having * routed his Forces. This was the reaſon, that many of the *Barbarians* became *Chriſtians*. For, *Fritigernes*, that he might expreſs his thankfulneſs to the Emperour for the kindneſs he had done him, embraced the Emperours Religion, and perſwaded thoſe under his command to the ſame. Wherefore, many of the *Goths* are even till this preſent addicted to *Arianiſme*, having at that time become Adherents to that Hereſie upon the Emperours account. At the ſame time alſo, *Ulfila* Biſhop of the *Goths*, invented *Gothick* Letters, and having tranſlated the ſacred Scriptures into the *Gothick* Language, undertook the inſtruction of the *Barbarians* in the divine Oracles. But, in regard *Ulfila* inſtructed not only thoſe *Barbarians* under *Fritigernes*, but them alſo who pay'd obedience to *Athanarichus*, in the Chriſtian Religion; *Athanarichus*, * as if violence were offered to the Religion of his Anceſtours, inflicted puniſhments on many of thoſe who profeſt Chriſtianity: in ſo much that at that time [ſeveral] *Arianizing Barbarians* were Martyrs. Indeed, *Arius*, unable to refute the Opinion of *Sabellius* the *Lybian*, fell from the true Faith, and aſſerted [a] the Son of God to be a new God. But the *Barbarians*, embracing Chriſtianity with a ſimplicity of mind, deſpiſed this preſent life in reſpect of the faith of Chriſt. Thus far concerning thoſe [*Goths*] who came over to the *Chriſtian* Religion.

* Or, having routed the Enemy.

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* Or, *in regard his paternal Religion was adulterated.*

[a] Inſtead of [*the Son of God to be new*] which is the vulgar reading; in the *Sfort.* and *Florent.* M. SS. the reading is [*the Son of God to be a new God*;] accordingly we have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That the Goths *vanquiſhed by other* Barbarians, *fled into the Territories of the* Romans, *and were received by the Emperour. Which* [*reception of theirs*] *was the occaſion, both of the deſtruction of the* Roman *Empire, and alſo of the Emperours own overthrow.*

BUt, not long after, the *Barbarians* having entred into a league of friendſhip with one another, were again vanquiſhed by other *Barbarians*, their neighbours, called the *Hunni*; and being driven out of their own Country, they flie into the *Roman* Territories, promiſing they would ſerve the *Roman* Emperour, and do what ever he ſhould command them. This came to *Valens*'s knowledge; who foreſeeing nothing, gave order that the Suppliants ſhould have a kind and mercifull reception, ſhewing himſelf in this one inſtance only, mild and compaſſionate. He aſſigns therefore to them [for their habitation] the parts of *Thracia*; judging himſelf to be in a moſt eſpecial manner fortunate upon this account. For, it was his ſentiment, that he ſhould in future be in poſſeſſion of a ready and well furniſhed Army againſt his Enemies: and he hoped, that the *Barbarians* would be a more terrible Gaurd [to the limits of his Empire] than the *Romans*. Upon this account, he in future neglected the increaſing and filling up of the *Roman* Milice. He deſpiſed thoſe old Souldiers, who in former Wars had fought againſt his Enemies with much courage and gallantry: and he [a] put a money-value upon that *Militia*, which the Inhabitants of Pro-

[a] In the *Florent.* M. S. the reading is [ἐξηργείασεν, *be reduced into money,*] which, if I miſtake not, is the truer. Notwithſtanding, the common reading (to wit, ἐξηργύρησεν, *he put a money-value upon,*) is found, and needs no alteration. For *Chryſoſtom* uſes this term in this ſenſe, in *his 67 Homily on Matth.* 21. The *old Gloſſes* expound ἐξαργυρίζεται by *Adarat, he values by money.* Further, what *Socrates* remarks here, (to wit, that *Valens*, inſtead of ſupplies of Souldiers, did afterwards exact Gold of his Provinces,) is alſo related by *Amm. Marcellinus*, book. 31. pag. 441. which place, becauſe 'tis corrupt even in our Edition, I will here ſet down, as it ought to be amended: *Eruditis adulatoribus in majus fortunam principis extollentibus: quod ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia* [not, Thracenſes nec opinanti offerrent, But] *trahens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum ſuis & alieniginis viribus, invictum haberet exercitum; & pro militari ſupplemento quod provinciatim annuum pendebatur, theſauris accederet auri cumulus magnus.* Valeſ.

vinces

VALENS

vinces were wont Village by Village to contribute and furnish out, ordering his Tribute Collectours to demand eighty * Crowns instead of each Souldier, although he had not before in the least lightened or abated their Impositions. This was the original cause of the *Roman* Empire's being very unfortunate for some small time.

* Χρυσίνους; they were Gold, and of about a Crown value.

CHAP. XXXV.

That the Emperour, by reason of his care and sollicitude about a War with the Goths, *remitted something of his Persecution against the* Christians.

FOr, the *Barbarians* having been put into possession of *Thracia*, and quietly enjoying that *Roman* Province, could not [with moderation] bear their fortunate success: but enter upon a War against those who had been their Benefactours, and subverted all places throughout *Thracia* and the adjoyning Countries. These things falling out after this manner, came to *Valens*'s hearing, and made him desist from banishing those that embraced the *Homoöusian* Opinion. For, being troubled at this news, he left *Antioch* forthwith, and came to *Constantinople*. Upon the same account also, the War [he had waged] against the *Christians* in that City, was finished. Moreover, at the same time *Euzoius*, Bishop of the *Arian* faction at *Antioch*, departed this life, in the fifth Consulate of *Valens*, and in *Valentinianus Juniors*'s first. And *Dorotheus* is constituted [Bishop] in his place.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That the Saracens *also at that time embraced the Faith of Christ, (a woman, by name* Mavia, *being their Queen,) and took one* Moses, *a pious and faithfull person that led a Monastick life, to be their Bishop.*

AFter the Emperours departure from *Antioch*, the *Saracens*, who before had been their Allies, revolted from the *Romans* at that time; they were led by one *Mavia* a woman, [the King] her Husband being then dead. All places therefore [a] towards the East, were at that time destroyed by the *Saracens*. But an Act of Divine providence repress'd their fury by this means. A person whose name was *Moses*, by extract a *Saracen*, leading a Monastick life in the Solitudes, became exceedingly eminent for his piety, Faith, and Miracles. *Mavia*, Queen of the *Saracens*, requested she might have this person to be Bishop over her Nation, [promising] upon this condition to put an end to the War. The *Roman* Commanders hearing this, supposed it would be gratefull, if a Peace were made upon these terms: and forthwith gave order for the performance hereof with all possible celerity. *Moses* therefore was seized, and brought from the Solitudes to *Alexandria*, [b] in order to his being initiated into the Sacerdotal Function.

[a] Instead of [κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν, *under the East*] I read [πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, *towards the East.*] *Vales.*

[b] Instead of [δεξάμενον, *having been initiated*] we read [δεξόμενον, *in order to his being initiated*, &c.] Further, this story concerning *Moses*'s being made Bishop of the *Saracens*, and concerning the Peace made with them, *Socrates* has taken out of *Rufinus*, book 2. chap. 6. *Eccles. Hist.* but has not observed *Rufinus*'s order. For *Rufinus* has placed it about the beginning of *Lucius*'s Episcopate, after the persecution of the *Edessens*, not at the latter end of *Valens*'s Reign. And I had rather follow *Rufinus*'s opinion, than that of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. The motive I have to be of this opinion, is grounded on *Socrates*'s words at the close of this chapter, where he says, that *Mavia* the Queen, having made a Peace with the *Romans*, betrothed her daughter to *Victor* the *Roman Lieutenant General*. Now, *Victor*, about the latter end of *Valens*'s Reign, was too old to have any thoughts of marrying a wife. *Vales.*

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But in regard he was brought before *Lucius*, who at that time was in possession of the Churches there, he refused Ordination, and express himself after this manner to *Lucius*. *Indeed, I account my self unworthy of the Sacerdotal Function; But if this thing be advantagious to the affairs of the publick,* Lucius *shall not* * *Ordain me, for his right hand has been filled with bloud.* When *Lucius* told him, that he ought not to give reproachfull language, but should rather learn the points of Religion from him; *Moses* replied; *an account of the points* [of Religion] *is not now required. For the villanous actions you have committed against the Brethren, do sufficiently demonstrate, how Christian-like sentiments you have. For a Christian strikes not, reviles not, does not fight: for a Servant of the Lord ought not to fight. But your facts do loudly cry out, by those who have been exiled, who have been cast to the wild beasts, and who have been committed to the flames.* [*Moreover,*] *things seen by the eyes contain a greater and more convincing demonstration, than what is received by hearing.* When *Moses* had said these and such like words as these, his friends carried him to the mountain, that he might receive Ordination from those [Bishops] who lived in Exile there. *Moses* therefore having been after this manner consecrated at that time, the *Saracen* War had an end put to it; and for the future *Mavia* continued so strict an * Alliance with the *Romans*, that she betrothed her daughter to *Victor* the *Roman Lieutenant General*. Thus much concerning the *Saracens*.

* Or, Lay his hand on me.

* Or, Peace.

CHAP. XXXVII.

That after Valens's *departure from* Antioch *the* Orthodox *in the* East *(more especially those at* Alexandria *) took courage; and having ejected* Lucius, *restored the Churches again to* Peter, [*who was returned*] *fortified with the Letters of* Damasus *Bishop of* Rome.

AT the same time that the Emperour *Valens* left *Antioch*, those persons in all places who had been persecuted, were mightily encouraged, especially the *Alexandrians*; [a] *Peter* at that time returning from *Rome* with the Letters of *Damasus* the *Roman* Bishop, whereby the *Homoöusian* Faith and *Peters* Ordination were confirmed. The populace therefore resuming courage, turn out *Lucius*, and substitute *Peter* in his place. *Lucius* went immediately on board a ship, and sailed to *Constantinople*. But *Peter*, having lived but a little while after this, dyed, and left *Timotheus* his brother to succeed him in his See.

[a] Instead of [Πέτρου τοῦ ἐπαναλθόντος, *and Peter being returned,*] the reading should be [Πέτρου τότε ἐπαναλθόντος, *Peter at that time returning:*] and the full-point, which is (in some copies) placed before these words, must be expunged. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* seems to have followed this reading. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That the Emperour arriving at the City Conſtantinople, *and being reproach't by the people upon account of the* Goths, *marches out of the City againſt the* Barbarians. *And coming to an ingagement with them near* Adrianople, *a City of* Macedonia, *is ſlain by them; after he had lived fifty years, and Reigned ſixteen.*

[MOreover,] the Emperour *Valens* coming into *Conſtantinople* about the thirtieth of *May*, in his own ſixth and in *Valentinianus Junior*'s ſecond Conſulate, finds the people in a very ſad and dejected condition. For the *Barbarians*, who had already overrun and ruined *Thracia*, did now plunder and deſtroy the very Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; there being then no Forces ready that were fit to make a reſiſtance againſt them. But when the *Barbarians* attempted to make nearer approaches, even to the very City walls, the Citizens were grievouſly troubled thereat; and murmured againſt the Emperour, as if he himſelf had brought the Enemy thither, and becauſe he did not forthwith march out againſt them, but deferred the War againſt the *Barbarians*. Moreover, when the *Cirque* Sports were exhibited, all with one conſent exclaimed againſt the Emperour, becauſe he was negligent of the publick affairs. They cried out therefore with a great deal of earneſtneſs, *Give us Arms, and we our ſelves will fight*. The Emperour was highly incenſed at the hearing of theſe Exclamations againſt himſelf: and about the eleventh of *June* [a] marches out of the City, threatning that if he returned, he would puniſh the *Conſtantinopolitans*, both for the reproaches they then caſt upon him, and alſo becauſe they had heretofore been Abettours of *Procopius*'s Tyranny. Having therefore ſaid, that he would totally demoliſh the City, and * Plough it up, he march't out againſt the *Barbarians*. Whom he drove a great way from the City; and purſued them as far as *Adrianople* a City of *Thracia*, ſituate in the Frontiers of *Macedonia*. Ingaging the *Barbarians* at that place, he ended his life on the ninth of *Auguſt*, in the now mentioned Conſulate. This was the fourth year of the [b] two hundredth eighty ninth *Olympiad*. 'Tis reported by ſome, that he was deſtroyed by fire, after he had taken refuge in a certain Village, which the *Barbarians* aſſaulted and burnt. But others affirm, that having changed his Imperial habit, he ran into the midſt of the main body of Foot: and when the Horſe attempted a defection, and refuſed fighting; the *Roman* Foot were ſurrounded [by the *Barbarians*,] and wholly cut off in the ingagement: amongſt whom ('tis ſaid) the Emperour lay, but was not known, his Imperial habit (whereby it might have been manifeſted which was he,) being not upon him. He died after the fiftieth year of his age, having Governed the Empire thirteen years with his Brother, and Reigned three years after him. This Book containes [an account of affairs during] the ſpace of ſixteen years.

[a] The reading muſt be [ὑπεκβαίνει, *marches out*;] not [ὑπερβαίνει, *paſſes by*.] Moreover, the ſame days [which *Socrates* here aſſignes for *Valens*'s entry into, and march out of, *Conſtantinople*,] are recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti*, in theſe words: *Valente* VI. *& Valentiniano* II. &c. *In Valens's ſixth and Valentinianus's ſecond Conſulate, Valens Auguſtus entred Conſtantinople, from the Eaſt, on the third of the Calends of June* [that is, the thirtieth of *May*.] *And on the ſame year Valens Auguſtus went out of the City to the Fort on the third of the Ides* [that is, the eleventh] *of June*. Valeſ.

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* The Ancients made uſe of a Plough, both at their demoliſhing, and alſo at their raiſing of a City. See *Horace*, *Carm. Lib.* 1. *Od.* 16.

[b] It ſhould be διακοσιοστῇ, not διακοσιῇ. It was uſuall with Tranſcribers of books, for brevities ſake, to write theſe words thus. For they wrote διακοσοῖς, and πεντακοσοῖς, inſtead of διακοσιοστοῖς and πεντακοσιοστοῖς. *Valeſ.*

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

The PREFACE.

BEfore we begin the Hiſtory of our Fifth Book, we make a requeſt to thoſe who ſhall read this Work of ours, that they would not blame us; becauſe, deſigning to Write an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, we intermix therewith the Wars alſo which have at ſeveral times hapned, ſo far as we could procure a true Relation thereof. For we do this upon ſeveral accounts. Firſt, to bring [the Readers] to a knowledge of what has been Tranſacted. Secondly, that our Readers may not be cloy'd, [a] by being continually detained with [a peruſal of] the contentious diſagreements of Biſhops, and with the deſignes they framed againſt one another. But moſt eſpecially, that it might be made apparent, that when the Affairs of the State were diſturbed, thoſe of the Church alſo (by a certain ſympathy as it were,) became diſtempered and diſordered. For, let any man make an obſervation, and he will find, that the miſchiefs of the State, and troubles of the Church, have gathered ſtrength and ſpread together. For, he will perceive, that they have either had their riſe at one and the ſame time, or elſe have immediately followed one another. And ſometimes [the calamities] of the Church lead the way; then follow the [commotions of the] State: at others, on the contrary. So that, I cannot perſwade my ſelf, that the interchangeable courſe [of theſe things] does proceed from any fortuitous accident, but that they take their beginnings from our iniquities: and that calamities are ſent for the chaſtizement thereof. For, according to the Apoſtle, † Some mens ſins are open before hand, going before to judgment: and ſome [men] they follow after. *Upon this account therefore, we have interwoven ſome affairs tranſacted in the State, with our Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory. What was done in the Wars during the Reign of* Conſtantine, *becauſe 'tis ſo long ago, we could not find an account of. But we make a curſory mention of the Actions done ſince, according to the relation thereof, which we have received from perſons yet living. We do, without intermitting any one of them, include the Emperours in this our Hiſtory, becauſe from ſuch time as they began to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, the affairs of the Church have depended upon them; and the greateſt Synods have been, and at this preſent are* * *convened by their determination and appointment. Moreover, we have made mention of the* Arian *Hereſie, becauſe it has diſquieted the Churches. Let this be ſufficient to have been ſaid by way of Preface. We will now begin our Hiſtory.*

GRATIANUS, VALENTINIANUS, Junior.

[a] Inſtead of [ἐκ τῦ μὴ γοᾶζειν] I read [ἐκ τῦ ἀεὶ γοᾶζειν, *by being continually detained.*] For a repetition of the negative particle is inelegant and nauſeous; in regard theſe words [*may not be cloy'd*] do precede. For, after them, an affirmation ought to follow. *Valeſ.*

† 1 Tim. 5. 24.

* The Reader may obſerve from this paſſage, in whoſe power it was in thoſe days, to ſummon General Synods.

CHAP. I.

How (after the death of Valens,*) when the* Goths *laid Siege to* Conſtantinople, *the Citizens ſallied out of the City againſt them, having thoſe* Saracens *who were under* Mavia's *Command, to be their Auxiliaries.*

AFter the Emperour *Valens* had ended his life by an unknown ſort of death, the *Barbarians* made their approaches again to the very walls of *Conſtantinople*, and ruined the Suburbs on every ſide of it. The Citizens, ſorely vexed thereat, on their own accord ſallied out againſt the *Barbarians*, every one taking what came next to hand for Arms. * *Dominica*, the Emperours Wife, gave every one that went out upon this piece of ſervice, ſuch pay out of the Imperial Treaſury, as was uſually allowed to Souldiers. Some few *Saracens*, their Confederates, aſſiſted them; being ſent from *Mavia*, whom we have mentioned before. When the Citizens had after this manner made a reſiſtance againſt them at that time, the *Barbarians* retreated farther off from the City.

* Or, *Domnica.*

CHAP. II.

That the Emperour Gratianus, *having recalled the Orthodox Biſhops from their Exile, drove the Hereticks out of the Churches, and took* Theodoſius *to be his Colleague in the Empire.*

GRratianus being together with *Valentinianus Junior* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, and deteſting his Unkle *Valens*'s cruelty towards the *Chriſtians*, recalled thoſe who had been Exiled by him. Moreover, he made a [a] Law, that perſons of all Sects might, without any diſtinction, ſecurely meet together in their Oratories: only the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Manichæans*, were extruded out of the Churches. Being alſo ſenſible of the languiſhing condition of the *Roman* Empire, and of the growth of the *Barbarians*; and [perceiving alſo] that the State was in want of a valiant and couragious man; he chuſes *Theodoſius* (a perſon deſcended of a noble family in *Spain*, who had performed many a brave piece of ſervice in the Wars, and upon that account had by all men been long ſince judged worthy of the Empire, even before *Gratianus*'s Election of him,) to be his Colleague in the Empire. Having therefore proclaimed him Emperour in *Sirmium*, a City of *Illyricum*, in the Conſulate of *Auſonius* and *Olybrius*, on the ſixteenth of *January* he divides with him the care of managing the War againſt the *Barbarians*.

[a] *Sozomen* mentions this Law of *Gratianus*'s, book 7. chap. 1. and ſo does *Theodoret*, book 5. chap. 2. who ſays that *Sapor*, Lieutenant-General, was ſent by *Gratianus* into the Eaſtern parts of the Empire, to put this Law in Execution. That happened in the year of Chriſt 378.

This Law of *Gratianus*'s is not now extant. And yet it ſeems to be mentioned in the *fifth Law* in the *Theodoſian Code*, *de fide Catholica*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

What Biſhops were in poſſeſſion of the Preſidency over the greater Churches at that time.

AT this time *Damaſus* Preſided over the Church at *Rome*, who had ſucceeded *Liberius*. *Cyrillus* was as yet in poſſeſſion of the Church at *Jeruſalem*. The *Antiochian* Church (as I have ſaid,) was divided into three parts. For *Dorotheus* the *Arian*, ſucceſſour to *Euzoïus*, was poſſeſt of the Churches. Of the reſt one part paid obedience to *Paulinus*, the other to *Melitius*, who was recalled from Baniſhment. *Lucius*, although * living in Exile, Preſided over the *Arians* at *Alexandria*: the profeſſours of the *Homoöuſian* opinion in that City were headed by *Timotheus*, ſucceſſour to *Peter*. *Demophilus* was in poſſeſſion of the Churches at *Conſtantinople*, who ſucceeded *Eudoxius* in the Preſidency over the *Arian* Faction. Thoſe that abominated communion with him, celebrated their aſſemblies apart by themſelves.

* Ἐν φυγῇ διάγων; *living in Exile*. *Lucius* was not baniſhed; the people of *Alexandria* forced him to leave that City: See *Socrates*, book 4. chap. 37.

CHAP. IV.

How the Macedoniani, *who had ſent an Embaſſy to* Damaſus [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome *in defence of the* Homoöuſian *Creed, returned again to their old Hereſie.*

THe *Macedoniani*, after their Embaſſy ſent to *Liberius*, for ſome time held a perfect and entire communion with the Churches throughout every City; intermixing themſelves with thoſe, who from the beginning had embraced that Draught of the Creed [publiſh't] at *Nicæa*, But when the Emperour *Gratianus*'s Law [was promulged, which] allowed a Liberty to [ſeveral] Sects, they made it their buſineſs * to hold ſeparate aſſemblies again. Being met together at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they determined again, that the term *Homoöuſios* was to be abominated, and that a communion was not in any wiſe to be held with thoſe who embraced the *Nicene* Creed. But † they proceeded not in their attempt. For many of their own party, finding fault with their [inconſtancy,] becauſe ſometimes they Decreed one thing, at others another, left them, and in future became firm Adherents to thoſe that embraced the *Homoöuſian* Creed.

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* Or, *to diſſent again.*

† Or, *they reapt no benefit, or delight, from their attempt.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning what hapned at that time at Antioch, *upon* Paulinus's, *and* Melitius's *account.*

MOreover, at the ſame time aroſe a great difference at *Antioch* in *Syria*, upon *Meletius*'s account. We have told you * already, that *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, by reaſon of his eminent piety, was not baniſhed: and that *Melitius*, after he had been reſtored by † *Julianus*, was again baniſhed by * *Valens*, and at length recalled in || *Gratianus*'s Reign. At his return to *Antioch*, he found *Paulinus* very much decayed by reaſon of his great age. Immediately therefore all thoſe who were *Meletius*'s favourers, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make *Melitius Paulinus*'s * *Coadjutor*. But, upon *Paulinus*'s ſaying, that it was contrary to the Canons, to admit of a *Coadjutor* who had been Ordained by the *Arians*; the people make uſe of force, and cauſe him to be Conſecrated in one of the Churches without the City. Hereupon a great difference aroſe; But afterwards the people came to an agreement upon theſe terms. Having aſſembled † thoſe perſons that were reputed fit to be entruſted with the Biſhoprick, they find them to be in all ſix; of which number *Flavianus* was one. They bound theſe men by an Oath, that none of them ſhould make an intereſt for the Biſhoprick, after the death of one of the * Prelates; but that they ſhould permit the Surviver to continue poſſeſt of the See of the perſon deceaſed. Having given them an Oath after this manner, the people came to an agreement, nor was there any further diſſention amongſt them. But, the † *Luciferiani* made a ſeparation from the reſt, for this reaſon, becauſe *Melitius*, who had been Ordained by the *Arians*, was admitted to the Biſhoprick. Whilſt affairs at *Antioch* were in this poſture, a very urgent occaſion oblieged *Melitius* to take a journey to *Conſtantinople*.

* Book 4. chap. 2.

† Book 3. chap. 9.

* Book 4. chap. 2.

|| See Book 5. chap. 2.

* Or, *Colleague in the Biſhoprick.*

† Τὰς τῶν ἱερέως εἰς Ἐπισκοπὴν.

* That is, *Melitius*, and *Paulinus*.

† See Book 3. chap. 9.

CHAP. VI.

That Gregorius *of* Nazianzum *was by a general ſuffrage of the Orthodox conſtituted Biſhop of the* Conſtantinopolitan *Church; at which time the Emperour* Theodoſius *(after his Victory over the* Barbarians,) *fell ſick at* Theſſalonica, *and was Baptized by* Aſcholius *the Biſhop.*

AT which time, *Gregorius* was tranſlated from the Biſhoprick of *Nazianzum* to that of *Conſtantinople*, by the common ſuffrage of many Prelates.

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Prelates. And this was done in such a manner [as I have declared.] About the same time the Emperours, *Gratianus* and *Theodosius*, got each of them a Victory over the *Barbarians*. *Gratianus* * returned immediately into the *Gallia's*, because the *Alamanni* overran those Provinces. But *Theodosius*, after [he had erected] his Trophies, hastned to *Constantinople*, and arrives at *Thessalonica*. There he fell sick, and earnestly desired that he might be vouchsafed Christian Baptism: for by his progenitours he had been bred up in the Christian Religion, and was a professour of the *Homoöusian* Faith. Being desirous with all possible speed to be baptized, because his distemper increased, and having [for that reason] sent for the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, he first enquired of him, what Faith he profest. And when the Bishop had made answer, that the opinion of the *Arians* had not invaded the Provinces of *Illyricum*, and that the novelty which *Arius* had given birth too, was not so prevalent as to prey upon the Churches in those Countries; but that they continued to preserve that Faith immoveable and unshaken, which from the beginning was delivered by the Apostles, and had been confirmed in the *Nicene* Synod; [upon this answer] the Emperour was most willingly baptized by *Ascholius* the Bishop. Not many days after [*Theodosius*] recovered of his distemper, and came to *Constantinople* about the twenty fourth of *November*, in *Gratianus's* fifth and his own first Consulate.

* Or, *Marched.*

CHAP. VII.

That when Gregorius *was come to* Constantinople, *and some Bishops murmured at his Translation; he refused the presidency over the Church. And, the Emperour orders* Demophilus *the* Arian *Bishop, either to give his assent to the* Homoöusian *Faith, or else to go out of the City; which latter he chose rather to do.*

AT that time *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*, being [a] translated [to *Constantinople*,] celebrated his assemblies within the City, in a small Oratory. Whereto the Emperours afterwards joyned a stately Church, and named it [b] *Anastasia*. But *Gregorius* (a person for eloquence and piety far more eminent than all men of his own time,) perceiving that some murmured [at his translation,] because he was a stranger; after he had expresst his joy for the Emperours arrival, refused to make any longer stay at *Constantinople*. The Emperour finding the Church in this posture, was very sollicitous, how he might make Peace, procure an Union, and enlarge the Churches. Immediately therefore he opens his mind to *Demophilus*, who presided over the *Arian* Sect, [and makes a proposal to him] whether he would give his assent to the [Creed publisht at the] *Nicene* Synod, unite the people, and embrace Peace. Upon *Demophilus's* refusing to comply with his proposition; *If then* (said the Emperour) *you eschew Peace and Concord, We order you to quit the Churches.* When *Demophilus* had heard these words, and considered with himself how difficult it was to make a resistance against those in authority and power; he called the multitude together in the Church, and standing up in the midst of them, spake these words on his own account to his followers. Brethren, 'tis written (said he) in the * Gospel; *if they shall Persecute you in this City, flee ye into another.* In regard therefore the Emperour [c] excludes us from the Churches, take notice, that to morrow we will have our Meetings without the City. Having said these words, he went out: not so, as if he apprehended the true meaning contained in this Evangelick Oracle, [the import whereof is,] that such as flee out of the converse of this world, should seek the *Jerusalem* which is above. But he [following another sense of these words, went] out of the City-gates, where for the future he had his Meetings. Together with him went out *Lucius* of *Alexandria*, who having been ejected, as I said * before, made his escape to *Constantinople*, in which City he lived. After this manner therefore the *Arians* (who for the space of fourty years had been in possession of the Churches,) declining the agreement they were invited to by the Emperour *Theodosius*, departed out of the City, in *Gratianus's* fifth and *Theodosius Augustus's* first Consulate, on the twenty sixth of *November*. And the professours of the *Homoöusian* Faith, succeeding in their places, recovered possession of the Churches.

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* See Matt. 10. 23. where 'tis thus worded in the Greek: ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, *but when they shall persecute you in this City.* But here in *Socrates* the words are: ἐὰν ὑμᾶς διώκωσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης; *if they shall persecute you out of this City,* &c.

* Book 4. chap. 37.

[a] Indeed, *Socrates* thought that *Gregorius* had been translated from the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum*, to that of *Constantinople*: which was the opinion of many others also. But *Gregorius* had never been Bishop of *Nazianzum*; he was only his father *Gregorius's* Assistant in that Bishoprick, being sent for thither by his father (then very aged,) out of the Solitudes; whither he had retired after he had accepted of and also refused the Bishoprick of *Sasimi*, in the year of Christ 371; as *Baronius* has remarked. *Vales.*

[b] I am not of *Socrates's* opinion, who says here, that that Church (wherein *Gregorius Nazianzenus* used to Preach the word of God at *Constantinople*,) was by the succeeding Emperours named *Anastasia*. For, in *Gregorius's* own life time this Church was called *Anastasia*; which is apparent, both from *Gregorius's* own Oration, wherein he bids farwell in expres words to *Anastasia*, and *The Apostles*; and also from *his Elegiack concerning the Dream of Anastasia*. Consult *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 378. *Vales.*

[c] We found a far different reading in our *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. For, in both those Copies 'tis thus expresst; ἐκλησιῶν χρήζει, *stands in need of the Churches:* this reading *Epiphan. Scholasticus* has followed, as appears from his Version. For he renders it thus: *Quia igitur Imperator Ecclesiis opus habet, In regard therefore the Emperour has an occasion for the Churches. Nicephorus* maintains the common reading: for instead of [excludes us from] his words are [*drives us out of.*] The Manuscript reading is in my judgment the better. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the hundred and fifty Bishops convened at Constantinople, *and concerning the determinations made by them, after they had Ordained* Nectarius *in that City.*

[After this] the Emperour without any delay, summons a Synod of Bishops [who embraced] his own Faith; that by them the *Nicene* Faith might be confirmed, and a Bishop of *Constantinople* ordained. And because he had some hopes of being able to unite the *Macedoniani* to [a profession of] his own Faith; he summoned the Prelates of that Heresie also. There met therefore of [the Embracers of] the *Homoöusian* Faith, *Timotheus* from *Alexandria*; from *Jerusalem Cyrillus*, who having made a Retractation, at that time assented to the *Homoöusian* Creed: *Melitius* was come thither from *Antioch* before, having been sent for to that City on the account of *Gregorius's* Ordination: also [a] *Ascholius* from *Thessalonica*, and many others.

[a] In the *Sfortian* M. S. both here, and also before, in chap. 6. of this book; this person is called *Acholius*. The *Latins* do commonly give him that name. For so he is called by *Ambrosius*, by *Prosper* in *his Chronicon*, and by *Jordanes* in *his book de successione Regnorum*. But the *Greeks* do usually term him *Ascholius*. This is the *Ascholius*, concerning whose death, Virtues, and Miracles, Saint *Ambrosius* writes, in *his* 59th [b] *Epistle to the Clergy of Thessalonica*. Where he says, that *Anysius* his Schollar succeeded him. *Vales.*

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They were in all an hundred and fifty. The principal perſons of the *Macedonian* party, were *Eleuſius* of *Cyzicum*, and *Marcianus* [Biſhop] of *Lampſacus*. [Of this Sect] there were thirty ſix [Biſhops,] moſt of whom came from the Cities about the *Helleſpont*. They met therefore in the Conſulate of *Eucharius* and *Evagrius*, in the month of *May*. The Emperour, and the Biſhops that embraced his Creed, did their utmoſt, to bring *Eleuſius* and his followers over to their own ſide; putting them in remembrance of the * Embaſſy, which they had ſent by *Euſtathius* to *Liberius* heretofore Biſhop of *Rome*: and [b] that not long ſince they themſelves had entred into a promiſcuous communion [with the Orthodox,] on their own accord: And that they, having once acknowledged and profeſt an agreement in the [points of] Faith, did not do what was right and honeſt, now to attempt a ſubverſion of what had been well and wiſely determined by themſelves. But the *Macedoniani*, little regarding either admonitions, or reproofs, choſe rather to profeſs the *Arian* opinion, than to give their aſſent to the *Homoöuſian* Creed. Having made this anſwer, they departed from *Conſtantinople*; and wrote to their followers in every City, ordering them in no wiſe to give their conſent to the Creed of the *Nicene* Synod. But the [Prelates] of the † other party ſtaied [at *Conſtantinople*,] and entred into a Conſult about the ordination of a Biſhop. For *Gregorius*, as we have told you a little before, refuſed the Biſhoprick, and prepared for his departure to *Nazianzum*. There was a perſon by name *Nectarius*, [a deſcendant] of a *Senatorian* family, a ſweet tempered man, admirable for his whole courſe of life, [c] although he bore the *Prætors* Office. This perſon the people ſeized upon, elected him Biſhop, and he was Ordained by the hundred and fifty Prelates then preſent. Moreover, at the ſame time [the ſaid Prelates] promulged a ſanction, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould have the [d] priviledges of honour after the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe that City was *New-Rome*. They did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed; and conſtituted [e] Patriarchs, having made a [f] diviſion of the Provinces; that ſo

* See Book 4. chap. 12.

[b] See what *Socrates* has remarked concerning this matter in chap 4. of this Book. *Valeſ.*

† That is, *the Orthodox.*

[c] Inſtead of [καὶ τοὶ, &c. *although*, &c.] I had rather read [καὶ τότε τῷ πρωτοθρόνῳ, &c. *who alſo at that time bore the Prætor's Office.*] *Nicephorus* confirms our emendation; for he words it thus: καὶ διὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν θαυμαζόμενον, &c. *and admirable, as I may ſay, for all things; who then bore the Prætors Office.* Valeſ.

[d] Τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς. They are the very words of the *third Canon of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod*. Whereby the *Conſtantinopolitan* Fathers do confer upon the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* a Precedency, or Primacy of honour only; but give him nothing of a Metropolitical or patriarchical power, or juriſdiction. This is evident, not only from the cautious expreſſion which the Fathers of this Synod make uſe of; (for they give him, not τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς ἐξουσίας, *the priviledges of power or juriſdiction*, nor *priviledges in general*; but they beſtow on him only τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς, *the priviledges of honour:*) but alſo from theſe very words themſelves, compared with the *ſecond Canon of this Conſtantinopolitan Synod*. For, *in that Canon* the Fathers had made a poſitive ſanction, that a *Diœceſis* ſhould be governed by its Biſhops, (or, by a Synod of all the Biſhops in the ſame *Diœceſis*,) and that the ſaid Biſhops ſhould exerciſe their Eccleſiaſtical power in that *Diœceſis* only: καὶ τοὺς τῆς θρᾴκης τοὺς τῆς θρᾴκης μόνον οἰκονομεῖν, *and that the Biſhops of the Thracican Diœceſis ſhould only govern the* [*Eccleſiaſtick*] *affairs of the ſaid Thracican Diœceſis:* theſe are the very words of the Canon. Now, every body knows, that *Conſtantinople* is ſcituate in the *Thracican Diœceſis*. In regard therefore, that the preſent Fathers had committed the whole government of the *Thracican Diœceſis* to a Synod of all the Biſhops in the ſaid *Diœceſis*; there could nothing remain, which they might aſſign to any other ſingle Biſhop in the ſaid *Diœceſis*, before the reſt of them, ſave only the bare priviledge of honour; which alone they do here confer upon the *Conſtantinopolitan* See ſcituate in the ſame *Diœceſis*. And thus, by the order of this Canon, *Anatolius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* is placed next after *Leo* the Biſhop of *Rome's Legates, in the ſubſcriptions of the Council of Chalcedon*. See *Concil. General.* Edit. Bin. *Paris* 1636. Tom. 3. pag. 452, 453. There occurs an eminent inſtance of this honour due to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Biſhop by vertue of this Canon, in *Synod. Chalced.* Act. 1. vid. Concil. General. Edit. Bin. ut prius Tom. 3. pag. 61, 62. See the *Learned* Dr *Beveredge's Annotat. on the third Canon Concil. Conſtantinop.* pag. 95.

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[e] The firſt mention (if I miſtake not,) of *Chriſtian Patriarchs* (ſo I term them, becauſe the *Jews* had Grand Officers amongſt them thus termed, long before this time;) in any Authour worthy of credit, is at this place in our *Socrates*. However, there is no ſmall ſtir amongſt Learned men, about defining the time wherein theſe Patriarchs were firſt conſtituted in the Chriſtian Church. *Valeſius*, in *his notes on this chap.* and *in his third book of Eccleſiaſtick Obſervations upon Socrates and Sozomen*, does in a great many words aſſert, that the Patriarchical authority was confirmed by *the ſixth Canon of the Nicene Synod*. This aſſertion of his is ſufficiently confuted by Dr *Beveredge*, in *his Annotat. upon that ſixth Canon*, pag. 52. &c. At which place, and in *his notes on the ſecond Canon of the Conſtantinopolitan Council*, pag. 93, 94; the ſaid *Learned Doctor* is of opinion (agreeable to our *Socrates* here,) that Patriarchs were firſt conſtituted by this ſecond Oecumenical Council held at *Conſtantinople*. Nevertheleſs, he grants, that moſt of thoſe priviledges, which Patriarchs afterwards challenged were given them by other Councils. Laſtly, Dr *Barrow's* ſentiment is, *that this Diœceſan* (or Patriarchical) *Form did ſoon after the Nicene Council creep into the Church, without any ſolemn appointment, by a ſpontaneous aſſumption and ſubmiſſion. See his excellent Treatiſe of the Pope's ſupremacy*, pag. 240, &c.

[f] The *Roman* Emperours who preceded *Conſtantine the Great*, committed the chief management of affairs in the Civill State of the Empire to one, or at moſt to two *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. But *Conſtantine the Great* introduced a new partition of the Empire, (as *Zoſimus* tells us, book 2. of *his Hiſtor.* pag. 439, 440, † *dit. Lugd.* 1611;) and divided the management thereof amongſt four *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*: one whereof was *Præfect* of the *Pretorium* in the Eaſt, a ſecond of *Illyricum*, a third of *Italy*, and a fourth of the *Gallia's*. Each of theſe *Præfects* had ſeveral *Diœceſis's* under them: every ſingle *Diœceſis* was a Combination of divers Provinces together into one Territory. What *Diœceſis's* every one of theſe *Præfects* had under their diſtrict, and what and how many Provinces were included in each *Diœceſis*; the learned Reader may ſee in *Guidus Pancirolus's notitia utraque, dignitatum, cùm Orientis, tùm Occidentis, Edit. Lugd.* 1608. From which Author we will Tranſcribe the five *Diœceſis's* (for ſo many he has under him,) of the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* of the *Eaſt*, as they occur at fol. 3, and 4, of *his Comment:* becauſe they are neceſſary in order to the clear underſtanding of what we have to ſay further here. *Sub diſpoſitione virorum Illuſtrium Præfectorum Prætorio per Orientem.* &c. *Under the diſpoſe of the Illuſtrious the Præfects of the Prætorium throughout the Eaſt, are theſe Diœceſis's underwritten, The Eaſt, Egypt, the Aſian, Pontick, and Thracican Diœceſis's.*

The Provinces of the Eaſt [or Eaſtern Diœceſis] *are* XV.	*Paleſtina, Phœnice, Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Arabia. And the Dux* (Commander) *and Comes* (Earl) *of the Milites. Iſauria, Paleſtina Salutaris, Paleſtina ſecunda, Phœnice Libani, Euphratenſis, Syria Salutaris, Oſrhöena, Meſopotamia, Cilicia ſecunda.*
The Provinces of Egypt [or Ægyptick Diœceſis.] *are* VI.	*Libya ſuperior, Libya inferior, Thebais, Ægyptus, Arcadia, Auguſtanica.*
The Provinces of the Aſian Diœceſis X.	*Pamphylia, Helleſpontus, Lydia, Piſidia, Lycäonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Lycia, Caria, Inſulæ.*
The Provinces of the Pontick diœceſis XI.	*Galatia, Bithynia, Honorias, Cappadocia prima, Cappadocia ſecunda, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemaniacus, Hellenopontus, Armenia prima, Armenia ſecunda, Galatia Salutaris.*
The Provinces of the Thracican Diœceſis VI.	*Europa, Thracia, Hæmimontis, Rhodope, Mœſia ſecunda, Scythia.*

In conformity to this model of Government in the Civil State, the Regiment in the Church (which before had been metropolitical, when the Provinces were independent on each other in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations,) was adapted. This *Diœceſan form* of Governance might, 'tis probable, privately creep into the Church, in that interval of time between the *Nicene* and *Conſtantinopolitan* Councils; which is the opinion of Dr *Barrow* (See note *(e.)* in this chapter.) But, 'tis certain, it was confirmed by the Fathers convened in this *ſecond Oecumenical Synod*; which ſanction they made upon this occaſion. A little before the ſummoning of this Synod, *Melitius* Biſhop of *Antioch* in the *Eaſt*, took a journey to *Conſtantinople*, where he, together with ſome other Biſhops promoted *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum* to the *Conſtantinopolitan* See. So *Sozomen* tells us, book 7. chap. 3 and 7. Soon after *Melitius* had done this, *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſent ſome Biſhops from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, who ordained *Maximus* the *Cynick* Biſhop of that City. See *Sozomen* book 7. chap. 9. Now, in the Political partition of the *Roman* Empire, (as you may ſee by that Draught we have here given you of the

Oriental

Oriental-Prætorian-Præfecture,) these three places were in three several *Diœceses*. For, *Antioch* in *Syria* (whence *Melitius* came) was in the *Oriental Diœcesis*: *Alexandria* (from whence the Bishops were sent by *Peter*) was in the *Egyptick Diœcesis*: and *Constantinople* (where these Bishops had celebrated their Episcopal ordinations) was Situate in the *Thracican Diœcesis*. In regard these proceedings had produced a great deal of disorder and confusion in the Church; to remedy this in future, the Fathers convened in this Synod, make a Sanction, (See *Conc. Constantinopol.* II. Can. 2. pag. 87, Edit. *Bevereg.*) that the *Ecclesiastick Diœcesis*'s should have the same Limits with those of the State; and that it should be as unlawfull for Ecclesiastick persons to perform any Office, or do any business belonging to them, without that *Diœcesis* wherein they were placed; as it was for the Civil Minister to intermeddle with any affair without the Limits of his *Diœcesis*. That this had not been duly observed in the Church before this Synod, but that Prelates made frequent Excursions out of one *Diœcesis* into another, to ordain, &c; is evident, not only from the instances we have mentioned just now; (where we find *Melitius* who belonged to the *Oriental Diœcesis*, and other Bishops of the *Egyptick Diœcesis*, ordaining a Bishop of *Constantinople*, a City in the *Thracican Diœcesis*:) but also from the Testimony of our *Socrates*, a person who lived soon after the convention of this *Constantinopolitan Synod*; who speaking here concerning its Sanctions, καὶ πατριάρχας κατέστησαν (says he,) διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, &c. *And they constituted Patriarchs, having made a division of the Provinces; that so those Bishops* [*who make their abode*] *without the bounds of their own Diœcesis, should not invade the Churches without their Limits. For this had been promiscuously done before by reason of the Persecutions.* But, notwithstanding that this *Diœcesan form* (in imitation of the Civil State of the Empire) was brought into the Church, and thereupon Patriarchical Sees were erected: yet after this, several Provincial Churches had their ancient priviledges confirmed to them (which confirmation is grounded on the sixth Canon of the *Nicene* Council, as Dr *Bevereдge* has fully proved in *his notes on that Canon*, pag. 58;) and remained Independent from the Patriarchical Sees. For instance, the *Cyprian Church* was adjudged to be such an one, in the *eighth Canon of the third General Council held at Ephesus*, in the year of Christ 431. In which Canon, after the *Ephesine Fathers* had determined the *Cyprian* Church to be independent from the Bishop of *Antioch*; they add this clause: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων διοικήσεων, καὶ περὶ ἀπαλλαχῆ ἐπαρχιῶν σῳζφυλαχθήσεται, &c. *The same shall be observed in other Diœceses, and in the Provinces every where: that so, none of the most Religious Bishops may invade another Province, which has not been for many years before and from the beginning under his, or his predecessours hand.* In like manner *Armenia the Great* was exempted from dependence on any Patriarchate; as 'tis apparent from *That Order of the Presidency of the most holy Patriarchs*, which Dr *Bevereдge* has published (at his notes on the 36ta Canon Concil. Trullan. pag. 135, &c.) from a very ancient *Greek Manuscript* in the *Bodleian Library*. In which *Manuscript*, neither *England*, *Scotland*, nor *Ireland*, are reckoned dependents on the *Roman Patriarchate*; as the Learned Reader, on perusall, will find. Though, 'tis as certain, that there was a compleat and absolute Church setled in this Island, long before *this Manuscript Order* was (or can be supposed to have been) drawn up; as that there was one at *Antioch*, or *Rome* it self. For (not to mention those unquestionable authorities which might be here produced to prove, that the plantation of the Gospel in this our Province was as early as the close of *Tiberius*'s Reign;) we have many witnesses of an undoubted authority to attest, that before the times of the *Nicene Council*, there was a compleat Church setled in this Island. For first, in the *subscriptions to the first Council of Arles* (convened in *France* before the *Nicene Council*, that is, before the year of Christ 325, as the *Acts* of the said Council, publisht by *Jacobus Sirmondus do attest*;) we meet with the names of these persons who went thither from this our Island: (See *Concilia Antiqua Gallia*, Tom. 1. pag. 9. *Edit. Sirmondi Paris.* 1629.) *Eborius, Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi*, &c. *Eborius Bishop of the City of York in the Province of Britania. Restitutus, Bishop of the City London, in the forewritten Province. Adelfius, Bishop of the City* Colonia *of the Londoners. From the same Province*, Sacerdos *a Presbyter*, Arminius *a Deacon.* Secondly, *Athanasius* (in *his second Apology against the Arians* pag. 720. *Edit. Paris.*) does attest, *that the Bishops of the* Britannia's *were present at the* Sardican *Council*; which Synod was convened in the Consulate of *Rufinus* and *Eusebius* (see our *Socrates* book 2. chap. 20, note *c.*) on the year of our Lord 347. Lastly, to mention no more, *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poictiers* in *France*, in the beginning of *his Book de Synodis* (pag. 318. Edit. *Paris.* 1631. which book was written about the year of our Lord 350.) sends Greeting *Britanniarum Episcopis, to the Bishops of the Britannia's.* This is sufficient to prove we had a Church here in those times. And that this Church was governed by its own Bishops, till about the year of Christ 600, and subject neither to the *Roman*, nor to any other forreign Prelate, is a thing evidently apparent from what *Venerable Bede* has recorded in *his Ecclesiastick History*. For when *Gregory Bishop of Rome*, (supposing the Inhabitants of this Island to be still intangled in the errours of Paganism,) had sent hither *Augustine the Monk* to convert them to Christianity; he unexpectedly found, not only the Christian Religion disseminated amongst them long before his arrival, but Bishops also rightly and duely constituted: which Prelates could not (in my simple judgment) be supposed the Subjects of the *Roman Bishop*, because he was so far from having any knowledge of them, that he did not believe there was one single Christian in this Island. But, though *Augustine* at his arrival found not the *Brittish Bishops* dependants on the *Roman* See; yet, he resolves to use his utmost endeavour to make them such. In order to which, by the assistance of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (as *Bede* tells us, book 2. chap. 2. *Eccles. Histor.*) he summons together the Prelates of the adjacent Province of the *Britons*, advises them to alter their ancient usages, and to accept of him for their Arch-bishop. But they, having an Arch-bishop of their own already, to wit, the Bishop of *Kaerleon*, and looking upon it to be a strange and unheard-of thing, that they should become Subjects to a Forreigner; wholly refused him and his monstrous proposal; telling him, *that they would not own him for their Arch-bishop*; and, as to their ancient customs and usages, *that they could not relinquish them without the consent and licence of their own Nation. Whereupon they desired a second Synod might be convened.* At which these met seaven *Brittish* Bishops (whose names you may see in Sir *Henry Spelmans Councils*, Tom. 1. pag. 106;) and many other Learned men; who by *Dionothus* (or, as *Bede* calls him, *Dinooth*) *Abbot of Bangor* gave *Augustine the Monk* this answer: (See Sir *Henry Spelman*, as before, pag. 108, 109:) *Be it known to you and without doubt, that we are, and every one of us obedient and subject to the Church of God and Pope of Rome, and to every true and pious Christian, to love every one in his degree with perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the sons of God. As for any other obedience, I do not know that I owe it to him, whom ye call the Pope, or that he hath right to challenge or require to be the Father of Fathers. This obedience we are ready to give and pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are placed under the Government of the Bishop of Kaerleon upon Usk, who is to supervise under God over us, to make us keep the spiritual way.* What treatment the *Brittish Prelates* found from *Augustines* hand, after they had given him this answer; the Reader may see in *Bede*, at the book and chapter now quoted. Where we find this *Augustine*, their pretended convertour, threatning them with a War. Which by his instigation (see Mr *Wheelocks notes on* Bed. *Eccles. Hist. book* 2. *chap.* 2. *Ethelfridus* King of the *Northanhumbrians* waged against them: wherein no less than 1200 *Brittish Ecclesiasticks* were slain at one time. After this, the *Romish* Bishop, for upwards of nine Centuries exercised a supream Ecclesiastick power in this Nation; though several of our Kings promulged severe Laws against it. But now at length, his Tyrannick yoak is broken off; and our Church enjoys its ancient priviledges: which may that God continue to it, by the most pretious bloud of whose eternal Son it was purchased! *Amen.*

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g those Bishops [who make their abode] without the bounds of their own *Diœcesis*, should not invade the Churches without their limits. For this had been promiscuously done before, by reason of the persecutions. And to *Nectarius* was allotted the * Great City and *Thracia*. *Helladius* succeſſour to *Basilius* in the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*;

* That is, *Constantinople*.

5 Τὰς τῶν διοικήσεων ἐπισκόπους. *They are the words of the second Canon of the Constantinopolitan Synod*; which *Dionysius Exiguus* renders thus: *qui sunt super Diœcesim Episcopi*, &c. *the Bishops who are over a Diœcesis.* There may be a twofold sence of these words. For first, They may be termed τῶν διοικήσεων ἐπίσκοποι, *who are over a diœcesis*, or *preside over a whole Diœcesis*: of which sort is the Bishop of *Alexandria*, or the Bishop of *Antioch*, who is constituted not over a Province, but over a *Diœcesis*. Or secondly, they may be termed τῶν διοικήσεων, *who are without their own Diœcesis*: So *Zonaras* explains these words, in *his Comment on this Canon*. *Lucas Holstenius* has embraced the former sense of these words. For, at the Margin of his copy he had made a remark, that this passage in *Socrates* is to be explained thus: *ne Episcopi*, &c. *Least the Bishops set over their own Diœcesis's, should invade the Churches situate without their limits.* But, the latter sense is the truer; which the Canon it self declares in the following words: for the Fathers add, ἀλλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους τῶν διοικήσεων μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν, *that the uncalled Bishops come not beyond their Diœcesis.* Wherefore τῶν διοικήσεων ἐπίσκοποι are the same with τῶν θείων, *Prelates without their bounds*; which title *Socrates* has given *Gregory Nazianzen* at chap. 7. of this book; because of his removal from the Bishoprick of *Sasimi* (which was in the *Pontick Diœcesis*) to *Constantinople*. Further, it is to be noted, that *Diœcesis* in this Canon does not signifie a *Dioceſe* (as that word is commonly used,) or a Province, as the *Greek* Interpreters *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* supposed; but it imports many Provinces joyned together which are subject to one Governour. Whence the title of this Canon is, περὶ διοικήσεων, *concerning Diœceses.* For, its expres's words are, φυλαττομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων κανόνων, &c. *the fore written Canon concerning Diœcesises being observed, 'tis manifest that a Provincial Synod will govern affairs throughout every Province.* You see what the title of this Canon is, and how it distinguishes a Province from a *Diœcesis*. For, 'tis not forbidden by this Canon, that Bishops should goe out of one Province into another, to celebrate Ordinations: that being not to be done otherwise. To instance in the *Asian Diœcesis*, (see note *f.*) the Fathers prohibit not a removal out of *Lycia* into *Pamphilia*, nor out of *Caria* into *Lydia*, on account of Ecclesiastick business: but they only forbid them to pass out of one *Diœcesis* into another. *Valet.*

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Gregorius [Biſhop] of *Nyſſa* a City alſo in *Cappadocia*, (who was *Baſilius*'s brother; and *Otreius* [Biſhop] of *Meletina* in *Armenia*, had the [h] Patriarchate of the *Pontick Diœceſis* for their allotment. To *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* [Biſhop] of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, was aſſigned the *Aſian* [*Diœceſis.*] To *Timotheus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria* was given [the ſuperintendency over the Churches] throughout *Egypt*. The adminiſtration of the Churches throughout the *Eaſt* was committed to the Biſhops of that Region, [to wit] to *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*; but to the *Antiochian* Church were reſerved the priviledges [of Honour,] which were given to *Meletius* then preſent. They likewiſe decreed, that if need required, a *Provincial Synod* ſhould determine the Eccleſiaſtick affairs of every Province. Theſe ſanctions were confirmed by the Emperours own conſent. Such was the concluſion of this Syond.

[h] The term πρωτοπαρχία is not here uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, as to ſignifie *a Patriarchate* ſtrictly ſo taken. Nor, muſt we think, that theſe Prelates here mentioned by *Socrates*, were conſtituted Patriarchs properly ſo called; becauſe (as *Valeſius* well remarks) there are more than one named here to be ſuperintendents over one *Diœceſis*; for inſtance, *Helladius*, *Gregorius*, and *Otreius*, are aſſigned for the *Pontick Diœceſis*. Now, what that power was, which is here given to theſe Prelates by the Synod (or rather by the Emperour *Theodoſius* himſelf,) will appear from an inſpection into the occaſion of their being intruſted with this power. The Emperour *Theodoſius*, perceiving the Churches to be notoriouſly peſtred with *Arianiſme*, took a reſolution to extirpate it. In order whereto, he publiſhed an Edict (which is mentioned by *Sozomen*, book 7. chap. 9; and is ſtill extant, being the *third Law in the Theodoſian Code*, *Tit. de fide Catholicâ*:) to this effect; *that in all places, the poſſeſſion of the Churches ſhould be delivered to ſuch perſons only, as would acknowledge and profeſs one and the ſame Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in a ſubſiſtency of three perſons equal in honour and power.* In order to a more clear manifeſtation of thoſe perſons that owned this acknowledgment and profeſſion; ſuch of them as were in *Conſtantinople* and *Thracia*, were by this Imperial Law obliged to hold communion with *Nectarius* Prelate of the *Conſtantinopolitan See*; thoſe in the *Pontick Diœceſis*, with *Helladius*, *Gregorius*, and *Otreius*, &c. *For theſe Prelates* (ſays *Sozomen*) *the Emperour himſelf approved of, after he had ſeen and ſpoken with them; and alſo, they had an eminent repute for their pious Government of their Churches.* And the Emperour orders further in his Edict, that *whoſoever diſſented from a communion of faith with theſe Prelates, in their ſeveral diſtricts; he ſhould be expelled out of the Church as a manifeſt Heretick.* You ſee then, that the power given to theſe Prelates here was not properly Patriarchichal; but only this, that their faith was to be the ſtandard as it were, to meaſure that of others by, and a communion with them the Teſt for admitting perſons to, or expel ing them from, Eccleſiaſtick preferments. But, though we affirm, that the Prelates here mentioned by *Socrates*, were not conſtituted Patriarchs properly ſo called: yet we ſee no reaſon of making an inference from hence, (as *Valeſius* in his note here does,) that Patriarchs were not conſtituted by the *Conſtantinopolitan Fathers*. For this is plainly repugnant to our *Socrates*'s fore-mentioned words in this chap. *viz.* πολιταρχας καθίστασαν, διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, *they conſtituted Patriarchs, having made a diſtribution, or diviſion, of the Provinces.* On which diſtribution of the Provinces, the entire conſtitution of Patriarchs has its ſole dependence. For, from it aroſe *Diœceſis's*, over which Patriarchs were ſet. See the Learned Dr *Beveredge's notes on the 6th Canon of the Nicene Council*, pag. 52, &c; and *on the ſecond Canon of the Conſtant. Synod.* pag 94.

CHAP. IX.

That the Emperour Theodoſius [*ordered*] *the body of* Paulus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *to be honourably tranſlated from* [*the place of his*] *Exile. At which time alſo* Meletius [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch *departed this life.*

AT that time the Emperour tranſlated the body of *Paulus* the Biſhop from the City *Ancyra*: whom *Philippus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* had baniſhed upon *Macedonius*'s account, and had ordered him to be ſtrangled in *Cucuſus* a Town of *Armenia*, as I have * already mentioned. [*Theodoſius*] therefore, having received [his body] with much honour and reverence, depoſited it in the Church which now bears his own name; which Church the embracers of *Macedonius*'s opinion were heretofore in poſſeſſion of, at ſuch time as they were ſeparatiſts from the *Arians*: but were then expelled by the Emperour, becauſe they refuſed embracing of his faith. Moreover, at the ſame time, *Melitius* Biſhop of *Antioch* fell into a diſtemper, and died: in praiſe of whom *Gregorius*, *Baſilius*'s brother, ſpoke a [a] Funeral Oration. *Meletius*'s body was by his friends conveyed to *Antioch*. Such as were favourers of *Meletius*, did again refuſe to be ſubject to *Paulinus*: but cauſed *Flavianus* to be ſubſtituted in the place of *Meletius*. By reaſon whereof a new diviſion did again ariſe amongſt the people. Thus the *Antiochian* Church was afreſh divided into two parties, on account of their Biſhops, not of their faith.

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[a] This *Funeral Oration* in praiſe of *Melitius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, is now extant amongſt the *Works of Gregorius Nyſſenus*. Valeſ.

* See *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 26. & book 2. chap. 16. note (a.)

CHAP. X.

That the Emperour ordered a Synod of all the Sects to be convened, at which time Arcadius *his ſon was proclaimed* Auguſtus; *and that the* Novatians *(who as to their faith embraced the ſame ſentiments with the* Homoöuſians) *were the only perſons that had permiſſion to hold their aſſemblies within the City. But the other Hereticks were forced from thence.*

BUt, there were diſturbances in other Cities alſo, [which hapned] at ſuch time as the *Arians* were ejected out of the Churches. On account whereof I cannot chooſe but admire the Emperours judiciouſneſs and prudence. For he ſuffered not (ſo far as it was in his power [to prevent them,]) the Cities to be filled with tumultuous diſturbances: but within a ſhort ſpace of time, ordered a Synod of all the Hereſies to be again convened, ſuppoſing that by a mutual conference of the Biſhops, one concordant opinion would prevail amongſt all men. I am of opinion, that this deſign of the Emperour's was the cauſe of that fortunate ſucceſs he [then] had. For, about the ſame time, by a particular diſpenſation of divine providence, the Barbarous Nations were reduced to a ſubjection to him. And amongſt others, *Athanarichus* King of the *Goths* made a Surrendry of himſelf with all his own people unto him, [a] who ſoon after died at *Conſtantinople*. Moreover, at that time the Emperour proclaimed his Son *Arcadius*, *Auguſtus*, in the ſecond Conſulate of * *Merobaudes* which he bore with † *Saturninus*, on the ſixteenth of *January*. Not long after theſe things, the Biſhops of every Sect arrived from all places, in the ſame Conſulate, in the month *June*. The Emperour therefore having ſent for *Nectarius* the Biſhop, conſulted with him, what project ſhould be made uſe of that the Chriſtian Religion might be freed from diſſentions, and the Church reduced to an Union. And he ſaid, that that Controverſie which cauſed a ſeparation in the Churches, ought to be diſcuſſed, that ſo by a removal of the Diſcord, an agreement might be effected in the Churches. At the hearing of this *Nectarius* was full of anxiety and ſollicitude. And having ſent for *Agelius* then

[a] *Athanarichus* King of the *Gothſ*, entred *Conſtantinople* in the Conſulate of *Eucherius* and *Eugrius*, on the eleventh of *January*, and died on the twenty fifth of the ſame month; as 'tis recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti*, and in *Marcellinus*'s *Chronicon*. On the year following, which was the year of Chriſt 382, when *Antonius* and *Syagrius* were Conſuls, the whole *Gothick Nation* ſurrendred it ſelf to *Theodoſius*, on the 3d of *Octob.* as ſays the ſame *Idatius*. Valeſ.

* In the Greek he is called *Merogaudus* here, and hereafter.

† His name in the Greek is *Saturnilus*.

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then Bishop of the *Novatians*, (in regard he was a person that embraced the same sentiments with him as to the Faith,) he makes known to him the Emperours intent. He, as to other things, was indeed a very pious person: but being not very able to maintain a dispute, concerning the Doctrine [of Faith,] he proposes his Reader under him, by name *Sisinnius*, as a fit person to manage a Conference. But *Sisinnius* (an eloquent man, and well experienced in affairs, one who had an accurate skill in the expositions of the Sacred Scriptures, and in Philosophick opinions,) knew that these Disputations do not only not unite dissentions, but also raise Heresies to an higher degree of contention. Upon which account, he gave *Nectarius* this advice. In regard he very well knew, that the Ancients avoided the attributing a beginning of Existence to the Son of God; (for they apprehended him to be Coeternal with the Father;) he advises him to shun Logical disputes; and to produce for evidences the [b] Expositions of the Ancients: and that the Emperour should propose to the Chiefs of each Heresie this question, Whether they would entertain any respect for the Ancients who [c] flourished before the dissention in the Church, or whether they would reject them as estranged from the Christian Religion? For if they reject them [said he,] then let them dare to *Anathematize* them. And if they shall be so audacious as to do that, the multitude will forthwith extrude them by violence. Upon the doing whereof, the truth will undoubtedly obtain a manifest victory. But, if they shall refuse to reject the Ancient Doctours, then it will be our business to produce the Books of the Ancients, whereby our opinion will be attested and confirmed. *Nectarius* having heard all this from *Sisinnius*, goes in great hast to the Pallace; and makes the Emperour acquainted with the advice which had been given him. The Emperour embraces it with much eagerness, and handled the matter prudently. For, without discovering his design, he asked [the Chiefs of the Hereticks] this one question, Whether they had any respect for, and admitted of those Doctours of the Church [who lived] before [the rise of] the dissention? Upon their non-refusal of them, and their affirming that they highly revered and honoured them as being their Masters; the Emperour enquired of them again, whether they would * acquiesse in them as witnesses of the Christian Religion worthy to be credited? When the Chiefs of the Sects and their *Logicians* (for they had amongst them many persons well provided for the combat of dispute;) heard this, they knew not what to do. For every one of them fell into a disagreement of opinion; some affirming that the Emperours Proposal was good; others [thinking] it not conducive to their design. For some were one way affected towards the Books of the Ancients, others another. Nor could they any longer agree amongst themselves: and they dissented not only from other Sects, but those of the same Sect differed one from the other. Concordant malice therefore, like the tongue of those ancient Gyants, was divided, and their tower of mischief demolished. After the Emperour perceived their confused † Dissention, and [was sensible] that they confided in disputation only, and not in the Exposition of the Ancients; he betook himself to a second project. And orders every Sect to [d] set forth [and deliver in] to him in writing a Draught of that Creed which they owned. Then, those [of every Sect] amongst them that were skilfullest and most eloquent, wrote their own opinion, making use of a great deal of caution and circumspection in their expressions. A day also was pitcht upon, whereon the Bishops of each Sect upon summons met at the Pallace. At which time were present *Nectarius* and *Agelius*, Prelates of the *Homoüsian* Creed; of the *Arians*, *Demophilus*; of the [e] *Eunomians*, *Eunomius* himself; of those that embraced *Macedonius*'s opinion, *Eleusius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum*.

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† Or *Dispersion.*

[d] Instead of [γνωρίζειν τὸ ὄρθον αὐτῷ, *to make known their Draught of the Creed*] I had rather read, as *Nicephorus* does, [γνωρίζειν τὸ ὄρον αὐτῷ, *to set forth* [and deliver in] *to him in writing* a Draught.] &c, *Vales.*

[e] This Draught of the Creed, which *Eunomius* then presented to the Emperour *Theodosius*, I have by me in Manuscript; for which I am obliged to the most famous and Learned *Emericus Bigotius*. In the *Bavarian Manuscript*, and in *Livinius*'s Copy, this Draught of the Creed was placed at the latter end of *Gregorius Nyssenus*'s *Books against Eunomius*, as *Gretser* attests. But, in the *Florentine Copy*, from which *Bigotius* transcribed this Creed, it was placed before those Books. Nor, will it be unusefull, to insert it here. For, though it contains *Eunomius*'s whole impiety; yet some things occur in it, in no wise despicable.

EUNOMIUS's Creed.

Τῷ Θείῳ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, &c. *Whereas God and our Saviour Jesus Christ according to a most just sentence has said, that he will confess before God and the Father, those which should confess Him before men, and that he will deny such as should deny Him: and whereas the Apostolick Doctrine does exhort us, to be always ready to* [give] *an account to every one that asketh it: Whereas* [lastly,] *the Imperial commands do require this Confession; with all readiness We confess what our Sentiments are, and that We Believe in one only true God, according to his own Doctrine, not honouring Him with a false voice. For He cannot lye. But is by nature and Glory truly one God: without beginning, always, and eternally alone. Not parted or divided into many as to his Substance, according to which he is one: nor existing sometimes one, at others another; nor receding from what he is: nor formed from one Substance into three Persons. For he is altogether and wholly one, continuing always alone in one and the same manner. Having no companion of his Divinity, no partaker of his Glory, no Consort of his power, no Assessour of his Kingdom. For he is one and the only Omnipotent God, God of Gods, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. The Highest over all the earth, the Highest in the heavens, the Highest in the Highest, the Heavenly things: true in being what he is, and always continuing so. True in his Works, true in his Words. The begining of all Subjection, Power, Empire. Above Conversion, and free from change, as being incorrupt. Not dividing his own Substance in begetting, nor being the same begetting and begotten, or existing the same Father and Son. For he is incorrupt. In working in no wise wanting matter, or members, or natural instruments. For he stands in need of nothing. WE BELIEVE also in the Son of God, the only Begotten God, the First begotten of every Creature, Christ the true God, not unbegotten: not (before he was,) named the Son without Generation, begotten before every Creature. Not uncreated. The Beginning of the Wayes of God* [in order to his] *Works, and being the Word in the beginning: not without a beginning. The living Wisdom, the operating Truth, the subsisting Power, the begotten Life: as being the Son of God giving Life to the living; and restoring Life to the dead: the true Light, enlightning every man that cometh into the world: Good, and the Minister of Good things; in regard he is begotten of the Goodness and Power of the Father: who hath not divided with him that has imparted the Dignity, nor with any other, his Fathers Substance, or Kingdom. But by Generation is made Glorious, and the Lord of Glory. Who has received Glory from the Father, but has not partaken of the Fathers Glory. For, the Glory of the Almighty is incommunicable, as he himself has said,* I will not give my Glory to another. *Who has been glorified by the Father before ages. Who has been glorified by the Father through ages, and throughout the whole rational and created Substance. Whom the whole celestial Milice doth guard. For he is the Lord and King of Glory, as being the Son of God and God: the Framer of things immortal and mortal, the Framer of Spirits and of all flesh.* For all things were made by him, and without him nothing was made. *The King and Lord of all Life and breath of those* [Creatures] *that were made by him.* For all things were delivered unto him by the Father, *according to his holy expression*, and the Father hath

[b] Τὰς ἐκδόσεις τῶν παλαιῶν. *Christophorson* renders these word thus: *the forms of the Creed delivered by the Ancients. Epiphanius Scholasticus thus: the traditions of the Ancients.* I like neither Version. For *Socrates* means the Books of the Ancient Doctors of the Church; and more especially the interpretations of Sacred Scripture put forth by them. 'Tis certain, what he terms ἐκδόσεις [*Expositions*] here, he does a little after call τὰς βίβλους τῶν παλαιῶν, *the Books of the Ancients.* Wherefore I have here chosen to render it *Expositions*, as *Musculus* does. For, what *Socrates* here calls ἐκδόσεις, a little lower he terms ἀρχαίων ἔκθεσιν, *the Exposition of the Ancients.* Vales.

[c] Instead of [μεταρμοσάντων, *accommodated,*] it must undoubtedly be [μεταμπαύλων, *flourished.*] Which emendation is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*: for thus he renders it: *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Doctoribus, qui ante divisionem floruissent, concerning the Ancient Doctors of the Church who flourished before the division.* Vales.

* *Insist*, or *rely upon.*

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hath given all things into his hand. *Obedient to the framing and creating of the things which are. Obedient to every Adminiſtration. Not receiving his being the Son, or God, from his obedience: but in that he is the Son, and is the only begotten, he is made God. Obedient in Works. Obedient in Words. The Mediatour in Sentences* [*or Decrees.*] *The Mediatour in Laws. Him we acknowledge to be the Son of God, and the only begotten God. Him alone* [*we acknowledge to be*] *like to him that begat him upon account of an eminent ſimilitude and a peculiar conception* [*or ſignification.*] *Not as the Father* [*is*] *to the Father. For there are not two Fathers. Nor as the Son* [*is*] *to the Son, there being not two Sons. Nor as the Unbegotten to the Unbegotten. For there is one only Unbegotten,* [*to wit*] *the Omnipotent; and one only begotten Son. But* [*he is like*] *as the Son to the Father: in regard he is the Image and Seal of every operation and power of the Almighty: the Seal of all the Works, Words, and Councels of the Father. Him we acknowledge to be one of thoſe who covered the earth with* [*a deluge of*] *waters. Who burnt the* Sodomites *with fire. Who inflicted puniſhment on the* Egyptians. *Who made Laws according to the Commandment of the Eternal God. Who in the times of the Prophets converſt with the Ancients. Who called thoſe that refuſed to obey. Who has received all power of Judging.* For the Father judgeth no man: but hath given all judgment to the Son. *Who in the laſt days was made fleſh: made of a woman. Made man in order to the deliverance and Salvation of us men. Who aſſumed man* [*or humanity*] *conſiſting of a Soul and Body. Who by his tongue and mouth Preached peace to thoſe that were near and ſuch as were remote. Who was made obedient unto the Croſs and unto death. And who ſaw not corruption, but roſe again the third day. And after his Reſurrection he compendiouſly expounded the myſtery to his* [*diſciples.*] *He ſits on the right hand of the Father: and ſhall come to judge the quick and dead. After this* [*perſon,*] *We Believe in the* Paraclete, *the Spirit of Truth. The Teacher of Piety. Made by the Only begotten, to whom he was once ſubject. Who is not to be reckoned after the Father, nor together with the Father. For there is one only Father, who is God over all. Nor is he to be equalled with the Son. For he is the Only begotten, and has no Brother begotten at the ſame time with him. Nor yet is he to be compared with any other thing. For he has tranſcended all other things that have been made by the Son, in Generation, Nature, Glory, and Knowledge. In regard he is the firſt and beſt, the greateſt and moſt beautifull work of the Only begotten. Who alſo himſelf being one, and the firſt, and the Only, and the moſt eminent of all the Sons compoſures, by reaſon of his ſubſtance and natural Dignity; does perfect every operation and Doctrine according to the Sons arbitrement, by whom he is ſent, and of whom he receives. And he makes a relation to thoſe that are inſtructed: teaching the Truth: ſanctifying the Saints: leading them who come to the Sacrament: dividing to the Spirit all his free gifts, who gives grace. And he cooperates with the faithfull, in order to their underſtanding and contemplation of the things commanded. Who groans with them that pray: is the Guide to what is profitable: gives ſtrength in order to Piety: enlightens Souls with the light of knowledge: purges the thoughts: chaſes away devills: cures the ſick: heals the diſeaſed: brings back the wanderers* [*into the way:*] *comforts the afflicted: erects thoſe that ſtumble and fall: refreſhes thoſe that labour: encourages with ſhouts thoſe that ſtrive: emboldens thoſe that are fearfull: is the Guardian and Overſeer of all men: takes all imaginable care, and makes proviſion for the promotion* [*or acceſs*] *of the well minded, and for the preſervation of the more faithfull. Further, We Believe in that Reſurrection which ſhall be* [*effected*] *by our Saviour;* [*to wit*] *of thoſe very Bodies which have been diſſolved, together with their proper members and particles: when nothing ſhall be wanting or changed, of thoſe things which compoſed every mans body in this preſent life. Moreover,* [*We Believe*] *the Judgment which ſhall be after this, of thoſe things which have been ill-thought or acted; and likewiſe of all the works, words, actions, practiſes, conceptions of the mind, and thoughts which have hapned in this preſent life: ſo that nothing at all, whether of the greateſt matters, or of the leaſt, ſhall be concealed: nothing of thoſe things, which have been legally done, or unjuſtly perpetrated, ſhall be neglected or overlookt: but a proportionate and juſt ſentence ſhall be given* [*or meaſured out.*] *And thoſe that have continued impious and ſinners to the end* [*of their lives,*] *ſhall be ſent away to an endleſs puniſhment. But ſuch as have led Holy and righteous lives, ſhall be taken up to an eternall life. Theſe are our Sentiments, which we have learned from the Saints, and thus we think and believe. We have omitted nothing of what we have learned, on account of ſhame, or out of fear. Nor have we by reaſon of turpitude or contentiouſneſs made any additions thereto, or perverted any thing therein. Neither are we conſcious to our ſelves of any ſuch falſity or deteſtable impiety as is framed againſt us by thoſe* Sycophants, *or ſlanderers; Whoſe damnation is juſt.*

That this is the confeſſion of Faith, which was delivered by *Eunomius* to *Theodoſius*, in the month *June*, on the ſecond Conſulate of *Merobaudes* which he bore which *Saturninus*; is evident from theſe words which occur at the beginning of this confeſſion; to wit, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῶν προσταγμάτων ταυτὴν ὁπωσδήποτε τῷ ὁμολογίαν, *and whereas the Imperial commands do require this confeſſion.* Valeſ.

The Emperour gave them a very kind reception at their meeting: and having received a Draught of the Creed in writing from every one of them, retired into a private apartment alone, where he prayed with much fervency, that God would give him his aſſiſtance, in order to an Election of the Truth. And having read over every one of the written Draughts of the Creed, he tore all the reſt, (diſapproving of them, in regard they introduced a ſeparation of the Trinity) except the *Homoöuſian* Creed only, which he commended and embraced. This was the reaſon of the *Novatians* flouriſhing again, [and of their being permitted] to celebrate their ſacred aſſemblies within the Cities. For the Emperour, admiring their conſent as to the Faith, [f] with thoſe of his own opinion, gave command by [the promulgation of] a Law, that they ſhould ſecurely enjoy their own Oratories; and that their Churches ſhould have the ſame priviledges with [g] thoſe [Churches] of his own Faith. But, the Prelates of the other Sects, by reaſon of their diſagreement amongſt themſelves, were condemned and deſpiſed even by their own diſciples. And being reduced to a deſperation, and overwhelmed with grief, they made their departure: and wrote Conſolatory Letters to thoſe of their own party, perſwading them not to be troubled, becauſe many relinquiſhed them, and became adherents to the *Homoöuſian* Creed. *For many* [they ſaid] *were called, but few choſen.* Which expreſſion they in no wiſe made uſe of, at ſuch time as the greateſt part of the people [*] through force and fear became their favourers. But neither were the profeſſours of the *Homoöuſian* Creed perfectly free from trouble and diſquietude. For the affairs of the *Antiochian* Church cauſed a diviſion amongſt thoſe that were preſent at the Synod. For, the *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Cypriots* [†] gathering together again, ſaid that *Flavianus* ought to be expelled out of *Antioch*. But [the Biſhops] of *Paleſtine*, *Phœnice*, and *Syria* ſtood up in defence of *Flavianus*. What concluſion this affair had, I will declare in its due place.

[f] Inſtead of [περὶ τῶν ἰδικείως, *about thoſe of his own opinion,*] it muſt be thus mended [πρὸς τῶν ἰδικείως, *with, or to thoſe of his own opinion.*] The ſame errour occurs before in this chapter; where he ſays, ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλως εἶχον πρὸς τὰ βιβλία τῶν παλαιῶν; which we have corrected by rendring it thus: *For ſome were one way affected towards the Books of the Ancients, others another.* Valeſ.

[g] I read [ἅπερ καὶ ἀπὸ] [not ὅτι] τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως ἔχουσι, *with thoſe* [*Churches*] *of his own Faith.* For the word ἐκκλησίαι *Churches* is underſtood. The priviledges of Churches are, a priviledge of ſanctuary, a priviledge of receiving Embaſſies, and the like. *Valeſ.*

[*] Ἐκ δυναστείας· perhaps he means the Imperial power; for *Conſtantius* and *Valens* were great favourers of theſe Sects.

[†] Πάλιν συμπεφύρτονται, *making a joynt attempt again.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Maximus *the* Tyrant, *how he ſlew* Gratianus *by treachery: at which time alſo* Juſtina *the mother of* Valentinianus Junior, *deſiſted, though unwillingly, from her deſign againſt* Ambroſius *Biſhop of* Millain, *for fear of* Maximus.

ABout the ſame times wherein theſe Synods were held at *Conſtantinople*, theſe tranſactions hapned in the Weſtern parts. [a] *Maximus* [coming] out of the Iſland *Britannia*, invaded the *Roman* Empire, and makes a treacherous attempt upon *Gratianus* then ingaged in a War againſt the *Alamanni*. In *Italy*, during *Valentinianus*'s minority, *Probus* a perſon that had been *Conſul*, had the chief management of affairs, who at that time bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium*.

[a] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* ſeem to have thought (as by their Verſions appear,) that this man was born in *Brittain*; which (though perhaps true, yet) cannot be made out from this paſſage in our *Socrates*. *Zoſimus* (Hiſtor. book 4.) ſays this *Maximus* was a *Spaniard*. Our *Country-man Guildas* calls him *Germen Plantationis Britannicæ, a branch of the Britannick Plantation*. *Camden* mentions him in *his Britannia* (pag. 240, 241, *Edit. Lond.* 1607.) where he quotes ſome verſes out of *Auſonius*; in which he is termed *Rhutupinum Latronem, the Richborow-thief.*

Juſtina

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Justina (mother to *Valentinianus Augustus*,) a woman that was an *Arian*, during her Husbands life, had no power to be mischievous towards the Embracers of the *Homoousian* Creed. But after [her husbands death,] when her Son was very young, she went to *Millain*, and raised great disturbances against *Ambrosius* the Bishop, issuing out an Order that he should be banished. And whilest the people made a resistance [against this Order,] out of their excessive love to *Ambrosius*, and opposed those that endeavoured to hale him away into Exile; in that interim news came, that *Gratianus* was treacherously slain by the Tyrant *Maximus*. For *Andragathius Maximus*'s Lieutenant (being hid in a Carriage put into the form of a womans Horse-litter, and carried by Mules; and having given the Guards a Command, that they should before-hand spread abroad a report, that the Emperour *Gratianus*'s Wife was in that Litter;) meets the Emperour before *Lyons* a City in *France*, passing the River. The Emperour supposing it to be his Wife, was not aware of the Treachery: but, as a blind man does into a ditch, fell into the hands of his Enemie. For *Andragathius* leapt out of the Litter on a Sudden, and slew *Gratianus*. *Gratianus* therefore ended his life in the Consulate of * *Merobaudes* and *Saturninus*, after he had Reigned fifteen years, and lived twenty four. This accident cool'd the Emperours Mothers heat against *Ambrosius*. Moreover, *Valentinianus*, though against his will, complyed with the necessity of that juncture, and admitted *Maximus* to be his Colleague in the Empire. At which time *Probus*, afraid of *Maximus*'s power, resolves upon a retreat into those parts of the Empire nearer to the East. Immediately therefore he departs out of *Italy*; and arriving in *Illyricum*, he fixt his Residence [b] in *Thessalonica* [a City] of *Macedonia*.

* Or, *Merogaudus*.

[b] I will here propose my doubt to the Reader. I am of opinion therefore, that *Thessalonica*, which was the chief City of *Macedonia*, was under *Theodosius*'s Empire. My reasons are; (1.) because *Theodosius*, after he had been Proclaimed *Augustus* by *Gratianus* at *Sirmium*, went to *Thessalonica*, resided there a long while, and received the Embassies of the Cities of the East: and when he fell sick, he was baptized by *Acholius* Bishop of that City, as *Zosimus*, *Prosper*, *Socrates*, and others do relate. (2.) During his Residence in that City, he published many Laws, which are extant in the *Theodosian Code*, in the *Titles de fide Catholica*, and *de Hæreticis*; which Laws are dated at *Thessalonica*. (3.) Lastly, in the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, at which 'tis manifest the Eastern Bishops only were present, *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica* is reckoned, as may be seen in the eighth chapter of this book. After *Theodosius*'s times, there is no doubt but *Thessalonica* was under the Eastern Emperours. For 'twas the chief City of the *Oriental Illyricum*, which contained *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, as we are informed from *The Notitia* of the *Roman* Empire. But, whether or no it was under the Eastern Emperours, about the beginning of *Theodosius*'s Reign; may deservedly be doubted. For *Aurelius Victor*, and *Zonaras* do expressly affirm, that *Gratianus* gave *Theodosius* only the *East* and the *Thracia*'s. And *Zosimus* relates, that *Valentinianus Junior* (upon his division of the Empire with his Brother,) had *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Illyricum*. Neither had *Constantius*, or *Valens* (who governed the *Eastern Empire* before *Theodosius*) *Illyricum* under their Dominion. In the times of *Valens*, 'tis certain, *Mamertinus Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, Governed *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum* at the same time; as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Notwithstanding, *Valens* (after his Brother *Valentinianus*'s death) seems to have annext *Macedonia* and *Dacia* to his own Empire, by the consent of his Brother's Sons, Which Collection I make from the close of *Amm. Marcellinus*'s *thirty first book*: where he says, that *Valens*'s *Souldiers and Palatines, who had been besieged by the Goths at Adrianople, went out after that Siege was broken up, and hastned some into Dacia, others into Macedonia; supposing that Valens had retired thither.* See *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 468. Edit. Par. 1636. *Vales.*

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CHAP. XII.

That the Emperour Theodosius *having provided a numerous Army against* Maximus, *(at which time* Flaccilla *bore him his Son* Honorius;) *left* Arcadius *at* Constantinople: *but went himself to* Millain, *where he came to an Engagement with the Tyrant.*

But the Emperour *Theodosius* was extreamly full of care and sollicitude; and formed a very powerfull Army against the Tyrant; being afraid lest he should treacherously murder *Valentinianus Junior* also. At the same time arrived Embassadours from the *Persians*, requesting Peace of the Emperour. Moreover, then also a Son was born to the Emperour, named *Honorius*, of whom his Wife *Flaccilla* was delivered, in the Consulate of * *Richomeres* and *Clearchus*, on the ninth of *September*. In the same Consulate died *Agelius* Bishop of the *Novatians*, a little before [*Honorius*'s birth.] On the year following, whereon *Arcadius Augustus* bore his first Consulate with *Bauton*, *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria* ended his life, who was succeeded in that See by *Theophilus*. A year after this, *Demophilus* Bishop of the *Arian* Heresie, concluded his life. The *Arians* sent for one *Marinus*, a Bishop of their own Heresie, out of *Thracia*, whom they entrusted with the Bishoprick. But *Marinus* sate [Bishop] not long. For under him the *Arian* Sect was divided into two parties, as we shall declare hereafter. Wherefore they sent for *Dorotheus* out of *Antioch* in *Syria*, and constituted him their Bishop. In the interim, the Emperour proceeded to a War against *Maximus*, and left his Son *Arcadius Augustus* at *Constantinople*. Arriving at *Thessalonica*, he finds [a] *Valentinianus* and those about him in great sadness and anxiety, because out of necessity they had admitted the Tyrant to be Emperour as it were. But *Theodosius*, in outward appearance, gave no indication of his mind [in favour of either side.] For he neither [b] rejected, nor admitted *Maximus*'s Embassy. But he could not endure the sight of a Tyrannical Government over the *Romans*, covered with the specious pretence of an Imperial name. Having therefore Mustered his Military Forces, he marcht to [c] *Millain*. For thither *Maximus* was already come.

* Or, *Richomelius*.

[a] The phrase is τοὺς περὶ βαλεντινιανόν which *Christophorson* renders ill, thus, *Valentinian's Souldiers*. For *Socrates* means *Valentinian* himself who was on this year (when *Valentinian* himself was the third time Consul, with *Eutropius*,) conquered by *Maximus*, (as *Sulpitius* informs us, in *his first book concerning the life of Martinus*) and together with his mother *Justina*, his *Præfects* and *Comites*, fled to *Thessalonica*. Vales.

[b] But *Zosimus* says, that *Maximus*'s Embassy was received by *Theodosius*; and that he acknowledged him to be Emperour, and admitted of his Statues: and ordered *Cynegius Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the East, that *Maximus*'s Statues should be proposed to publick view at *Alexandria*, and that he should declare to the people that *Maximus* was Colleague of his Empire. Which thing *Sigonius* (in *his book de Occidentali Imperio*) has done ill to place on the year of Christ 384, when *Richomeres* and *Clearchus* were Consuls; in regard it was done in *Valentinianus's third Consulate*, which he bore with *Eutropius*, on the year of Christ 387. For, on this year *Cynegius* was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. Vales.

[c] He should rather have said *Aquileia*. For thither *Maximus* went, as *Zosimus* and the other *Chronologers* do inform us. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the disturbance raised at Constantinople *by the* Arians.

About the same time that the Emperour was busied in the War, the *Arians* in *Constantinople* raised a disturbance, by this Artifice. 'Tis usual

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usual with * men to frame stories of things they are ignorant of. And if at any time they have gotten an occasion, they spread greater Rumours concerning the things they have a mind to, being always extreamly desirous of changes and alterations. This was the case of *Constantinople* at that time. For some framed and divulged one thing concerning the War which was waged at that great distance, others another; always presuming upon the worst event of affairs. And when nothing of action had hapned in the War, as if themselves had been Spectatours upon the very Spot, they discoursed concerning things which they knew not: [to wit,] that the Tyrant had gotten a victory over the Emperours Army, that thus many were slain on this side, and so many on that; and that the Emperour was just upon falling into the Tyrants hands. Then the *Arians*, at that time highly incensed, (for they were sorely vext, because those that had been persecuted by them heretofore, were now in possession of the Churches within the City:) began to enlarge the Reports. But afterwards, some of the stories that were told, induced even the Coyners themselves of these false rumours to believe, that the reports they had framed and divulged, were not feigned, but undoubtedly true. For, such persons as had taken them up upon here-say, affirmed to the authours of these lies, that the account of affairs was exactly agreeable to what they had heard from themselves. Whereupon, the *Arians* became emboldened, brake out into an irrational violence; threw fire into the Pallace of *Nectarius* the Bishop, and burnt it. This was done in *Theodosius's second Consulate*, [which he bore] with *Cynegius*.

* This *Character* does well befit too many persons of our own nation at this juncture.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Emperour Theodosius's *Victory, and the Tyrant's overthrow.*

BUt whilest the Emperour was upon his March towards the Tyrant, the Forces under *Maximus's* Command, informed of the great Military preparations, could not so much as resist an assault of the fame thereof; but, being put into a consternation, bound the Tyrant, and delivered him to the Emperour. He was slain in the same Consulate, on the [a] twenty seventh of *August*. But *Andragathius* (he that slew *Gratianus* with his own hand,) after he understood that *Maximus* was routed, cast himself into the adjacent River, and was drowned. Then, both the Victorious Emperours made their Entry into *Rome*. *Honorius*, *Theodosius's* Son, a child very young, was with them. For after *Maximus* was vanquished, his Father sent for him from *Constantinople*. They continued therefore at *Rome*, celebrating their triumphal Festivals.

[a] *Socrates* is mistaken. For *Maximus* was slain, not on the 27th of *August*, but on the 28th of *July*, as *Idatius* says in *his Chronicon*. The same is recorded in those *Fasti*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* has published under *Idatius's* name. For, these are the words there: *Theodosio Aug. II. & Cynegio Coss. &c. In the second Consulate of Theodosius Augustus* [*which he bore*] *with Cynegius, on that year, Maximus the Tyrant that publick Enemy, is slain by Theodosius Augustus, three miles from Aquileia, on the fifth of the Calends of August* [that is, on the 28th of July] *Also, his Son Victor is slain a few days after, in the Gallia's, by Theodosius's Comes.* Further, this *Victor* had been created first *Cæsar*, and then *Augustus*, by his Father; as we are informed from this *Old Inscription* recorded by *Sigonius*, in *his* 9th *book, de Occidentali Imperio*: DD. NN. MAG. CL. MAXIMO, ET FL. VICTORI PIIS FELICIBUS SEMPER AUGUSTIS BONO R. P. NATIS. Where you see *Maximus* has two *Prænomina*, to wit, *Magnus Clemens*. *Sulpitius Severus* (book 2. *Histor. Sacr.*) calls him *Clemens Maximus*. But, by *Orosius* he is termed *Magnus Maximus*. Vales.

At which time *Theodosius* the Emperour shewed a signal instance of his goodness and clemency, towards [b] *Symmachus* a person that had been Consul. For, this *Symmachus* was the eminentest person of the Senate at *Rome*, and was admired for his great skill in the *Roman* Literature. There are now extant many orations of his written in the *Latine* tongue. But, in regard he had composed an Oration in praise of *Maximus* whilest he was alive, and had spoken it to him in publick; he was afterwards charged with the crime of high-treason. Upon this account he was afraid of a capital punishment, and took sanctuary in the Church. But the Emperour had so great a Reverence for the Christian Religion, that he not only highly honoured the Prelates of his own Faith; but gave a gratious reception to the *Novatians* also, who embraced the *Homoöusian* Creed. Therefore, that he might gratifie *Leontius* Bishop of the *Novatian* Church at *Rome*, he pardoned *Symmachus's* crime. *Symmachus* having his pardon granted him, wrote *an Apologetick* to the Emperour *Theodosius*. Thus this War, which at the beginning seemed to threaten [the Empire] with great calamity, was terminated by this sudden conclusion.

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[b] Here is a mistake, either of *Socrates*, or of his transcribers; in calling *Symmachus* ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου, *a person that had born the Consulate*. For *Symmachus* whose Epistles are extant at this day, had not at that time been Consul; but three years after he bore a Consulate with *Tatianus*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Flavianus *of* Antioch.

AT the same time, these affairs were transacted [a] at *Antioch* in *Syria*. After the death of *Paulinus*, the people who had been his followers, had an aversion for *Flavianus*. Upon which account they caused *Evagrius* to be ordained Bishop of their own party. He having not long survived his Ordination, no other person was afterwards constituted in his place; which was effected by the diligence and endeavours of *Flavianus*. Notwithstanding those that had an aversion for *Flavianus*, in regard he had violated his * Oath, kept their assemblies apart by themselves. But *Flavianus* left no stone unturned, (as the saying is,) that he might bring these persons also to own a subjection to him. Which he effected soon after, [to wit,] when he had appeased the anger of *Theophilus* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, by whose intercession *Flavianus* procured a reconciliation also with *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*. For both these Prelates had been incensed against *Flavianus*, not only on account of his perjury, but also in regard he had given an occasion of a separation amongst that people who had been brought to an † agreement. *Theophilus* therefore being pacified, sent *Isidorus* a Presbyter, and reconciled *Damasus*, as yet offended; telling him, 'twas very conducive for the effecting an union amongst the people, to pass by the fault which *Flavianus* had committed. Communion being after this manner restored to *Flavianus*; the people of *Antioch* were within a small space of time reduced to a reconciliation. Such was the conclusion of this affair at *Antioch*. For the *Arians* in that city were ejected out of the Churches, and had their meetings in the Suburbs thereof. Moreover, in this interim died *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was succeeded by *Johannes*.

[a] Instead of [περὶ τὴν συρίας ἀντιόχειαν, *about Antioch in Syria*] I had rather word it thus [ἐν τῇ συρίας ἀντιόχειαν, *at Antioch in Syria.*] Vales.

* Compare chap. 5. with chap. 9. of this book.

† See chap. 5.

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CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the demoliſhment of the Idol Temples at Alexandria; *and concerning the Fight betwixt the* Pagans *and* Chriſtians, *which happened on that account.*

AT the very ſame time, this diſturbance alſo hapned at *Alexandria*. By the ſolicitation of *Theophilus* the Biſhop, the Emperour iſſued forth an Order, for the demoliſhment of the Heathen Temples at *Alexandria*; and gave command, that this Order ſhould be put in execution by *Theophilus*'s care. *Theophilus* being thus empowered, uſed his utmoſt endeavours in order to the expoſing the Heathen Myſteries to ignominy and contempt. He cleanſed *Mithra*'s Temple, and deſtroyed that belonging to *Serapis*. He alſo expoſed to publick view the bloudy Myſteries of the * *Mithreum*. And ſhewed how full of ridiculouſneſs the Myſteries of *Serapis*, and of the other Gods, were; ordering that the † *Priapus*'s ſhould be carried through the midſt of the *Forum*. The Heathens at *Alexandria*, more eſpecially thoſe that profeſt Philoſophy, upon ſight of the doing hereof, were unable to repreſs their diſcontent: but made an addition to the * former tragick actions which they had perpetrated. For, upon a ſign given which they had agreed on before-hand, they made an unanimous aſſault upon the *Chriſtians*, and murthered every one they met: moreover, the *Chriſtians* defended themſelves; and thus miſchief was attended with miſchief. This Fight was continued ſo long, till a ſatiety of ſlaughter put an end to it. Few of the Heathens were deſtroyed in this Conflict: but of the *Chriſtians* [there fell] a great many. The wounded on both ſides were innumerable. After the perpetration of this Action, a fear ſeized the Heathens, who dreaded the Emperours anger. Wherefore, having done what they pleaſed, and ſatiated their minds with ſlaughters, they abſconded, ſome in one place, others in another. Moreover, many of them fled from *Alexandria*, and diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Cities. Amongſt which number were the two *Grammarians*, [a] *Helladius* and *Ammonius*; whoſe Scholar I was at *Conſtantinople*, when very young. *Helladius* was ſtiled *Jupiters* Prieſt: *Ammonius* was † *Simius*'s. This miſchief being thus compoſed, the [b] Præfect of *Alexandria*, and the Commander in chief of the Milice in *Egypt*, aſſiſted *Theophilus* in demoliſhing the Heathen Temples.

* That is, *Mithra*'s Temple: what theſe Myſteries were, *Socrates* has told us, book 3. chap. 2.

† Pieces of wood made in faſhion of a mans privities.

* See book 3. chap. 2.

[a] Some exceptions of this *Helladius* the *Grammarian*, are extant in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*. Valeſ.

† Πιθήκης; that is, *The Ape's Prieſt*. For the *Egyptians* worſhip an *Ape*, as *Lucian* tells us, in *his piece*, περὶ θυσιῶν.

[b] *Sozomen* (book 7. chap. 15.) calls this *Præfects* name *Evagrius*: and the *Commander in chief of the Milice in Egypt, he names* Romanus. *Eunapius* likewiſe (*in the Life of Ædeſius,*) names both theſe perſons; and atteſts, that they gave a great aſſiſtance to *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in deſtroying the Temple of *Serapis*. I will inſert *Eunapius*'s own words here, becauſe they want correcting; (*See Eunap. in vitâ Ædeſii, pag.* 63. *Edit. Colon. Allobrog.* 1616:) Καὶ τὸν μὲν τὸν Κανώβου ἱερὸν ταῦτὸ τοῦτο ἔπαθον, Θεοδοσίου μὲν τότε Βασιλεύοντος, Θεοφίλου δὲ τοῦ ταράττοντος τὰ ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων; πνὸς εὑρομένου τοῦτο; ὃς πυθ' ὑπερθύμου μοίρης γενέσθαι Εὐρυμέδοντος; That is, *the Temples about the City* Canobus *underwent the ſame thing*, Theodoſius *being at that time Emperour, and* Theophilus *Preſiding over thoſe execrable perſons; he was a certain Eurymidon, that reigned over the haughty Gyants.* Evetius *being then Governour of the Civill affairs: and* Romanus *intruſted with the Command of the Milice throughout* Egypt. On my peril, correct it thus: Εὐαγρίου δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρχόντος, *Evagrius being then Governour of the Civill affairs.* In the *Theodoſian Code*, (title, *De Paganis*,) there is a Law extant of *Theodoſius*'s, directed to this *Evagrius* Præfect of *Egypt*, and to *Romanus Comes* of the *Milice* throughout *Egypt*; which Law was dated at *Aquileia*, in the Conſulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*. From which Law it may be concluded, that *Serapis*'s Temple was demoliſhed at *Alexandria*, in the year of Chriſt 391. But *Marcellinus*, in *his Chronicon*, contradicts this; and ſays this Temple was deſtroyed when *Timaſius* and *Promotus* were Conſuls; which was the year of Chriſt 389. And this, in my judgment, is the truer. For *Cynegius* Præfect of the *Prætorium*, at his being ſent into *Egypt*, had a command from *Theodoſius*, that he ſhould pull down the Heathen Temples; as *Zoſimus* relates in *his firſt book*. And he had executed that command, as *Idatius* atteſts in *his Faſti*. Now, *Cynegius* died in his own Conſulate, on the year of Chriſt 388. *Valeſ.*

The Temples therefore were ruined, but the Images of their Gods were molten into Caldrons, and into other utenſills neceſſary for the *Alexandrian* Church; the Emperour having given [the Images of] the Heathen Gods [to that Church,] for the relief of the poor. Wherefore *Theophilus* brake in pieces all [the Images of] the Gods, ſave one, to wit, the Image of the fore-mentioned God, which he ordered to be preſerved unmelted, and cauſed it to be ſet up in a publick place; leaſt (ſaid he) the Heathens ſhould in ages to come deny, that they had been worſhippers of ſuch Gods. At which action [of *Theophilus*'s,] *Ammonius* the *Grammarian* was, to my knowledge, highly diſguſted: for he was wont to ſay, that the Religion of the *Gentiles* had ſuffered moſt horrid abuſes, [c] becauſe but one Image only was not melted down; but was preſerved meerly to render *Gentiliſm* ridiculous. ut *Helladius* made his boaſts in ſome perſons hearing, that in the Conflict he had ſlain nine men with his own hand. Such were the doings in *Alexandria* at that time.

[c] Inſtead of [ἵνα μὴ χῇ] it ſhould be [ὅτι μὴ χῇ *becauſe but*, &c.] *Socrates* means the Image of their God *Similus*, which *Theophilus* had ordered to be reſerved on purpoſe. And thus *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* has explained this place in *Socrates*; much better then *Chriſtophorſon*; who underſtood thoſe words of *Socrates* [τῶνδε τῶν θεῶν] as ſpoken concerning a certain (or rather uncertain) God. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Hieroglyphical *Letters found in the Temple of* Serapis.

[MOreover,] at ſuch time as *Serapis*'s Temple was rifled and demoliſhed, there were Letters found [in it,] ingraven on ſtones; [a] which [Letters] they call *Hieroglyphical*. Theſe Characters had the forms and reſemblances of croſſes. When the *Chriſtians* and *Heathens* ſaw theſe Characters, each party * adapted them to their own Religion. For the *Chriſtians*, who affirm that the Croſs is the ſigne of Chriſts ſalutary Paſſion, thought this Character was properly and peculiarly theirs. The Heathens alledged it was ſome thing [that belonged in] common both to Chriſt, and to *Serapis*: for, a Character [ſaid they] made in form of a Croſs, betokens one thing amongſt the *Chriſtians*, another amongſt the *Heathens*.

* *Fitted*, or *applied*.

[a] Inſtead of [τὰ καλούμενα ἱερογλυφικὰ, *called an Hieroglyphick*;] it ought rather to be thus written [τὰ καλούμενα ἱερογλυφικὰ, *which* [Letters] *they call Hieroglyphical*:] ſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* ſeems, to have read. Indeed, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do relate, that theſe *Hieroglyphical* Letters were found in the Temple of *Serapis*, cut upon the walls thereof. But *Rufinus* does not ſay they were found there: he tells us rather, that they were kept and expounded at *Canopus*. At his 2d book, Eccleſ. Hiſtor. chap. 26; theſe are his words: *Jam vero Canopi quis enumeret ſuperſtitioſa flagitia? &c. But now, who can enumerate the ſuperſtitious impieties at Canopus? Where, under a prætext of their ſacerdotal Letters, (for ſo they call the ancient Letters of the Egyptians;) there was in a manner a publick School of Magick Art.* Valeſ.

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Whileſt theſe things were controverted amongſt them, ſome of the Heathens (who were converted to the Chriſtian Religion,) having skill in theſe *Hieroglyphical* Letters, gave an interpretation of the Character made in form of a Croſs, and ſaid it ſignified *Life to come.* This the *Chriſtians* took hold of with much earneſtneſs, as being more advantageous to their Religion in particular; and were not a little proud of it. [b] But after it had been manifeſted by other *Hieroglyphicall Letters*, that *Serapis*'s Temple would have an end, when a Character in form of a Croſs ſhould appear; (for thereby was ſignified *Life to come:*) then many more came over to the Chriſtian Religion, and after a Confeſſion of their ſins were baptized. This is a relation of what hapned upon account of the Character [that was diſcovered,] made in form of a Croſs; which relation I had from report. But, I am not of opinion, that the *Egyptian* Prieſts foreknew what ſhould happen to Chriſt, and therefore cauſed the figure of a Croſs to be ingraven on ſtones. For, *if the Myſtery of* [our Saviours] *coming into the world were hid from Ages, and from Generations,* as the Apoſtle * ſays; and if the Devill himſelf, the Prince of wickedneſs, knew nothing of it; 'twas much more unknown to his Miniſters, to wit, the *Egyptian* Prieſts. But divine providence deſigned the ſame thing ſhould happen at the enquiry made into this Character, which he had heretofore demonſtrated in the Apoſtle *Paul*'s [Preaching.] For he, inſpired with wiſedom by the divine Spirit, made uſe of the ſame method towards the *Athenians*, and brought many of them over to the Faith [of Chriſt;] at ſuch time as he read the * inſcription upon [one of their] altars, and adapted it to his own diſcourſe. Unleſs any one ſhould perhaps ſay, that the word of God had the ſame operation upon the *Egyptian* Prieſts, that it had on *Balaam* and *Caiaphas.* For thoſe † two perſons (though they did it contrary to their will and knowledge,) uttered propheſies concerning good things. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning theſe things.

[b] *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus's* 2d *book, Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* chap. 29. He apprehended not *Rufinus*'s meaning. For *Rufinus* ſays not, that it was predicted to the *Pagans* by other *Sacerdotal* Letters, that *Serapis*'s Temple would then be deſtroyed, when that ſign of the Croſs ſhould appear: he only ſays, that *the Egyptians received this as a tradition from their Anceſtours, to wit, that the Temples wherein they then worſhipped, ſhould ſtand ſo long, till that ſign ſhould come, wherein there was Life.*

* Coloſ. 1. 26.

* Acts 17. 22, &c.

† See Numb. 24. & John. 11. 51.

But, becauſe mention is here made of *Serapis*'s worſhip, and of the Letters found in his Temple; nothing hinders, but we may here explain, (in favour of the ſtudious) an *Old Epigram* concerning *Serapis*, which is recorded by *Euſebius* in *his books de Demonſtratione Evangelicâ.* For it contains both the manner how this God was worſhipped by the *Egyptians*; and beſides, *Scaliger* underſtood it not, in *his Animadverſions on Euſebius*, Number 1730. The Epigram therefore runs thus:

Ἑπτά με φωνήεντα θεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον αἰνεῖ
Γράμματα, τ' πάντων ἀκάματον πάτερα·

That is,

The ſeven Vowells do my praiſe reſound,
Who am the Great, Immortal Deity,
Th' unwearied Father of the Univerſe.

You muſt know, that the *Egyptian* Prieſts were wont to praiſe their God *Serapis* in no other manner, than by a recitation now and then of the ſeven Greek Vowells. Therefore, inſtead of Hymns and Songs, the Pipe and Harp; the ſound of the ſeven Vowells was heard in *Serapis*'s Temple. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* does atteſt this, in *his book* περὶ ἐμμνείας, in *the chapter de Colliſione Vocalium.* Where after he has informed us, that the *Colliſion* of the Vowells is not ſo much to be avoided, in regard it ſometimes produces a pleaſant noiſe; he adds theſe words: ἐν αἰγύπτῳ δὲ καὶ πού θεὸς ὑμνῶσι διὰ μιᾶς ἑπτὰ φωνήεντων οἱ ἱερεῖς, &c. *Moreover, in Egypt the Prieſts ſing praiſes to the Gods by* [repeating] *the ſeven Vowells, ſounding them out one after the other. And, inſtead of the Pipe and Harp, the ſound of theſe Letters is heard. Elias Vinetus* (in *his notes at* Auſonius's *eighteenth Epiſtle,*) does declare that he had ſeen an old inſcription, which was found upon a golden plate, fixt on the breaſt of a dead body. This plate contained the ſeven Greek Vowells, repeated in ſeven Verſes, in ſuch order as you may ſee there. But I doubt not, but there were ſeven other Verſes on the reverſe of the ſaid plate, in the ſame order with thoſe on the foreſide. To wit, in ſuch a manner that the ſecond Verſe of the reverſe ſide began with *Omicron*, the fourth with *Upſilon*, the ſixth with *Omega.* *Vinetus* could not explain this Riddle. In my judgment *Serapis*'s name is denoted by theſe Letters; which God (as *Heſychius* atteſts) was called Ἑπταγράμματον, not only becauſe there are ſeven Letters contained in his name, but in regard he was uſually praiſed by the ſeven Vowells. Now, it was an uſage amongſt the ſuperſtitious Heathens to engrave *Serapis*'s name upon a brazen plate, and wear it hung about their necks in form of a Buckler. *Artemidorus* (book 4.) gives us an account of this uſage, in theſe words: ἔδοξέ τις τὸ ὄνομα τῦ σεραπιδ ἐγγεγραμμένον λεπίδι χαλκῇ περὶ τ τράχηλον δεδέσθαι, ὥσπερεὶ σκυτάλιν. *Valeſ.*

In what order the ſeven Greek Vowells were placed on the foreſide of this golden plate; the Learned Reader may ſee in *Vinetus's notes on the* 18th *Epiſtle of* Auſonius, *written to* Tetradius; *Edit. Burdigal.* 1590.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the Emperour Theodoſius, *during his ſtay in* Rome, *did a great deal of good to that City, both by demoliſhing thoſe Receptacles for Thieves in the* Bake-houſes, *and alſo* [*by prohibiting*] *the obſcene* [*uſe*] *of Bells in the Stews.*

MOreover, the Emperour *Theodoſius*, during his ſhort ſtay in *Italy*, was in many inſtances highly beneficiall to the City of *Rome*, partly by his donation of ſome things, and partly by his abrogating others. For his donations were many and great: and he * regulated two villanous and moſt infamous abuſes [frequently practiſed in] that City. The one whereof was this. There were in the † great City *Rome* houſes of a vaſt bigneſs and largneſs, long ſince [built,] wherein the bread was made which was diſtributed amongſt the Citizens. The Maſters of theſe houſes (whom the *Romans* in their language term [a] *Mancipes,*) in proceſs of time turned theſe Edifices into Receptacles for Thieves. For, in regard the *Bake-houſes* in theſe buildings were ſituated under ground; at the ſide of each of theſe Structures they built Victualling houſes, they were [*Maneipati*] bound to *the Colledge of Bakers*, and to the Trade of making Bread: and their goods and families were obnoxious to this Function. See *the eighteenth Law of the Theodoſian Code de Piſtoribus.* In which Law, they are the *Decuriales*, (concerning whom I have made ſeveral remarks *in my notes on Amm. Marcel.*) who were of the *Decuriæ* of the City of *Rome.* Theſe Officers had the cuſtody of all the publick *Acts* and *Monuments*; eſpecially *the ſentences of Judges, Contracts, Adoptions*, and the like. On which account (as *Caſſiodorus* tells us, book 5. Epiſt. 21,) *the quiet and ſecurity of all men, and the publick Faith was kept in their Desks.* There was over all theſe a *Rector* of the *Decuriæ*; concerning whoſe Office ſee *Caſſiodorus, book* 5. *Epiſt.* 21, 22. But, to return to the *Mancipes*; it is obſervable, that in the fore-mentioned Law *the Function* of the *Mancipes* or *Bakers* is termed *Mancipatus.* So alſo it is called in that *One Law in the Theodoſian Code de Mancipibus:* which Law was publiſhed at *Rome* by *Theodoſius*, in the Conſulate of *Timaſius* and *Promotus*; at the ſame time that theſe things (which *Socrates* here relates) were done. See *Meurſius's Gloſſary* in the word μαγκιπεῖον. It is further to be remarkt, that thoſe Conſtitutions made at *Rome* by *Theodoſius* (which *Socrates* treats of in this chapter, and places after the Emperours Victory over the Tyrant *Maximus,*) are by *Cedrenus* placed after *Theodoſius*'s Victory over the Tyrant *Eugenius.* But *Cedrenus*'s words (you will meet with this paſſage in *Cedrenus*, at pag. 266, *Edit. Baſil.*) are corrupt, which I mend thus: μετὰ δὲ τὸν νίκην τύτε εἰσελθὼν ἐν ῥώμῃ, πλεῖστον τῇ πόλει ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μαγκιπείοις κτ [in the *fore-mentioned Edition of Cedrenus* the word κτ *againſt* is omitted] πλῆθος ἐμπρόσθεν τῶν ξένων [in *Cedrenus*, inſtead of ξένων *ſtrangers*, it is ζῴων *living creatures:*] ἄχει γήρως τοῖς μύλωσι συγκλειομένοις, καὶ ἀλήθειν καταφρόμοις ἐποίησε; that is, *making his Entry into Rome after his Victory over this perſon* [Eugenius,] *he did a great deal of good to that City, and aboliſhed what* [*had been uſually done*] *in the Bake-houſes againſt ſtrangers that fell in thither, whom they ſhut up in the Bake-houſes till they became aged, and forced them to grind.* The Authour of this emendation in *Cedrenus*, is *Theophanes*, who alſo relates this fact of *Theodoſius*'s, after his Victory over *Eugenius.* Concerning theſe *Mancipes* there is an eminent paſſage extant in the *Excerptions of Joannes Lydus de Menſibus Græcorum*, in the month *March.* Valeſ.

* Or, *rendred ineffectuall.*

† Or, *in the Greateſt Rome.*

[a] Amongſt the *Romans*, *Bakers* were called *Mancipes*; becauſe

wherein

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wherein they proſtituted Whores, by which device they * trapanned many perſons; ſome going in thither to ſupply themſelves with food, others to ſatisfie their libidinous and filthy deſires. For, by a certain Engin [purpoſely made on that account] they were † conveyed from the Victualling houſe down into the Bake-houſe. This trick was chiefly put upon ſtrangers that ſojourned at *Rome*. Such as were after this manner trapan'd, they forced to work in the Bake-houſes. In which places many continued till they were grown old; being not permitted to go out, and their relations taking it for granted that they were dead. One of the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s Souldiers fell into this ſnare. But after the Souldier was ſhut up in the Bake-houſe, and not ſuffered to go out, he drew a Dagger that he had, and killed thoſe that oppoſed [his eſcape.] The reſt of them, affrighted at what had happened, let the Souldier go out. The Emperour having had notice hereof, puniſhed the *Mancipes*, and gave order that thoſe houſes, which were Receptacles for Thieves, ſhould be pulled down. This was one of the ignominious practiſes, from which the Emperour freed the Imperial City. Another was of this ſort. If a woman were taken in adultery, they puniſhed the delinquent, not with ſuch a ſort of puniſhment as might make her better, but in ſuch a manner rather as ſhould aggravate her offence. For they ſhut her up in a narrow Brothel-houſe, and forced her to play the whore in a moſt impudent manner. And, during the time of performing that moſt unclean act, they cauſed little [b] Bells to be rung, to the end that what was done [within] might not be concealed from thoſe who paſſed by; but that that ignominious puniſhment ſhould be made known to all people by the ſound of the Bells rung. When the Emperour had information of this impudent uſage, he would by no means tollerate it: but commanded thoſe *Siſtra* (for by that name *theſe Stews* were called,) to be pulled down; and gave order that women taken in adultery, ſhould be * puniſhed by other Laws. From theſe two moſt wicked and reproachfull † uſages, the Emperour *Theodoſius* freed the City of *Rome*. Who, after he had well ſettled all other affairs, left *Valentinianus Junior* Emperour at *Rome*. But he himſelf, together with his Son *Honorius*, returned to *Conſtantinople*, and entred that City in the Conſulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*, on the tenth of *November*.

* Intrapped.

† Or, *fell from the Victualling-houſes down into, &c.*

[b] I can ſcarce believe, that the *Romans* inflicted this ſort of puniſhment upon adultereſſes. For, after *Conſtantine*'s time, they always puniſht adultery with a capital puniſhment. We are informed hereof from the Emperours Laws extant in *Both the Codes, Tit. ad Legem Juliam de Adulteriis*. I omit the teſtimony of *Amm. Marcellinus*, book 28. Further, any one may conjecture, that thoſe little Bells, mentioned here by *Socrates* were not found out to puniſh adultereſſes; but were commonly made uſe of by all whores who proſtituting themſelves in their Cells, by this ſign called Travellers unto them. Concerning which cuſtome *Dio Caſſius* (in the *Fragments of his 79th book*, which I have ſome time ſince publiſhed,) ſpeaks theſe words: ὁ δὲ τέλος, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οἴκημά τι ἀποδείξας, &c. *In fine, having made a Cell within the Pallace, he acted his lechery therein, ſtanding naked before the door thereof, as whores uſually do, ſhaking his ſhirt which was hung up with golden rings, and with a ſoft, delicate, and broken voice, inviting his companions to him.* Valeſ. Theſe words *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of *Avitus* or *Heliogabalus*, Emperour of *Rome*; the Learned Reader will find this paſſage, at pag. 912. *Edit. Hanov.* 1606.

* Or, *made liable to puniſhment.*

† *Practiſes.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Penitentiary Presbyters, *how* [*theſe Officers in the Church*] *were at that time put down.*

ABout the ſame time it was judged requiſite to extinguiſh [the Office of] thoſe Preſbyters in the Churches, whoſe charge it was to overſee *Penitents*: [which was done] upon this account. [a] From ſuch time as the *Novatians* made a ſeparation of themſelves from the Church, becauſe they were unwilling to communicate with thoſe that had Lapſed in the Perſecution under *Decius*; the Biſhops added a Presbyter, who was to have the charge of penitency, to the [b] Canon of the Churches; to the intent that by the Fathers during the firſt and pureſt times, reformed open Tranſgreſſours, by putting them into Offices of open penitence, eſpecially Confeſſion, whereby they declared their own crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their firſt convention capable of the holy Myſteries of Chriſt, till they had ſolemnly diſcharged this duty. During which times, offenders in ſecret alſo, knowing themſelves altogether as unworthy of admiſſion to the Lords Table, as the other who were withheld; and being perſwaded, that if the Church did direct them in the Offices of their penitency, and aſſiſt them with publick prayer, they ſhould more eaſily attain what they ſought, than by truſting wholly to their own endeavours; Laſtly, having no impediment to ſtay them from it but baſhfullneſs, which countervailed not the fore-mentioned inducements; and beſides, was greatly eaſed by that good conſtruction, which the charity of thoſe times gave to ſuch actions, (wherein mens piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God purchaſed them much more love, than their faults were able to procure diſgrace;) theſe Offenders in ſecret, I ſay, were not nicè to uſe ſome one of Gods Miniſters, by whom the reſt might take notice of their faults, preſcribe them convenient remedies, and in the end, after publick confeſſion, all joyn in prayer to God for them. But, as profeſſours of Chriſtianity grew more numerous, ſo they waxed worſe; when perſecution ceaſed, the Church immediately became ſubject to thoſe miſchiefs, that are the product of peace and ſecurity; to wit, Schiſms, Diſcords, Diſſentions, &c: faults were not corrected in charity, but noted with delight, and treaſured up for malice to make uſe of, when the deadlieſt opportunities ſhould be offered. Whereupon, in regard publick confeſſions became dangerous and prejudicial to the ſafety of well minded men, and in diverſe reſpects advantageous to the Enemies of God's Church; it ſeemed firſt unto ſome, and afterwards generally requiſite, that voluntary penitents ſhould ceaſe from open confeſſion. Inſtead whereof, private and ſecret confeſſion was uſually practiſed, as well in the *Latine*, as in the *Greek* Church. The cauſe why the *Latins* made this change of publick confeſſion into private, *Leo the Great* declares, in *his Decretall Epiſtles*, Epiſt. 80, *ad Univerſos Epiſcopos per Campaniam* &c. pag. 148, 149. *Edit Lugd.* 1633. This alteration was made in the *Greek* Church, about ſuch time as the Hereſie of the *Novatianiſts* had its original, (which is our *Socrates*'s Sentiment here, and is very probable;) upon this occaſion. The Church reſolving (contrary to the opinion of *Novatus*, or rather *Novatianus*, and his followers; concerning which, ſee *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtor*, book 6. chap. 43.) to admit the Lapſed in the *Decian* perſecution to communion, and judging it fit, that before that their admiſſion, they (and all other voluntary penitents in future) ſhould do pennance and make confeſſion in private only; (to the end that the *Novatianiſts* might not take occaſion at the multitude of publick penitents, of inſulting over the diſcipline of the Church, as they uſually had done, and did:) conſtituted in every Church a *Penitentiary Presbyter*: whoſe Office it was, to take the confeſſions and appoint the pennances of ſecret offenders. So that, if penitents in ſecret, being guilty of crimes whereby they knew they had made themſelves unfit Gueſts for the Table of our Lord, did ſeek direction for their better performance of that which ſhould ſet them clear; it was in this caſe the *Penitentiarie's* duty to take their confeſſions, to adviſe them the beſt way he could for their ſouls good, to admoniſh them, to counſell them; but not to lay upon them more than private pennance. As for notorious wicked perſons, whoſe crimes were known; to convict, judge, and puniſh them, was the Office of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory; *Penitentiaries* had their inſtitution to another end. This Office of the *Penitentiary* was continued in the *Greek* Church for the ſpace of above ſome hundred years; till *Nectarius*, and the Biſhops of Churches under him begun a ſecond alteration, aboliſhing even that confeſſion which their *Penitentiaries* took in private, upon that occaſion which *Socrates* mentions here in this chapter. See Mr *Hooker's Eccleſ. Politie*, book 6. pag. 332. &c. *Edit. Lond.* 1666; alſo Dr *Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity*, Part 3. *Chap.* 5.

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[a] The courſe of diſcipline in relation to penetency, as it was practiſed

[b] In *Rob. Stephens Edit.* the reading is οἱ ὁπίσκοποι τὸν ἐκκλησίων κανόνι τὸν πρεσβύτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας προσέθεσαν, *The Biſhops added a Presbyter, who was to have the charge of penitency, to the Canon of the Churches.* In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading is [τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι, *to the Eccleſiaſtick Canon*;] which reading *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* and *Nicephorus* found in their copies, as appears by the Verſion of the firſt, and the *Greek* Text of the ſecond. Which two Authours took *Canon* to ſignifie a *Rule* or *Eccleſiaſtick Decree*. *Petavius*, in *his notes on Epiphanius*, pag. 242, took theſe words of *Socrates* in ſuch a ſenſe, as if the import of them were, *that the Biſhops, by publiſhing of a Canon then newly found out, added a Presbyter who ſhould take charge of the penitents*; which opinion of his he confirms by theſe following words of *Socrates*: ὅτῳ ὁ κανὼν, &c. *this Canon*

is in force to this day amongſt other Hereſies; where the term *Canon* is manifeſtly taken for a *Rule* and *Decree*. But *Valeſius* is not of *Petavius*'s opinion. His reaſons are, (1) The propriety of the Greek tongue admits not of this ſenſe. (2) If a new Canon were then made concerning the inſtitution of a *Penitentiary Presbyter*, he queries, where, and in what Councill it was publiſhed. *Valeſius*'s Sentiment therefore is, that the term Canon is here to be taken for the *Matricula*, or *Roll of Eccleſiaſtick Officers belonging to the Church*. In which ſenſe, he ſays, tis taken in the 2 *Can. Concil. Chalcedon.* pag. 112 *Edit. Beveredg.* where (tis true) it muſt be taken in a more comprehenſive ſenſe, than to ſignifie the *Clerus* only; that is, *thoſe who are ordained by impoſition of hands*: becauſe the Fathers in *that Canon* ſpeak of all the Eccleſiaſtick Officers, ſuch as were the *Oeconomi*, the *Defenſores*, the *Manſionarii*, &c. concerning whom ſee Dr *Beveredge*'s *Notes*, pag. 109. But, whether it is to be uſed in this ſenſe here, I determine not; let the Learned judge.

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ſuch perſons as had ſinned after Baptiſm, might make a confeſſion of their crimes [c] before this Presbyter inſtituted for that purpoſe. This Canon is in force to this day amongſt other Hereſies. Only the *Homoöuſians*, and (who embraced the ſame Sentiments with them, as to the Faith,) the *Novatians*, have refuſed [making uſe of] the *Penitentiary Presbyter*. For the *Novatians* admitted not of this *additional Function at its firſt inſtitution. But [the *Homoöuſians*] who are at this preſent in poſſeſſion of the Churches, after they had retained [the Office of the *Penitentiaries*] for a † long time, abrogated it in the times of *Nectarius* the Biſhop, on account of this accident which hapned in the [*Conſtantinopolitan*] Church. There came a [d] Gentlewoman to the *Penitentiarie* [of the Church of *Conſtantinople*; to whom] ſhe made particular confeſſion of thoſe ſins, which ſhe had committed after Baptiſm. The Presbyter adviſed the woman to faſt, and pray continually, that together with her confeſſion, ſhe might have ſome [e] work alſo worthy of Repentance to ſhew. [f] Some time after this the woman detected her ſelf of another crime. For ſhe confeſſed that a Deacon of that Church had lain with her. Upon her diſcovery hereof, the Deacon was ejected out of the Church: and the [g] people were in a kind of tumult diſturbed. For they were not only offended at what was done, but alſo becauſe that fact had brought an infamy and diſgrace upon the Church. When therefore Eccleſiaſtick perſons were reproacht upon this account, one *Eudæmon* a Presbyter of that Church, by birth an *Alexandrian*, adviſed *Nectarius* the Biſhop, to [h] aboliſh the Penitentiary Persbyters [Office;] and to leave every perſon to his own conſcience, for the participation of the [Holy] Myſteries: VALENT. Jun. THEODOSIUS

[c] What the courſe of diſcipline in relation to penitency was, as it was practiſed by the Fathers during the firſt and pureſt times, before *Penitentiaries* were inſtituted; we have declared at *note* (*a*.) in this chapter,

[e] *Valeſius* ſays here, he can't be induced to believe, that this Gentlewoman did publick pennance. His reaſons for this are (1) Women were very rarely compelled to do publick pennance, the Church being indulgent towards the modeſty of Matrons. (2) Nothing occurs at this paſſage, which may make us think this Matron's pennance was publick. (3) in regard ſhe is injoyned to faſt and pray continually; that may be underſtood of private ſatisfaction, which ſhe performed at home and in ſecret. To which reaſons of *Valeſius*'s, a fourth may be added, drawn from the *Penitentiaries* Office: which was *to take the Confeſſions of ſecret penitents, to adviſe them the beſt way he could for their ſouls health, to admoniſh and councel them, but not to lay on them more than private pennance. See note* (*a*) *in this chapter.*

[f] In the original, 'tis thus expreſt, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ μεθυβάινσα· μεθυβάινσα has the ſame import here with μετὰ ταῦτα, That is, *in proceſs of time, or ſome time after this.* For *Socrates*'s meaning is, that this was the womans ſecond confeſſion. Which is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, and *Sozomen*; who (in *his Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 7. chap. 16,) words this paſſage thus; τῆς χάριν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διατελέσασα, &c. *Whileſt ſhe made her abode in the Church upon this account,* [to wit, of performing the pennance injoyned her by the Penitentiary,] *ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been debaucht by a Deacon.* It may alſo not unfitly be thus: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ μεθυβάινσα, &c. *But the woman came to* [the Penitentiary,] *and detected,* &c. *Valeſ.*

[g] Here ariſes a difficulty, to wit, how this fact could come to the peoples knowledge, if the womans confeſſion were ſecret? How alſo the Biſhop could know this wicked fact, who degraded the Deacon on account thereof? My Sentiment is, that the *Penitentiary-Presbyter*, to whom the woman had confeſſed this impious act, firſt ſent for the Deacon, reproving him before the woman, and forced him to a confeſſion of his crime: then, he made a report of the whole matter to *Nectarius* the Biſhop, by whom he had been ſet over the penitents: and whoſe deputy he was in that Office. For the *Penitentiary* heard confeſſions only, and enjoyned pennances. But the Biſhop himſelf reconciled penitents. Nor ought any one to make this objection, *viz.* if we admit what you have ſaid to be true, it follows that the ſecrets of confeſſion may be diſcovered. I deny that conſequence. For the *Penitentiary-Presbyter* made known the Deacon's wickedneſs only to the Biſhop; the Matron's name he concealed. Further, the Deacon's degradation does plainly confirm what I have aſſerted. For *Nectarius* the Biſhop could not have depoſed him, had he not had intimation from the *Penitentiary*, who had detected the Deacon of whoredom. *Valeſ.*

[h] The Learned Reader muſt have obſerved, that there is nothing wherein the *Romaniſts* do more diſagree amongſt themſelves, than in their accounts of this fact of *Nectarius*. *Petavius* (in *his notes on Epiphanius*, pag. 243,) does maintaine, that *Nectarius* abrogated publick pennance only, but continued confeſſion, that is private confeſſion; for publick, he ſays, was never in uſe in the Church. *Valeſius* (in his note at this place) does aſſert, that neither confeſſion, nor pennance were aboliſhed by *Nectarius*; but that the Biſhop removed *this particular Penitentiary-Presbyter* only, and that but for a time, becauſe of the diſcontented people's indignation. One *John Haſſelius*, (who is mentioned by *Pamelius*, in *his* 98th *note on Saint* Cyprian's *Treatiſe de Lapſis*,) worte a book on purpoſe to ſhew that *Nectarius* did but put the *Penitentiary* from his Office, and abrogated not the Office it ſelf. But all theſe aſſertions are palpably contradicted (1) by the whole advice which *Eudæmon* gives *Nectarius* in this chapter, to wit, of leaving the people from that time forward to their own conſciences; (2) by the conference between our *Socrates* and *Eudæmon*, which follows in this chapter; wherein complaint is made of ſome inconvenience which the want of this Office would breed: (3) by that which the Hiſtory declares concerning other Churches, who did as *Nectarius* had done before them, not in deposing the ſame man (for that was impoſſible) but in removing the ſame Office out of their Churches, which *Nectarius* had abrogated in his. All theſe particulars are evident from this chapter in *Socrates*; with whom *Sozomen* (book 7. chap. 16.) agrees, and adds further that

mоſtly in Mr *Hookers own words*. Which *incomparable Authour*, in the forecited book of *his Eccleſ. Politie*, has by unexceptionable authorities made it evident, (whatever the Learned Reader may find ſaid to the contrary by *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt 56, by *Petavius* in *his Diatriba* about this point which occurs at pag. 225, of *his notes on Epiphanius*, or by *Bellarmine*:) that the ancient ἐξομολόγησις, or confeſſion, which the Primitives uſe to ſpeak of in the exerciſe of repentance, *was made openly in the hearing of the whole both Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory and aſſembly.* After the inſtitution of *Penitentiary Presbyters* in every Church, this publick confeſſion was abrogated; and ſuch as were guilty of crimes, confeſſed them not ὀπὶ τῷ λαῷ, *in the preſence of the people*, but (as *Socrates* here ſays) ἐπὶ τῷ μεθυβληθέντι τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, *before this Presbyter inſtituted for that purpoſe.* The ſame is confirmed by *Sozomen*, book 7. chap. 16. where he tells us, how a Presbyter Elected to the Office of a *Penitentiary*, was to be qualified. One of his qualifications was, that he ought to be ἐγκέμυθος, *a perſon that could hold his tongue*: by which 'tis plain, that the confeſſions made to him were private, and to be kept concealed.

* That is, the Office of the *Penitentiary*. For theſe Hereticks admitted no perſon to their communion upon any repentance, who was once known to have ſinned after Baptiſm: ſee *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 6. chap. 43. which practiſe of theirs, how fair ſoever their pretence might ſeem, made ſinners not the fewer, but the cloſer, and the more obdurate.

† To wit, from the Perſecution under the Emperour *Decius*, till after the Election of *Nectarius* to the Epiſcopate of *Conſtantinople*.

[d] *Valeſius*, in his note here, ſtarts this query; whether the confeſſion made by this Gentlewoman were publick, or private? In order to the anſwering whereof, he remarks, that ſhe confeſt twice before the *Penitentiary*. At her firſt confeſſion, ſhe made known all her ſins; whereupon ſhe is adviſed to continue in faſting and prayer. At her ſecond, ſhe diſcovered her having been debaucht by the Deacon. Theſe two confeſſions (continues *Valeſius*,) were different both in time and manner. The firſt was of all her faults κατὰ μέρος, *particularly* (as *Socrates* words it;) the ſecond was of one crime only. All which may perhaps be true. After this remark made, *Valeſius* concludes both theſe confeſſions to have been ſecret; which (ſays he) is apparent from theſe two reaſons (1) becauſe publick confeſſion was never in uſe in the Church: (2) in regard *Socrates* ſays, that this woman accuſed not her ſelf before the people, but before the *Penitentiary*. *Valeſius*'s firſt reaſon appears evidently falſe, not only from Mr *Hookers* words quoted before, and the unqueſtionable authorities he there produces to prove what he aſſerts; but from a paſſage in *Sozomen* book 7. chap. 16. where that *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorian*, (giving reaſons of the alteration which the *Grecians* made, by abrogating publick confeſſion, and inſtituting *Penitentiaries* throughout all Churches to take the confeſſions and appoint the penances of ſecret offenders,) aſſignes this for one: φορτικὸν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἔξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔδοξεν, &c. *It did from the beginning deſervedly ſeem burthenſome to the Prieſts, that ſins ſhould be declared before the whole congregation of the Church as witneſſes, in a Theatre as it were*; from which words 'tis evident that publick confeſſion was once in faſhion in the Church. *Valeſius*'s ſecond reaſon we have before cleared and confirmed by the joynt Teſtimony of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. See note (*c*.)

that in his time (he lived in the reign of the *Younger Theodosius,*) the same abolition did still continue, and that the Bishops had in a manner every where followed the example given them by *Nectarius*. But, though the *Romanists* differ (as you see) in their Sentiments about this fact of *Nectarius*'s: yet they all unanimously agree in this, to wit, that *Nectarius* did not abrogate *Auricular Confession*. The reason of their consent in this assertion is plain: should it be acknowledged, that *Nectarius* did abrogate *Auricular* (or private) *Confession*, (as 'tis evident he did, from the attestation both of *Socrates* and *Sozomen,*) it would enforce them to grant, that the *Greek Church* at that time held not Confession, as the *Latine Church* now doth, to be the part of a Sacrament instituted by our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, which therefore the Church till the worlds end hath no power to alter. See Mr *Hookers Eccles. Politie*, pag. 343, &c. *Edit. Lond.* 1666.

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For this [in his judgment] was the only way of freeing the Church from obloquie and disgrace. I my self having heard these words from *Eudæmon*, have taken the boldness to insert them into this my History. For, as I have often said, I have used my utmost care and industry, to procure an account of affairs from those that knew them best; and to make accurate researches into them, lest I should record any passage which is untrue. But my answer to *Eudæmon* [when he told me hereof] first, was this; [i] *Whether your advice, O Presbyter! hath been for the Churches good, or otherwise, God knoweth. But I see that it has given an occasion, of our not reprehending one anothers faults any more, nor of our observing that Apostolick Precept, which saith,* [*] *have no fellowship with the unfruitfull works of darkness, but rather reprove them.* But, let thus much be sufficient to have been said concerning these things.

[i] From this answer of *Socrates*'s to *Eudæmon*, 'tis apparent, that *Nectarius*'s abolition of the *Penitentiary-Presbyter*'s Office, displeased our *Socrates*.

* Ephes. 5. 11.

Whence we may evidently conclude, (what ever *Baronius* and *Petavius* have said to the contrary, at the places before quoted) that our *Socrates* was no *Novatianist*. For, had he embraced that Heresie, he would doubtless never have found fault with that Sanction of *Nectarius*'s, whereby he abrogated the *Penitentiary*: nor would he have doubted to pronounce these words concerning the advice *Eudæmon* suggested to *Nectarius*, to wit, *whether it were usefull or hurtfull to the Church*: for the *Novatians* never admitted either of penitency, or of the *Penitentiary-Presbyter*. Besides, *Socrates* in this place terms the assembly of the *Homoousians* barely and simply *The Church*: which he would questionless never have done, had he been a follower of the *Novatian* Heresie. *Vales.*

CHAP. XX.

That there were [*at that time*] *many Schisms amongst the* Arians, *and other Hereticks.*

But I think it fit, not to leave unmentioned those things also which hapned amongst others, I mean the *Arians*, *Novatians*, and those who had their denominations from *Macedonius* and *Eunomius*. For the Church being divided, rested not in that division once made. But turning again, came to an engagement one with another; and taking hold of a small and frivolous pretence, raised mutual separations and divisions. Now, in what manner, when, and for what reasons, each party were the Authours of dissentions amongst themselves, we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But this you must know, that the Emperour *Theodosius* persecuted none of them, except *Eunomius*: who holding his meetings in private houses at *Constantinople*, and reciting the books he had written, was by the Emperours order sent into banishment, in regard he corrupted many persons with his doctrine. But the Emperour molested none of the other [Hereticks,] nor did he force them to a communion with himself. But permitted every one of them to meet at their private Conventicles, and to entertain such Sentiments concerning the Christian Faith, as every of them * could attain to in their conceptions thereof. He gave the other Hereticks a Licence of building themselves Oratories without the Cities. But ordered, that the *Novatians*, (in regard they embraced the same Sentiments with himself, as to the Faith,) should without any fear continue in their Churches within the Cities, as I have said before. Concerning whom I judge it opportune to relate some passages, and shall make a short repetition of what has been said before.

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* Or, *could comprehend in their opinion thereof.*

CHAP. XXI.

That the Novatians *also disagreed amongst themselves.*

Agelius Presided over the Church of the *Novatians* at *Constantinople* during the space of fourty years, from the times of *Constantine* untill the sixth year of the Emperour *Theodosius*, as I have * somewhere related before. Being near his death, he ordains *Sisinnius* to succeed him in his Bishoprick. He was a Presbyter of that Church over which *Agelius* Presided; a person of great eloquence, and had been instructed in Philosophy by *Maximus* the Philosopher at the same time [that he read to] the Emperour *Julian*. But when the *Novatian* Congregation found fault with this Ordination, because [*Agelius*] had not rather ordained *Marcianus*, a person of an eminent piety, by † whose interest the *Novatians* had continued unmolested during *Valens*'s Reign; *Agelius*, desirous to appease the people's discontent, ordained *Marcianus* also: and being somewhat recovered from his distemper, he went into the Church, and spake these words to the people on his own account: *After my decease, (saies he) take Marcianus* [*for your Bishop,*] *and after Marcianus, Sisinnius.* Having survived these words a small time, he ended his life. *Marcianus* therefore being constituted Bishop over the *Novatians*, there arose a division in their Church also, upon this account. One *Sabbatius*, (a person that had turned *Christian* from being a *Jew*,) being by *Marcianus* promoted to the dignity of a Presbyter, continued notwithstanding a zealous promoter of *Judaism*, wherewith he had been leavened before. Moreover, he was extreamly ambitious of being made a Bishop. Having therefore procured two Presbyters (*Theoctistus* and *Macarius*, who were privy to his ambitious design,) to be his Assistants, he took a resolution of defending that innovation [made by the *Novatians*] in *Valens*'s Reign, concerning the Festival of *Easter*, at *Pazum* a Village in *Phrygia*; which I have mentioned || before. And first of all, under pretence of [following] an *Ascetick* and more austere course of life, he secretly withdrew from the Church, saying that he was aggrieved upon the account of some persons; in regard he had a suspicion, that they were unworthy of a participation of the * Mysteries. But in process of time his design was discovered, to wit, that his desire was to hold private and separate meetings. When *Marcianus* understood this, he himself complained of his own mistake in ordaining, to wit, because he had promoted persons so ambitious of vainglory to the † Presbyterate. And being grieved, did frequently use to say, *that it had been better he had laid his hands on thorns, than when he preferred Sabbatius to the dignity of a Presbyter.*

* See *Socrat.* book 4. chap. 9. & book 5. chap. 10.

† See *Socrat.* book 4. chap. 9.

|| *Socrat.* book 4. chap. 28.

* That is, *the Eucharist.*

† *The Office of Presbyter.*

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Moreover, * he procured a Synod of *Novatian* Biſhops to be convened at [a] *Sangarum*; which is a *Mart-Town* in *Bithynia*, lying near *Helenopolis*. [The Biſhops] being convened there, ſent for *Sabbatius*, and ordered him to ſet forth before the Synod the reaſons of his grief. Upon his affirming, that the diſſention about [the obſervation] of the Feaſt [of *Eaſter*] was the cauſe of his being troubled, (for it ought [as he ſaid] to be kept in the ſame manner that the *Jews* obſerved it, and agreeable to that Sanction which thoſe convened at *Pazum* promulged:) the Biſhops preſent at the Synod, having a ſuſpition, that *Sabbatius* pretended all this on account of his being deſirous of a Biſhoprick, bound him with an oath, that he ſhould never accept of a Biſhoprick. When he had ſworn to this, they publiſhed a * Rule concerning the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, to which Canon they gave this Title, † *Adiaphoros:* affirming that a diſagreement about the Feſtival [of *Eaſter*] was not a ſufficient reaſon for a ſeparation from the Church; and that thoſe convened at *Pazum* did no prejudice to the Catholick and univerſal Rule. For, the Ancients [they ſaid,] and thoſe who lived neareſt the Apoſtles times, although they differed in the obſervation of this Feſtival, yet communicated one with another, and in no wiſe raiſed any diſſention [on that account.] Beſides, the *Novatians* [they added,] who inhabit the Imperial City *Rome*, never followed the Jewiſh uſage; but always kept *Eaſter* after the *Æquinox*; and yet they ſeparated not from thoſe of their own Faith, who obſerved not the Feaſt of *Eaſter* after the ſame manner that they themſelves did. Upon theſe and many ſuch like mature conſiderations, they made that *Indifferent Canon* (which I have mentioned) concerning *Eaſter*: whereby it was left to every ones arbitrement, to celebrate *Eaſter* according to that uſage which by a prejudicate opinion he had embraced: and that there ſhould be no diſſention in relation to communion, but that thoſe who celebrated that Feſtival after a different manner, ſhould notwithſtanding continue in the unity and agreement of the Church. This Rule therefore concerning the Feaſt of *Eaſter:* having at that time been conſtituted and confirmed by them; *Sabbatius* being bound by his oath, (if at any time there hapned any diſcrepancy in the celebration of the Feaſt of *Eaſter*,) himſelf anticipated the Faſt by keeping it in private by himſelf, [b] and having watched all night, he celebrated the ſolemn day of the Sabbath of the Paſſover. And again, on the day following, he came to the Church at ſuch time as the whole congregation were aſſembled there, and together with them partook of the Myſteries. This he did for many years: and therefore could not avoid being taken notice of by the multitude. Upon which account ſome of the ſimpler ſort of people, more eſpecially the *Phrygians* and *Galatians*, thinking they ſhould be juſtified by this fact, imitated *Sabbatius*, and kept the Paſſover in ſecret agreeable to his faſhion. But ſome time after this, *Sabbatius* diſregarding his oath, held Schiſmatical Meetings by himſelf, and was conſtituted Biſhop over thoſe that were his own followers, as we ſhall manifeſt in the procedure of our Hiſtory.

* That is, *Marcianus.*

[a] Inſtead of [ἐν Σαγδῳ, *at Angarum*] the reading muſt doubtleſs be [ἐν Σαρ-γάρῳ, *at Sangarum:*] ſo *Epiphan. Scholaſticus*, and *Nicephorus* read it; and the ſame reading occurs in *Sozomen*, book 7. chap. 18. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Canon.*

† That is, *Indifferent.*

[b] This place is corrupted; nor is this fault of a ſhort ſtanding. For, even in *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s age, this miſtake had crept into the copies of *Socrates*, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For *Epiphanius* renders it thus: *Cum hæc ab eis tunc fuiſſet regula definita*, &c. *When this determination had at that time been made by them*, Sabbatius *bound by his oath, (if at any time there hapned any diſcrepancy in the Paſchal ſolemnity,) faſted by himſelf, and by night celebrated the ſolemn day of the Paſſover on the Sabbath; and again, met with the whole congregation in the Church, and partook of the Myſteries.* *Chriſtopherſon* has expreſt the ſame ſenſe in his Verſion. *Nicephorus* alſo (Eccleſ. Hiſt. book 12. chap. 31,) has followed the ſame ſenſe. For he ſays, that *Sabbatius*, (as often as the *Chriſtians* differed from the *Jews* in the celebration of *Eaſter*,) was wont to faſt in private by himſelf, and to celebrate the Paſſover on the Paſchal-Sabbath about evening, after the Jewiſh manner. Then on the Sunday following, after the *Solemn Vigills*, his uſage was to celebrate *Eaſter* with the reſt of the *Chriſtians*, or rather *Novatians*. But this interpretation does in no wiſe pleaſe me. For thus *Sabbatius* (as often as the Jewiſh Paſſover differed from the *Chriſtian-Paſchal-Feaſt*,) could not have celebrated the firſt Paſchal-ſolemnity with the *Jews*. Then, if *Sabbatius* always celebrated the firſt Paſchal-ſolemnity on the Sabbath day at evening after the Jewiſh manner, how is it poſſible, that he could celebrate the *Solemn Vigills* in the Church on the ſame Sabbath-day? For this is atteſted in expreſs words by *Socrates* here, and by *Sozomen*, book 7. chap. 18. My Sentiment therefore is, that the words in this place of *Socrates* are tranſpoſed, and muſt be put into their Priſtine order after this manner: ὁ Σαββάτιος τοῖς ὅρκοις δεθεὶς, εἴ ποτε διαφωνημάτιόν ἐγίνετο ἢ περὶ τὰ πάσχα ἑορτὴ, αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐνήστευε, καὶ ἐπετέλει τὸ πάσχα. Καὶ νυκτερεύων τῷ νενομισμένην τῆς Σαββάτου ἡμέραν, πάλιν τῇ ἑξῆς ἅμα πᾶσι καὶ τῷ ἐκκλησίαν συνήγετο, καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων μετελάμβανε; that is, *Sabbatius being bound by his oath, (if at any time a diſagreement hapned in the celebration of the Paſchal-Feſtival,) himſelf by way of anticipation faſted in private at home, and celebrated the Paſſover. And watching all night on the ſolemn day of the Sabbath, again on the next day he went to Church together with the reſt of the congregation, and partook of the myſteries.* *Sozomen* does evidently confirm this our emendation, in his ſeventh book chap. 18; where he ſets forth the ſame thing much more clearly in theſe words: ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ Σαββάτιος τοῖς ἰουδαίοις ἐπόμενος, &c. *But from that time Sabbatius following the Jews, (unleſs it by chance hapned that all perſons [as well Chriſtians, as Jews] did celebrate the Feaſt [of Eaſter] at one and the ſame time,) faſted before hand, as the manner is, and celebrated the Paſchal ſolemnity in private by himſelf, according to the ſanctions [of the Moſaick Law.] But on the Sabbath, from the evening to a fit time, he continued watching and making the uſuall prayers, and on the day following met in the Church in common with the congregation, and partook of the myſteries.* *Sabbatius* therefore kept the Paſchal ſolemnity twice in one and the ſame year; the firſt time with the *Jews*, the ſecond with the *Chriſtians:* unleſs it by chance hapned, that the *Chriſtians* agreed with the *Jews* in the time of celebrating the Paſchal Feaſt. Which could very rarely happen. *Valeſ.* Our *Engliſh-rendition* of this paſſage agrees with the *Greek* Text in *Rob. Stephens's Edition*, and that in this Edition of *Valeſius's*.

CHAP. XXII.

This Hiſtorian's *Sentiment concerning the diſagreements which appear in ſome places, in relation to the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *Baptiſms, Faſts, Marriages, the order of celebrating the Euchariſt, and other Eccleſiaſtick Rites and Obſervances.*

But, I think it not unſeaſonable to declare in ſhort what comes into my mind concerning *Eaſter*. Neither the Ancients, nor the Moderns who have ſtudiouſly followed the *Jews*, had in my judgment any juſt or rational cauſe of contending ſo much about this Feſtival. For they conſidered not with themſelves, that when the Jewiſh Religion was changed into Chriſtianity, thoſe accurate [obſervances] of the *Moſaick* Law, and the Types [of things future] wholly ceaſed. And this carries along with it its own demonſtration. For, no one of Chriſt's Laws has permitted the *Chriſtians* to obſerve the Rites of the *Jews*. Moreover, on the contrary, the Apoſtle has expreſly forbid this, and does not only reject Circumciſion, but alſo adviſes againſt contending about Feſtival days. Wherefore, in *his Epiſtle to the Galatians*, his words are theſe, * *Tell me, ye that deſire to be under the Law, do ye not hear the Law?* And having ſpent ſome few words in his diſcourſe hereof, he demonſtrates, that the people of the *Jews* are ſervants, but that thoſe who have † followed Chriſt are called to Liberty. Moreover, 'tis his admonition, that days and months and years ſhould in

* Galat. 4. 21.

† Or, *approached.*

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in no wise be observed. Besides, in *his Epistle to the Colossians* he does loudly affirm, that [such] observations are a shadow. Wherefore he says, * *Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of any holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come.* And in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, this very [Apostle] does confirm the same things in these words: † *For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.* The Apostle therefore, and the Gospels have no where imposed the yoak of servitude on those who have approached the Preaching [of the Faith:] but have left the Feast of *Easter*, and the other Festivals, to be honoured by their gratitude and benevolence, who have had benefits conferred upon them [on those days.] Wherefore, in regard men love Festivals, because thereon they have a cessation from their labours, each person in every place, according to his own pleasure, has by a certain custom celebrated the memory of the saving Passion. For neither our Saviour, nor his Apostles, have enjoyned us by any Law to observe this Festival. Nor have the Gospels or the Apostles threatned us with any mulct, punishment, or curse, as the *Mosaick Law* does the *Jews*. For, 'tis meerly for the History's sake, in order to [a publishing of] the reproach of the *Jews*, (because they polluted themselves with bloud on their very Festivals,) that it has been recorded in the Gospells that our Saviour suffered even on the days of unleavened bread. Moreover, it was not the Apostles design, to make Laws concerning Festival days, but to introduce good life and piety. And it seems to me, that, as many other things in several places have been established by custom, so the Feast of *Easter* also hath had a peculiar observation amongst all persons from some old usage, in regard none of the Apostles, as I have said, have made any determinate Decree about it. Now, that the observation of this Festival had its original amongst all men in the Primitive times from custom rather than Law, the things themselves do demonstrate. For, in *Asia the Less*, most people kept the fourteenth day of the Moon, disregarding the Sabbath day. And though this was their practise, yet they never made a separation from those who celebrated the Feast of *Easter* otherwise: till such time as *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, over-much heated with anger, sent an * *Excommunicatory Libell* to the † *Quartodecimani* in *Asia*. For which fact *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France* severely reproved *Victor* by Letter; blaming him for his immoderate heat; and informing him, that although the Ancients differed in their celebration of the Feast of *Easter*, yet they did in no wise separate from a mutual communion. Also, that *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, [a] who afterwards suffered Martyrdom under *Gordianus*, communicated with *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, and made no separation from him on account of this Festival, although *Polycarp* himself, according to his own country usage [practised] in [the Church of] *Smyrna*, kept *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, as *Eusebius* says in the * *Fifth Book of his Ecclesiastick History*. Some therefore in *Asia the Less*, as I have said, kept the fourteenth day of the Moon. Others in the [b] *Eastern parts*, celebrated that Feast on the † Sunday indeed; but they differed concerning the month. Those [first mentioned] were of opinion, that the *Jews* were to be followed, although they observed not an exact Rule. [c] These celebrated *Easter* after the *Æquinox*, refusing to keep that Feast with the *Jews*. For they affirm that *Easter* must always be kept when the Sun is in *Aries*, on that month which the *Antiochians* term *Xanthicus*, and the *Romans April*. And in their practise hereof, they followed [as they affirmed] not the modern *Jews* who mistake almost in all things, but the Ancients of that Nation, and *Josephus*; agreeable whereto are the words of that Authour in *his Third Book of the Jewish Antiquities*. And thus these persons disagreed amongst themselves. But, all other [Christians] in the Western parts as far as the Ocean it self, are found to have celebrated *Easter* after the Æquinox, from a very ancient tradition. For all these persons keep it after this manner, and have never disagreed amongst themselves. Nor did the * Synod under *Constantine* alter this Festival, as [d] some have noysed it abroad. For *Constantine* himself writing to those persons who differed about this Festival, advised them, in regard they were but few, to become followers of those who exceeded them in number. You will find the Emperours Letter entire, in *the Third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*. But that part of it [which treats] concerning the Feast of *Easter*, runs thus: ——* *And since 'tis a decent Order, which all the Churches in the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the world do observe; and some places also in the East. Upon which account, all persons have at present judged it good and right, (and We Our Self also have engaged it will please Your Prudence;) [to wit,] that what is observed with one concordant mind in the City of* Rome, *throughout* Italy, Africa, *all* Egypt, Spaine, *the* Gallia's, *the* Britannia's, *the* Libya's, *all* Greece, *the* Asian and Pontick Diœcesis, *and* Cilicia; *will willingly be embraced by Your Prudence also: which will attentively consider, not only that the number of Churches in the forenamed places is greater; but also, that 'tis most just and commendable, that all persons should chiefly and in common desire that, which*

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* See *Euseb. Eccles. Histor.* book 5. chap. 24. note *(i.)*

† That is, *those that kept* Easter *on the fourteenth day of the moon.*

[a] But *Socrates* is mistaken. For *Polycarp* did not suffer Martyrdom in *Gordianus*'s reign, but in that of *Marcus Antoninus*, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, and other writers. 'Tis certain, that *Irenæus* does relate, (in *his third book against Heresies*, which piece he wrote during *Eleutherius*'s presidency over the *Roman* Church, that is, in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*,) that *Polycarp* had at that time suffered Martyrdom. Wherefore these words [*who afterwards suffered Martyrdom under Gordianus*] are rather to be placed a little above, after these [*Irenæus Bishop of Lyons in France.*] For they are more accommodate to *Irenæus*, than to *Polycarp*. But let the prudent Reader determine hereof according to his own arbitrement. I know indeed, that in S[t] *Benignus Divionensis's Chronicle*, the Martyrdom of *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* is placed before *Polycarp*'s. For the Authour of that *Chronicle* does relate, that *Irenæus*, after his Martyrdom, appeared to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* in his sleep, and commanded him to send *Benignus* into the *Gallia*'s. But these are meer trifles. *Vales.*

† In the *Greek* 'tis *on the Sabbath.*

[b] He seems to mean the *Syrians*, *Cilicians*, and *Mesopotamians*, who kept *Easter* with the *Jews* before the *Nicene Council*, as *Athanasius* informs us, in *his Epistle to the Africans*, in these words: ἐπειδὴ ὅτι κατὰ συνέλευσιν, &c. *in regard the Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians differ from us, and celebrate* [Easter] *at the same time that the Jews keep it.* Those Eastern people therefore, concerning whom *Socrates* speaks, followed the *Jews* indeed, in that they observed the fourteenth day of the Moon of the first month before the *Æquinox*. But they celebrated not *Easter* on the same day whereon the Jews kept it, but on the Sunday following. Wherefore, *Athanasius* says, that they kept *Easter* at the same time with the *Jews*, but not on the same day; as his Translatour has ill rendred it. *Vales.*

[c] He means (I think) the *Montanistæ*, and *Pepusiani*, who kept *Easter* indeed after the *Æquinox*. But always fixt that Festival on the month *Xanthicus* or *April*, before *the eight of the Ides* (that is, *the sixth day*) *of April*; as *Sozomen* attests, book 7. chap. 18. *Vales.*

* He means the *Nicene Synod.*

[d] To wit, the *Audiani*. For these Hereticks affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, pag. 822. *Edit. Petav. Vales.*

* See *Euseb. Life of Constantine*, book 3. chap. 19.

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which strict reason seems to require; and [e] *to have no society with the perjury of the Jews.* Such is the Emperours Letter. Further, the *Quartodecimani* do affirm, that the observation of the fourteenth day of the Moon was delivered to them by *John* the *Apostle*. But the *Romans*, and those in the Western parts say, that the usage in force with them was delivered by the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*. Notwithstanding, neither of these two parties can produce any written testimony in confirmation hereof. Moreover, that the Feast of *Easter* is kept in all places from some usage and custom, I do from hence conjecture. No Sect of Religion observes the same ceremonies, [f] although it embraces one and the same opinion concerning God. For they that are of the same Faith, differ amongst themselves concerning Rites. Wherefore, it will not be unseasonable to add a few words concerning the different usages of Churches. First therefore, you may find that the Fasts before *Easter* are observed one way by some, and in a manner different by others. [g] For they at *Rome* fast three continued weeks before *Easter*, excepting *Saturdays* and *Sundays*. The Inhabitants of *Illyricum*, those throughout all *Achaia*, and [h] they at *Alexandria*, observe a Fast of six weeks before *Easter*, which they

[e] Instead of [ἔχει *have*,] the reading in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. is [ἔχειν, *to have*] so it is in *Eusebius*; and so *Epiphan. Scholasticus* read, as appears by his Version. *Vales.*

[f] Instead of [καὶ πλὴν αὐτῶ τῷ περὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν δόξαν ἀσπάζηται,] in my judgment the reading should be [καὶ πλὴν αὐτῷ τῷ περὶ τῆ Θεῆ δόξαν ἀσπάζηται, although it *embraces one and the same opinion concerning God.*] *Socrates's* meaning is this; *all Religions and Sects have different Rites and Ceremonies, although they entertain the same Sentiments concerning God.* But the following words do plainly confirm our emendation. For *Socrates* adds, *for they that are of the same Faith*, &c. *Nicephorus* also favours this our amendment; for he has expresst this passage in *Socrates* thus: *For though all men are of the same opinion, yet they observe not the same traditions throughout the Churches.* Vales.

[g] *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 57 and 391, accuses *Socrates* of a double mistake; First, because he says that the *Romans* fasted three weeks only in *Lent* before *Easter*; Secondly, in regard he asserts, that in those three weeks, *Saturdays* were excepted, on which days the *Romans* fasted not. As to the first, *Socrates's* opinion is defended against *Baronius*, by *Halloixius* in *his notes on the* 11th *chapter of Ireneus's Life*, pag. 678. That which makes me incline to *Socrates's* opinion, is the authority of *Cassiodorus*, who in *his Tripertite History* has put this passage in *Socrates* into these words: *Romani enim tres ante pascha Septimanas, præter Sabbatum & dominicam, sub continuatione jejunant, the Romans fast three weeks before Easter without intermission, except on Saturday and Sunday.* Could *Cassiodorus* be ignorant of the custom of the *Roman Church* in the observation of the *Lent Fast*, who was himself a *Senatour*, *Consul*, and *Præfectus Prætorio* in the City of *Rome*? Who can believe he would have put these words of *Socrates* into his History, if he had known the thing had been otherwise? Doubtless, *Cassiodorus*, had he known this to have been false, would on purpose have omitted *Socrates's* words, lest he should leade his Reader into a mistake. Which in regard *Cassiodorus* has not done, but was resolved to have *Socrates's* testimony concerning the *Romans* Lent Fast read in the History which bears his name; from thence 'tis apparent, that what *Socrates* has said concerning the *Romans* Fast is true. In the Catholick Church, though the *Lent Fast* was always observed by all persons, yet they fasted not after one and the same manner, as *Irenæus* informs us in *his Epistle to Victor Bishop of Rome*; a considerable part whereof is quoted by *Eusebius Eccles. Hist.* book 5. chap. 24. wherefore *Baronius* is impertinent in opposing *Socrates* with the testimony of *Gregorius Magnus*. For the *Romans* fasted in *Lent* after one manner in *Socrates's* age, after another in the days of *Gregory the Great*. In the times of *Pope Leo*, with which *Socrates* was in a manner equall, the *Romans* fasted three days of the week only in *Lent*, to wit, on *Munday*, *Wednesday*, and *Friday*, as 'tis apparent from that *Pope's Sermons concerning Lent*. In the *Roman Order* I have in my judgment found a foottstep of that ancient Custom, which *Socrates* relates here. For, that Sunday of *Lent* vulgarly termed *Dominica de passione Domini*, is called *Dominica Mediana*; which name, 'tis said, was given it by command of the *Roman See*. Now, I see no other reason why it should be so termed, than, that of the three weeks wherein the *Romans* fasted in *Lent*, this was the *second Sunday*. *Bede* (in *his Book concerning the Vernal Æquinox*) relates, that in *Italy* some fasted twenty days, others seven. But now, what *Socrates* says concerning *Saturday*, may be truly defended. For in *Pope Leo's* age, the *Romans* fasted not on *Saturdays* in *Lent*; as 'tis apparent from *the close of that Pope's fourth Sermon concerning Lent*. Add hereto *Bede's* testimony, in *his book de Officiis*; where he relates, that most people fasted not in *Lent* on *Thursdays* and *Saturdays*. Vales.

[h] *Sozomen* attests the same, book 7. chap. 19. Moreover, the *Alexandrians* began the *Lent Fast*, not from the Sunday of the sixth week before *Easter*, (as *Johannes Filesacus* supposed, *in the* 7th *chapter of his book concerning Lent*,) but from the Munday which followed that Sunday. Therefore, the first Sunday of the *Alexandrians* Lent was the fifth Sunday before *Easter*. And this is manifestly asserted by *Theophilus* and *Cyrillus*, in *their Homilies* or *Paschal Epistles*. Which I wonder *Filesacus* perceived not, who produces *Theophilus's* testimony against himself. *Vales.*

term * *the fourty days Fast*. [i] Others in a different manner from them, begin their fast from the seventh week before *Easter*, and though they fast three five days only [part of three weeks,] and that by intervalls; yet nevertheless they also call that time *the fourty days Fast*. And I cannot but wonder, how these persons, (though they disagree about the number of the days, yet) should in common give it the same name, [to wit,] *the fourty days fast*. Of which appellation some assign one reason, others another, according to their particular fancies and humours. You likewise find several persons disagreeing not only [k] about the number of the days, but differing also in their abstinency from meats. For some abstain wholly from [eating of] living creatures: others, of all living creatures feed on fish only. Othersome, together with fish, eat fowl also; affirming, according to *Moses's* * words, that these were made likewise of the waters. Some abstain from all manner of fruits of trees, and from eggs. Others feed upon dry bread only: othersome eat not even this. Others, having fasted till the [l] ninth hour, [m] feed upon any sort of food whatever making no distinction. [n] Again, amongst other Nations, there are other usages: for which innumerable reasons are assigned. And in regard no one can produce a command in writing concerning this thing, 'tis manifest that the Apostles left every one to his own will and free choice in this case; to the end that no person might be compelled through fear or necessity, to the performance of what is good. Such is the disagreement throughout the Churches about their fastings. Nor is the variety [amongst them] less, [o] about their performances in their Religious Assemblies.

* Or *Lent.*

[i] To wit, the *Constantinopolitans*, and those people who inhabit the Provinces round that City, as far as *Phœnice*; so *Sozomen* attests, B. 7. chap. 19. *Vales.*

[k] In the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. the reading here is [*about the number of the Fasts:*] But the other reading, which we have followed, is confirmed by *Socrates* a little above, where his words are [*And I cannot but wonder, how these persons, (though they disagree about the number of the days, yet) should in common give it the same name* [*to wit,*] *the fourty days Fast.*] Vales.

* See Gen. 1. 20.

[l] That is, till our three a clock in the afternoon; see *Euseb. Eccles. Histor.* book 3. chap. 8. note *(b.)* I am of opinion, that few fasted after this manner in *Lent*. For the *Lent Fast* lasted till the evening. *Vales.*

[m] In the Greek the reading here is [διάφορον ἔχουσι πλὴν ὄψεσιν, *make use of a different sort of food:*] but I am of opinion it should be [ἀδιάφορον ἔχουσι πλὴν ὄψεσιν, *feed upon any sort of food without making any difference.*] So *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read this place; for thus he renders it; *alii usque ad nonam jejunantes horam, sine discrimine ciborum reficiuntur, others having fasted to the ninth hour, refresh themselves without making any difference about the sorts of food.* Vales.

[n] After these words [*Again, amongst other nations, there are other usages*] Sr *Henry Savill in his Manuscript* had placed a *Subdistinction*, (that is, a single point, which Greek writers usually placed at the bottom of the Letter; See *Valesius's Preface to his Edition of Eusebius:*) but I had rather place a *middle distinction* (that is a *Colon*) here. Which is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, who has expresst this passage of *Socrates* thus: ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ἄλλοις ἄλλοι νόμοις χρῶνται· ἐν οἷς καὶ μυεῖαι εἰσὶ πίστεων εἰσὶν; *and there are other usages amongst other Nations and Tribes: amongst whom also there are infinite causes of such* [*customs*] *as these.* Vales.

[o] Περὶ συναξέων. *Synaxis* is a word used by *Christian* Writers in several senses. (1) 'Tis sometimes a general term, and contains all things usually done in the Religious Assemblies of *Christians*; in which sence we suppose it to be taken here. (2) The celebration of the Lord's Supper is by a peculiar name termed *Synaxis*. (3) 'Tis used so as to signifie the Christian Conventions or Assemblies, without any respect had to the Eucharist. (4) *Synaxis* is sometimes expressly distinguished from the celebration of the Sacrament: in which sense our *Socrates* uses it a little lower in this chapter; where his words are these, πάντα τὰ συναξέως χάριτος, πλὴν τῆς ἁγίας μυστηρίων τελετῆς, *and all things are performed which belong to the Church-Assembly, except the celebration of the Mysteries* [or, *the Eucharist.*]

The

The Reader will find good authorities aſſigned for all theſe ſignifications of this term, by the Learned *Caſaubon*, *Exercit.* 16. *ad Annal. Eccleſ. Baronii*, Num. 42.

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For, though [almoſt] all Churches over the whole world do celebrate the Sacred Myſteries on the Sabbath day at the period of every week; yet the *Alexandrians* and they at *Rome*, on account of ſome ancient tradition, refuſe to practiſe this. The *Egyptians* who are neighbours to the *Alexandrians*, and the Inhabitants of *Thebais*, have their Religious Meetings on the Sabbath: notwithſtanding, they participate not of the Myſteries, in ſuch a manner as is uſual amongſt the Chriſtians. For after they have feaſted, and filled themſelves with all manner of victuals, in the evening they * offer, and partake of the Myſteries. Again, at *Alexandria*, on the † *fourth Feria*, and on that termed the ‖ *Preparation day*, the Scriptures are read, and the Doctours expound them; and all things are performed which belong to the Church Aſſembly, except the celebration of the Myſteries. And this is an uſage of great antiquity at *Alexandria*. For 'tis manifeſt that *Origen* moſt commonly taught in the Church on theſe days. Who, being a very Learned Doctor, and perceiving that the ſecret of the *Moſaick Law* was not to be expounded literally, reduced his diſcourſe concerning the paſſover to a Myſticall ſenſe; aſſerting that there had been one only true Paſſover, [to wit,] that which our Saviour celebrated, at ſuch time as being faſtned to his Croſs, he vanquiſhed the adverſe powers, making uſe of this *Trophy* againſt the Devill. In the ſame City *Alexandria*, as well the *Catecumens*, as *the Faithfull*, are without difference or diſtinction made *Readers* and [p] *Pſalm ſetters*, whereas in all other Churches, *the Faithfull* only are promoted to this dignity. [q] I my ſelf, when I was in *Theſſaly*, knew another cuſtom alſo. A Clergy-man in that Country (if after his taking Orders, he does lie with his wife, whom he had legally married before his being Ordained) is [r] degraded: whereas in the Eaſt all [Clergymen] [s] of their own accord do abſtain [from their wives,] even the Biſhops themſelves; notwithſtanding, they do this [voluntarily,] not by force or compulſion of a Law. For many of them, during even the time of their being Biſhops, have begotten children of a lawfull wife. Moreover, the Authour of this uſage in *Theſſaly* was *Heliodorus*, [Biſhop] of *Trica* in that Country, under whoſe name there are *Love-Books* extant, which he [t] compoſed when he was a young man, and entitled them *Æthiopici*. This ſame cuſtom is obſerved in *Theſſalonica*, in *Macedonia*, and in *Achaia*. I have alſo known another cuſtom in *Theſſaly*. They baptize there on the days of *Eaſter* only. Upon which account all of them, except a very few, die unbaptized. At that *Antioch* which is in *Syria*, the ſite of the Church is inverted. For the Altar * ſtands not towards the Eaſt, but towards the Weſt. In *Achaia*, at *Jeruſalem*, and in *Theſſaly*, they go to [u] Prayers when the Candles are lighted, in the ſame manner that the *Novatians* do at *Conſtantinople*. Likewiſe, at *Cæſarea*, in *Cappadocia*, and in *Cyprus*, on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, always in the Evening, after the Candles are lighted, the Presbyters and Biſhops expound the Scriptures. Thoſe *Novatians* in the *Helleſpont* perform not their Prayers wholly after the ſame manner, with them who live at *Conſtantinople*: but they are [vv] in moſt things conform to [the uſages of] the Catholick Church.

* To wit, *Alms and oblations.*

† That is, *on wedneſday in the Paſſion-week.*

‖ Or, *Good-Friday.*

p Ὑποδοχεῖς. *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred this term very ill, thus, *interpretes, Expounders.* But *Epiphanius* tranſlates it *Pſalmi Pronunciatores, Pronouncers* [or *Setters*] *of the Pſalm*; which rendition is good. It ſeems to have been theſe perſons Office, to begin to ſing the firſt words of the Pſalm; and then the people ſang the reſt after them, Ὑποδοχεῖς were heretofore termed *Monitores* who prompted the Players whileſt they were Acting: they put the Actours in as oft as they forgot any paſſage in the Play, and were out. There were *Monitores* alſo in the prayers, of whom mention is made by *Tertullian* in *his Apology*; where he ſays, *that the Chriſtians prayed without a Monitour, becauſe they prayed by heart.* But *Nicephorus* at this place reads Ὑπογεγραφεῖς, *Notaries*; inſtead of Ὑποδοκεῖς, *Monitours*: which reading diſpleaſes me not. For the Biſhops had their *Notaries*, who were Learned young men. Thus *Proclus* is ſaid to have been *Atticus*'s *Notary*, as *Socrates* atteſts, book 7. chap. 41. And long before that, *Athanaſius* was *Notary* to *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as *Sozomen* relates, book 2. chap. 17. In *Pope Gelaſius*'s *Decrees*, cap. 2. amongſt the firſt Eccleſiaſtick degrees, the *Lectores, Notarii*, and *Defenſores* are reckoned. In *Cæſarius Arelatenſis*'s *Life*, chap. 22. are theſe words: *Lector aut Notarius coram illo non ceſſabat clamare*, that is, *the Reader or Notary ceaſed not to cry before him.* In the *Firſt Action* of the *Epheſine Synod*, *Epaphroditus* is termed the *Reader* and *Notary* of *Hellanicus* Biſhop of the *Rhodii*. From all which authorities 'tis apparent, that the *Notaric*'s and *Reader*'s Office was in a manner the ſame; to wit, to read the Pſalms or other books of the Sacred Scripture, either in the Church, or in the Biſhops preſence. And this *Simeon Metaphraſtes* confirms, in *the Acts of the Notaries Marcianus and Martyrius*, which occur in *Surius at the twenty fifth day of October.* Theſe *Notaries* regiſtred *the Acts* which were made in the Church; on which account they ſeem to have had this name given them. In the *Geſta Collationis inter Catholicos ac Donatiſtas*, we meet with this Title: *Excipientibus quoq; Januario & Vitale Notariis Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, Victore & Creſconio Notariis Eccleſiæ Donatiſtarum*, &c. that is, *alſo Januarius and Vitales Notaries of the Catholick Church, Victor and Creſconius Notaries of the Church of the Donatiſts, regiſtring* [*the Acts*, &c.] There was over theſe a *Primicerius Notariorum*, [or *the Chief of the Notaries*,] who was uſually choſen out of the Presbyters, as we are informed from *the firſt Action of the Epheſine Council*, wherein *Petrus Presbyter* of *Alexandria*, and *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, recites the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s Edict to *Cyrillus* and the other *Metropolitanes*. But the chief duty of the *Notaries* was, to carry *the Virge* or *Staff* before the Biſhop, as 'tis related in the *ſecond book concerning the Life and Miracles of Cæſarius Arelatenſis*. Valeſ.

q In *Rob. Stephens*'s Edition, this place is pointed thus: Ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ κὴ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, ῥωμαῖος ὢν κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ. *I my ſelf knew another cuſtome alſo in Theſſaly, being made a Clergy-man there*: If this punctation were true, it would follow, that *Socrates* was a Clergy-man in *Theſſaly*. But this is in no wiſe probable, in regard *Socrates* does every where ſtile himſelf *Scholaſticus*, that is, *an Advocate*. Wherefore, I doubt not but this place muſt be otherwiſe pointed, to wit, after this manner: Ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ κὴ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ῥωμαῖος· κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ, &c. *I my ſelf when I was in Theſſaly knew another cuſtom alſo. A Clergy-man in that Country*, &c. Notwithſtanding. *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have followed another punctation here, to wit, this; Ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ κὴ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ· ῥωμαῖος κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ, &c. *I my ſelf knew another cuſtom alſo in Theſſaly. One being made a Clergy-man there*, &c. Which diſtinction I can't approve of. For the term ῥωμαῖος would be ſuperfluous, and the word γίνεσθαι would be too often repeated in the ſame period. Further, that *Socrates* had been converſant in *Theſſaly*, is apparent from his following words. For a little after this he adds, κὴ ἄλλο δὲ ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οἶδα γενόμενον, *alſo I have ſeen* [*or known*] *another cuſtom in Theſſaly*. Although the term οἶδα is ambiguous, and may be meant as well of an abſent, as a preſent perſon. *Valeſ.*

r Ἀποκήρυκτος γίνεται. In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἀπόκληρος, *put out of his orders*, or, *made no Clergy-man*; which diſpleaſes me not. Notwithſtanding, the term ἀποκήρυκτος ſeems to denote ſomething that is heavier, to wit, his being excommunicated. *Valeſ.*

s We owe the amendment of this place to the *Florentine* M. S. For, whereas in the common Editions the reading here was [ὅτι ἐν ἀναζολῇ πάντων γνωρίμων ἀπεχομένων, *whereas all the moſt illuſtrious perſons in the Eaſt do abſtaine*;] in that M. S. the reading is [ὅτι ἐν ἀναζολῇ πάντων γνώμη ἀπεχομένων, *whereas in the Eaſt all* [*Clergymen*] *of their own accord do abſtain*, &c.) Which emendation is confirmed by *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

t Inſtead of [ἔταξε] I had rather read [συνέταξε, *compoſed*;] in *Nicephorus* 'tis [συνετάξατο:] But what *Nicephorus* adds, [to wit, that *Heliodorus* was ordered in a Synod either to burn his *Love-Books*, or elſe to relinquiſh his Biſhoprick,] ſeems to me to be fabulous. For there is no ſufficient evidence, whether thoſe books concerning the *Amours* of *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*, were written by *Heliodorus* the Biſhop, or by ſome body elſe. *Valeſ.*

u This Office the *Greek Church* terms λυχνικὸν, the *Latine*, *Lucernarium*; as *Jacobus Syrmondus* has obſerved in *his notes on Ennodius*. See *Meurſius*'s *Gloſſary*, in the word λυχνικὸν; and the *notes on Caſſianus*, at the words *Lucernaris Hora*. Valeſ.

vv I doubt not but inſtead of [ὡς τὰ πολλὰ] *Socrates* wrote [ὡς ἁπλῶς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ, *but they are in moſt things conform*;] and ſo *Nicephorus* has worded it. *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* read thus alſo. For *Muſculus* has rendred it thus: *Sed in multis ſe imperiali conformant Eccleſiæ, but in many things they conform themſelves to the Imperial Church. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it after this manner: *Sed tamen ex multò majore parte, primariæ apud illos Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem ſequuntur, but yet by much the greater part, they follow the Cuſtom of the Primary Church amongſt them.* Neither of theſe

* Or, *looks not.*

theſe Tranſlatours underſtood what was meant by theſe words here, to wit, ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐκκλησία. *Socrates* uſually gives this appellation to the *Catholick Church*, becauſe at that time it had gotten the chief power and authority. So in chap. 19. of this book, to the *Novatians* he oppoſes τοὺς κεφαλὰς τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν, *thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the Churches*, that is, *the Catholicks*: Νεωτεριστοὶ μὲν γὰρ (ſays he,) εἰσὶ τῷ αἰρεῖν τῷ προσθήκῃ πιστεύειν· οἱ δὲ νῦν τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν κεφαλὰς, &c. *For the Novatians admitted not of this additional Function at its firſt inſtitution. But* [*the Homoöuſians*] *who are at this preſent in poſſeſſion of the Churches*, &c. Valeſ.

In ſumme, in all places, and amongſt all Sects, you will ſcarcely find two Churches exactly agreeing about their prayers. At *Alexandria*, a Presbyter does in no wiſe Preach. And this [uſage] had its beginning from ſuch time as *Arius* raiſed a diſturbance in that Church. At *Rome* they faſt every [x] Saturday. [y] At *Ceſarea* in *Cappadocia* they exclude thoſe from Communion who have ſinned after Baptiſm, as the *Novatians* do. The ſame is alſo practiſed by the *Macedoniani* in the *Helleſpont*, and by the *Quartodecimani* in *Aſia*. The *Novatians* in *Phrygia* admit not of [*] *Digamiſts*. Thoſe *Novatians* who inhabit *Conſtantinople*, neither openly admit, nor openly reject them. But in the Weſtern parts they are openly [†] received. The Biſhops, who in their ſeverall times Preſided over the Churches, were (in my judgement) the Occaſioners of this diverſity. And thoſe who received theſe Rites and uſages, tranſmitted them to poſterity in manner of a Law as 'twere. To give in a Catalogue of all the Rites and Cuſtoms in uſe throughout all Cities and Countries, is a thing difficult, or rather impoſſible. But theſe we have produced, are ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the Feaſt of *Eaſter* was by reaſon of ſome certain uſage celebrated in a different manner in every particular Province. Wherefore, they are too profuſe in their talke, who have ſpread abroad a rumour, that [the time of celebrating] *Eaſter* was altered in the *Nicene* Synod. For the Fathers convened in that Synod made it their buſineſs to reduce the people, (who at firſt diſſented from the far greater part of the Church,) to an agreement. Now, that there hapned many differences upon this account, even in the Apoſtles times, was a thing not unknown even to the Apoſtles themſelves, as the Book of *the Acts* does atteſt. For when the Apoſtles underſtood, that a diſturbance was raiſed amongſt the faithfull, by reaſon of a diſſention of the Gentiles; being all met together, they promulged a Divine Law, drawing it up in form of a Letter: whereby they freed Believers from a moſt burthenſome ſervitude and vain contention about theſe things; and taught them a moſt exact [*] way of living well, which would lead them to true piety; mentioning to them only ſuch things as neceſſarily ought to be obſerved. The Epiſtle it ſelf is recorded in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: yet nothing hinders but we may inſert it here. VALENT. Jun. THEODOSIUS

* *The Apoſtles, and Elders, and Brethren, ſend Greeting unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in* Antioch, *and* Syria, *and* Cilicia. *For as much as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words, ſubverting your ſouls, ſaying, ye muſt be circumciſed, and keep the Law, to whom we gave no ſuch commandment: it ſeemed good unto us, being aſſembled with one accord, to ſend choſen men unto you, with our Beloved* Barnabas *and* Paul: *Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. We have therefore ſent* Judas *and* Silas, *who ſhall alſo tell you the ſame things by mouth. For it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen than theſe neceſſary things: that ye abſtain from meats offered to Idols, and from bloud, and from things ſtrangled, and from fornication: from which if you keep your ſelves, ye ſhall do well: fare ye well.* Theſe things pleaſed God. For theſe are the expreſs words of the Letter, *it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt to lay upon you no greater burthen than theſe neceſſaries to be obſerved.* Notwithſtanding there are ſome, who diſregarding theſe [Precepts,] ſuppoſe all Fornication to be a thing indifferent: but contend about Holy days, as if it were for their lives: [theſe perſons] invert the commands of God, and make Laws for themſelves, not valuing the Decree of the Apoſtles: nor do they conſider, that they practiſe the contrary to thoſe things which ſeemed good to God. It were indeed poſſible, to have extended our diſcourſe concerning *Eaſter*, much farther, and to have demonſtrated, that the *Jews* obſerve no exact Rule, either in the time, or manner of [celebrating] the Paſchal ſolemnity: and that the *Samaritans*, who are a Schiſm of the *Jews*, do always celebrate this Feſtivall after the *Æquinox*. But this Subject requires a particular and more copious Treatiſe. I only ſay this, that they who ſo affectedly imitate the *Jews*, and are ſo ſolicitouſly accurate about Types and Figures, ought in no wiſe to diſſent from them, [in any particular whatever.] For, if they have taken a reſolution of obſerving all things with an accuracy; they muſt not only obſerve days and months, but all other things alſo, which Chriſt (conſtituted under the Law) did after the manner of the *Jews*, or which he ſuffered unjuſtly from the *Jews*, or [Laſtly] which he wrought typically whileſt he was doing good to all men. [For inſtance,] he entred into a Ship and taught: He ordered the paſſover to be made ready in an upper room: he commanded the Aſs that was tied to be looſed: he propoſed him, who bore a pitcher of water, as a ſign to them for haſtning their preparations of the paſſover: [theſe things, I ſay they muſt obſerve] and infinite others of this nature which are recorded in the Goſpels. And yet they who ſuppoſe themſelves to be juſtified by this Feſtival, make it their buſineſs to obſerve none of theſe things in a bodily manner. For no Doctor ever Preach't out of a Ship: no perſon ever went up to an upper room, and celebrated the paſſover there: they never tyed, and again unlooſed an Aſs that was tyed:, [in fine] no perſon ever enjoyned another to carry a pitcher of water, to the end that the *Symbolls* might be fulfilled. For they thought that theſe and ſuch like things as theſe [*] favoured rather of *Judaiſm*. For the *Jews* are ſolicitous about keeping

* Acts 15. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

[x] Except thoſe Saturdays in *Lent*, and in the *Ember-weeks*. For in *Lent* the *Romans* faſted not on Saturdays, as we have ſhown before, at note (*g.*) in this chapter, from *Pope Leo's Sermon concerning Lent*. Nor did the *Romans* faſt on Saturdays in the Faſt of the *Ember-weeks*; but only on *Wedneſdays* and *Frydays*: on Saturdays they watched at S[t] *Peters* Church, as the ſame *Leo* informs us in *his Sermons concerning the Faſt of the tenth month, concerning the Faſt of Pentecoſt*, and *concerning the Faſt of the ſeventh month*. Wherefore, *Baronius*, *Petavius*, and *Halloixius* do undeſervedly reprove our *Socrates*, becauſe he has ſaid that the *Romans* faſted not on *Saturdays* in *Lent*. Valeſ.

[y] *Petavius* in *his notes on Epiphanius*, at the *Hereſie of the Quartodecimani*, does affirm that *Socrates* is here miſtaken; and ſays, that the *Penitential Canons of Baſilius the Great* are ſufficient to confute this errour. But it may be anſwered, that after *Baſilius*'s death, there was perhaps another uſage obſerved in the Church of *Caſarea*. For *Socrates* ſpeaks of a Rite then in uſe, when he wrote this Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

* That is, *thoſe who have had two wives ſucceſſively one after another.*

† Or, *admitted*, that is, *to Communion.*

* Or, *form of good life.*

* Or, *were rather Jewiſh.*

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ing their [z] solemn Rites and Ceremonies in their bodies, rather than in their souls. Upon which account they are obnoxious to the Curse, because they conceive the Law of *Moses* [to consist] in Types and Figures, but [understand it] not according to the truth. But those persons, who are favourers of the *Jews*, do indeed refer these things to an allegoricall sense and meaning: but they raise an irreconcilable War about days and months; contemning an allegoricall interpretation of them: in so much that, as to this particular, they themselves as well as the *Jews*, are of necessity condemned, and bring the sentence of Execration upon themselves. But I think this sufficient to have been said concerning these things. Let us now return to our Subject, whereof we have made mention a little * before: to wit, that the Church [once divided] rested not in that first division; and that those who were divided, did again engage one another, and taking hold of a small and very frivolous pretence, raised mutuall separations and †Chap. 21. divisions. The *Novatians* as I have † said were divided amongst themselves on account of the Feast of *Easter*: Nor was the division among them concerning this [Festivall] single. For some throughout divers Provinces [observed it] after one manner, others after another; and they disagreed amongst themselves not only about the month, but about the days of the week also, and about other matters of a small importance, part of them holding separate Assemblies, and part joyning in a promiscuous communion.

[z] The reading here is [τὰ συμβαίνοντα, *The accidents*;] in which, what sense there can be, I see not. I am of opinion it should be [τὰ σύμβολα, *the Symbolls*] which term *Socrates* makes use of a little above, where he says *to the end that the Symbolls might be fulfilled*. By *Symbolls*, *Socrates* means *the Legal ceremonies and commands*; for instance, *Circumcision*, which the *Jews* kept in their bodies, but not in their hearts. *Nicephorus* has worded this passage in *Socrates* thus; καὶ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον τοῖς σώμασιν ἢ ταῖς ψυχαῖς σώζειν σπουδάζουσι. Which words *Langus* renders thus: *Siquidem & Judæi ea quæ sic in corporibus accidunt, majore studio, quàm si animabus eveniant, observare contendunt, for the Jews also with a greater industry strive to observe those things which so happen to their bodies, than if they happned to their Souls.* You see, that neither *Nicephorus*, nor *his Translatour*, apprehended *Socrates*'s meaning. *Socrates* speaks concerning the *Jews*, who observed *the law of works* in their bodies, rather than their hearts; whom the Apostle (*Rom.* 2. 28.) terms *Jews outwardly*. Vales.

* See chap. 20; at the beginning.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Arians *at* Constantinople, *who were also termed the* Psathyriani.

MOreover, there arose dissentions amongst the *Arians*, upon this occasion. The contentious questions daily [started] amongst them, had reduced their discourses to some absurdities. For, whereas it has been always believed in the Church, that God is the Father of the Son the Word; there hapned this Query amongst them, whether or no God could be called Father even before the Son existed? And, in regard they asserted, that the Word of God was not begotten of the Father, but existed of * nothing; being thus mistaken about the first and chiefest Article of Faith, they deservedly fell into an absurd contentiousness about a bare word. *Dorotheus* therefore † who had been sent for from *Antioch* by them, maintained, that [God] neither was nor could be termed a Father, before the Son existed. But *Marinus* (whom they had called out of *Thracia* before *Dorotheus*) having got a fair opportunity, (for he was next because *Dorotheus* had been preferred before him:) undertook to defend the contrary opinion. For this reason there hapned a dissention amongst them: and being divided on account of the foresaid Term, each party held separate Meetings. Those under *Dorotheus* continued possest of their own Meeting-houses. But *Marinus*'s followers built themselves private Oratories, wherein they had their Assemblies; and asserted that the Father was always the Father, even when the Son existed not. Moreover, the maintainers of this assertion were termed [a] *Psathyriani*, because one *Theoctistus* by Country a *Syrian*, a * *Psathyropola* by Trade, was a zealous defender of this Opinion. *Selenas* Bishop of the *Goths* became a follower of these persons Tenets: † He was a man of a mixt descent, a *Goth* by his fathers side, by his mothers a *Phrygian*. And upon this account he taught in the Church very readily in both these Languages. Further, this faction soon after quarrelled amongst themselves; *Marinus* disagreeing with *Agapius*, whom he himself had preferred to the Bishoprick of *Ephesus*. But these two contended not one with another about [any point of their] Religion, but about * Primacy; the *Goths* sided with *Agapius*. Wherefore, many of the Ecclesiasticks under their jurisdiction (abominating the contest raised between them two, as being the product of their vain glory,) deserted them, and became adherents to the *Homoousian* Faith. When therefore the *Arians* had continued divided amongst themselves during the space of [b] thirty five years, afterwards, [c] under the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, in the Consulate of *Plintha Master of the Milice*, the Heresie of the *Psathyriani* being perswaded to cease from contending, were again united in one body [with the rest of the *Arians*.] And they made a Sanction [amongst themselves] in form of a Law as it were, that that Query, which had caused the separation between them, should in future never be mentioned. But they could bring this to effect no where save at *Constantinople* only. For in other Cities (if any of these two parties chanced to be inhabitants therein,) they perfitled in their former separation. Thus much concerning the division amongst the *Arians*.

[a] *Theodoret* gives an account of these Hereticks, book 4. *Hæret. Fabul.* Vales.

* That is, *a Cake-seller.*

† *Selenas.*

* Or, *Precedency.*

[b] It must be *twenty five years*; and accordingly *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read it. For, from *Arcadius*'s third and *Honorius*'s second Consulate (in which year these things were done, which *Socrates* does here relate) to the Consulate of *Monaxtius* and *Plinta* [or *Plintha*] there are *twenty five years*. Vales.

[c] Instead of [ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας, *in the Consulate*] it must undoubtedly be [ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας, *under the Reign.*] For the word ὑπατείας crept into this place from the following line. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Eunomians *also raised Factions amongst themselves, which had various denominations given them derived from the names of their first Founders.*

MOreover, neither did the *Eunomians* continue undivided. For *Eunomius* himself had long before this made a * separation from *Eudoxius*, who † Ordained him Bishop of *Cyzicum*, making this his pretence, to wit, because *Eudoxius* refused to give reception to his master *Aëtius* who was Ejected [out of the Church.] But those Hereticks who had their name from him, were after this divided into severall Factions. For first, one *Theophronius* a *Cap-*

* Or, *things which are not.*

† See chap. 12. of this book.

* See book 4. chap. 13.

† See book 4. chap. 7.

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a *Cappadocian* (who had been inſtructed in the Art of diſputing by *Eunomius*, and underſtood *Ariſtotle's Categories*, and *his book concerning Interpretation*, but * indiſtinctly and imperfectly;) having wrote Books, to which he gave this Title *concerning the exerciſe of the mind*, incurred the diſpleaſure of thoſe of his own Hereſie, and was by them Ejected as a deſertour of their Sect. This perſon afterwards held Aſſemblies ſeparate from them, and left behind him an Hereſie which bore his own name. Then, one *Eutychius* at *Conſtantinople*, upon account of a very † ſlight controverſie, made a ſeparation from the *Eunomians*, and at this preſent has his Meetings apart. *Theophronius*'s followers are termed *Eunomio-Theophroniani:* and the Adherents of *Eutychius* are called *Eunomi-Eutychiani*. What thoſe ſlight and trifling words were, about which they differed, I judge it unworthy to be recorded in this Hiſtory, leſt I ſhould too far digreſs from my purpoſe. [I will mention this] only, to wit, that they have adulterated Baptiſm. For they baptize not unto the Trinity, but unto the death of Chriſt. There was alſo for ſome time a diſſention amongſt the *Macedoniani*, when one *Eutropius* a Presbyter held Separate Aſſemblies; and *Carterius* would in no wiſe agree in opinion with him. And there may perhaps be ſome other Sects deſcended from theſe in other Cities. But, in regard I make my Reſidence in *Conſtantinople*, where I was born and educated, I || have reſolved to be larger in my Relation of what has been tranſacted in that City; both becauſe I my ſelf have been an eye-witneſs of ſome of thoſe tranſactions, and alſo in regard the affairs tranſacted in that City, have been more eminent, and worthier to be remembred. And theſe things hapned not at one and the ſame time, but at different times. Now, if any perſon be deſirous of knowing the names of the various Sects, he may have an account hereof, by reading that Book entitled *Ancoratus*, which *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Cyprus* compoſed. Let this be ſufficient to have been ſaid concerning theſe matters. But the affairs of the State were diſturbed upon this occaſion.

* Παχυμερῶς, *groſly, and rudely.*

† Ψυχρῶ, *abſurd, or frigid.*

|| Or, *I am larger.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Eugenius's *Tyranny, and the death of* Valentinianus Junior; *alſo, concerning the Emperour* Theodoſius's *Victory over the Tyrant.*

IN the Weſtern parts, a *Grammarian* by name *Eugenius*, having ſometime been a Teacher of the Latine tongue, afterwards left his School, and undertook a Military employment in the Emperours Pallace, where he was made * *Maſter of the Emperours Desks*. And in regard he was a perſon of great eloquence, and upon that account more highly eſteemed than others, he could not with moderation bear his proſperous ſucceſs. But, taking one *Arbogaſtes* (born in [b] *Galatia the Leſs*, who was *Maſter of the Milice*, a perſon of a rough temper, cruell and bloudy-minded,) to be his aſſiſtant, he reſolved to uſurp the Imperial Crown. Both theſe perſons therefore determine to murther the Emperour *Valentinianus*, having [c] hired the Eunuchs that belonged to the Emperours Bed-Chamber, to be partakers in their deſign. Theſe Eunuchs, having received [from them] promiſes of greater places than they had at preſent, [d] ſtrangled the Emperour in his ſleep. *Eugenius* therefore immediately poſſeſt himſelf of the ſupream management of affairs in the Weſtern parts of the Empire, and did ſuch things as were likely to be acted by a Tyrant. The Emperour *Theodoſius*, informed hereof, was again extreamly diſturbed and diſquieted, in regard a way was hereby made for other troubles after [the War waged againſt] *Maximus*. Having therefore ſummoned together his Military Forces, and proclaimed his Son *Honorius Auguſtus* in his own third Conſulate [which he bore] with *Abundantius*, on the tenth of *January* he marched again in great haſt into the Weſtern parts, [e] leaving both his Sons [now created] *Auguſti* at *Conſtantinople*. Many of the *Barbarians* [inhabitants] beyond the *Danube* followed him in this expedition he undertook againſt *Eugenius*, coming in voluntarily to give him their aſſiſtance againſt the Tyrant. After ſome ſhort time, he arrived in the *Gallia*'s with a very numerous Army. For there the Tyrant * had put himſelf into a poſture of receiving him, who alſo had a vaſt Army. They came to an Engagement therefore neer the River named *Frigidus*, which is diſtant [f] from *Aquileia* thirty ſix miles. In that part of the Armies where the *Romans* engaged the *Romans*, the Fight was doubtfull. But where the *Barbarians* (who were the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s Auxiliaries,) engaged, *Eugenius*'s Forces had much the better. When the Emperour ſaw the great ſlaughter that was made by the Enemy amongſt the *Barbarians*, being in a great Agony, he caſt himſelf upon the ground, calling upon God

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a Ἀνθιστορεὺς τῶν Βασιλέως: which I have rendred thus, *Magiſter Scriniorum Imperatoris, Maſter of the Emperours Desks:* for the *Greeks* call thoſe ἀνθιστορεῖς, whom the *Latins* term *Magiſtros Scriniorum, Maſters of the Desks*; as *Cujacius* has truly remark't. But *Salmaſius*, in *his notes on Vopiſcus* pag. 481, *affirms* that the ἀνθιστορεῖς were the *Proximi of the ſacred Desks*, not *the Maſters*. For his opinion is, that there was only one *Maſter of all the Desks*, who had under him four *Antigraphei* or *Proximi* [that is, *Clerks:*] to wit, one in each Desk. But *Salmaſius* is diſproved, firſt by the *Theodoſian Code*, and ſecondly by the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. For, in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, there are four *Maſters of the Desks of the Roman Emperours* reckoned; to wit, *the Maſter of the Memory, the Maſter of the Letters, the Maſter of the Libells*, and *the Maſter of the Greek Letters*. And, in the *Theodoſian Code*, in *the ſixth Book*, there is a *particular Title de Magiſtris ſacrorum Scriniorum*, whom the Emperours will have preferred before the *Vicarii*. But *concerning the Proximi*, there follows *another Title*, at a great diſtance from this: wherein the Emperours give order only, that the *Proximi* after two years ſpace ſhould leave the *Scrinia*, and be followed by the *Vicarii*. From whence 'tis evident, that the *Proximi of the Desks* are diſtinguiſhed from the *Maſters:* for the *Maſters* were choſen by the Emperours *Codecill* [or *Letters Patents*,] as were the reſt of the Officers of the Pallace. But the *Proximi* came to that place by degrees and order of promotion: and they were more than one in every *Desk*; whereas there was but one *Maſter* in each *Desk*. The *Proximi* therefore are not the ἀνθιστορεῖς; in regard there were only four ἀνθιστορεῖς, as we are informed from *the Gloſſes of Julianus Antecеſſor*. See *Petrus Patricius* in *Excerpt. Legationum*. *Philoſtorgius* relates, that *Eugenius* was preferred to the dignity *of a Maſter*, before he broke out into his Tyranny. *Valeſ.*

b Inſtead of [*Gallia the Leſs*,] the reading in the *Florentine* M.S. is truer, thus [*Galatia*] Although *Arbogaſtes* was not born in *Gallia*, but in *Francia*, as all *Hiſtorians* agree. *Valeſ.*

c Inſtead of [ἐπεισταλδόντες, *introduced*] we read [ὑπεισταλδόντες, *hired.*] Valeſ.

d *Valentinianus Junior* was murthered at *Vienna*, in *Arcadius*'s ſecond Conſulate which he bore with *Rufinus*; as *Idatius* rightly informs us in *his Faſti*. But *Marcellinus* ſays, that fact was perpetrated in the Conſulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*, on the *Ides* of *March*. Notwithſtanding, this appears to be falſe, from the *fourth* and *fifth Law* in the *Theodoſian Code de Apoſtatis*. Valeſ.

e *Zoſimus* (in *his fourth book*) ſays, that only *Arcadius* was left by *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*; and that *Honorius* followed his Father in his Expedition againſt *Eugenius*. The ſame is aſſerted by *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon*. But *Philoſtorgius* agrees with *Socrates*. Valeſ.

* Or, *made preparations.*

f Here there is a defect in the Greek Text; theſe words [*from Aquileia thirty ſix miles*] being wanting. Which *Valeſius* ſays he perfected from *Antoninus's Itinerary*, and from *Sigonius in his ninth book de Imperio Occidentali.*

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* Or, *routed.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How the Emperour falling ill after his Victory, sent for his Son Honorius *to* Millain; *and thinking himself somewhat recovered from his distemper,* [*he ordered*] *that* * Cirque-Sports *should be exhibited, on which very day he dyed.*

THEODOSIUS * Or, *running of horses.*

But, the Emperour *Theodosius* contracted an ill habit of body, from the troubles and disquietudes he underwent in this War. And supposing that his life would be ended by that distemper which was upon him, he was more sollicitous about the publick affairs, than [concerned] at his own death; considering with himself, how great calamities do usually befall Subjects after the death of their Emperour. Wherefore, he sends forthwith for his Son *Honorius* from *Constantinople*, being desirous to settle * the State of the Western Empire. After his Sons arrivall at *Millain*, he seemed to be somewhat revived from his distemper; and gave order for the celebration of Triumphant *Cirque-Sports*. And before Dinner he was very well, and was a Spectatour at the *Cirque-Sports*. But after Dinner he was taken very ill on a sudden, and could not come to see † the Games. But, having given his Son order to Preside at the *Cirque-Sports*, he died on the night following, in the Consulate of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, on the seventeenth day of *January*. This was the first year of the *two hundredth ninety fourth Olympiad*. The Emperour *Theodosius*, lived sixty years; and reigned sixteen. This Book contains [an account of affairs transacted] during the space of sixteen years and eight months.

* Or, *the Western parts.*

† Or, *the fight.*

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

The PREFACE.

WE have finished the task enjoyned by You (most Sacred man of God Theodorus!*) in the five foregoing Books; wherein, according to our best ability, we have comprized the History of the Church from the times of* Constantine. *But you must know, that we have not been curious about our Stile; for we considered, that should we have been carefull about an Elegancy of expression, we might peradventure have mist of our design. Besides, could we have accomplished* [*our design,*] *yet we were altogether unable to write such things, as are extant in the Composures of Ancient Historians; whereby any one of them might suppose himself able either to amplifie, or disimprove Transactions. Further, such a Stile would in no wise have edified the Many and the Simpler sort of persons; who are desirous of*

knowing affairs only, not of admiring the Stile for its elegant compoſure. That therefore our work might not be unuſefull to both theſe ſorts of perſons; to the Learned, becauſe 'tis unworthy of being compared with the Elegant Stile of Ancient Writers; and to the unlearned, in regard they cannot attain to [*the knowledge of*] *affairs, being concealed by a pride and over-elegancy of Expreſſion: We have deſignedly made uſe of ſuch a Stile,* * *as ſeems indeed to be lower and more mean, but is notwithſtanding plainer and more perſpicuous.*

* Or, *as ſeems indeed to be plainer and more perſpicuous, but is notwithſtanding lower and more mean.*

But, before we begin our Sixth Book, *we muſt give this premonition: In regard we undertake* [*the writing a Narrative*] *of the affairs which have hapned in our own age; we are afraid, leſt we ſhould ſeem to record ſuch things as will diſpleaſe many perſons:* [a] *either becauſe (according to the proverb,)* Truth is bitter: *or in regard we mention not their names, whom* [*all men*] *have a great love for, with an* Encomium: *or* [*Laſtly*] *becauſe we extoll not their Actions. The Zealots of our Religion will condemn us, becauſe we do not give the Biſhops the Title of* Moſt dear to God, *or* Moſt Holy, *or ſuch like. Others alſo will ſometimes make curious remarks, becauſe we term not the Emperours* Moſt Divine, *and* Lords; *nor* [*do give them*] *thoſe other titles which are uſually attributed to them. But, in as much as I am able to prove and demonſtrate from the Teſtimony of Ancient Writers, that a* [b] *Servant amongſt them did uſually call his Maſter by his proper name, and made no account of his Dignity* [*or Title,*] *by reaſon of the urgency of affairs; and in as much as* [*my indeavour is*] *to obey the Laws of Hiſtory, which do require a ſincere, pure, and true Narrative of Tranſactions, free from all manner of Masks and Covers; I will in future proceed in the ſame Narration; Recording thoſe things which either I my ſelf ſaw, or could learn from thoſe who had ſeen them; and making a judgment of the Truth from their not varying in their Relations, who told me them. But, my Labour in diſcovering the Truth hath been great, in regard many, and thoſe different perſons gave me an account of affairs; ſome of whom affirming they were preſent at the tranſacting of theſe things; and others aſſerting they knew them better than any other perſons.*

[a] This whole clauſe [*either becauſe (according to the proverb,) truth is bitter*] is in my judgment to be expunged, in regard it diſturbs the ſenſe. Or, if it has a place here, it muſt be put at the cloſe of the period, after theſe words [*extoll not their actions.*] If this diſpleaſes any one; 'twill be ſufficient, to expunge the particle [*ἤ, either,*] and put this clauſe to the head of that following. *Valeſ.*

[b] To wit, in the *Comœdies* of *Menander*, and others. You may ſee the ſame in *Plautus*'s and *Terentius*'s *Latine Comœdies*; wherein the Servants do uſually call their Maſters barely by their names. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. I.

That after the death of the Emperour Theodoſius, *when his Sons had divided the Empire* [*between them,*] *and* Arcadius *had met the Army returning from* Italy, *after ſome ſhort ſtay there;* Ruſinus *the* Præfectus Prætorio *was killed by the Souldiers at the Emperours feet.*

ARCADIUS & HONORIUS.

THE Emperour *Theodoſius* having ended his life in the Conſulate of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, on the ſeventeenth of the month *January*; his Sons ſucceeded him in the *Roman* Empire. *Arcadius* had the Government of the *Eaſtern* Empire, and *Honorius* of the *Weſtern*. [The Biſhops] who Preſided over the Churches at that time, were *Damaſus* in the Imperial [City] *Rome*; *Theophilus* at *Alexandria*; *Johannes* was in poſſeſſion of the Churches at *Jeruſalem*; and *Flavianus* of thoſe at *Antioch*. At *Conſtantinople* [termed alſo] *New Rome*, *Nectarius* filled the [Epiſcopall] Chair, as we have related in the foregoing Book. About the eighth of the month *November*, in the ſame Conſulate, *Theodoſius*'s body was brought [to *Conſtantinople*,] and interred by his Son *Arcadius* with an honourable and ſolemn Funeral. Not long after this, on the eight and twentieth of the ſame month, the Army alſo arrived, which had been employed in the War againſt the Tyrant, under the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s command. When therefore the Emperour *Arcadius* (agreeable to the uſuall cuſtom) had met the Army without the City-gates, the Souldiers at that time ſlew *Ruſinus* the Emperours *Præfectus Prætorio*. For *Ruſinus* lay under a ſuſpicion of turning Tyrant, and 'twas believed, that he had called the [a] *Hunni* (a Barbarous Nation) into the *Roman* Territories. For at that time they deſtroyed *Armenia*, and ſome parts of the *Eaſt*, by making incurſions into thoſe Provinces. Moreover, on the ſame day whereon *Ruſinus* was killed, *Marcianus* Biſhop of the *Novatians* died. He was ſucceeded in that Biſhoprick by *Siſinnius*, of whom we have made mention * above.

ARCADIUS & HONORIUS.

[a] *Zozimus* (book 5.) relates, that *Alaricus* and the *Goths*, not the *Hunni*, were ſollicited by *Ruſinus*, to inyade the *Roman* Provinces. The ſame is aſſerted by *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon*. But *Sozomen* (book 8. chap. 1.) agrees with *Socrates*. Nor, is there any diſagreement between the forecited Authors. For *Ruſinus* called in both thoſe Nations againſt the *Romans*; the *Goths* firſt, under their Chief, *Alaricus*: after the *Goths* were routed by *Stilichon*, he excited the *Hunni* to aſſiſt the *Goths*, as *Claudian* tells us, in *his firſt book againſt Ruſinus*; and in *his ſecond book*, he ſets forth the ſame more clearly, neer the beginning thereof. But *Sigonius*, in *his tenth book de Occidentali Imperio*, where he makes it his buſineſs to relate this whole ſtory, ſpeaks not one word concerning this irruption of the *Hunni*; which negligence of his is inexcuſable. *Valeſ.*

* See book 5. chap. 21.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Nectarius's *death, and the Ordination of* Johannes.

WIthin a ſmall intervall of time, *Nectarius* alſo, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, departed this life, in the Conſulate of *Cæſarius* and *Atticus*, about the twenty ſeventh of the month *September*. Forthwith therefore, a * Contention aroſe about the Ordination of a Biſhop; and ſome deſired one perſon, others another. When a Conſult had been ſeverall times held about this matter, it was at laſt concluded on, that † *Johannes* a Presbyter of the *Antiochian* Church, ſhould be ſent for from *Antioch*. For a fame was ſpread concerning him, for his ‖ Learning and Eloquence. Within ſome ſmall ſpace of time therefore, the Emperour *Arcadius* (with the common conſent of all perſons, I mean the Clergy,

* Or, *a trouble, or, carneſtneſs.*

† This perſon was termed *Chryſoſtom*, that is, *Golden-mouth.*

‖ Or, *fitneſs to be a teacher.*

ARCADIUS & HONORIUS.

Clergy, as well as Laity) sends for him. And, to the end that his Ordination might be accomplished with more of firmness and authority, by the Emperours order many other Prelates were present, as was also *Theophilus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*; who made it his business to * blacken *Johannes*'s glory, and to promote *Isidorus* (a Presbyter under himself) to the Bishoprick; whom he had a great love for, because *Isidorus* had undertaken a very dangerous affair upon his account. What that business was, we must now declare. When the Emperour *Theodosius* was actually ingaged in a War against the Tyrant *Maximus*, *Theophilus* sent presents by *Isidorus* to the Emperour, and delivered two Letters to him, ordering him, to present the Gifts and Letters to him that should be Conquerour. *Isidorus*, in obedience to these commands, arriving at *Rome*, stayed there expecting the * Event of the War. But this business could not lie long concealed; for a Reader who accompanied him, stole the Letters privately. On which account *Isidorus* being in a great fear, fled forthwith to *Alexandria*. This was the occasion of *Theophilus*'s being so highly concerned for *Isidorus*. But [the Grandees] of the Imperial Palace, gave *Johannes* the preference And in regard many persons raised accusations against *Theophilus*, and presented Libells (some upon one account, others on another) against him, to the Bishops that were present; *Eutropius* the Chief person of the Bed-chamber to the Emperour, took the written Accusations, and shewed them to *Theophilus*, bidding him take his choice, whether he would Ordain *Johannes*, or be brought to his Tryall and answer the Accusations on foot against him. *Theophilus* terrified herewith, Ordained *Johannes*. *Johannes* therefore being Ordained, was seated in the Episcopall Chair in order to [his bearing] the Office of a Bishop, on the twenty sixth of *February*, in the following Consulate, [a] which the Emperour *Honorius* celebrated at *Rome*, and *Eutychianus* (at that time [b] *Præfectus prætorio*) at *Constantinople*, with Games and Sports. But in regard this *Johannes* is famous, both for the Books he left written, and also for the many troubles he fell into, I judge it fit not to pass his affaires over in silence, but relate as compendiously as 'tis possible, what might be declared more at large; and to set forth, whence he was, from whom extracted, how he was called to the Episcopate, after what manner he was deprived of it; and [lastly] upon what account he was more honoured after his death, than whilest he was living.

* Or, *detract from.*

* Or, *the Victory.*

[a] Instead of [ἣν ἐπέλεων] it must be [ἣ ἐπέλεων, *which the Emperour*, &c.] A small fault, but which (being not perceived by Translatours) led them into a great mistake. For thus they have rendred it: *On the following Consulate wherein* Honorius *the Emperour at* Rome, *and* Eutychianus *at* Constantinople *Governed the publick.* But, ἐπιτελεῖν ὑπατείαν signifies *Consulatum dare*, that is, *to publish or shew the Ludi Circenses, on account of succeeding well in their Office of Consul.* Vales. See *Socrat.* book 5. chap. 29. note *(e.)*

[b] *Christophorson* has rendered it ill, thus, *Præfect of the Emperours*; whenas he should have translated it *Præfectus Prætorio.* For in the Greek it must be [ἐπὶ Καισαρείων.] The same mistake in the same word I have taken notice of before. *Eutychianus* therefore was *Consul* and *Præfectus Prætorio* on the same year; which was the common usage of those times, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodosian Code.* Vales.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Descent and Education of Johannes *Bishop of* Constantinople.

JOhannes therefore was born at *Antioch* [a City] of *Syria-Cœle*, the Son of *Secundus*, and his mothers name was *Anthusa*, persons of a noble family in that Country. He was Scholar to *Libanius* the *Sophista*, and an hearer of *Andragathius* the Philosopher. Being ready to betake himself to the practise of the *Civil Law*, and perceiving how laborious and unjust a life they lead, [a] who are conversant in the * *Forum*, he chose rather to follow a quieter sort of life. And this he did, in imitation of [b] *Evagrius*; who having been educated under the same Masters, had long before betaken himself to a more sedate and quieter course of life. Changing therefore forthwith his garb and his gate, he applied his mind to reading the Sacred Scriptures, and frequently went in great hast to the Church [on account of praying.] Moreover, he perswades *Theodorus* and *Maximus* (who had been his Schoolfellows under *Libanius* the *Sophista*) to leave their profession which had a respect to nothing but gain, and betake themselves to a more simple and meaner course of life. Of these two persons, *Theodorus* was afterwards Bishop of *Mopsuestia* a City in *Cilicia*; and *Maximus* of *Selcucia* in *Isauria*. But being at that time very studious and diligent about vertue, they were instructed in a monastick course of life by *Diodorus* and *Carterius*, who then presided over the [c] Monasteries.

* Or, *Courts of Judicature.*

[a] That conjecture displeases me not, which came heretofore into my mind, to wit, that at this place, instead of [τὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις] it should be [τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις.] Further, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do indeed affirm, that *John Chrysostome* did not follow the Practise of the *Civil Law.* For they say, that he went from *Libanius*'s School, when it was supposed he would have pleaded causes, and on a sudden betook himself to a quieter sort of life. Notwithstanding, there are those who do affirm, that for some time he did plead Causes. Which seems to be intimated by *Libanius*'s Epistle, which *Isidorus Pelusiota* records *book* 2. *Epistol.* But that Epistle of *Libanius*'s is, I fear, written to some other *Johannes*, who then pleaded Causes at *Constantinople*, and spoke a panegyrick there to *Theodosius*, on account of his assuming his Sons to be his Colleagues in the Empire. Now, our *Chrysostome* (who went from *Libanius*'s School about the beginning of *Valens*'s Reign,) neither left *Antioch*, that *Libanius* (who profest *Rhetorick* at *Antioch*) might write Letters to him being absent; nor could he praise *Theodosius*, who at that time was not Emperour. Nor can *Libanius*'s words be understood of any other Emperour, than of *Theodosius*, who took in his Sons to be partners with him in the Empire. However, that *Chrysostome* did for some time practise the *Civil Law*, is apparent from the beginning of *his first book de Sacerdotio.* Vales.

[b] What *Evagrius* this should be, who having left *Libanius*'s Auditory long before *Chrysostome*, had embraced a pious and Religious course of life, 'tis hard to determine. For I cannot think it was *Evagrius* of *Pontus*, who was afterwards a Deacon at *Constantinople*, under *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, and under *Nectarius*; and thence removed into the Solitudes of *Egypt*. *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 382, calls this *Evagrius*, *Chrysostome*'s School-fellow, *Evagrius Junior*, Son of the most noble *Evagrius* a Citizen of *Antioch*; and says that he went into the desart before *Chrysostome*, and lead a monastick life under *Diodorus* and *Carterius*. But, I know not what authority *Baronius* had for this, nor why he should term this person *Evagrius Junior*, Unless perhaps he has called this person *Evagrius Junior*, to distinguish him from *Evagrius Senior* the *Antiochian*, whom he had made mention of before at the year of Christ 372. from *Basilius Magnus*'s Epistle to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*; the words whereof are these: ὁ πρεσβύτερος Εὐάγριος ὁ υἱὸς πομπηιανῦ τῦ ἀντιοχέως, ὁ συναπάρας ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν τῷ μακαρίῳ Εὐσεβίῳ, *The Presbyter Evagrius, the Son of* Pompeianus *of* Antioch, *who sometime went into the West with the Blessed* Eusebius. The *Latine Translatour* has rendred it *Evagrius Senior*, &c; whereas he should have translated it, *Evagrius the Presbyter*, &c; concerning whom *Hieronymus* (in the *Chronicon of Eusebius*) writes thus: *Zenobia apud Immas, haud longe ab Antiochia Vincitur*, &c. Zenobia *is conquered at* Immæ, *not far from* Antioch; *in which fight* Pompeianus *the Commander, surnamed* Francus, *fought most valiantly against her: his family continues at this day at* Antioch, *from whose race our dearest* Evagrius *the Presbyter descended. Jerome* makes mention of the same person in *his book de Scriptor. Eccles.* And in my judgment, this is the *Evagrius*, *Chrysostome*'s School-fellow, whom *Socrates* mentions here. For, what *Baronius* writes concerning *Evagrius Junior*, is founded on no authour. *Vales.*

[c] Instead of [ἀσκητηείῳ] which is the *Dative case*, the rules of Grammer do require it should be [ἀσκητηείων, *over the monasteries*] in the *Genitive case*: the reading in *Sozomen* is the same, as was also that in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Copy, as appears from his Version. Further, *Baronius* (following indeed the Greek Writers) is of opinion, that these *Monasteries* of *Diodorus*, and *Carterius*,

were ſituated without the City. But a *Learned perſon*, who has lately publiſhed the *Life of John Chryſoſtome in French*, does affirm they were within the City *Antioch*: to whom notwithſtanding I cannot aſſent. 'Tis more probable, that theſe *Little Houſes* were placed in the *Suburbs*, to the end that pious and Religious perſons, who were continually imployed in contemplation and reading of the ſacred Books, might be far remote from noyſe and diſturbance. But what the ſame *Learned perſon* objects out of *Theodoret*, (to wit, that *Diodorus* was continually converſant in *Antioch*, and made a couragious reſiſtance againſt the rage and force of the *Arians*;) does in no wiſe weaken our opinion. For *Diodorus*, as often as he pleaſed, could eaſily come out of a Monaſterie in the Suburbs, into the City. *Valeſ.*

ARCADIUS & HONORIUS.

Of theſe two *Diodorus*, afterwards made Biſhop of *Tarſus*, wrote many books, being intent upon the bare Letter [and obvious ſenſe] of the Sacred Scriptures; but avoiding the [d] Allegoricall interpretation thereof. Thus far concerning theſe perſons. Moreover, *Johannes*, (who [e] converſt frequently and familiarly with *Baſilius* [f] at that time ordained a Deacon by *Meletius*, but afterwards conſtituted Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*) was made Reader of the *Antiochian* Church, by [g] *Zeno* the Biſhop in his return from *Jeruſalem*.

[d] *Sozomen* ſays the ſame of *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*; to wit, that he expounded the Sacred Scriptures, τῆς τὸ ῥητὸν, *literally*; but avoided the more abſtruſe and myſticall ſenſe. *Jerome* ſays the ſame concerning him, in *his book de Scriptor. Eccleſ. Extant ejus in Apoſtolum Commentarii*, &c. *his Comments upon the Apoſtle are extant, and many other pieces, belonging rather to Euſebius Emiſenus's Character: whoſe ſenſe although he has followed, yet he could not imitate his eloquence, becauſe of his ignorance in Humane* [*or Secular*] *Learning.* *Jerom* ſays, that *Diodorus* has followed *Euſebius Emiſenus*'s ſenſe, that is, his method in explaining the Scriptures. Let us ſee therefore, what ſenſe *Euſebius Emiſenus* has followed. *Jerome* himſelf will inform us; whoſe words concerning *Euſebius Emiſenus* are theſe: *Magiſque Hiſtoriam Secutus, ab iis qui declamare volunt, ſtudioſiſſime legitur, and having rather followed Hiſtory, he is moſt ſtudiouſly read by thoſe, who have a mind to declaim.* From whence it appears that *Euſebius* in his expoſition of the Scriptures, has chiefly followed the Hiſtoricall and Literal ſenſe; but has not touched the Myſtick and Allegoricall. For the term θεωρία comprehends theſe ſenſes. *Allegoria* therefore differs from *Theoria*, as a *ſpecies* does from the *Genus*. Indeed, *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, of whom we now ſpeak, had written a Book with this Title, Τὶς διαφορὰ Θεωρίας καὶ Ἀλληγορίας, that is, *what may be the difference between Theoria and Allegoria.* But I wonder at *Jerome*, who ſays that *Diodorus* was inſtructed neither in Eloquence, nor in the knowledge of humane Learning. And yet *Theodoret* (Hiſtor. book 4.) compares his eloquence to a moſt limpid River; and *Photius* in *his Bibliotheca* does atteſt, that in his diſcourſes he was clear and perſpicuous. *Valeſ.*

[e] That *Chryſoſtome* converſt familiarly with *Baſilius*, 'tis evident from *Chryſoſtome's books de Sacerdotio.* But who that *Baſilius* was, concerning whom *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks in thoſe books, 'tis uncertaine. *Socrates* does in this place affirm, that it was *Baſilius Magnus.* *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca*) ſays it was *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Seleucia.* *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 382,) does deſervedly diſprove both theſe opinions. *Chryſoſtome* ('tis certain) does atteſt in the beginning of his book, that himſelf and that *Baſilius*, concerning whom he there ſpeaks, had always the ſame maſters. Now *Baſilius Magnus* learnt Rhetorick at *Athens*: but *Chyſoſtome* was *Libanius*'s hearer at *Antioch* a long while after that. If that were *Baſilius the Great*, whom *Chryſoſtome* affirms to have obtained the principall place amongſt his own companions and friends, doubtleſs ſome footſteps of his friendſhip would at this day be extant in *Baſilius*'s *Epiſtles.* But, amongſt ſo many of his Epiſtles which have been preſerved to our times, there occurs not one, written to our *Johannes.* Wherefore I agree with *Baronius*, who ſays, that that *Baſilius* who was companion to *Chryſoſtome*, was *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Raphanea*, or elſe *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Byblus.* For both theſe perſons were *Chryſoſtomes* contemporaries, in regard they ſubſcribed the *Conſtantinopolitan Council.* Valeſ.

[f] Inſtead of [τῷ ποτὲ μὲν διακόνῳ, *ſometimes made a Deacon*, &c.] In my judgment it ſhould be [τῷ τότε μὲν διακόνῳ, *at that time made a Deacon*, &c.] For it follows: *but afterwards conſtituted Biſhop of Cæſarea in Cappadocia.*] *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* confirms our conjecture, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion; for thus he renders it, *qui tunc à Meletio factus erat Diaconus, who was then made Deacon by Meletius.* Further, *Amphilochius* (in *his Life of Baſilius the Great,*) does relate that *Baſil* was made Deacon by *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch.* But that book is ſtuft with fables and lies. Doubtleſs, in regard *Baſil the Great* was by lawfull degrees promoted to be *Reader* and *Presbyter* at *Cæſarea*, (as *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does atteſt, in *his Funerall Oration concerning the praiſes of the ſame Baſilius*) 'tis ſcarce credible, that he ſhould have been made *Deacon* any where elſe, but at *Cæſarea.* Valeſ.

[g] *Nicephorus* (what Authour he follows, I know not,) makes this *Zeno*, Biſhop of *Gaza* or *Majuma.* But, whereas *Zeno* was created Biſhop of *Majuma* in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, (as *Sozomen* relates book 5. chap. 8;) he muſt neceſſarily be a different perſon from that *Zeno* who ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader; in regard *Chryſoſtome* was made a Reader in *Valens Auguſtus*'s Reign, about the year of our Lord 370. But *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 382,) ſays that this *Zeno* (by whom *Chryſoſtome* was ordained a Reader of *Antioch*) was Biſhop of *Tyre*, the ſame perſon who was preſent at the *Conſtantinopolitan Councill*; and was then (*Meletius* being abſent) his Deputy in the Church of *Antioch.* In which thing I do readily aſſent to *Baronius.* But whereas he repoves *Socrates* there, for his ſaying, that that *Zeno* was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; therein *the Cardinal* is evidently miſtaken. For *Socrates* does not make *Zeno* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; he only ſays, that *Zeno* the Biſhop, returning from *Jeruſalem*, Ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader of *Antioch.* Now *Zeno* had made a journey to *Jeruſalem*, either on the account of prayer, (as it was the cuſtom of thoſe times,) or by reaſon of ſome Eccleſiaſtick affair. But here ariſes a difficulty. For, if *Zeno* in his return from *Jeruſalem*, ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader of *Antioch*; the City of which he was Biſhop, muſt neceſſarily be farther remote from *Jeruſalem*, than *Antioch* was; or at leaſt it muſt lie at the ſide of *Antioch.* Which cannot be ſaid of the Cities *Tyre*, and *Gaza.* For both thoſe are far nearer to *Jeruſalem*, than *Antioch* is. Therefore, this *Zeno*, who ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader of *Antioch*, was Biſhop of ſome other City. In *Baſil the Great's* 69th *Epiſtle*, there is mention of one *Zeno* a Biſhop, who was preſent at the *Antiochian-Council under Meletius*: but the name of his See is not ſet down. I know *Palladius* (in the *Life of Chryſoſtome*) does relate, that *Chryſoſtome* was ordained Reader by *Meletius.* But this, in my judgment, is ſo to be underſtood, that that may be ſaid to have been done by *Meletius*, which was performed by *Zeno* ſupplying his place. *Valeſ.*

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Whileſt he continued in the degree of a Reader, he wrote *a book againſt the Jews.* Having not long after obtained the dignity of a Deacon from *Meletius*, he wrote *his books concerning Prieſthood*, and *thoſe againſt Stagirius*: Moreover, *thoſe concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God*, and thoſe *concerning* * *ſubintroduced women.* After this, when *Meletius* was dead at *Conſtantinople*; (for he had made a journey thither, on account of *Gregorius Nazianzenus*'s ordination:) *Johannes* made a ſeparation from the † *Meletianiſts*, nor did he communicate with *Paulinus*; but lived quietly for the ſpace of three whole years. Afterwards, when *Paulinus* was dead, he is ordained Presbyter by [h] *Evagrius*, *Paulinus*'s ſucceſſour. This (to ſpeak compendiouſly) was *Johannes*'s courſe of life, before his being made Biſhop. He was a perſon (as 'tis ſaid) ſower and moroſe, by reaſon of his [overmuch] zeal for temperance; and (as one of his *intimadoes* has reported;) from his younger years more addicted to anger, than baſhfullneſs. Becauſe of his * Sanctity of Life, he was not cautious and circumſpect in relation to things future; and by reaſon of his ‖ plainneſs, he was open and eaſie. He uſed too great a liberty in ſpeaking to thoſe who diſcourſed him. In his teaching, he made it his chief buſineſs to improve the Moralls of his hearers: and in his conferences, he was ſuppoſed by thoſe who knew him not, to be proud and arrogant.

* See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 7. chap. 30. note (*q.*)

† That is, *Meletius*'s party.

* Or, *Reſtitude of Life.*

‖ Or, *ſimplicity*, or *ſingleneſs.*

[h] This is the *Evagrius*, of whom we have ſpoken at note (*b.*) in this chapter. But, what *Socrates* ſays, (to wit, that *Chryſoſtome* was ordained Preſbyter, by *Evagrius*,) has but little of probability. For, if that be true which *Socrates* ſays, (I mean, that *Chryſoſtome*, after *Meletius*'s death, abſtained from *Paulinus*'s communion;) how can it be ſuppoſed that *Chryſoſtome* ſhould admit of *Evagrius*'s ordination, who was ſucceſſour to *Paulinus*? It is better therefore to follow *Palladius*, *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, and others, who relate that *Chryſoſtome* was promoted to the *Preſbyterate* by *Flavianus* the Biſhop. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning Serapion *the Deacon, and how by his inſtigation* Johannes *became offended with, and an enemy to his Clergy.*

THis being the humour and diſpoſition of *Johannes*, after his promotion to the * Epiſcopate, he was more ſupercilious and ſevere towards his Clergy than was fitting; his deſign in that being (as he expected,) to rectifie the lives of thoſe under him. Immediately therefore

* *Biſhoprick.*

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fore at his very entry [upon the Bishoprick] he seemed rough and austere to the Ecclesiasticks, and incurred their * *Odium*, many of them became his enemies, and declined him as an angry person. *Serapion* his Deacon incited him to † alienate all mens minds from himself. And on a time, when all the Clergy were present, he spake aloud to the Bishop, after this manner, *You will never be able (O Bishop !) to get the mastery over these persons, unless you drive them all out with one rod.* This expression of his excited an *Odium* against the Bishop. Not long after the Bishop ejected many persons out of the Church, some for one reason, others for another. But they (as it usually happens in such violent proceedings of Governours,) enter into a Combination against him, and calumniated him to the people. That which induced the hearers to a belief of what was spoken against him, was, that the Bishop would not eat with any body, nor would he upon any invitation go to a Feast. Upon which account most especially, the calumny against him improved, and grew greater. Upon what design || he refused to eat with any person, no one could ever certainly tell. For those who are desirous of defending him, say that he had a very weak stomack, and could hardly digest meat; for which reason he did eat alone. Others affirm, he did this on account of his *Ascetick* and most severe course of life. What-ever of truth there was in this matter, it was of no small advantage to his Accusers, in order to their calumniating him. Notwithstanding, the people did highly approve of him upon account of the Sermons he Preach't in the Church, loved the man exceedingly, and disregarded those persons who attempted to accuse him. Moreover, what his Sermons were, (as well those published by himself, as them taken by the *Notaries* from his mouth as he Preach't them,) how elegant, inviting and perswasive; it is needless now to declare, in regard those that are desirous may read them, and reap abundant benefit from them.

* Hatred.

† Or, *displease all men.*

|| Or, *he chose to eat with no body.*

CHAP. V.

That Johannes *differed not only with the Clergy, but with the Magistracy also. And concerning* Eutropius *the* Eunuch.

AS long as *Johannes* was offensive to the Clergy only, the designes framed against him were weak, and infirm. But after he attempted to reprove many of the Magistracy also, beyond the bounds of what was fit, then the envy against him was much more enkindled. Many things were spoken against him; most whereof were in future believed by the hearers. But that which made an addition to the calumny, was the Oration at that time spoken by him against *Eutropius*. For *Eutropius* the Eunuch (the chief person of the Bed-chamber to the Emperour, the * first Eunuch that was vouchsafed the dignity of a *Consul* by the Emperour,) desirous to be revenged upon some persons who had taken sanctuary in the Church, made it his business to get an Edict published by the Emperours, prohibiting any person from flying into the Churches for sanctuary, but that such as had fled thither should by force be drawn out thence. But [divine] vengeance followed immediately hereupon. For the Law was promulged, and not long after *Eutropius* himself, having offended the Emperour, made his escape into the Church. The Bishop therefore (whilest *Eutropius* lay under the Altar, and was terrified with fear,) [a] sitting in the Pulpit (out of which it had before been his usage to Preach, in order to his being heard more easily;) made an Oration in reproof of him. Whereupon he seemed to give a greater offence to some persons, because he was not only incompassionate towards an unfortunate man, but on the contrary even reproved him. *Eutropius* therefore at that time bearing the Consulate, was by the Emperours order beheaded, for some crimes [he had committed.] His name also was rased out of the * *Fasti Consulares*, and only *Theodorus*'s name, who had been his Colleague in the Consulate, was [b] Recorded therein. 'Tis reported likewise, that Bishop *Johannes*, making use of his usuall freedom and boldness in speaking, did sharply reprove *Gaina* also, at that time *Master of the Milice*, because he took the confidence to make a request to the Emperour, that one of the Churches within the City might be assigned to the *Arians*, who were of the same opinion with himself. He also reproved several other of the Grandees upon various accounts, with much freedom and boldness; by reason of which liberty of his, he gained the Ill-will of many persons. Wherefore, *Theophilus* also Bishop of *Alexandria*, soon after *Johannes*'s Ordination, began to consider, how he might undermine and ruine him. And with some persons that were present he discoursed privately concerning that affair; but he imparted his own design [by Letters] to many others, who were at a great distance. For he was not only vexed at *Johannes*'s too great boldness; but also because he had not been able to promote *Isidorus*, a Presbyter under him, to the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. In this posture were Bishop *Johannes*'s affairs; and immediately, at the very beginning of his Episcopate, he felt the pangs of mischief and disquietude. But we will declare the matters that concern him, in the procedure of our History.

* Or, *the first of the Eunuchs.*

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* Or, *the Catalogue of Consuls.*

[a] From this place 'tis apparent, that the Bishops heretofore did not usually Preach to the people out of the Pulpit. For this *Socrates* takes notice of as a thing singular in *Chrysostome*, to wit, that being about to make an Oration, he went up into the Pulpit, that he might be the easier heard by the people. Most commonly the Bishops Preached standing on the steps of the Altar. We are informed hereof from *King Childebert's Constitution*, which *Sirmondus* has recorded, in *his first Tome of the Councills of France*, pag. 300; but it is there imperfect. We will make good one defect in it, from the *most ancient Corbeiensian Manuscript*, after this manner: *Qualiter in sacrilegos dei injuria vindicetur, nostrum est pertractandum. Et quia fides nostra ut verbo de altario sacerdote faciente quæcunque de Evangelio, Prophetis vel Apostolo fuerit adnuntiatum, in quantum Deus dat intellectum: ad nos querimonia processit*, &c. The sense of these words, which are very corrupt, is this. *Because the Priests have complained, whilest they make Sermons to the people, that the Bansatrices* [what the import of that word is, I cannot find] *walk through the fields and recall the people from the Church; Therefore we command*, &c. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 407, *number* 17. Valef.

[b] Hence 'tis, that in the *Fasti* of *Prosperus*, *Idatius*, and *Cassiodorus*, this year has only *Manlius Theodorus* Consul, *Eutropius*'s name being expunged. Concerning *Eutropius*'s death, consult *Zosimus*. Valef.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tyranny of Gaina *the* Goth, *and the disturbance he raised at* Constantinople; *and concerning his death.*

I Will now relate an affair worthy to be recorded, which hapned at this very time; and will demonstrate, how divine providence freed the City and *Roman* State from the greatest danger imaginable, by unexpected assistances. What that was, must now be declared. *Gaina* was by extract a *Barbarian*. Having made himself a

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Subject to the *Romans*, and ingaged in a Military Employ, he roſe by degrees, and was at length conſtituted Generall both of the *Roman* Horſe and Foot. When he had gotten ſo great a power, he knew not himſelf, nor could he moderate his own mind. But (as the ſaying is) moved every ſtone, that he might render the *Roman* Empire ſubject unto himſelf. He ſent for the whole nation of the *Goths*, out of their own Country. [a] And took care, that ſuch as were his relations ſhould have the Command of the Military Forces. [Moreover,] when *Tribigildus* (one of his kindred, *Tribune* of thoſe Souldiers lodged in *Phrygia*,) * raiſed a Rebellion by *Gaïna*'s inſtigation, and ruined the whole Province of *Phrygia*; *Gaïna* orders the matter ſo, that the care of affairs there ſhould be committed to himſelf. To which the Emperour *Arcadius*, foreknowing nothing [of his deſign,] readily yielded. *Gaïna* therefore forthwith made an Expedition, pretendedly indeed againſt *Tribigildus*; but in reality, with a reſolution to turn Tyrant. He took along with him a vaſt multitude of the *Barbarous Goths*. And when he was arrived in *Phrygia*, laid all places deſolate. The *Romans* were on a ſudden mightily diſturbed, not only by reaſon of the vaſt number of *Barbarians* who were with *Gaïna*, but alſo in regard the [fertileſt and] moſt uſefull Provinces of the *Eaſt* were highly endangered. But then the Emperour, in relation to the preſent juncture of affairs, made uſe of a prudent and uſefull advice, and by ſubtlety made an attempt upon the * *Barbarian*. Having therefore ſent [Embaſſadours] to him, he took a reſolution of appeaſing him as well by words, as deeds. Upon *Gaïna*'s demanding two of the eminenteſt Perſonages of the *Senatorian Order* (who had born the Conſulate, to wit, *Saturninus* and *Aurelianus*, [b] perſons whom he look't upon as hinderers of his deſignes;) to be Hoſtages; the Emperour, in compliance with the neceſſity of that time delivered them, though unwillingly. Theſe two perſons, prepared to undergo death for the good of the publick, with a couragious mind obeyed the Emperours Command. And went forth to meet the *Barbarian*, ſome diſtance from *Chalcedon*, at a place termed the *Hippodrome*; being ready to endure whatever he ſhould inflict. However, they ſuffered no harm. But *Gaïna* made uſe of * diſſimulation, and came to *Chalcedon*. Whither the Emperour *Arcadius* alſo went to meet him. The Emperour and the *Barbarian* going both into that Church where the body of the Martyr *Euphemia* is depoſited, bound themſelves in a mutuall Oath, that they would not frame deſignes one againſt the other. The Emperour, a perſon that had a pious and religious eſteem for an Oath, and was upon that account beloved by God, kept the ingagement he had entred into. But *Gaïna* violated it, and receded not from the deſign he had propoſed to himſelf; but was intent upon cauſing Burnings and Plunderings, both at *Conſtantinople*, and alſo (if he could have effected it) over the whole *Roman* Empire. The * City therefore was turned into a *Barbary*, by reaſon of the innumerable multitudes of *Barbarians*, and its inhabitants had the treatment of Captives. [Moreover,] ſo great was the danger which hung over the City, that a vaſt *Comet* which reached from heaven even to the earth, the like to which no man ever ſaw before, gave an indication thereof. *Gaïna* therefore in the firſt place impudently attempted to make plunder of the ſilver publickly expoſed to ſale in the ſhops. But when, by a preceding Rumour thereof, [the Money-changers] abſtained from expoſing their ſilver on their Tables; he betook himſelf to another deſigne. And in the dead of the night he ſends a great number of *Barbarians* to burn down the Pallace. At which time it was perſpicuouſly manifeſted, how great a care God had of the City. For a multitude of Angels appeared to the Traytors, in the form of armed men of a vaſt Stature; whom the *Barbarians* conjecturing to be in reallity a numerous and valiant Army, were aſtoniſhed thereat, and departed. When this was told to *Gaïna*, it ſeemed incredible to him. For he well knew, that the greateſt part of the *Roman* Army was then abſent, being engariſoned in the Cities [of the Eaſt.] On the next night therefore, and on many nights afterwards, he ſent other perſons. But when he had ſent [c] ſeverall men, who ſtill brought him the ſame news; (for God's Angels always appeared in the ſame form to the Traytors:) at length he himſelf went accompanied with a great multitude, to be a ſpectatour of the Miracle. Suppoſing them really to be an * Army of Souldiers, which on the daytime lay concealed, and in the night oppoſed his attempts; he framed a deſign, prejudiciall (as he thought) to the *Romans*, but which (as the event demonſtrated) was of great advantage to them. For feigning himſelf to be poſſeſt with a devill, upon a pretence of prayer, he goes to the Church of *John the Apoſtle*, which is ſeaven miles diſtant from the City. The *Barbarians* went out with him, and carried out their Arms covertly, hiding them partly in Tuns, and partly making uſe of other devices. But when the Guard that kept the City-gates, having diſcovered the trick, would not ſuffer them to carry out their weapons, the *Barbarians* drew their ſwords, and ſlew thoſe that guarded the Gates. Hereupon aroſe a horrid tumult in the City, and death ſeemed to be impendent on all perſons. Notwithſtanding, at that time the City ſuffered no harm, all its Gates being ſtrongly fortified. But the Emperour made a ſeaſonable uſe of prudent advice, and having proclaimed *Gaïna* a publick Enemy, he commanded thoſe *Barbarians* who were left in the City to be ſlain. One day [d] after the men that guarded the Gates had been ſlain, the Souldiers that were preſent engage the *Barbarians* within the City-gates, near the Church of the *Goths*: For all the *Barbarians* who were left in the City flock't thither. They burnt the Church, and ſlew a great many of the *Barbarians*. *Gaïna*, informed that thoſe of his party who could not get out of the City

[a] In my judgment this place is thus to be mended: πρὸ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιπλοκὴς ἧς στρατιωτῶν ἀειθαμοῦς ἀρχὰς ἔχειν παρεσκεύαζεν; *and took care, that ſuch as were his Relations, &c.* This our emendation is confirmed by *Sozomen*, book 8. chap. 4. in theſe words: καὶ πρὸ ἐπιπλοκὴς σωματάρχας καὶ χιλιάρχας καθέστησεν, *and he made his Relations centurions and tribunes.* Had Tranſlatours conſulted this paſſage in *Sozomen*, they would have rendred *Socrates*'s words here more happily. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *made an innovation.*

* That is, *Gaïna*,

[b] This paſſage is thus to be worded; ὃς ὑπενόει ἐνκόπτειν αὐτῷ τὰς ὁρμὰς, *perſons whom he look't upon as hinderers of his deſignes*; So *Nicephorus* expreſſes it. Moreover, of theſe two perſons *Aurelianus* bore the Conſulate on this very year with *Stilichon*: *Saturninus* had been conſul long before with *Merobaudes*, in the times of *Theodoſius Senior*. Concerning whoſe praiſes *Themiſtius* ſpeaks at large in *his Gratiarum Actio to Theodoſius on account of the Peace made with the Goths, and on account of the Conſulate given to the ſaid Saturninus.* Valeſ.

* Ἀμυζόμενος, *making a feigned*, or, *diſſatisfull refuſal.*

[c] Inſtead of [διαφόρους, *in a various manner*] we read [διαφόρους, *ſeverall men*;] and ſo *Muſculus* ſeems to have read. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *a multitude.*

[d] I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote [μετὰ τὴν τῶν πυλωρῶν ἀναίρεσιν, *after the men that guarded the Gates were ſlain*;] not [μετὰ τὴν τῶν πυλῶν ἀναίρεσιν, *after the pulling down of the Gates*.] For on the foregoing day, thoſe that guarded the Gates had been ſlain by *Gaïna*'s Souldiers, as *Socrates* has related a little before. *Valeſ.*

City

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City were slain, and perceiving that his Artifices were unsuccessfull to himself, left [S^t *John*'s] Church, and went in great hast into *Thracia*. Being come to *Cherronesus*, he endeavoured to pass over from thence, and take *Lampsacus*, that from that place he might make himself Master of the Eastern parts. But upon the Emperour's sending forces immediately both by Land and Sea, there appeared another admirable effect of divine Providence. For whilest the *Barbarians*, wanting Vessells patch't up Ships in great hast and disorder, wherein they might make their passage; on a sudden the *Roman* Navy appeared in sight, and a West-wind blew hard. The *Romans* had a safe and easie passage in their Ships. But the *Barbarians* together with their horses in their Ships were tossed up and down and dispersed by a Storm, and at length perished in the Sea. Many of them also were destroyed by the *Romans*. After this manner a numerous multitude of *Barbarians* at that time lost their lives in their passage. But *Gaina* got away from thence, and flying through *Thracia*, falls into the hands of another party of the *Roman* Forces, by whom he is slain together with the *Barbarians* in his company. Let thus much be sufficient to have been said [c] cursorily concerning *Gaina*. If any one be desirous of having an accurate account concerning the transactions of that War, let him read *The Gainëa* written by *Eusebius* [f] *Scholasticus*, who at that time was an Auditour of *Troilus* the *Sophista:* and having been a Spectatour in that War, he related the transactions thereof in four Books written in *Heroick Verse*. For which Poem he was much admired, whilest the memory of things was fresh. And very lately, *Ammonius* the *Poet* has made a Poem upon the same subject, and recited it before the Emperour *Theodosius Junior*, in his sixteenth Consulate which he bore with *Faustus*; on account whereof he has gotten a great repute. Moreover, this War was ended on the Consulate of *Stilichon* and *Aurelianus*. And the year following, *Fravitus* bore a Consulate, a Personage by extract indeed a *Goth*, but one who had expreſt much of kindness and fidelity towards the *Romans*, and had done them excellent service in this very War. On which account he had the dignity of a Consulate bestowed upon him; in whose year the Emperour *Arcadius* had a Son born, *Theodosius the Good*, on the tenth of * *April*. Let thus much be said concerning these things. [Further,] whilest the affaires of the *Roman* State were thus tempestuous, those intrusted with the Prelacy, abstained not in the least from framing Designes and Plots one against another, to the reproach and disgrace of the *Christian Religion*. For at this very time the Bishops employed their thoughts about raising tumults and insurrections against one another. Which mischief took its beginning from *Egypt*, upon this account.

[c] The true reading seems to be [ὡς ἐν ὀλιγῳ περὶ τῶν Γαϊνᾶ, *cursorily concerning Gaina.* Vales.

[f] *Advocates* were heretofore stiled *Scholastici*, as we are informed from *Justinian*'s 74^th and 76^th *Novell*. The words of *Macarius* in *his* 15^th *Homily*, are these: ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πραγματα, &c. *He that desires to have a knowledge in Forensian Cases, goes and learns the Abbreviatures. And when he has been the first there, he goes to the School of the* Romans, *where he is the last of all. Again, when he comes to be the first there, he departs to the School of the Pragmatici* [*or, Practicants,*] *where he is again the last of all, and* Arcarius [*or* Novice.] *Then, when he is made a Scholasticus, he is* Novice *and the last of all the Lawyers. Again, when he becomes the first there, then he is made a President* [*or Governour of a Province.*] *And when he is made a Governour, he takes to himself an Assistant or Assessour.* See more in *Franciscus Pithœus's Glossary ad Novellas Juliani Antecessoris*, and in *Meursius's Glossary* in the term Σχολαστικὸς, & Ἀρχαῖος. *Vales.*

* In the year of *Christ* 401; See book 6. chap. 11. note (c.)

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Dissention which hapned between Theophilus [*Bishop*] *of* Alexandria, *and the* Monasticks *in the Solitude. And how* Theophilus Anathematized Origen's *Books.*

A Little before this, a question had been started, whether God were a body, and had an humane shape; or whether he were incorporeall, and forreign, not only to an humane, but to any other bodily shape and figure whatever. By reason of this question, strifes and contentions were raised amongst many persons: some favouring this opinion; others patronizing that. The greatest part of the plainer and simpler sort of *Ascetick* asserted, that God was corporeall, and had an humane shape. But most [other persons] condemned their opinion, affirming God to be incorporeall, and wholly void of all manner of bodily shape. Whose Sentiment was embraced by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*; in so much that he invieghed publickly in the Church, in the presence of the people, against those who asserted God had an humane shape; and did himself expresly determine, that he was incorporeall. The *Egyptian Ascetick* understanding this, left their Monasteries and came down to *Alexandria*. And raised a tumult against *Theophilus*, condemning him of impiety; and were resolved to kill him. *Theophilus*, acquainted herewith, was sorely perplexed, and employed his mind about a device, how he might avoid the death he was threatned with. Being come into the presence of these men, he addrest himself to them in a flattering way, and spoke to them on this wise: * *Whilest I behold you, to my thinking I see God's Countenance.* These words mollified the fury of the Monks. Their return to him was: *If you speak true,* [to wit,] *that God's Countenance is like ours, then* Anathematize Origen's *Works. For some persons have disputed out of those* [a] *Books, and contradicted our Opinion. But, if you refuse to do that expect from us the Treatment due to impious persons and enemies to God. I will do whatever seems good to you,* (replied *Theophilus*) *and therefore be not incensed against me. For I my self do abominate* Origen's *Books, and judge those persons worthy of reprehension, who admit of them. Theophilus* therefore having after this manner given the Monks a repulse, dismissed them. And perhaps the controversie about this matter, which had come to this height, might have been quieted and appeased; had there not another accident forthwith hapned, of this nature. There presided over the Monasteries in *Egypt* four pious men, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, and *Euthymius*. These persons were own Brothers; and from their [stature of] body were termed *The Long*. They were eminent both for their [Sanctity of] life, and eloquence. And upon that account their fame was very great at *Alexandria*. Moreover, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* had an high esteem for these men. For which reason he constituted one of them, to wit, *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Hermopolis*; having by force constrained him [to undertake that Ecclesiastick Charge.] Two more of them he intreated to continue with him, and could scarcely perswade them to it: but in regard he was Bishop, at length he forced them

* Or, *I look upon you in the same manner that I do behold the face of God.*

[a] The passage in *Origen* (wherein he disputes against those who affirmed God was endewed with an humane shape,) is extant in *Theodoret*, in *his Questions upon Genesis* cap. 20, [quoted] from *Origen's Comments* upon *Genesis.* Vales.

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them [to ſtay ;] and [b] having honoured them with the Dignity of Clergy-men, he committed the diſpoſall of [the Revenue of] the Church to them. They, neceſſitated thereto, ſtayed ; and diſcharged their office of Stewardſhip very well. Notwithſtanding, they were diſpleaſed, becauſe they could not Philoſophize, as they had a mind to do, nor be intent upon [their ſtudies of] an *Aſcetick* Diſcipline. But when in proceſs of time, they were of opinion that their ſouls received harm, in regard they perceived the Biſhop wholly intent upon Lucre, and making it his chief concern to amaſs money together, (and upon that account, as 'tis commonly ſaid *moving every ſtone* ;) [c] then they refuſed to live any longer with him, ſaying they were in love with the Solitude, and preferred that before a City-life. The Biſhop, as long as he was ignorant of the true reaſon [why they reſolved to be gone,] entreated them to ſtay. But after he perceived himſelf condemned by them, he was filled with rage, and threatned to do them all manner of miſchief. When they, diſregarding his menaces, were departed into the Solitude ; *Theophilus* being (as may be conjectured) a perſon of an hot and haſty temper, raiſed no ſmall diſturbance againſt theſe perſons : but ſet all engines on work to create them trouble. He forthwith entertained an hatred for their Brother *Dioſcorus* alſo, Biſhop of *Hermopolis*. For he was ſorely vexed at him, becauſe the *Aſceticks* were his favourers, and had an high veneration for him. He very well knew, that he could no ways damnifie theſe perſons, unleſs he could make the Monks their enemies. He therefore makes uſe of this method. 'Twas certainly known to him, that thoſe men, in their frequent diſputes with him, [had ſtrongly aſſerted] that God was incorporeall, and in no wiſe had an humane ſhape. For, humane paſſions do of neceſſity accompany an humane ſhape. And this had been diligently inquired into by the Ancients, eſpecially by *Origen*. Although this was *Theophilus*'s own Sentiment concerning God, yet that he might be revenged of his enemies, he was not aſhamed of contradicting what he and they had well and truly aſſerted. But * impoſed upon moſt of the Monks, perſons innocent indeed and ſincere, but who were unskillfull in learning, yea moſt of them illiterate. For he ſends Letters to the Monaſteries in the Solitudes, giving them advice that they ought not to be perſwaded by *Dioſcorus*, nor his Brethren, who affirm God to be incorporeall. For God (ſaid he,) according to the [teſtimony of the] Sacred Scripture, hath eyes, ears, hands, and feet, as men have. But thoſe perſons about *Dioſcorus*, being followers of *Origen*, do attempt to introduce an * impious opinion ; to wit, that God has neither eyes, nor ears, nor feet, nor hands. With this impoſture he deceives moſt of the Monks ; and there ariſes a very hot diſſention amongſt them. Such as had their minds † cultivated with Learning, were in no wiſe caught with this fraud ; but continued their adherence both to *Dioſcorus* and *Origen*. But the ſimpler ſort, who were the moſt in number, and had the greateſt warmth and zeal, forthwith made an inſurrection againſt the Brethren. A diviſion therefore was made amongſt them, and they reproach't one another as impious perſons. *Theophilus*'s party termed the Brethren *Origeniſts* and impious perſons. On the contrary, the other Faction ſtiled thoſe inſtigated by *Theophilus* || *Anthropomorphitæ*. Whereupon no ſmall contention aroſe, and an irreconcileable War was kindled between the Monks. As ſoon as *Theophilus* underſtood, that his deſign ſucceeded according to his own mind, he went to *Nitria* (where the Monaſteries are,) accompanied with a great multitude, and [d] Arms the Monks againſt *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren. They having been in great danger of looſing their lives, at length with great difficulty made their eſcape. *Johannes* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was in the interim wholly ignorant of what had been done in *Egypt* : and he grew famous for his Learning and Eloquence, on account whereof he became eminent [in all places.] He was alſo the firſt perſon that inlarged the Prayers [uſually made] in the *Nocturnall Hymns*, [which he did] for this reaſon.

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For, they were forced from thence, becauſe they were defenders of *Origen*, whom, together with his errours, *Theophilus* had condemned in the *Alexandrian Synod*. *Socrates* ſeems to have been impoſed upon by ſome perſon that was an *Origeniſt*, who favouring *Ammonius* and his Brethren, had given *Socrates* a Narrative of that buſineſs, otherwiſe than it really was. *Baronius*, not content to fix the *Novatian Hereſie* upon our *Socrates* does openly call him an *Origeniſt*. But we only ſay this, that *Socrates* had this his relation from ſome one of *Ammonius*'s friends. I do not in the leſt doubt, but *Theophilus*, out of a grudge and hatred towards *Ammonius* and his brethren, made the Errours of *Origen* and the crime of Hereſie his pretext only ; as he did afterwards frame the ſame calumny againſt *John Chryſtoſtome*. Valeſ.

[b] *Johannes Launoius* (in *his book concerning the true interpretation of the ſixth Canon of the Nicene-Council*) produces this paſſage in *Socrates*, to prove, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ordained all the *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, throughout all *Egypt*. For he remarks, that *Theophilus* did two things here. Firſt, he made *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Hermopolis* ; then he ordained his two Brothers Clergy-men, and joyned them to the ſame *Dioſcorus*. 'Twas indeed *Launoius*'s opinion, that *Ammonius* and his brother were by *Theophilus* made Clergy-men of the *Hermopolitane* Church. Which was alſo the Sentiment (as I ſee) of the *Author of the Sacred Geography*. But in my judgment, both theſe perſons are miſtaken. For *Theophilus* made them not Clergy-men of the *Hermopolitane* Church ; but kept them with himſelf, and ordained them Clerks of his own (that is, of the *Alexandrian*) Church. This is atteſted by *Socrates*, in theſe words : Δύο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρεκάλεσε συμένειν αὐτῷ, *Two more of them he entreated to continue with him.* Beſides the following words in *Socrates* do more clearly evince this : for *Socrates* adds, that being made Stewards of the Church by *Theophilus*, in the firſt place they were diſpleaſed, becauſe being raviſhed from the Solitude, they had no further leiſure to mind the *Monaſtick Philoſophy*. But at length, when they diſcerned *Theophilus*'s incredible Avarice and deſire of riches, and perceived themſelves vitiated by converſing with him, they requeſted a diſmiſſion from him. From which words the proof is ſufficient, that they converſt with *Theophilus* ; and being as it were his companions and domeſticks, had an inſight into his Vices and Rapines : For they were the *œconomi*, that is, the *Stewards of the Revenue of the Church*. Moreover, theſe *Learned men* were impoſed upon by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus's Verſion* ; who has rendred this paſſage in *Socrates* thus : *Quamobrem Dioſcorum violenter tractum*, &c. *Wherefore he took Dioſcorus by force, and made him Biſhop of Hermopolis. Two more of them he intreated to dwell with him, and (although a Biſhop) ſcarcely prevailed : having ordained them, he made them Stewards of the Church.* Valeſ.

[c] Inſtead of [παρητήσατο τε, *and they refuſed*] I read [παρητήσατο τότε, *then they refuſed*, Valeſ.

* Or, *wound in.*

* Or, *blaſphemous.*

† Or, *exerciſed in.*

|| That is, *perſons that affirmed God had an humane ſhape.*

[d] *Socrates* conceals the true reaſon, why thoſe *Monks* termed *The Long-Brethren* were driven out of the Monaſteries of *Nitria* by *Theophilus*.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Prayers of the Nocturnall Hymns [*ſung*] *by the* Arians *and* Homoüſians ; *and concerning the engagement which hapned between them : and that the ſinging of* Hymns *in parts, wherein one ſang one verſe, another another, had its originall from* Ignatius [a] Theophorus.

[a] So the holy Martyr *Ignatius* is uſually ſtiled. This term is differently accented in the Greek, which makes its import different alſo. For if it be written Θεοφόρος, it denotes *a Divine perſon, one whoſe ſoul is full of God*. If it be Θεόφορος, its import is paſſive, and implies *one born or carried by God*. We are told by many Learned men, that *Ignatius* had this title from our Saviours taking him up in his arms. For, he was that very child (they ſay) whom our Saviour (*Mar.* 9. 36.) *took up, and ſet in the midſt of his diſciples*. Others, on the contrary, affirm this ſtory to be groundleſs and uncertain. See Dr *Cave's Life of Ignatius*.

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THe *Arians*, as we have ſaid, had their Meetings without the City. Every week therefore, as often as the Feſtivall days occurred, (I mean the Sabbath, and Sunday,) whereon Aſſemblies were uſually held in the Churches; they flock't together within the City, about the publick * *Piazza*'s, and ſang Hymns adapted to the *Arian* Hereſie, anſwering one another by turns. And this they did for the moſt part all night long. Early in the morning they ſang the ſame *alternative Hymns*, paſſed through the midſt of the City, out of its Gates, and ſo went to the places where they met. But in regard they would not deſiſt from making uſe of ſuch terms as gave a provocation to the Aſſertours of the *Homoöuſian* opinion: (For they frequently Sang ſuch words as theſe, *Where are they who affirm Three to be one power?*) *Johannes* being afraid, leſt any of the more ignorant ſort might be drawn away from the Church by ſuch Hymns, in oppoſition to them appoints ſome of his own people, that they alſo might imploy themſelves in ſinging of *Nocturnall Hymns*, and by that means both obſcure the Sedulity of the *Arians* about theſe things, and alſo confirm his own party [the Orthodox] in the profeſſion of their Faith. This deſign of *Johannes*'s was ſeemingly good and uſefull; but the concluſion of it was diſturbance and dangers. For, in regard the Hymns of the *Homoöuſians*, in their ſinging of them in the night, were performed with more of pomp and Show: (for *Johannes* invented Silver Croſſes, whereon were carried wax-tapers lighted; the Empreſs *Eudoxia* being at the charge hereof:) the *Arians*, who were very numerous, and poſſeſt with an envious emulation, reſolved to be revenged, and to make an Attack againſt them. For, by reaſon of that power and ſway which they had formerly had, they were as yet hot and ready for ſuch conflicts, and likewiſe they deſpiſed their adverſaries. Without delay therefore, on one of thoſe nights they ingaged. *Eriſo*, the *Empreſſe's Eunuch*, who at that time was the Singers Inſtructour, received a wound in his forehead by a ſtone: and moreover, ſome perſons on both ſides were ſlain. The Emperour incenſed hereat, prohibited the *Arians* from ſinging their Hymns any more in publick. Such, as we have declared, were the tranſactions then. We are further to relate, whence this uſage of ſinging *alternative Hymns* in the Church had its original. [b] *Ignatius* the third Biſhop of *Antioch* in *Syria* from the Apoſtle *Peter*, who alſo converſt with the Apoſtles themſelves, ſaw a Viſion of Angells, praiſing the Holy Trinity by ſinging of *Alternative Hymns*, and he delivered that way of ſinging, which he had ſeen in his Viſion, to the *Antiochian* Church. Whence the ſame Tradition was ſpread over all other Churches. This is the account we have received concerning *Alternative Hymns*.

* *Covered, or, Arched walks.*

[b] I cannot imagine whence *Socrates* had this ſtory. For 'tis manifeſt, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the firſt perſons, who in *Conſtantius*'s Reign divided the Quires of Singers at *Antioch* into two parts, and gave them *David*'s Pſalms, to be ſung *alternatively*, or *by turns*: which uſage being firſt practiſed at *Antioch*, afterwards ſpread over all the Churches of the world. *Theodoret* atteſts this in *his Hiſt. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24; as does alſo *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus* (a perſon ancienter than he) who lived in the ſame times with *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. *Theodorus*'s words are quoted by *Nicetas in Theſauro Orthodoxæ fidei, lib.* 5. *cap.* 30. Although that way of ſinging of Pſalms ſeems to have been uſed by the *Syrians*, before *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*'s times. For *Theodorus* writes, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the firſt perſons, who tranſlated that kind of *Pſalmodie* which they term *Antiphonæ* [That is, *when one ſingeth one verſe, another another*] out of the *Syrian* Language into the *Grecian*; and that thoſe two perſons appeared almoſt the only Authours of this thing, to all the parts of the world. What therefore the *Syrians* had done long before *Flavianus*'s time, (to wit, in ſinging of *David*'s Pſalms *alternatively* in *Syriack*,) that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* ordered to be done, by the *Grecians* of *Antioch* in their ſinging the Pſalms in *Greek*. Valeſ.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning thoſe termed The long Monks, *and how* Theophilus *having conceived an implacable hatred againſt* Johannes *upon their account, made it his buſineſs to get him depoſed* [*from his Biſhoprick*.] ARCADIUS & HONORIUS.

NOt long after this, the Monks together with *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren, went from the Solitudes to *Conſtantinople*. They were accompanied by *Iſidorus*, a perſon for whom *Theophilus* had heretofore had a great * Love; [a] but was then become his moſt deadly Enemy, upon this account. One *Peter* was [b] *Chief-Presbyter* of the *Alexandrian* Church. *Theophilus* had conceived an hatred againſt him, and took a reſolution of ejecting him out of the Church. He charged him with this accuſation, that he had admitted a woman, by Sect a *Manichæan*, to [a participation of] the Sacred Myſteries, before he had brought her off from the *Manichæan* Hereſie. But in regard *Peter* ſaid that the woman had renounced her Hereſie, and that ſhe had not been admitted [to the Euchariſt] contrary to *Theophilus*'s mind, *Theophilus* was for that reaſon highly incenſed, in regard he was calumniated. For he affirmed himſelf to be wholly ignorant of what had been done. *Peter* therefore ſummoned *Iſidorus* to atteſt, that the Biſhop was not ignorant of what had been done concerning the woman. It hapned that *Iſidorus* was at that very time at the Imperiall City *Rome*. For he had been ſent by *Theophilus* to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, that he might make a reconciliation between him and *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*. For *Meletius*'s adherents made a ſeparation from *Flavianus*, on account of his Oath, as has been declared * before. *Iſidorus* therefore being returned from *Rome*, and ſummoned by *Peter* to give in his Evidence, affirmed that the *Manichæan* woman was admitted [to the Sacrament] agreeable to the Biſhop's conſent: and that the Biſhop himſelf adminiſtred the [Sacred] Myſteries to her. Hereupon *Theophilus* was highly enraged, and out of anger ejected them both [out of the Church.] This was the occaſion of *Iſidorus*'s accompanying *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren to *Conſtantinople*; that the deſigns which had fraudulently been formed againſt them, might be inſpected and laid open before the Emperour himſelf, and *Johannes* the Biſhop. *Johannes* informed hereof, gave the men an honourable reception; and excluded them not from communion of

* *See the ſecond chapter of this book.*

[a] Beſides this reaſon of *Theophilus*'s hatred againſt *Iſidorus*, *Sozomen* (book 8. chap. 12.) relates two other cauſes. The firſt was, becauſe *Iſidorus* had refuſed to give evidence in favour of *Theophilus*'s Siſter. The ſecond, becauſe he had reproved *Theophilus* for his over much diligence in building Churches, whereby he waſted the money of the Church, which ought rather to have been beſtowed on the poor. I am eaſily induced to believe, that theſe were the reaſons of *Theophilus*'s hatred againſt *Iſidorus*; in regard both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do expreſsly atteſt it. Notwithſtanding, *Iſidorus* was not for theſe reaſons ejected out of the Church; but was condemned by the ſentence of the Biſhops, on account of *Origen*'s Errours, which he maintained; as *Baronius* has long ſince informed us from *Palladius* in *Lauſiaca*. Valeſ.

[b] So *Arſacius*, who ſucceeded *Chryſoſtome* in his Biſhoprick, is termed ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος, *Chief-Presbyter*, in the *Acts of the Synod ad Quercum*; and one *Martyrius* is ſtiled πρωτο-διάκονος, *Chief-Deacon*. *Sozomen* calls this *Peter Arch-Presbyter*. This is a name of honour, not of ancientneſs. For the Biſhops Elected whom they pleaſed out of the *College of Presbyters* to be *Arch-Presbyters*, as *Liberatus* informs us in *his Breviarium, chap.* 14. Valeſ.

* *See book* 5. *chap.* 15.

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of the Prayers; but ſaid he would not allow them a communion of the [Sacred] Myſteries, before *cognizance* had been taken of their Caſe. Whileſt the affair was in this poſture, a falſe report is brought to the hearing of *Theophilus*, as if *Johannes* had both admitted them to the Sacred Myſteries, and was alſo ready to give them aſſiſtance. Wherefore [*Theophilus*] made it his whole buſineſs, that he might not only be revenged upon *Dioſcorus* and *Iſidorus*, but caſt *Johannes* alſo out of his [Epiſcopall] Chair. He ſends Letters therefore to the Biſhops of every City, concealing indeed his own deſign, and to appearance blaming therein *Origen*'s Books only: [notwithſtanding,] *Athanaſius*, (who lived long before him,) in confirmation of his own Faith, has frequently made uſe of the authority and Teſtimony of *Origen*'s writings, in *his Orations againſt the Arians*.

CHAP. X.

That Epiphanius [*Biſhop*] *of* Cyprus *being alſo led away by* Theophilus*'s frauds, convened a Synod of Biſhops in* Cyprus, *to determine againſt* Origen*'s Writings, and reproved* Johannes *for reading* Origen*'s Books.*

HE became reconciled alſo to *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Conſtantia* in *Cyprus*, with whom he had heretofore diſagreed. For *Theophilus* [a] had been angry with *Epiphanius*, in regard he entertained abject thoughts of God, and ſuppoſed him to have an humane ſhape. Although *Theophilus* embraced theſe Sentiments concerning God, and reproved thoſe who ſuppoſed the Deity had an humane ſhape; yet by reaſon of the hatred he had conceived againſt ſome other perſons, he openly denyed his own thoughts: and at that time entred into a friendſhip with *Epiphanius* (with whom he had before been at difference,) as if he had altered his mind, and entertained now the ſame Sentiment with him concerning God. He was very earneſt with *Epiphanius* likewiſe to convene a Synod of the Biſhops in *Cyprus*, that therein *Origen*'s Writings might be condemned. *Epiphanius* being by reaſon of his ſingular piety a perſon of a plain diſpoſition and unacquainted with ſubtlety, was ſoon induced into Errour by *Theophilus*'s Letters. And having aſſembled a Synod of the Biſhops within the Iſland [*Cyprus*,] prohibits the reading of *Origen*'s Books. He ſent Letters alſo to *Johannes*, intreating him to abſtain from reading *Origen*'s Works; and [requeſting] that he alſo would convene a Synod, and make the ſame determination he had done. *Theophilus* therefore having wound in *Epiphanius*, a perſon famous for his piety, to embrace his own opinion, and perceiving that his deſign throve according to his wiſh; became more confident, and he alſo himſelf [b] Aſſembled many Biſhops: in which convention (agreeable to what had been done by *Epiphanius*) a ſentence of condemnation was ponounced againſt the Writings of *Origen*, who had been dead [c] almoſt two hundred years: Not that this was *Theophilus*'s principall deſign, but [he did it chiefly] to be revenged on *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren. *Johannes* gave little heed to what he was acquainted with either from *Epiphanius*, or *Theophilus* himſelf; his mind being wholly imployed about Preaching in the Churches. And for that indeed he was extraordinarily eminent: but he altogether ſlighted the plots and deſignes formed againſt him. But after it came to be apparently known to moſt perſons, that *Theophilus* made it his buſineſs to diveſt *Johannes* of his Biſhoprick, then all thoſe men who had an hatred for *Johannes*, joyned in their raiſing calumnious complaints againſt him. And many, as well of the Clergy, as of the *Grandees* who had a great intereſt in the Imperiall Pallace, ſuppoſing they had a very fair opportunity offered them of being revenged upon *Johannes*, procured a Grand Synod to be convened at *Conſtantinople*, ſending into divers parts [for the Biſhops,] partly by Letters, and partly by Meſſengers.

[a] 'Tis falſe that *Epiphanius* was ever ſo ſimple, as to be addicted to the *Hereſie* of the *Anthropomorphitæ*: he had indeed once received a check upon that account from *John* [Biſhop] of *Jeruſalem*. But *Jerome* has refuted this Calumny, and alſo *Epiphanius* himſelf, in *that Sermon* he Preach't at *Jeruſalem* in the preſence of *John* himſelf; as *Jerome* (in *his book to Pammachius concerning the Errours of John of Jeruſalem*) and *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 393) do relate. Wherefore, there was no need of *Theophilus*'s feigning himſelf an *Anthropomorphite*, to curry favour with *Epiphanius*. Both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* were impoſed upon by ſome *Origeniſts*, a favourer of *Ammonius* and *Dioſcorus*, who told them theſe things. For 'twas uſuall with the *Origeniſts*, (as *Baronius* has truly remarked,) to fix the crime of this Hereſie upon the Catholicks, by whom they were condemned. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Socrates* (and *Sozomen* who has followed him herein) is miſtaken here, in ſuppoſing that the *Alexandrian* Synod (wherein *Theophilus* condemned *Origen*'s books, together with *Origen* himſelf,) was held after that Synod convened at *Conſtantia* by *Epiphanius*. 'Tis manifeſt, that *Theophilus* did firſt of all convene a Synod at *Alexandria*, and condemn that *Hereſie* in the year of Chriſt 399. Which was done after many conferences concerning that matter held by the Biſhops who came thither, as *Poſtumianus* informs us in *Sulpicius's Dialogues de Vita B. Martini*. After this *Theophilus* ſent a *Synodick Letter* to all the Biſhops, and he wrote a particular Letter to *Epiphanius*, beſeeching and intreating him that he would convene all the Biſhops of the Iſland, condemn the ſame Hereſie himſelf, and ſubſcribe his *Synodick Letter*. This Letter of *Theophilus*'s is at this day extant, tranſlated by S^t *Jerome*. Valeſ.

[c] Περὶ διακοσίων καὶ ὀλίγου ἐστίν. The particle καὶ muſt be expunged. Moreover, *Socrates* here uſes a perfect number for an imperfect. And for this reaſon he adds the Term ὀλίγου, That is, *almoſt*, or, *thereabout*. But if we would ſpeak exactly, above fifty years muſt be taken from this number. For *Origen* died on the year of Chriſt 252, as may be made out from what we have ſaid at *note (b.) and (c.) on Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 7. chap. 1. From which year, to the year of Chriſt 399, wherein *Origen* was condemned in the *Alexandrian* Synod, there are 147 years. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the [two] *Syrian* [*Biſhops*] Severianus *and* Antiochus, *how, and for what reaſons they diſagreed with* Johannes.

MOreover, the *Odium* againſt *Johannes* was increaſed by another accident of this nature. There were two Biſhops who flouriſhed at one and the ſame time, by extract they were *Syrians*, [their names] *Severianus* and *Antiochus*. *Severianus* Preſided over the Church of *Gabali*, which is a City of *Syria*; and *Antiochus* over that of *Ptolemaïs* ſcituate in *Phœnice*. Both of them were famous for their eloquence. *Severianus*, though he ſeemed to be very Learned, yet did not pronounce the Greek tongue exactly and diſtinctly: but whileſt he ſpoke *Greek*, his voice had the ſound of *Syriack*. *Antiochus* came firſt to *Conſtantinople* from *Ptolemaïs*; and having for ſome time Preached in the Churches [of the Imperiall City] with much Labour and Diligence, and from them procured a great ſumme of money; at length he returned to his own Church. Afterwards, *Severianus* being informed that *Antiochus* had gotten a great deal of money at *Conſtantinople*, made it his buſineſs to follow his example. Having therefore exerciſed himſelf very much, and made many Sermons, he alſo comes to *Conſtantinople*. Where being curteouſly received by *Johannes*, for ſome time

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time he ſoothed and flattered him, and was notwithſtanding beloved and honoured by *Johannes:* in the mean while he grew famous for his Sermons, and on that account came to be taken notice of by *many great perſonages [of that City,] and moreover, by the Emperour himſelf. It hapned that the Biſhop of *Epheſus* died at that time, and *Johannes* was neceſſitated to make a journey thither, to ordain a Biſhop there. Being come to that City, and finding ſome endeavouring to promote one perſon to the Biſhoprick, others another, (who alſo ſtrove very earneſtly amongſt themſelves upon their account, for whom they gave their ſuffrages;) *Johannes* perceiving that both parties contended moſt pertinaciouſly, and would in no point be obedient to his admonitions; reſolved to put an end to their contention *without offending either faction. He himſelf therefore preferred one *Heraclides* his Deacon, by Nation a *Cypriot*, to the Biſhoprick. And ſo both parties deſiſted from their mutuall contentiouſneſs, and were at quiet. On this account *Johannes* was neceſſitated to ſtay at *Epheſus* a long time. In the interim that he reſided there, *Severianus* gained a greater eſteem and affection from his Auditors at *Conſtantinople*. Nor was this thing unknown to *Johannes*. For he was with all imaginable ſpeed acquainted with what-ever hapned. When therefore *Serapion* †(of whom we have made mention † before,) ſuggeſted this to him, and told him the Church was diſturbed by *Severianus*, *Johannes* was provoked to an Emulation. And having ‖ incidently taken away many Churches from the *Novatianiſts* and *Quartadecimani*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*. Where he renewed the care of the Churches which was incumbent on him. But no body was able to endure *Serapion*'s haughtineſs and arrogancy. For in regard he was in poſſeſſion of a great *intereſt and favour with *Johannes* the Biſhop, his inſolence towards all perſons was immeaſurable. For which reaſon the *Odium* alſo againſt the Biſhop became more enkindled. Upon a time, when *Severianus* paſſed by him, *Serapion* refuſed to give him the Honour due to a Biſhop: but continued in his ſeat, demonſtrating thereby that he had but a very ſlight eſteem for *Severianus*'s preſence. *Severianus* could not bear this contempt of *Serapion*'s; but ſpake with a loud voice to thoſe that were preſent, *If Serapion dies a Chriſtian, Chriſt hath not been Incarnate. Serapion* having gotten this occaſion, did openly render *Severianus* odious to *Johannes:* He concealed the firſt clauſe of the ſentence, [to wit, this] *if Serapion dies a Chriſtian*; and affirmed that *Severianus* ſaid theſe words only, *doubtleſs Chriſt was not incarnate*. He produced a company of his own [faction] who atteſted that the words were ſpoken ſo. *Johannes* therefore forthwith expells *Severianus* out of the City. This coming to the knowledge of the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, ſhe reproves *Johannes* ſeverely; and gave order that *Severianus* ſhould forthwith be recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. He returned immediately. But *Johannes* declined his friendſhip; nor could he be induced thereto by the intreaty of any one. [a] Till at length the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, in that Church called *The Apoſtles*, caſt her Son *Theodoſius* (who now Reigns ſucceſsfully, but was then a very young child;) before *Johannes*'s knees, and [b] having adjured him frequently by her Son, with much adoe prevailed with him to admit of a friendſhip with *Severianus*. After this manner therefore theſe two perſons were to appearance reconciled: nevertheleſs, they retained a rancoured mind one towards another. Such was the occaſion of *Johannes*'s grudge againſt *Severianus*.

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[b] Κατ' ἀνάγκην καθορκώσασα; that is, *having adjured him by her Son*. The Ancients were wont to ſwear by their Children. So in *Virgil*,

Per caput hoc juro, per ſpem ſurgentis Iüli:
I ſwear by this head, by the hopes of growing Iülus.

After the ſame manner, when they would earneſtly entreat others, they beſeeched them by their own children, and whatever they accounted moſt dear to themſelves. In this manner therefore *Eudoxia* ſpake to *John Chryſoſtome* at that time. *By this little child of mine, and your ſpirituall Son, whom I brought forth, and whom you received out of the ſacred Font; be reconciled with Severianus.* 'Tis certain *Chryſoſtome* had received *Theodoſius Junior* out of the ſacred Font, as *Nicephorus* relates at this place, from *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, as I ſuppoſe. Further, *Baronius* places this reconciliation between *Severianus* and *Chryſoſtome*, on the year of Chriſt 401, in the Conſulate of *Vincentius* and *Fravitus*. But I had rather place it on the year following. For if it be true that *Theodoſius* was then baptized, as we have before related from *Nicephorus:* (which is indeed highly probable; for *Eudoxia* would not have brought her Son into the Church of *the Apoſtles*, had he not been baptized:) this reconciliation of the Biſhops muſt neceſſarily happen on the year of Chriſt 402. For *Theodoſius Junior* was born in the Conſulate of *Vincentius* and *Fravitus*, (which was the year of Chriſt 401,) on the *tenth of April*. For ſo 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in *Marcellinus*'s which was put forth by *Onufrius*. The reading in *Sirmondus's Edition* is falſe, where it is *on the eleventh of April*. Nor is it credible, that he could be baptized, except in the *Eaſter* of the year following. If any one notwithſtanding ſhall maintain, that he was baptized a few days after his birth, (as *Marcus* ſeems to intimate in the life of *Porphyrius*;) we will allow this, if he pleaſes. But who can believe, that *Theodoſius* would have been brought into the Church by his Mother, and placed at *Chryſoſtome*'s knees, before he was a year, or ten months old? *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

That Epiphanius *coming to* Conſtantinople, *held Aſſemblies, and performed Ordinations contrary to* Johannes's *mind; that he might gratifie* Theophilus.

NOt long after this, *Epiphanius* the Biſhop comes again out of *Cyprus* to *Conſtantinople*, induced thereto by *Theophilus*'s * perſwaſives: he brought along with him † a copy of a Sentence of a Synod, wherein he had not declared *Origen* to be Excommunicate, but had condemned his Books only. Arriving therefore at Saint *John's Church*, (which is diſtant from the City ſeven miles,) and coming aſhoar, he celebrated an Aſſembly, [a] and ordained a Deacon; after which he entred into the City. That he might gratifie *Theophilus*, he declined *Johannes*'s invitation, and lodged in a little private houſe. And having called together thoſe Biſhops who were then at *Conſtantinople*, he produced a copy of the Sentence of condemnation againſt *Origen*'s Books, and recited it to them: [b] having nothing to ſay againſt

* Or, *Arguments.*

† Τὰ κεφάλαια.

[a] *Baronius* does at this place charge *Socrates* with a miſtake, becauſe he has ſaid, that *Epiphanius* ordained a *Deacon* at *Conſtantinople* without the conſent of the Biſhop of that City. *Epiphanius* had done that before indeed, in the Dioceſs of *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as 'tis manifeſt from *Jerome*'s *Epiſtles*. *Socrates* therefore, and thoſe that follow him, being deceived by the likeneſs of the name, thought that was done by *Epiphanius* in the Church of *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. This device *Baronius* has invented to excuſe *Epiphanius*. But, who ſees not, that there is no reaſon, why we ſhould charge *Socrates* with a lie in thoſe things which he himſelf was able to ſee? For what had been once done already by *Epiphanius* in *Paleſtine*, why could it not afterwards be made uſe of by the ſame perſon at *Conſtantinople*? For there was not ſo great a crime in ordaining a Deacon, whom notwithſtanding *Epiphanius* ordained not, but by the entreaty of the multitude that ſtood by. *Valeſ.*

[a] Inſtead of [ὡς χὴ ἢ Βασίλισσα, *in ſo much that the Empreſs,*] in my judgment it ſhould be [ἕως ἧς ἢ Βασίλισσα, *till at length the Empreſs.*] Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Nicephorus* words it expreſsly according to our emendation. And in *Sozomen* the reading is [εἰσότε, *until,*] which is the ſame. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [οὐκ ἔχων, *I have nothing;*] it muſt doubtleſs be [οὐκ ἔχων, *having nothing:*] in the next line, we read [ἐδέκετο, *were pleaſed*] inſtead of [δοκεῖ, *is pleaſed.*] Valeſ.

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againſt thoſe Books, only he and *Theophilus* were pleaſed to reject them. Some [of the Biſhops] out of that reverential reſpect they bore *Epiphanius*, ſubſcribed [this Decree of the Synod :] but very many of them refuſed to do it. Amongſt which number was *Theotimus* Biſhop of *Scythia*, who made this anſwer to *Epiphanius*. *I* (ſaid he) *will neither be injurious* (O Epiphanius !) *to a perſon who has long ſince ended his life pioufly ; nor dare I attempt ſo impious a fact, as to condemn what our Predeceſſours have in no wiſe rejected ; eſpecially when I do not* [c] *know of any ill doctrine in the Books of Origen.* After this he produced a Book of *Origen*'s, which he began to read, and ſhewed the Eccleſiaſtick expoſitions [of Scripture which occur'd] therein. And then he ſubjoyned theſe words. *They who are injurious towards theſe writings, perceive not that they fix a reproach upon thoſe very Books, concerning which theſe are written.* This was the return, which *Theotimus* (a perſon eminent for his piety and rectitude of life,) made to *Epiphanius*.

[c] I agree with *Chriſtophorſon*, who inſtead of [εἰπὼν, *ſaying*,] read [εἰδὼς, *know*,] and at the end of this clauſe placed a full point. Notwithſtanding, 'tis my opinion, that there is ſomething more wanting here And after the word [*Origen*,] I think the place is to be made perfect thus, παῦτα εἰπὼν, βιβλίον συγκομίσας τὲ βιβλίον, *having ſaid theſe words, and produced a book*, &c. Which is confirmed by *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus*. And *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* ſeems to have read thus, as may be collected from *his Verſion*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIII.

What this Writer can ſay in defence of Origen.

BUt in regard ſuch as delight in reproaching, have impoſed upon many perſons, [and diſſwaded them] [a] from reading *Origen*, as being a blaſphemous Authour ; I judge it not unſeaſonable to diſcourſe a little concerning them. Vile and deſpicable men, who of themſelves cannot arrive at an eminency, are deſirous of getting a name from diſcommending thoſe who are better than themſelves. The firſt perſon affected with this diſtemper was *Methodius*, Biſhop of a City in *Lycia* named *Olympus*. Then, *Euſtathius*, who for ſome ſmall time Preſided over the Church in *Antioch*. After him, *Appollinaris*, and laſtly *Theophilus*. This Meſs of Revilers have calumniated *Origen*, but proceeded not in one and the ſame method. For one has broke out into an accuſation againſt him upon one account, another upon another ; whereby each of them hath ſufficiently demonſtrated, that he has fully approved of whatever he has not found fault with. For, whereas one has blamed him in particular for one opinion, another for another ; 'tis manifeſt that each of them has wholly admitted as true what he hath not cavilled at ; his ſilence approving of that which he has not found fault with. *Methodius* indeed, when [in his books] he had in many paſſages ſeverely inveighed againſt *Origen*, does notwithſtanding afterwards unſay as [b] *Baronius*, it were what he had written, and [b] admires the man, at the year of Chriſt 402, does charge *Socrates* here with a lie and with calumny, becauſe he has ſaid, that *Methodius* (when he had before reproach't *Origen*,) did afterwards unſay what he had written, and ſet forth his praiſes, in *his Dialogue* intitled *Xenon*, or, *the Houſe of entertainment*. But *Baronius* affirms, that *Methodius* did the contrary. For when he had at the beginning praiſed *Origen*, afterwards having detected his Errours, he inveighed againſt him. *Baronius* confirms this by the teſtimony of *Euſebius*, who in the *ſixth book of his Apologie in defence of Origen*, writes thus : *Quomodo auſus eſt Methodius nunc contra Origenem ſcribere, qui hæc & hæc de Origenis locutus eſt dogmatibus, How dares Methodius write againſt Origen now, who has ſpoken theſe and theſe things, concerning Origen's opinions.* Which paſſage in *Euſebius* St *Jerome* quotes in *his Apologie againſt Rufinus*, to ſhew that he had done the ſame thing which *Methodius* did before. But *Euſebius*, in the place now cited, does not ſay plainly, that *Methodius* had heretofore ſpoken in defence of *Origen*. For he does not ſay [*who had ſpoken theſe and theſe things concerning Origen's opinions* ;] but only [*who has ſpoken*, &c.] which may be taken on either ſide. Therefore *Socrates* is not to be charged with a lie. *Valeſ.*

[a] Inſtead of [ὡς βλασφήμως προσέχειν τῷ Ὠριγένει ;] the reading in the *Sfortian* M. S. is [ὡς βλασφήμῳ, &c.] And ſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* found it written in his copy. For thus he renders it : *Sed quoniam detractores*, &c. *But, in regard Revilers, ſtealing privily upon many perſons, do reject Origen as being a blaſphemous Authour.* I reade therefore, ὡς βλασφήμῳ μὴ προσέχειν τῷ Ὠριγένει, *from reading Origen, as being a blaſphemous Authour.* Valeſ.

in the [c] *Dialogue* to which he gave the Title of *Xenon*. But, I do affirm, that an addition is made to *Origen*'s commendation from his being accuſed by theſe perſons. For they who have gotten together whatever they ſuppoſed blame-worthy [in *Origen*,] and notwithſtanding have not in the leaſt found fault with him in theſe their Collections for entertaining ill Sentiments concerning the Holy Trinity ; [theſe men, I ſay] do moſt evidently demonſtrate and bear witneſs to his true and Orthodox piety. And by their not blaming him in this particular, they commend him by their own teſtimony. But *Athanaſius* a couragious defender of the *Homoöuſian* Faith, in *his Orations againſt the Arians*, does with a loud voice cite this Authour as a witneſs of his own faith, interweaving his words with his own, after this manner ; *The moſt Admirable and Laborious Origen* (ſays he) *does by his own teſtimony confirm our Sentiment concerning the Son of God, affirming him to be coëternall to the Father.* They therefore who reproach *Origen*, have forgot themſelves [and conſider not] that they ſpeak calumniouſly of *Athanaſius*, *Origen*'s praiſer. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning *Origen*. We will now return to the Sequell of our Hiſtory.

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[c] *Methodius* wrote his books commonly in the way of Dialogues, as 'tis apparent both from *his Convivium*, which is lately publiſhed by *two Learned men* ; and alſo from *his books concerning the Reſurrection*, which he had written againſt *Origen*, out of which books *Epiphanius* produces ſome Excerptions.

Of the ſame ſort alſo was *this Dialogue of his*, entitled *Xenon*, that is, *the houſe of entertainment wherein ſtrangers lodge.* For, as παρθενὼν *is a place for Virgins to dwell in :* ſo ξενὼν *is an houſe for ſtrangers to lodge in.* This book is mentioned in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, in *his Excerptions* out of Methodius's book περὶ ἀναστάσεως, where theſe words occur ; ὅτι τὸ μὴ βάλητε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ, μηδὲ βάλητε μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, μαργαρίτας μὲν τὰ ξενῶνος τὰ μυστήρια τῆς θεοσεβοῦς θρησκείας ἐκλαμβάνων· μαθήματα δὲ, &c. ὁ μέγας μεθόδιος φησὶν, &c. Which place the Tranſlatour has rendred very ill : it is thus to be tranſlated : *That paſſage in the Goſpel* [*caſt not that which is Holy to dogs, nor your Pearls before ſwine*] *is thus explained by Xenon, that by Pearls are meant the more ſecret Myſteries of the Religion given by God : But the hogs, &c. the great* Methodius *ſays, &c.* In this *Dialogue* therefore, the title whereof was περὶ ἀναστάσεως, an *Origeniſt* was introduced, by name *Xenon*, againſt whom *Methodius* diſputed, not in his own name, but under another perſon, as *Photius* atteſts in the *ſame Excerptions.* Hence 'tis apparent, that that Dialogue of *Methodius*'s, which *Socrates* calls *Xenon*, was the ſame to which *Photius* gives the title of περὶ ἀναστάσεως ; and that *Xenon* is not to be taken for a place of entertainment, but rather for a perſon of the Dialogue. But ſome one will object that in that Dialogue intitled *Xenon*, *Origen* was highly commended by *Methodius* ; but in the Dialogue intitled περὶ ἀναστάσεως *Methodius* terms him a *Centaure.* For ſo 'tis extant in two places in *Photius's Excerptions.* My anſwer is, 'tis poſſible that in the beginning of that work *Methodius* might have been ſharp upon *Origen* ; but in the end or procedure of it, he might ſound a Retreat as it were, and praiſe him highly. Notwithſtanding, if any one has a mind ſtifly to maintain, that the *Dialogue Xenon* differed from that intitled περὶ ἀναστάσεως ; then it muſt be ſaid, that *Xenon* was not the proper name of any man, but that thereby is rather meant the whole School of *Origen*, wherein the *Auditors* and Schollars, coming from divers parts of the world, were converſant. Which in my judgment is the trueſt. 'Tis certain, if ξενῶν were a proper name, it would have the accent in the laſt ſyllable ſave one. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

How Johannes (*having invited* Epiphanius *to come to* [*his Pallace*] *and he refuſing, and continuing his holding of ſeparate Aſſemblies in the Church of* the Apoſtles,) *admoniſhed and reproved him, becauſe he did many things contrary*

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ry to the Canons. *Whereat* Epiphanius *was terrified, and returned into his own Country.*

[a] This beginning is too abrupt, especially in regard that digression concerning *Origen* went before. Therefore in my judgment [ὁ μὲν] should precede here; and the beginning of the next period should run thus, ὁ δὲ ἐκ ἕξιν, &c. *But his answer was*, &c. *Vales.*

[a] *Johannes* was in no wise angry, because *Epiphanius* had made an Ordination in his Church, contrary to the Canon: but invited him to come and lodge with him in the Bishops Pallace. But his answer was, that he would neither abide nor pray with him, unless he would expell *Dioscorus* and his Brethren out of the City, and with his own hand subscribe the condemnation of *Origen*'s Books. Upon *Johannes*'s deferring to do these things, and saying that nothing ought rashly to be done * before a determination of a Generall Councill; those that hated *Johannes* put *Epiphanius* upon another design. For they contrive, that at the next Religious meeting which was to be held in that Church named *The Apostles*, *Epiphanius* should come forth publickly, † condemn *Origen*'s Books in the presence of all the people, Excommunicate *Dioscorus* with his followers, and reproach *Johannes* as being their favourer. These things were declared to *Johannes*: and on the day following he sends this message to *Epiphanius* (who was then come into the Church) by *Serapion*: Epiphanius, *You do many things contrary to the Canons: first, you have made an Ordination in the Churches under my jurisdiction: then, without any order from me, you have made use of your own authority and ministred in the said Churches: Further, when* [b] *heretofore I invited you hither, you refused to come, and now you allow your self that liberty. Take heed therefore, least a tumult being raised amongst the people, even you your self incur danger therefrom.* Epiphanius having heard this, was fearfull and went from the Church: and after he had very much blamed *Johannes*, he began his voyage to *Cyprus*. Some persons report, that at his going a-board, he spake these words to *Johannes*, *I hope you will not die a Bishop.* And, that *Johannes* made him this return, [c] *I hope you will not arrive in your own Country.* I cannot positively affirm, whether they who told me these things spake true. Notwithstanding, the event was agreeable to both their wishes. For *Epiphanius* arrived not at *Cyprus*: but [d] after his departure died on Shipboard. And within a small time afterwards *Johannes* was deposed from his Bishoprick, as we shall manifest in the procedure of our History.

* Or, *before a Catholick, or, generall disquisition.*

† Or, *reproach.*

[b] Instead of [πάλιν πὲ, and *again*] it should in my judgement be [πάλαι πὲ, *heretofore*;] (although this reading be disagreeable to all our copies.) For 'tis opposed to what follows, to wit, νῦν, *and now.* Valesius.

[c] The reading in the *Florentine* M.S. pleases me best; which is, ἔλπιζε μὴ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς σαυτῆ παλείδος, *do not hope*, Epiphanius, *to arrive in your own Country.* Moreover, *Baronius* does deservedly deride these predictions of *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*, as fabulous and forged. *Socrates* relates them not for true and certain; and in my judgment they are altogether misbecoming Holy men and Bishops. *Vales.*

[d] *Baronius* does indeed place that contest between *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome* on the year of Christ 402. But concerning *Epiphanius*'s death he dissents from *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and the other writers, who tell us that *Epiphanius* died soon after, in his return to his own Country. And yet *Baronius* confesses he knows not what year *Epiphanius* died on. Which I cannot wonder at enough. For, whereas *Baronius* follows *Socrates* and *Sozomen* in the fore-going account of that contest which hapned between those two eminent men, what reason had he to dissent from them about the death of *Epiphanius*? They might indeed have been mistaken in their relating the mutual predictions between *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*: nor is it sufficiently manifest, whether or no they predicted those accidents to one another. But the things which hapned to each of them are most certain, nor could *Socrates* and *Sozomen* be ignorant hereof; the latter of whom was born at *Salamine*, over which City *Epiphanius* had been Bishop; and both of them were almost *Epiphanius*'s contemporaries. It ought therefore to be look't upon as certain from the Testimony of these Writers, that *Epiphanius* died at the close of the year 402; or at least on the beginning of the year following, before the *Synod ad Quercum*. *Theophilus* informs us hereof in *his Epistle to Saint Ferome*, which Epistle *Ferome* has prefixt before *Theophilus's Paschal Epistles*, which he translated into Latine. For in that Epistle *Theophilus* speaks these words concerning *Chrysostome* then condemned: *Sed ille ut cætera ejus flagitia taceam, &c. But he, not to mention his other Crimes, admitted the Origenists to a familiarity with himself, and preferred many of them to the Sacerdotall Office; on account of which fact he sadned the heart of that man of God* Epiphanius *of Blessed memory, (who shined a bright Star in the world amongst the Bishops;) and therefore has deserved to hear, Babylon is fallen, is fallen.* Where you see *Theophilus* does speak of *Epiphanius*, as then dead; for he terms him *a man of blessed memory*: and he intimates, that he was dead before *Chrysostome*'s condemnation. *Vales.*

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CHAP. XV.

How after Epiphanius's *departure,* Johannes *made an Oration against women, and upon that account (by the care of the Emperour, and Empress,) a Synod was convened against him at* Chalcedon, *and he is ejected out of his Church.*

FOr, after *Epiphanius*'s departure, *Johannes* received information from some persons, that the Empress *Eudoxia* had animated *Epiphanius* against him. And being a person of an hot disposition, and of a ready expression; without delay he made an Oration in the presence of the people, the contents whereof were the discommendation of all women in generall. The multitude understands that Oration so, as if it had been * Ænigmatically spoken against the Empress. This Speech is taken in writing by malevolent persons, and brought to the knowledge of the Emperours. The Empress, informed hereof, complains to the Emperour of the injury done to herself, and tells him that her injury was his. She takes care therefore, that *Theophilus* should forthwith convene a Synod against *Johannes*: which was in like manner urged by *Severianus*: for he still retained his grudge [against *Johannes*.] Within a small intervall of time *Theophilus* arrived, accompanied with many Bishops of severall Cities [whom he had summoned together by his Letters.] [a] For, the Emperour had given him this order by his Rescript. They flock't together most especially, who were displeased with *Johannes*, some upon one account, others on another. They came also, whom *Johannes* had turned out of their Bishopricks. For *Johannes* had deposed many Bishops in *Asia*, when he went to *Ephesus* upon account of ordaining *Heraclides*. All of them therefore by agreement met together at *Chalcedon* [a City] of *Bithynia*. One *Cyrinus* was at that time Bishop of *Chalcedon*, by country an *Egyptian*: he prated [against *Johannes*] before the Bishops, terming him an Impious, arrogant, and [b] inexorable person. With which words the Bishops were mightily pleased. But *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, against his will trod upon *Cyrinus*'s foot. By reason of which

* *Darkly, or, obscurely.*

[a] Instead of [τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως, &c. *Moreover, the Emperour*, &c.] I had rather it should be [τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ, &c. *For the Emperour*, &c.] Moreover, *Chrysostome* affirms the contrary to what is said here, in *his Epistle to Innocentius*. For he says that the Emperour commanded *Theophilus* to come to *Constantinople* alone, to plead his cause: but, that he came thither, accompanied with many Bishops. Notwithstanding, these things may be reconciled, if we say that the Emperour gave *Theophilus* this order at the beginning, when the Monks had gone to him. But afterwards, at the instigation of his Wife *Eudoxia*, who was angry with *Johannes*, the Emperour commanded *Theophilus* to bring the Bishops out of *Egypt* with him. *Vales.*

[b] Ἀγόνατον. *Musculus* renders it *inflexible*. *Christophorson, contumacious*. I would rather translate it *inexorable*; for we fall down at their knees, whom we entreat. *Vales.*

which [bruiſe] he was in very great pain, and could not accompany the reſt of the Biſhops in their paſſage to *Conſtantinople*. He therefore continued at *Chalcedon*; but the reſt ſailed over to *Conſtantinople*. None of the Eccleſiaſticks went out to meet *Theophilus*, nor ſhewed him the uſuall reſpect and honour: for he was known to be [*Johannes*'s] open enemy: The *Alexandrian* Mariners, whoſe Corn-fleet hapned to be there at that time, went forth to meet him, and received him with acclamations of joy. *Theophilus* refuſed to go into the Church; but took up his lodgings in one of the Emperours houſes, named *Placidiana*. Thence-forward many accuſations were raiſed againſt *Johannes*. Nor was there the leaſt mention now made concerning *Origen*'s Books: but they betook themſelves to other abſurd criminations. Proviſion being made before-hand after this manner, the Biſhops met at a place * near the City *Chalcedon* termed *the* † *Oake*, whither they cited *Johannes* immediately, that he might make his defence in reference to the Crimes he ſtood charged with. Together with him they ſummoned in *Serapion* [his Deacon,] *Tygris* the Eunuch a Presbyter, and *Paulus* a Reader. For theſe perſons were accuſed together with *Johannes*. But, in regard *Johannes* made uſe of an [c] Exception, and refuſed thoſe that ſummoned him in, as being his enemies, and appealed to a generall Councill; without any delays they cited him in four times. And when he refuſed to appear, but gave them always the ſame anſwer, they condemned and depoſed him; laying no other crime to his charge but this only, that upon his being ſummoned he would not appear. This buſineſs being divulged about Evening, put the multitude into the greateſt tumult immaginable: wherefore they watched all night long, and would in no wiſe ſuffer him to be taken out of the Church: but cryed out, that cognizance ought to be taken of his caſe in a greater Synod. But the Emperour iſſued out an Order, that he ſhould be forthwith ejected, and carried into baniſhment. *Johannes* underſtanding this, ſurrendred himſelf about [d] Noon on the third day after his depoſition, the people not knowing of it. For he was afraid, leaſt a diſturbance might have been raiſed upon his account. So, he was conveyed away [and baniſhed.]

claimed both againſt the Emperour, and the Synod of Biſhops. But in a more eſpeciall manner they fix't the occaſion of this calumny upon *Theophilus*. For his frauds could no longer continue concealed: but [were diſcovered] both by many other indications, and alſo becauſe he communicated with *Dioſcorus* and thoſe termed *the Long Monks*, [a] ſoon after *Johannes*'s depoſition. Moreover, at that time *Severianus* alſo (in a Sermon he Preach't in the Church,) ſuppoſing he had a fair opportunity of reproaching *Johannes*, ſpake theſe words: *Although* Johannes *had been condemned for nothing elſe, yet his proud and arrogant diſpoſition was crime ſufficient* [*juſtly to have occaſioned*] *his depoſition. For men are forgiven all other ſins, but God reſiſteth the proud, as the Sacred Scriptures inform us.* Theſe words provoked the populace to an higher degree of obſtinacy and contention. Upon which account the Emperour gave order he ſhould be recalled immediately. *Briſo* therefore the Empreſſe's Eunuch being ſent, found him at [b] *Prænetum*, which is a *Mart-Town* ſcituate over againſt *Nicomedia*, and ordered him, to return to *Conſtantinople*. But in regard *Johannes*, after he was recalled from Exile, refuſed to enter the City before he had been declared innocent by a greater Judicature; in the interim therefore he abode in a [c] Village at ſome diſtance from the City, termed *Marianæ*. Upon his making delays and refuſing to enter the City, the multitude was incenſed, and forthwith began to caſt forth opprobious words againſt the Emperours. For which reaſon *Johannes* was forced to return. The populace therefore went forth to meet him with [expreſſions of] the greateſt veneration and honour, and bring him directly to the Church: entreating him to place himſelf in the Epiſcopall Chair, and (according to his former uſage) pray for peace upon the people. Upon his refuſing to do that, and ſaying that that ought to be done by a determination of the Judges, and that it was neceſſary his condemners ſhould acquit him; the multitude grew more inflamed, they being extreamly deſirous to ſee him ſitting in the [Epiſcopall] Chair, and to hear him Preach again. At length the people prevailed to have theſe things done. And *Johannes*, after he had ſeated himſelf in the Epiſcopall Throne, according to his uſage prayed for peace upon the people: and moreover, being conſtrained thereto, he Preached a Sermon to them. This thing gave *Johannes*'s adverſaries an occaſion of [raiſing] another calumnious accuſation againſt him. But concerning that they ſpake not one word then.

* Ἐν περαστείῳ. See *Euſeb.* book 7. chap. 11. note (*k.*)

† This was termed *Synodus ad Quercum, the Synod at the Oake.*

[c] Inſtead of [παρεγγέφετο] it muſt be [παρεγέφετο;] which is a *Civill Law term*: and we have rendred it accordingly. For παρεγγραφὴ ſignifies *an Exception*. Now, one kind of *an Exception* is *a refuſall of the Judges*. Valeſ.

[d] *John Chryſoſtome*, in *his Epiſtle to Innocentius*, does atteſt, that he was put on Shipboard late in the Evening, and carried into baniſhment. Upon which account *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 403.) charges *Socrates* with a miſtake here. But, if we weigh *Socrates*'s words more attentively, we ſhall find them in no wiſe differing from *Chryſoſtome*'s Narrative. For *Socrates* ſays only, that *John Chryſoſtome* ſurrendred himſelf to the Emperours Officers about Noon: therefore the Emperours Officers might detain him in cuſtody till the Evening, that he might be conveyed into baniſhment with more ſecreſie in the night. *Valeſ.*

[a] Yea, he communicated with them, before *Johannes*'s caſe was inquired into: So *Sozomen* tells us, book 8. chap. 17. *Valeſ.*

[b] This Town's name is written variouſly. *Hierocles*, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus*, and *Moſchopulus*, call it *Prænetum*. *Sozomen* terms it *Pronetum*. In *Stephanus* 'tis named *Pronectus*. In the *Putingerian Table* it is called *Pronetio*. Valeſ.

[c] *Mannours*, or *Farms* in the Country, which were at ſome diſtance from the City, were termed περάστεια, (as we have remark't in our notes on *Euſebius*, book 7. chap. 11. note (*k.*) which the *Latines* do ſometimes call *Suburbana*. Wherefore *Ortelius* (in *his Theſaurus Geographicus*) is miſtaken, in his ſuppoſing *Marianæ* to be the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; whenas it was a Village, ſo called from its builder. *Sozomen* (book 8. chap. 18.) ſays this Village was then in the Empreſs *Eudoxia*'s poſſeſſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

That the people being tumultuous becauſe of Johannes*'s baniſhment*, Briſo *the Empreſſe's Eunuch, was ſent to bring him back again to* Conſtantinople.

BUt the people were intollerably tumultuous. And (as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes,) thoſe who had conceived an hatred againſt him, changed it into a compaſſion, and affirmed him to be calumniated, whom a little before they deſired to ſee depoſed. Upon this account therefore, they were the moſt numerous, who ex-

CHAP. XVII.

That upon Theophilus*'s deſiring to diſcuſs* Heraclides*'s caſe then abſent, and* Johannes*'s refuſing to permit him; an engagement hapned between the* Conſtantinopolitans *and* Alexandrians, *wherein many were ſlain* [*on both ſides.*] *At which* Theophilus *and ſome other of the Biſhops were terrified, and fled from the City.*

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BUt in the first place *Theophilus* made an attempt to call in question *Heraclides*'s [a] Ordination; that so, if possible, he might make that an occasion of deposing *Johannes* [again.] *Heraclides* was not present: but was judged in his absence, as if he had unjustly beaten some persons, bound them with chains, and caused them to be led thorow the midst of the City *Ephesus*. And when *Johannes* and his favourers affirmed, that judgment ought not to be * passed upon those that were absent; the *Alexandrians* on the contrary stifly maintained, that *Heraclides*'s accusers ought to be admitted, although they accused him in his absence. A tumult therefore and a sharp conflict was forthwith raised between the *Constantinopolitans* and *Alexandrians*. And a Fight hapned, wherein many persons received wounds, and some few were slain. Upon sight hereof, *Theophilus* fled forthwith to *Alexandria*: the same was done by the other Bishops, excepting a few who were of *Johannes*'s side. And all of them made their escape and went to their own [Sees.] These things hapning thus, *Theophilus* was condemned in the judgment of all men. Moreover, the *Odium* against him was increased, by his being in no wise ashamed of reading *Origen*'s Books constantly after this. Being asked therefore by one, why he would again embrace those Books which he had condemned; his answer was this: Origen*'s Books are like a Medow adorned with all manner of flowers. If therefore I find any thing that is good amongst them, I gather it. But, if any thing appears thorny to me, that (in regard it pricks) I let alone.* This was *Theophilus*'s answer; but he considered not this * saying of wise *Solomon*: that, † *the words of the wise are as goads, and they ought not to kick against them, who are pricked by the precepts* [*contained therein.*] For these reasons *Theophilus* was condemned in all mens judgments. Moreover *Dioscorus* (one of those termed *The Long Monks*) Bishop of *Hermopolis*, [b] died a little after *Theophilus*'s flight, and was honoured with a splendid Funerall, being buried in the Church at *The Oak*, wherein the Synod upon *Johannes*'s account had been convened. But *Johannes* imployed himself about Preaching. And ordains *Serapion* (for whose sake the *Odium* against him had been raised,) Bishop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*. Not long after, these things also hapned.

[a] Instead of κατὰ τὸν χειροτονίαν] it must undoubtedly be [τὸν κατὰ τὸν, &c.] which is the reading in *Georgius Alexandrinus*'s *Life of John Chrysostome*. Vales.

* Or, *made against.*

* The first clause of this saying occurs at Eccles. 12. 11.

[b] *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Hermopolis* was dead before the convention of the *Synod at the Oak*, nor was he buried in the Church at the Oak, but in S[t] *Mocius*'s Church; as *Sozomen* attests book 8. chap. 17. S[t] *Mocius*'s Church was at *Constantinople*, as we are informed by *Procopius* and others. Wherefore *Socrates* is mistaken, who attributes that to *Dioscorus*, which was rather to have been said concerning his brother *Ammonius*. For, at such time as the *Synod ad Quercum* [that is, *the Synod at the Oak*] was summoned, *Ammonius* fell into a distemper. And having passed over to *The Oak*, he died soon after, and was honoured with a splendid funerall, in the *Monastery* of that place, as *Sozomen* tells us book 8. chap. 17. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Eudoxia's *Silver Statue, and how* Johannes *was ejected out of his Church again on account of that, and conveyed into banishment.*

[a] A Silver Statue of the Empress *Eudoxia*, clothed in a womans stole, had been erected upon a pillar of *Porphyry*. It stood upon an high *Basis*, not very near, nor yet at any great distance from that Church named *Sophia*: but there was the distance of half the breadth of the street between them both. At that Statue publick sports were usually celebrated. *Johannes* supposing what was performed [at those sports] to be done in contempt to the Church, reassumed his usuall freedom and boldness of speech, and armed his tongue against those who did these things. And whereas he ought to have perswaded the Emperours by an *Exhortatory Oration*, to abstain from such sports; he did not doe that: but made use of his sharp tongue, and reproach't those who had ordered these [sports] to be performed. The Empress did again apply these expressions to her self. And supposing *Johannes*'s words [to be spoken] in contempt to her, she makes it her business to have another Synod of Bishops convened against him. *Johannes*, made sensible hereof, Preach't that famous Sermon of his in the Church, the beginning whereof is this: * Herodias *rages again, she is again disturbed, she dances again, she again desires to receive* John*'s head in a Charger.* Hereby the Empress was more highly exasperated. And not long after the Bishops arrived, to wit, *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia the Less*: *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* which is in *Pisidia*, [b] *Briso* of *Philippi* in *Thracia*: *Acacius* of *Berœa* in *Syria*, and some others. After these Prelates were come, those who had accused *Johannes* before, were set up again. *Johannes* was emboldened with a greater degree of confidence before these Judges: and desired that the Crimes he was accused of, might be inquired into. [In the interim, the Feast of] *Our Saviour's Nativity* approached, and the Emperour, as he had usually done before, went not to the Church: but gave *Johannes* notice, that he would not communicate with him, till such time as he should clear himself of the Crimes he stood charged with. Farther, in regard *Johannes*'s accusers shewed a despondency and fearfulness of mind, by reason of his great confidence; the Bishops that were present superseded their researches into any thing else, and affirmed that a scrutiny was to be made concerning this only, to wit, that after his deposition he had thrust himself into his Episcopall Chair, without having had it adjudged to him by the authority of a Synod. When *Johannes* made answer, that sixty Bishops who held communion with him, had decreed that; *Leontius* rejoyned [in these

[a] *Marcellinus* (in his *Chronicon*) reports this Statue to have been made in the Consulate of *Theodosius Junior* and *Rumoridus*, which was the year of Christ 403: his words are these: *Eudoxiæ Arcadii uxoris super porphyreticam Columnam argenteæ Statua juxta Ecclesiam posita hactenus stetit, a Silver Statue of Eudoxia, wife to Arcadius, placed upon a Porphyry-pillar near the Church still stands. Theophanes* relates the same, who says, that that Statue was erected in that place called *Pittacia*, neer the Church of S[t] *Irene*; and that at the dedication thereof the *Præfect* of the City (who was a *Manichæan* and a *Semipagan*) excited the people to shout and daunce in such a manner, that the divine Service could not quietly be performed in the Church, because of the noyse made by the multitude of Dauncers. Notwithstanding, *Baronius* places the dedication of this Statue on the year of Christ 404. But in regard *Marcellinus Comes*, in *his Chronicon* does in expres words place it on the Consulate of *Theodosius Junior* and *Rumoridus*, I judge it more safe to follow his opinion; provided it be said to have been made after the *Synod ad Quercum*, and after *Chrysostome*'s first condemnation, that is about the close of the year 403. And this is confirmed by *Socrates*. For he adds a little after, that when the *Nativity of our Lord* drew neer, *Arcadius* gave *Johannes* notice, that he could not come to the Church. Now, *John* was deposed a little before *Easter*, in the year of Christ 404. *Vales.*

* Πάλιν ἡρωδιὰς μαίνεται, πάλιν ταράσσεται, πάλιν ὀρχεῖται, &c. This Homily occurs at *Tom.* 7. pag. 545. of S[r] *Hen. Savils Edition of Chrysostome.*

[b] This *Briso* seems to be a different person from *Briso* the Bishop, who (as *Cedrenus* tells us) was one of *John Chrysostome*'s Scholars. And *Socrates* seems to have put *Philippi* instead of *Philippopolis*. For *Philippopolis* is an eminent City of *Thracia*. But *Philippi* is a City of *Macedonia*. Vales.

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these words,] [c] *But they were the more in number, O Johannes! who condemned you in the Synod.* Again, when *Johannes* urged, that that was not a Canon of the Catholick Church, [d] but of the *Arians* making; (For the Bishops * heretofore convened at *Antioch* in order to the subversion of the *Homoöusian* Faith, out of their hatred to *Athanasius*, made that Canon;) [*Leontius* and his party] rejected his defence, and pronounced sentence against him: not considering, that by making use of that Canon, [e] they deposed *Athanasius* also. These things were transacted at the approach of the Feast of *Easter*.

* See *Socrat.* book 2. chap. 10.

[c] *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 404,) charges *Socrates* with a lie here. For, in the *Synod at the Oak* thirty six Bishops only had condemned *Johannes*: of which twenty nine were *Egyptians*, the rest were of divers Provinces, as *Theodorus* (in *Palladius*, in *his Dialogue concerning the Life of Chrysostome*,) relates from the *Acts of the Synod at the Oak*. But when he was afterwards recalled to *Constantinople*, he had been admitted to communion by sixty five Bishops. Either therefore *Socrates* must necessarily be mistaken, who has said that *Chrysostome* was condemned by more Bishops than those by whom he had been admitted to communion and restored; or else it must be said that *Palladius* is out. Unless any one will reconcile these things by saying thus, *viz.* That *Leontius* the Bishop has here reckoned the suffrages of the Bishops together, who had condemned *John Chrysostome* in both Synods, as well that held *at the Oak*, as the other assembled at *Constantinople*. For although, at such time as *Leontius* spake these words, the Bishops present in the *Constantinopolitane* Synod had not pronounced sentence against *Chrysostome*, yet *Leontius*, who knew they were incensed against *Chrysostome*, made not the least doubt of their suffrages. *Vales.*

[d] *Palladius* tells us, that this very answer was given by *John Chrysostome*'s defenders, against the Canon of the *Antiochian Synod*; to wit, that that Canon was made by the *Arian Bishops*. But *Chrysostome*'s adversaries rejected this defence, asserting that Canon to have been made by the Catholick Bishops. And when *Elpidius*, a Bishop of *Chrysostome*'s party, urged them to subscribe that draught of the Creed then promulged by those Bishops; they answered in presence of the Emperour, that they were ready to subscribe it: but they put off that business to another time. Therefore, what must we determine concerning this question? *Athanasius* indeed, in *his book de Synodis*, does wholly reject that *Antiochian Synod*, together with its draught of the Creed, as having been held by the *Arians* with a design to subvert the *Nicene Creed*. But to *Athanasius* (who cannot be a sufficient witness in his own case,) we in the first place oppose *Hilarius*, then Pope *Julius*, and lastly, all the Eastern and Western Bishops, who have now at length by a generall consent admitted of that Synod. *Hilarius*, 'tis certain, (in *his book de Synodis*) does fully admit of it, and commends that form of the Creed drawn up there, as being usefull and necessary, on account of the Heresies which sprang up after the *Nicene Councill*. Moreover, Pope *Julius* wrote a *Synodick Epistle* to all the Bishops who had been convened in that Synod; amongst whom were *Eusebius*, *Narcissus*, *Theodorus*, and *Marin*. Which *Synodick Epistle Athanasius* does record intire, at pag. 739, &c. *Tom.* 1. *Edit. Paris.* 1626. In the title and body of that Letter, *Julius* terms them *Beloved Brethren*; which undoubtedly he would never have done, had he lookt upon them to have been *Arians*. Now, what reason had he to look upon them to be *Arians*, who as yet had not been condemned by the sentence of any Synod; and amongst whom there were very many stiff maintainers of the *Nicene Creed*, which *Baronius* himself does not deny? Of which sort was *Dianius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, whom *Julius* names in the first place; concerning whose praises *Basil the Great* has a peculiar Epistle extant. Lastly, all the *Easterns* have acknowledged that Synod to be Catholick, and inserted its Sanctions into the book of Canons, soon after *John Chrysostome*'s times, as appears from the *Chalcedon-Councill*. And at length the *Western Church* has by degrees admitted of those Canons, rendred into *Latine* by *Dionysius Exiguus*. Notwithstanding, in *John Chrysostome*'s times they might be rejected, in regard they were not received by a generall consent of the whole Church, nor as yet admitted by the *Romish* Church. *Pope Innocentius*, in his Epistle to the *Constantinopolitan* Church, (which *Sozomen* has recorded, book 8. chap. 26.) does in no wise admit of these Canons. *Vales.*

[e] *Christophorson* supposed that these words were spoken by *Socrates* concerning the Bishops convened in the *Antiochian-Synod*. But I think they are to be understood concerning the Bishops then assembled at *Constantinople* against *John Chrysostome*. And in this sense *Epiphanius Scholasticus* and *Musculus* took this place: for *Epiphanius* has rendred it thus, *non intelligentes, quod dum hâc regulâ utcrentur, Athanasium quoque deponerent, not understanding, that whilest they made use of this Canon, they deposed Athanasius also:* and *Musculus* has translated it happily after this manner: *nec cogitantes, non Johannem se modò, sed & ipsum Athanasium hoc Canone utentes deponere, nor thinking, that by using of this Canon, they deposed not only Johannes, but even Athanasius himself.* Vales.

The Emperour therefore gives *Johannes* notice, that [f] he could not come to the Church, because two Synods had condemned him. Wherefore *Johannes* desisted in future, and went not any more to the Church. On which account those of his party left the Church immediately, and celebrated *Easter* in the publick Baths termed *Constantianæ*. There were with them many Bishops, Presbyters, and others of the Ecclesiastick Function; who were termed *Johannitæ*, because from that time they held Meetings in severall places apart by themselves. *Johannes* appeared not at all in publick, for the space of two months, till such time as the Emperour issued out an Order for his being carried away into Exile. By virtue whereof he was drawn out of the Church, and conveyed into banishment. On which very day some of the *Johannitæ* set the Church on fire. Whilest that was burning, an Easterly wind blew, which conveyed the fire to the [g] *Senate-house*, whereby that was burnt. This hapned on the twentieth of *June*, in *Honorius*'s sixth Consulate, which he bore with *Aristænetus*. Moreover, what mischiefs the *Præfect* of *Constantinople* (whose name was [h] *Optatus*, an Heathen as to his Religion, and therefore an hater of the *Christians*) did to *Johannes*'s friends upon account of this fire, and how he destroyed many of them by a capitall punishment, I think fit to omit.

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[f] *Christophorson* thought these words were spoken concerning *John*, who after this was withheld from entring the Church. But I had rather they should be understood of the Emperour himself; in which sense *Epiphanius* and *Musculus* takes them. Our sentiment is confirmed by that passage in *Socrates* which occurs a little before in this chapter; where he relates, that *Arcadius* at the approach of *Christmas*, gave *John* notice, that he could not come into the Church, unless *John* (who had been condemned by the sentence of a Synod,) should first clear himself. After the same manner therefore, at the approach of *Easter*, *Arcadius* gives *John* notice, that he could not go to the Church, as long as *John*, condemned now by two Synods, resided therein. *Vales.*

[g] This Edifice was called the *Senate-house*. *The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the *sixth Consulate of Honorius* which he bore with *Aristænetus*, has these words: ἡ αὐρισδίω ἐκαὶ ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία συὺ τῷ συνάτῳ ὑπὸ κρατούντων αὐτὴς φὴ λεγομένων ξυλοκεραπίω ἡμέρᾳ δ δίᾳ ὥρᾳ ς'. *And on a sudden the Great Church was burnt together with the Senate-house, [fired] by those who held it, termed the Xyloccretæ, on the second day, at the sixth hour.* See *Chronic. Alexandr.* pag. 714. *Edit. Monach.* 1615. *Zosimus* describes this Structure about the middle of *his fifth book*. It was in the *second Ward* of the City *Constantinople*, as we are informed from the *Old description* of that City, published before the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Vales.

[h] This (if I mistake not) is the *Manichæan* and *Semipagan Præfect* of the City, who, at the dedication of *Eudoxia*'s Statue, had mocked the *Christians*, as we have related before (see note (*a.*) in this chapter.) from *Theophanes*. *Palladius* (in the *Life of Chrysostome*) speaks concerning the same *Optatus*; that when he was *Præfect* of the City, he compelled the Noble Matrons either to communicate with *Arsacius*, who had been put into *John Chrysostome*'s Bishoprick, or else to pay two hundred pounds of Gold into the Exchequer. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Arsacius, *who was Ordained* Johannes's *successour, and concerning* Cyrinus [*Bishop*] *of* Chalcedon.

SOme few days after, *Arsacius* is Ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*; he was brother to *Nectarius*, who had been *Johannes*'s predecessour in that Bishoprick, and had governed it well: but he was very aged. For he was above eighty years old. During his calm and peaceable presidency over that Bishoprick, by reason of his singular mildness, *Cyrinus* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, * whose foot *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia* had unawares trod upon, was in so very ill a condition, that his foot putrified, and he was forced to have it cut off. Nor was this abscission performed once only, but it was many times iterated. For † the *Gangrene* preyed upon his whole body,

* See chap. 15.

† Or, *the destemper.*

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body, in so much that it seized his other foot, which he was forced to have cut off also. I have mentioned this thing for this reason, in regard many persons did affirm, that *Cyrinus* suffered all this on account of the opprobrious words he had spoken against *Johannes*; for he frequently termed him an inexorable person, as I have said * before. And because [about the same time] there fell an hail, [the stones whereof were] of a vast bigness, at *Constantinople* and in the Suburbs round that City; (which hapned in the † fore-mentioned Consulate, about the thirtieth of *September*:) this was said to have been an act of divine vengeance for *Johannes*'s unjust deposition. These reports had more of credit given to them and were improved by the Empresse's death, which hapned soon after. For she ended her life on the fourth day after the hail fell. Others affirmed, that *Johannes* was deservedly deposed, because, when he was in *Asia* and *Lydia*, he had seized upon many Churches belonging to the *Novatianists*, *Quartadecimani*, and some other [Hereticks, to wit,] at such time as he made a journey to *Ephesus* on account of *Heraclides*'s Ordination. But, whether *Johannes*'s deposition were just, agreeable to their saying who were incensed against him; or whether *Cyrinus* underwent a due punishment for his reproachfull language; and whether the hail fell, and the Empress died, upon *Johannes*'s account; or whether these things hapned for other reasons; or for both; God knows, who is the discerner of things secret, and the just Judge of Truth it self. I have recorded what the common reports of men were at that time.

* Chap. 15.

† See the close of the foregoing chapter.

CHAP. XX.

How, after Arsacius, Atticus *obtained the* Constantinopolitan *See.*

BUt *Arsacius* did not long survive his taking the Bishoprick. For, on the following Consulate, which was *Stilichon's second* and *Anthemius's first*, about the eleventh of *November* he died. Many persons being exceedingly desirous of obtaining the Bishoprick, and for that reason much time having been spent, on the following Consulate, which was *Arcadius*'s sixth and *Probus*'s first, a Religious person was promoted to the Bishoprick, his name *Atticus*. By originall extract he was of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, but had followed an *Ascetick* course of life from his younger years; and, besides his being furnished with a competency of Learning, he was endowed with a greater degree of natural prudence. But I shall speak concerning this person hereafter.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning Johannes*'s departure to the Lord in exile.*

JOhannes being carried into banishment, died at *Comani* upon the *Euxine Sea*, on the fourteenth of [a] *September*, in the following Consulate, which was *Honorius* his seventh and *Theodosius*'s second. He was a person (as I have said * before) by reason of his zeal for temperance, more addicted to anger than bashfullness, and because of his sanctity of life, he always made use of too great a liberty of speech. But it is to me a wonder, how he, who was so zealous a follower of Temperance, should teach in his Sermons, that Temperance was to be contemned. For, whereas the Synod of Bishops allowed repentance but once to those who lapsed after Baptism, he was so bold as to say, [[b] *although*] *you have repented a thousand times, approach.* For which doctrine many of his acquaintance rebuked him; but more especially *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatianists*: who wrote a book against this saying [of *Chrysostome*'s,] and reproved him sharply for it. But, these things hapned long before this time.

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* chap. 3.

[b] In what Homily this was said by *Chrysostome*, I cannot find. And yet we have little reason to question *Socrates*'s authority, because he lived in the same times, and could have heard the Sermons, as well of *Chrysostome*, as of *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatians*. Moreover, it may be more certainly concluded from this passage, than from any other, that *Socrates* was a *Novatianist*. For he does both put an ill interpretation upon *Chrysostome*'s saying, and also openly favours *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatian* party, against *John Chrysostome*. —— You must know further, that this saying was objected to *Chrysostome* by Bishop *Isaacius* in the *Synod ad Quercum*; because he gave sinners a liberty, in regard he taught, *if you have sinned again, repent again. And, as often as you sin, come to me and I will heal you.* Vales.

[a] Instead of [*November*,] it must be [*September*,] as it is in the *Sfortian* M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. Nor did *Nicephorus* read otherwise, who adds, that the day whereon *John Chrysostome* died, was dedicated to the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross*. *For so it was agreeable, that he who had passed his whole life under the Cross, and had gloried in nothing but in the Cross of his Lord, should be loosed from the Frame of his body on that Festivall*, as the same *Nicephorus* does elegantly write. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Sisinnius *Bishop of the* Novatianists, *what expressions he is said to have used in his discourses with* Johannes.

BUt, I judge it not inopportune, to speak something briefly concerning *Sisinnius*. He was (as I have often said) an eloquent person, and an excellent Philosopher. But in a more especiall manner he had taken pains about *Logick*, and was incomparably well versed in interpreting the Sacred Scriptures. In so much that *Eunomius* the Heretick would [out of fear] frequently avoid his judicious and powerfull acuteness in discourse. His diet was not slender. But though he was eminently temperate, yet his Fare was sumptuous and magnificent. His way of living was splendid and delicate, [he was clad] in a white garment, and bathed himself twice a day in the publick Baths. Being on a time asked by one, why he that was a Bishop, would bathe twice a day; his answer was, *because I cannot bathe thrice.* At another time, when out of respect he went to give *Arsacius* the Bishop a visit, he was asked by one of those about *Arsacius*, why he would wear a garment misbecoming a Bishop? And where it was written that a Priest should be cloathed in a white garment? His answer was, *tell me first where is it written, that a Bishop should wear a black garment?* And when he that asked him, was in doubt [how to return answer] to this contrary question, *Sisinnius* added: *You*, said he, *can never shew that a Priest ought to wear black. But Solomon is my Authour, whose words are,* * *Let thy garments be white. And our Saviour in the* † *Gospels, appeared clothed in a white garment. Moreover, he shewed* Moses *and* Elias, *wearing white garments, to the Apostles.* Having with readiness said these and many other such words as these, he was greatly admired by those that were present. When *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*

* Eccles. 9. 8.

† Luke 9. 29.

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latia the Leſs, had taken the Church [there] from the *Novatianiſts*, and was [at that time] come to *Conſtantinople*, *Siſinnius* went to him, and entreated him to reſtore the Church. But *Leontius* in an heat made anſwer, and ſaid to him, *You* Novatianiſts *ought not to have Churches*, [*in regard*] *you take away Repentance, and exclude the loving kindneſs of God.* After *Leontius* had ſpoken theſe and more ſuch ill words againſt the *Novatianiſts*, *Siſinnius* made anſwer, *But no perſon repents in ſuch a manner as I do.* When *Leontius* added again, *How do you Repent? Siſinnius*, ſubjoyned, *becauſe I have ſeen you* [a]. One time, *Johannes* reproved *Siſinnius*, and ſaid to him, *a City cannot have two Biſhops*; *Siſinnius*'s anſwer was, *Nor has it. Johannes* being angry hereat, and ſaying, *you ſeem deſirous of being the only Biſhop*; *Siſinnius* replyed, *I do not ſay that, but that I am not a Biſhop in your account only, when as notwithſtanding other perſons look upon me to be ſuch. Johannes* incenſed at that anſwer, I (ſaid he) *will make you leave Preaching*; *for you are an Heretick.* To which *Siſinnius* made this pleaſant return: *But I will give you a reward, if you will free me from ſo great pains. Johannes* being mollified with this anſwer, replied, *I will not make you leave off Preaching, if that Office be troubleſome to you.* So facetious was *Siſinnius*, and ſo ready at anſwering. It would be tedious to write and record all his ſayings. Wherefore, I have accounted it ſufficient, by theſe few to ſhew what manner of perſon he was. I will only add this, that he was very eminent for his Learning; on which account, all the Biſhops that were his ſucceſſours, loved and honoured him. Moreover, all the eminent perſonages of the *Senatorian order* had a great affection for, and admired him. He wrote many Books: but *he is too ſtudious about words in them, and intermixes Poetick terms. He was more admired for his ſpeaking, than his writing. For, in his face and voice, in his garb and aſpect, and in the whole motion of his body, there was a gracefullneſs. By reaſon of which [accompliſhments,] He was beloved both by all Sects, and chiefly by *Atticus* the Biſhop. But, I think thus much ſufficient [to have been ſaid] concerning *Siſinnius*.

[a] In *Suidas*, at the word Σισίννιος, this whole paſſage in *Socrates* is tranſcribed, where the word [ἀπεκρίνατο, *he anſwered*] is wanting. Which word muſt either be expunged here as ſuperfluous, [which we have done in our Verſion;] or elſe the word [ἔφη, *ſubjoyned*] which went before, muſt be blotted out *Valeſ.*

* Or, *he hunts after words, &c.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the death of the Emperour Arcadius.

NOt long after the death of *Johannes*, the Emperour *Arcadius* died; a man of a mild and quiet temper, and who at the cloſe of his life got the repute of a perſon beloved by God, for this reaſon. There is at *Conſtantinople* a very ſpacious houſe, which is termed * *Carya*. For, in the Court of this houſe there is a *Nutt-tree*, on which ('tis reported) the Martyr *Acacius* was hanged, and compleated his Martyrdom. On this account a ſmall Church was built near that tree. The Emperour *Arcadius* deſirous to ſee this Church, went into it [one day:] and when he had ſaid his prayers, came out again. All thoſe perſons who dwelt near that Church, ran together to ſee the Emperour. Some went out of the houſe, and made it their buſineſs to take their ſtandings before hand in the ſtreets, from whence they ſuppoſed they might have a plainer view of the Emperour's countenance, and of the Guards that were about him. Others followed, untill all perſons, together with the women and children, were got out of the Church. After which, all that great houſe, the buildings whereof encloſed the Church on every ſide, fell down immediately. Hereupon followed an outcry, together with an admiration, becauſe the Emperours prayer had delivered ſo great a multitude of perſons from deſtruction. This hapned thus. [Moreover, *Arcadius*] leaving his Son *Theodoſius*, then but eight years old, ended his life in the Conſulate of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*, on the firſt of *May*: this was the ſecond year of the two hundredth ninety ſeventh *Olympiad*. He reigned with his Father *Theodoſius* thirteen years: after his Fathers death [he reigned] fourteen; he lived one and thirty years. This book contains the † Hiſtory of twelve years and ſix months.

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† Or, *the Space.*

* *In other Copies this following paſſage occurs, not as if it were omitted, but worded in a different manner. We judged it therefore meet to annex it. On which account we have added it at this place.*

* This *Appendix* is part of *the eleventh chapter of this book*, worded in a different manner only. *Muſculus*, *Grynæus*, and Dr *Hanmer* have omitted it in their Verſions. *Chriſtophorſon*, *Curterius*, and *Valeſius* have inſerted it in their tranſlations. The *Greek Text* of it occurs in *Stephens's Edition*, and in *Valeſius's*; from which latter we have rendred it into *Engliſh*.

BUt, in regard the Biſhop of *Epheſus* hapned to die in the interim, *Johannes* was neceſſitated to go to *Epheſus*, to ordain a Biſhop. Being arrived in that City, and ſome endeavouring to promote one perſon, others another; he preferred one *Heraclides*, his own Deacon, by Country a *Cypriot*, to the Biſhoprick. Whereupon a diſturbance being raiſed in *Epheſus*, becauſe *Heraclides* was [reputed] unworthy of the Epiſcopate; *Johannes* was forced to ſtay at *Epheſus* for ſome time. During his reſidence there, *Severianus* grew more beloved and eſteemed by his Auditors at *Conſtantinople*. Nor was this unknown to *Johannes*. For he was ſpeedily acquainted with what hapned by *Serapion*, whom he had a ſingular affection for, and to whom he committed the whole care of his Epiſcopate, in regard of his piety, his fidelity in all concerns, his prudence in the management of all matters, and his ſtudiouſneſs about defending the Biſhops Rights. After ſome time, *Johannes* returns to *Conſtantinople*, and perſonally undertook again a becoming care of the Churches. But between *Serapion* the Deacon, and *Severianus* the Biſhop, there aroſe a great * diſſention; *Serapion* oppoſing *Severianus*, becauſe he ſtrove to out-do *Johannes* in his Preaching; and *Severianus* envying *Serapion*, becauſe *Johannes* the Biſhop favoured him highly, and entruſted him with the whole care of his Epiſcopate. Being thus affected one towards the other, the vehemency of their hatred hapned to be much increaſed by this reaſon. To *Severianus* on a time paſſing by, *Serapion* † ſhewed not that honour which is due to a Biſhop: but continued in his ſeat; whether it was becauſe he ſaw him not, (as *Serapion* afterwards affirmed upon oath before the Synod;) or whether it was becauſe he ſlighted the preſence of a Biſhop, (as *Severianus* averred,) [which of theſe was trueſt] I cannot ſay: God only knows. But *Severianus* could not then bear *Serapion*'s contempt;

* Μικροψυχία, *a narrowneſs of mind.*

* That is, *a nutt-tree.*

† Or, *gave not.*

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tempt; but immediately, even before *cognizance* had been taken of the cauſe in a publick Synod, with an [a] oath condemns *Serapion*, and not only [diveſts him] of the dignity of a Deacon, but excommunicates him alſo from the Church. *Johannes* hearing this, took it very ill. But afterwards, when the buſineſs came under ſcrutiny before a Synod, and *Serapion* excuſed the fact, and averred that he ſaw him not, and alſo produced witneſſes [in confirmation thereof;] the whole Synod of Biſhops then convened pardoned him, and entreated *Severianus* to admit of *Serapion*'s excuſe. But *Johannes* the Biſhop, that he might fully ſatisfie *Severianus*, removes *Serapion* and ſuſpends him from the * Office of a Deacon for a weeks ſpace: although he uſed him as his right hand in all buſineſſes, in regard he was a moſt acute and diligent perſon about Eccleſiaſtick Diſputes and Anſwers. Notwithſtanding, *Severianus* could not thus be prevailed with: but made it his whole buſineſs to get *Serapion* not only wholly degraded from his *Diaconate*, but excommunicated alſo. *Johannes* was ſorely vexed hereat, went out of the Synod, and left the Biſhops then preſent to determine the cauſe, having ſpoken theſe words to them: *Do you inquire into the cauſe, and make ſuch a definitive determination as you ſhall think fit. For I refuſe to determine the difference between them.* After *Johannes* had ſpoken theſe words, and was riſen up, the whole Synod aroſe likewiſe, and left the cauſe in the ſame ſtate it was in, blaming *Severianus* rather, becauſe he † acquieſced not in what had been ſaid by *Johannes* the Biſhop. But *Johannes* admitted not *Severianus* to a familiarity any more in future: but adviſed him to return into his own Country, ſignifying thus much to him: *Severianus*, (ſaid he,) *'tis not expedient, that the Dioceſs you are intruſted with ſhould for ſo long a time continue unlookt-after, and deſtitute of the preſence of its Biſhop. Wherefore, haſten your return to your Churches, and neglect not the Gift* [*which God hath beſtowed*] *upon you.* When *Severianus* had begun his journey, the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, informed hereof, reproves *Johannes*, and cauſes *Severianus* to be forthwith recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. He came back immediately. But *Johannes* declined a friendſhip with him, and could by no perſons entreaty be prevailed upon: till ſuch time as the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, in that Church called *the Apoſtles*, caſt her Son *Theodoſius Junior*, then a very young child, before *Johannes*'s knees, and having conjured him frequently by her Son, with much a-do perſwaded him to admit of a friendſhip with *Severianus*. After this manner therefore, ‖ &c.

[a] He means the oath mentioned before, at the 11th chapter, to wit, *if Serapion dies a Chriſtian, Chriſt hath not been incarnate.* Further, theſe words [*condemns*] and [*excommunicates*] denote *Severianus*'s menaces, rather than the thing it ſelf. For *Severianus* Biſhop of *Gabali* had no power of condemning or depoſing a Deacon of another Dioceſs; but he only threatned to do this, and committed his complaint to the judgment of the Biſhops. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *the honour.*

† Or, *was not obedient to what,* &c.

‖ See chap. 11, at the latter end of it.

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THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

That after the Emperour Arcadius*'s death, (who left his Son* Theodoſius, *then eight years old;)* Anthemius *the* Præfect *had the chief management of affairs in the Empire.*

THE Emperour *Arcadius* having ended his life on the firſt of *May*, in the Conſulate of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*; *Honorius* his Brother [ſtill] Governed the *Weſtern* Empire: the *Eaſtern* was under the Government of * his Son *Theodoſius Junior*, at that time eight years of age. *Anthemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* had the chief management of the publick affairs. He was Grandchild to that *Philippus*, * who in *Conſtantius*'s Reign ejected *Paulus* the Biſhop, and introduced *Macedonius* into his See. [a] He encompaſſed *Conſtan-*

* That is, *Arcadius's Son.*

* See *Socrates* book 2. chap. 16.

[a] *Nicephorus* (book 14, chap. 1.) relates that this *Anthemius* enlarged the *Pomœrium*, [that is, *a ſpace about the walls of a City or Town, as well within as without, which was not to be built upon*] of the City *Conſtantinople*, demoliſhed the old walls, and built new ones towards *the Continent, which* (ſays he) are now *ſtanding:* and that he finiſhed the work with an incredible ſwiftneſs, to wit, within the ſpace of two months. For ſo I render χερσαῖα τείχη, that is, *walls to the Landward*, and not as *Langus* does, *Brick-walls.* But *Nicephorus* ſeems to be miſtaken, who attributes that to *Anthemius*, which was done long after

after by *Cyrus Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, (as *Cedrenus* relates in *his Chronicon*,) on the 26th year of *Theodoſius Junior*. Further, I would very willingly expunge this whole clauſe in our *Socrates*. For it diſturbs the ſenſe, and ſeems to have crept from the Margin into the Text. *Valeſ.*

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tinople with a great wall. Of all the men of his own times, he was accounted and in reality was the moſt prudent perſon. He never did any thing without advice, but conſulted with many of his acquaintance concerning what ought to be done; chiefly, with [b] *Troïlus* the *Sophiſta*, who, beſides the [c] wiſdom that was in him, was *Anthemius*'s equall in Politicall knowledge. Wherefore, almoſt all things were done with *Troïlus*'s advice.

[b] This *Troïlus* the *Sophiſta* was one of *Anthemius*'s chiefeſt friends, as (beſides *Socrates*) *Syneſius* informs us *in his Epiſtle to Troïlus*. *Socrates* mentions the ſame *Troïlus*, at chap. 6. book 6. where he ſpeaks concerning *Euſebius Scholaſticus*, who wrote *Gaina's war in verſe*. *Suidas* has mentioned the ſame perſon, in the word Τρωΐλος, where he affirms that he wrote *Politick Orations*, and *Books of Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

[c] Inſtead of [φιλίας, *friendſhip*] the reading in the *Florentine* M. S. is truer, thus, [σοφίας, *wiſdom.*] Which emendation is confirmed by *Nicephorus*. Valeſ. *Valeſius* (in *his account of the Life and Writings of* Socrates *and* Sozomen) reads φιλοσοφίας, *Philoſophy*; which alteration in the reading he makes in *his Appendix to his Notes on* Socrates *and* Sozomen.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Atticus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *what manner of perſon he was as to his temper and diſpoſition.*

DUring therefore the Emperours being in the eighth year of his age, *Atticus* was in the third year of his Epiſcopate over *Conſtantinople*, and was highly eminent. He was a perſon, (as we have ſaid * before,) beſides his great Learning, pious and prudent. Wherefore, he much augmented the Churches under his juriſdiction. For he not only defended thoſe of his own Creed, but cauſed the Hereticks alſo to admire his prudence. He was in no wiſe vexatious to them; but when he had attempted to terrifie them, afterwards he ſhewed himſelf mild towards them. Nor was he careleſs about his ſtudies. For he beſtowed much pains in reading ancient Writers, ſpending whole nights in peruſing them. Wherefore, he was not unacquainted with the diſcourſes of the *Philoſophers* and *Sophiſtæ*. Moreover, to thoſe that addreſt to him, he was pleaſant and delectable: He groaned with ſuch as were ſorrowfull: and, that I may ſpeak ſummarily, according to the Apoſtle's [example,] * *he was made all things to all men*. Formerly, during his being a Preſbyter, he made Sermons, gat them by heart, and Preach't them in the Church. But afterwards, by his aſſiduity, he procured ſuch a readineſs of expreſſion, as to be able to ſpeak † *extemporè*, and followed a *panegyricall* way of Preaching. Notwithſtanding, his Sermons were not ſuch, as were either received by his Hearers with applauſe, or committed to writing. But, concerning his Temper, Moralls, and Learning, let this ſuffice. I will now relate thoſe memorable paſſages which hapned in his times.

* Book 6. chap. 20.

* 1 Cor. 9. 22.

† Or, *without præmeditation.*

CHAP. III.

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Concerning Theodoſius *and* Agapetus *Biſhops of* Synnada.

IN [a] *Synada* a City of *Phrygia Pacatiana*, one *Theodoſius* was Biſhop, who ſeverely perſecuted the Hereticks in that City, wherein there were many of the Sect of the *Macedoniani*: he drove them not only out of the City, but from the [adjacent] Villages alſo. Which practiſe of his was not [b] agreeable to that of the Orthodox Church, which does not uſe to perſecute; nor was [He incited hereto] by a zeal for the true Faith: but being a perfect ſlave to the love of money, he made it his buſineſs to amaſs riches together, [by taking them] from the Hereticks. Wherefore, he made all imaginable attempts againſt thoſe that embraced the Sect of the *Macedoniani*, putting the Clergy that was under him in Arms; and practiſed a thouſand ſtratagems againſt them: nor did he forbear [c] binding them [over] to the Courts of Judicature.

[a] It would be more truly written *Synnada*, with a *double n*. For ſo the name of this City is more frequently inſcribed on *old Coyns*. *Johannes Triſtanus* has produced a *Coyn* of the Emperour *Caracalla's*, which has this inſcription, Συνναδέων [*Synnadeon.*] Yet 'tis ſometimes written with a ſingle *n*. So it is in an *old Coyn* of the Emperour *Nerva's*; in the reverſe whereof *Jupiter* is engraven with this Inſcription,

ΔΙΑΠΑΝΔΙΜΟΝ CΥΝΑCΙS.

This *Coyn* was in the *Archives* of that illuſtrious perſonage the *Lord Bryennius*, concerning the meaning whereof when I was asked by the *Learned Franciſcus Ogerius*, (to whom *Patinus* had communicated *that Coyn*,) my anſwer was, it was to be read thus, διὰ πάνδημον συναδεῖς. For the *Synnadenſians* worſhipped *Jupiter* under the name of *Pandemos*, becauſe having heretofore been gathered together out of many ſorts of people in *Greece*, by *Acamas*, *Theſeus*'s ſon, they inhabited the City *Synnada*. Whence ſays *Stephanus*, the City was ſo named, ἀπὸ τῆς σὺν ναίειν, *from their dwelling together*. Further, thoſe people out of whom the Colony of the *Synnadenſians* was firſt collected, were of two ſorts; to wit, the *Macedonians*, and the *Athenians*, or *Ionians*, who were in *Aſia*; as the ſame *Stephanus* relates. Whence we underſtand, why (in the Emperour *Caracalla's Coyn*, which *Johannes Triſtanus* has ſet forth,) the *Synnadenſians*, are termed *Dorienſes* and *Ionians*. For, this is the inſcription, συναδέων δωριέων ἰώνων. For the *Macedonians*, a *Colony* whereof *Acamas* brought thither, were originally *Dorienſes*. But the *Athenians* who went thither with *Acamas Theſeus*'s ſon, and the Colonies which *Acamas* is reported to have gathered out of *Aſia*, were *Ionians*, ſo termed from *Ion* the *Athenian*. Valeſ.

[b] It is a famous queſtion, and uſually diſputed on both ſides, whether it be lawfull for Catholicks, eſpecially Biſhops, to perſecute Hereticks. In the determination whereof, I am of opinion, that a diſtinction is requiſite. For 'tis certain, that on account of amaſſing money together it is not lawfull for Catholicks to moleſt and vex Hereticks; which thing *Theodoſius* Biſhop of *Synnada* at that time did. Alſo, to perſecute them by criminall ſentences, and to thirſt after their bloud, is in like manner unlawfull; as *Idatius* and ſome other Prelates of *Spain* did in their perſecution of the *Priſcilianiſts*. To whoſe communion when S[t] *Martin* had for ſome time joyned himſelf, he acknowledged, that great detriment befell him from that thing, as *Sulpicius Severus* does relate *in his Life*. Notwithſtanding, it is and always was lawfull for *Catholicks*, to implore the aid of Princes and Magiſtrates againſt Hereticks, that they be reſtrained, and kept within the bounds of duty; leaſt they ſhould behave themſelves inſolently over the Catholicks, or leaſt they ſhould inſult over and ſcoff at the Catholick Religion. S[t] *Auguſtine* confeſſes indeed, that heretofore this was his Sentiment, to wit, that Hereticks were not to be moleſted and vexed by Catholicks, but that they were to be invited by all inſtances of manſuetude and mildneſs. But afterwards he altered his opinion, being moſt certainly informed, that the Laws of Princes made againſt Hereticks, are uſefull to Hereticks themſelves in order to their converſion. And he ſays this was acknowledged by the *Donatiſts* themſelves, who had afterwards returned to the Catholick Church. For they affirmed, that they had never returned to the Church, but had always continued in their errour, had they not been provoked and drawn as it were by thoſe penalties and mulcts [contained in] the Imperial Laws. There is a moſt elegant paſſage of *Auguſtine*'s [about this matter] in *his* 48th *Epiſtle to Vincentius*; to which is to be added another paſſage of the ſame Authour, in *his firſt book againſt* Gaudentius, chap. 23. *Valeſ.*

[c] Δικαστηρίοις αὐτὸν παρεστήσειν. That is, *he drew and bound them as it were to Judges Tribunals*. Tranſlatours thought theſe words were ſpoken concerning bonds, as if *Theodoſius* the Biſhop had brought the Hereticks bound before the Judges. In which ſenſe *Nicephorus* alſo took this paſſage. But *Socrates*'s words will not bear this meaning. *Valeſ.*

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More especially, he did severall ways disquiet their Bishop, whose name was *Agapetus*. But in regard the Governours of Provinces in no wise had (as he supposed) a sufficient power to punish [Hereticks,] he ran to *Constantinople*, and petitioned for Edicts from the *Præfecti Prætorio*. In the interim therefore that *Theodosius* stayed at *Constantinople* on this account, *Agapetus*, who as I have told you presided over the Sect of the *Macedoniani*, betook himself to a [prudent and] good [a] course. For, having communicated the affair to his whole Clergy, and called together the people under him, he perswades them to embrace the *Homoöusian* Faith. Having effected this, he went directly into the Church, accompanied with a great multitude, or rather with the whole body of the people in generall. Where * when he had solemnized the prayers, he took possession of the Chair, wherein *Theodosius* was wont to sit. And having united the people, and professing in future the *Homoöusian* Creed, he became possest of the Churches belonging to *Synada*. These things having been after this manner transacted, *Theodosius* arrives within a short time, and brings along with him a *Præfecturian* assistance: and being ignorant of what had been done, goes immediately to the Church. From whence he was driven by all persons unanimously, and went again to *Constantinople*. Being arrived there, he made complaint before *Atticus* the Bishop, of what had been done against him, to wit, that he had been [c] unjustly ejected out of his Bishoprick. *Atticus* knowing that this accident was advantagious to the Church, gave *Theodosius* comfortable words, perswading him with patience to embrace a quiet course of life, and informing him that he ought to prefer the good of the publick before his own private concern. But he wrote to *Agapetus*, [ordering him] to continue in possession of the Bishoprick, and [bidding] him not to be suspicious of any molestation from *Theodosius*'s displeasure.

[a] Instead of [ἀπόνοιαν, madness] *Nicephorus* and *Christophorson* read [ἐπίνοιαν, *Course, device*, or *purpose*:] with which reading I am best pleased. *Vales.*

* Or, *when he had celebrated a prayer.*

[c] We read [ἀδικαίως, *unjustly.*] agreeable to the reading in *Epiphan. Scholasticus*, and *Nicephorus*. The other Reading is ἀδαλόσως, *contrary to reason*, or *unexpectedly*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Paralyticall Jew, *who was cured by* Atticus *the Bishop in divine Baptism.*

THis was one usefull accident which befell the Church in the times of *Atticus*. Nor was the state of these times without Miracles, or Cures. For a *Jew*, who had been a * *Paralytick* for many years, was confined to his bed. And when all medicinall remedies had been applied to him, and no prayers of the *Jews* could do him any good; at length he betook himself to *Christian* Baptism, hoping that this would be his only true and Salutary Physitian. *Atticus* the Bishop was soon acquainted herewith. Having therefore instructed him in the rudiments of *Christianity*, and declared to him the hope in *Christ*, he ordered him to be carried in his bed to the Font. The *Paralyticall Jew* receiving Baptism with a sincere faith, immediately upon his being taken out of the water in the Font, was freed from his disease, and continued sound and healthy in future. This [admirable] Cure the power of *Christ* vouchsafed to shew to men even in our times: by reason whereof many Heathens believed and were baptized. But the *Jews*, although they seek after Signs, notwithstanding could not be induced [to believe,] by present miracles. Such benefits as these were conferred upon men by *Christ*.

* *Troubled with the palsy.*

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CHAP. V.

How Sabbatius, *who from being a* Jew *had been made a Presbyter of the* Novatianists, *deserted those of his own opinion.*

BUt many persons slighting these things, persisted in their impiety. For the *Jews* did not only disbelieve these Miracles which happned; but such persons also as were studious followers of them, were found to hold the same Sentiments they did. For *Sabbatius*, of whom we have made mention a little * before, not willing to continue in the degree of a Presbyter to which he had been promoted, but being from the beginning ambitious of a Bishoprick, in these times separated from the Church of the *Novatianists*, making the observation of the *Jewish Passover* his pretence. Holding therefore assemblies that were Schismaticall and separate from his own Bishop *Sisinnius*, in a place of the City which is termed *Xerolophus*, where *Arcadius*'s *Forum* now is, he attempted an audacious fact * that deserved many punishments. For, on one of his meeting-days, he read a passage in the Gospell, whereat these words occur, † *Now, it was a Feast called the Passover of the Jews*; to which he made an addition of his own, that was never written, nor ever heard of before; to wit, these words *Cursed* (says he) *be that person who celebrates the Passover* [a] *not on the days of unleavened bread.* These words of his being heard, spread immediately. And the simpler sort of the *Novatian* Laity, circumvented by this Artifice, betook themselves to him. But his fraud proved unsuccessfull to himself. And his forgery had an unhappy event. For not long after [b] he celebrated the Festivall by way of Anticipation; when many persons flockt to him. And whilst they were keeping *the* [c] *Solemn Vigills* by watching all night in the Church, a *Dæmoniacall* terrour seised them; as if *Sisinnius* their Bishop was come with a great multitude, [to fall] upon them. Hereupon a disturbance was raised, as it usually happens, and they being shut up by night in a streight place, trod upon one another: in so much that above seventy persons of them lost their lives. For this reason many deserted *Sabbatius*. Notwithstanding, some possest with a * rude anticipate opinion, continued with him. But, how *Sabbatius* violated his oath, and got into a Bishoprick, we will declare by and by.

* Book 5. chap. 21.

* Πολλῶν κινδύνων ἄξιον, *worthy of many dangers.*

† See *Luke* 22. 1.

* Or, *Rustick*, or, *clownish.*

[a] Ἔξω ἀζύμων. I like not the Version of *Langus* and *Christophorson*, who have rendred this place thus: *maledictus qui absq; azimis pascha celebrat, cursed is he who celebrates the Passover without unleavened bread.* In my judgement it must be rendred thus, *beyond* [or, *not on*] *the days of unleavened bread.* For in the *Greek* it is not ἄνευ or χωρὶς, that is, *without*: but ἔξω, which imports *beyond, out of*, or *saving on.* Vales.

[b] Τὴν δὲ περιλήψεως ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελῆ. Which *Langus* and *Christophorson* render thus: *cum ex anticipatâ opinione Festum Paschæ celebraret, when he celebrated the Paschall Festivall by an anticipated opinion.* I like *Musculus*'s Version better, who translates it thus: *per anticipationem celebraret, he celebrated* [*the Festivall*] *by way of anticipation.* For *Sabbatius* celebrating the Paschall solemnity after the *Jewish* manner, prevented the *Christians*, and kept that Festivall before the *Sunday*. If these words are thus to be understood; it must be written, πρὸ ἑορτῆ δὲ περιλήψεως. *Socrates* uses the same term a little lower in this Chapter; where speaking concerning the same thing, his words are: τῇ ἀγροικικῇ περιλήψει κεκαλάμωσε, *possest with a rude anticipate opinion.* Where notwithstanding, περίληψις seems to be taken for *an anticipate opinion.* Vales.

[c] I understand *The Vigill of the Paschall Festivall.* Nor can ἡ ἐξ ἔθους παννυχὶς be any other then *the Vigill of the Paschall Festivall.* For *Sabbatius* (although he anticipated *Easter*, and celebrated it with the *Jews* yet) kept *the Vigills* on the *Paschall Sabbath* with the rest of the *Christians*; with whom also he celebrated *Easter-day* in a dissembling and negligent manner, as *Socrates* has related before, in book 5. chap. 21. And thus this passage in *Socrates* was understood by *Nicephorus*, whose words *his Translatour* hath not rendred well. *Nicephorus*'s words

words are theſe: τῇ δὲ ἐωθινῇ παννυχίδι τὸ πρεσπῆκον γέρας ἀφοσιωθῶν, &c. Which are to be tranſlated thus, *But in regard they celebrated the ſolemn Vigill with a congruous worſhip meerly for faſhions ſake, &c.* Moreover, why *Sabbatius* (although he followed the *Jews* in the obſervation of *Eaſter*, notwithſtanding) would feign a celebration of *Eaſter* with the *Chriſtians*, this in my judgement is the reaſon; becauſe he feared the Laws of the Emperours who had made a Sanction that they ſhould be accounted Hereticks, who kept not *Eaſter* on one and the ſame day with all other *Chriſtians*. This was the command of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, in the *ninth Law of the Theodoſian Code de Hæretick.* Valeſ.

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CHAP. VI.

Concerning thoſe who at that time were the Ring-leaders of the Arian *Opinion.*

DOrotheus Biſhop of the *Arian* Hereſie (who had been tranſlated by the *Arians* from *Antioch* to *Conſtantinople*, as we have related * before,) having lived an hundred and nineteen years, died in *Honorius*'s ſeventh and *Theodoſius Auguſtus*'s ſecond Conſulate, on the ſixth of *November*. After this perſon *Barba* preſided over the *Arian* Sect. In whoſe time the *Arian* Hereſie was very happy in having two eloquent men, both whom were dignified with a *Presbyterate*. The name of the one was *Timotheus*; the other was called *Georgius*. *Georgius* was furniſhed with more of *Grecian* Literature: but *Timotheus* had beſtowed greater pains about the Sacred Scripures. Moreover, *Georgius* had *Ariſtotle*'s and *Plato*'s books always in his hands: but *Timotheus* was † an admirer of *Origen:* and in his Expoſitions of the Sacred Scriptures in publick, he [ſhewed himſelf] not to be unskilled in the *Hebrew* Tongue. *Timotheus*, had formerly been an adherent to the Sect of the || *Pſathyriani*. But *Georgius* had been ordained by *Barba*. I my ſelf diſcourſed with this *Timotheus*, and evidently perceived how ready and expedite he was in returning anſwers to thoſe who queſtioned him, and in explaining the moſt obſcure places which occur in the Sacred Scriptures. He always quoted *Origen* as a moſt evident witneſs of what he aſſerted. I cannot therefore but wonder, how theſe two perſons ſhould perſiſt [in their adherence] to *Arianiſm*; the one of whom had *Plato* always in his hand; and the other had *Origen* in his mouth. For neither does *Plato* aſſert, that the *Second* and *Third Cauſe* (as he uſually terms them,) took a beginning of Exiſtence. And *Origen* every where acknowledges the Son to be coeternal with the Father. But, though they continued in their own Church, yet the *Arian* hereſie was by them reduced to a better and more moderate temper. For by their own doctrine they baniſhed many of *Arius*'s blaſphemies. But thus far concerning theſe perſons. Not long after this, *Siſinnius* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* dyed, in the ſame Conſulate, and *Chryſanthus* is ordained, concerning whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

* Book. 5. chap. 12.

† Or, *delighted with.*

|| See book 5. chap. 23.

CHAP. VII.

How Cyrillus *ſucceeded* Theophilus *Biſhop of* Alexandria.

SOme little time after this, *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* fell into a * *Lethargick* diſtemper, and died in *Honorius*'s ninth and *Theodoſius*'s fifth Conſulate, on the fifteenth of the month *October*. And a contention being raiſed there alſo about the Biſhoprick, ſome endeavoured to place *Timotheus* the *Arch-deacon* in the Epiſcopal Chair; others *Cyrillus*, [a] who was *Theophilus*'s ſiſter's ſon. When a Sedition aroſe hereupon amongſt the people, *Abundatius* Commander of the Milice [in *Egypt*] favoured *Timotheus*'s party. Wherefore, on the third day after *Theophilus*'s death, *Cyrillus* was placed in the Chair, and came to the Biſhoprick with a greater power than *Theophilus* had done. For from that time, the * Biſhops of *Alexandria* [b] ſurpaſſing the Sacerdotall degree and bounds, exerciſed a principality, and took upon them the [ſecular] Government of affairs. *Cyrillus* therefore forthwith ſhut up the Churches of the *Novatianiſts* at *Alexandria*; and in the firſt place he took away all their ſacred veſſells and ornaments; after which he deprived their Biſhop *Theopemptus* of all he had.

* Or, *the Biſhoprick of Alexandria.*

* Or, *a drouſie diſeaſe.*

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[a] Ὁς ἦν ἀδελφιδοῦς. *Muſculus* renders it, *who was Theophilus's Nephew by his ſiſter. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it, *the ſon of his brother. Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 25,) ſays *Theophilus was Cyrillus's Uncle by the Father's ſide*; his words are θεῖον πρὸς πατρός: *Theodoret* terms him only θεῖον, *Uncle*. Wherefore I rather believe he was *Cyrillus's mother's brother*. In *Sozomen* there is mention of *Theophilus*'s Siſter. *Facundus Hermianenſis* and *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* term *Theophilus Cyrillus*'s *Couſin-german*; which is ill done: but from thence 'tis clearly intimated, that *Cyrillus* was related to *Theophilus* by his Siſter. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως, *from the Sacerdotal degree and order*] it muſt doubtleſs be [πέρα τῆς, &c. *ſurpaſſing* [*or beyond*] *the Sacerdotal*, &c.] according as Sr *Henry Savill* had noted at the margin of *his Copy* from *Chriſtophorſons book*. Notwithſtanding both Tranſlatours have followed the common reading, which is not to be endured. *Socrates*, 'tis certain, ſpeaking concerning the ſame thing at *chap. 11. of this book*, uſes the word πέρα there: τῆς ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς (ſays he) ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ὅτι δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι περιελάβοσης; that is, *The Roman Biſhoprick, having (like that of Alexandria) ſurpaſſed the Sacerdotal degree and bounds, and degenerated long before into a ſecular principality* Valeſ.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Maruthas *Biſhop of* Meſopotamia, *and how the* Chriſtian *Religion was by him propagated in* Perſia.

ABout the very ſame time, the *Chriſtian* Religion hapned to be propagated in *Perſia*, upon this account. Between the *Romans* and *Perſians* frequent Embaſſies are continually ſent. [a] For there are ſeverall reaſons, why they ſhould frequently ſend Embaſſies to one another. There hapned therefore to be a neceſſity at that time, that *Maruthas* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* (whom we have mentioned a little * before,) ſhould be ſent by the Roman Emperour to the King of the *Perſians*. The *Perſian* King having found that this perſon was endewed with an eminency of piety, honoured him highly, and gave him attention, as being really and truly a friend of God. The *Magi*, [b] whoſe intereſt is great with the *Perſian* King, were incenſed hereat. For they were afraid leaſt he ſhould perſwade the King, to turn *Chriſtian*. For *Maruthas* by his prayers had cured the King of a pain in his head wherewith he had been a long while troubled, which the *Magi* could not cure him of. Wherefore, the *Magi* betake themſelves to the inventing of a fraudulent deſign. And whereas the *Perſians* worſhip fire, and the King was wont to adore a fire which was always burning in a certain houſe; they hid a man under ground, whom (at ſuch time as the King

[a] Inſtead of [Διάφοροι δὲ, *but there are ſeverall*] it is better thus, Διάφοροι γὰρ, *For there are ſeveral*, &c. Valeſ.

* Book 6. chap. 15, and 19.

[b] Inſtead of [οἱ πολλοὶ, &c. *who are numerous*, &c.] it muſt undoubtedly bee [οἱ πολὺ παρὰ τῷ περσῶν, &c. *whoſe intereſt is great with the perſian King.*] Thus *Nicephorus* read. *Valeſ.*

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King usually * worshipped) they ordered to speak [to this effect,] *that the King ought to be thrust out of doors: for he had done impiously, because he supposed a Priest of the Christians to be dear to God.* *Isdigerdes* (for that was the *Persian* King's name,) having heard these words, although he reverenced *Maruthas*, notwithstanding had thoughts of sending him away. But *Maruthas*, a man truly acceptable to God, was very earnest in putting up his prayers, whereby he detected the fraud which the *Magi* had framed. [He addressed himself] therefore to the King in these words, *Be not deluded, O King! But go into* [*the house,*] *and when you shall hear the voice, dig up the ground, and you will discover the Fraud. For the fire speaks not, but the invention of men does this.* The King of the *Persians* is perswaded by *Maruthas*, and goes into the little house again, * where fire is kept always burning. And when he had heard the same voice again, he ordered the place to be dug up where he that uttered the words which were supposed to be God's, was found. Therefore, the King was highly incensed, and gave order that the * *Tribe* of the *Magi* should be || *decimated.* After this was done, he spoke to *Maruthas*, to build Churches wheresoever he pleased. From that time the *Christian* Religion was propagated amongst the *Persians*. Moreover, *Maruthas* having then left *Persia* returned to *Constantinople*. But, not long after he was sent Embassadour again to the *Persians*. And the *Magi* betook themselves to the invention of Plots and intreagues again, to hinder his being admitted by the King. [c] For by a device they raised a most horrid stink in that place, [d] into which the King usually came; and they calumniously accused the *Christians*, as if they had caused it. But when the King, in regard he already had a suspicion of the *Magi*, made a more exact scrutiny about the occasioners [of this stink,] the *Magi* were found again to be the causes of this ill smell. Wherefore he punished many of them again: but he had a greater honour and esteem for *Maruthas*. And he loved the *Romans*, with whom he embraced a friendship. Yea, the King himself wanted but little of turning *Christian*, after *Maruthas*, together with [e] *Abdas* the Bishop of *Persia*, had shewed another * Miracle. For both these persons, when they had fasted long, and been earnest in prayers, cast out a devill that vexed the Kings Son. But *Isdigerdes*, before he became a perfect *Christian*, was prevented by death. His Kingdom devolved to his Son *Vararanes*: in whose time the League between the *Romans* and *Persians* was broken, as we shall declare hereafter.

* Or, *prayed.*

* Or, *where the unquenchable fire was.*

* Or, *Stock*, or, *Race.* || That is, *every tenth man put to death.*

[c] We read [ἐπινόησε γάρ, *for by a device they raised*, &c.] not [ἐπινόησαν τε, *And by a device*, &c.] Otherwise, a repetition of the same particle would be odious and unpleasant. Many errours in these particles are usually committed by *Transcribers of books*, whilest they write too hastily. *Vales.*

* *Tryall*, or, *Experiment.*

[d] Here we read περιέρχεσθαι, instead of περισέρχεσθαι. *Vales.*

[e] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* calls this Bishop of *Persian Ablaates*. *Nicephorus* terms him *Abdas*. In the *Sfortian* M. S. he is stiled *Anidas*. Vales.

CHAP. IX.

Who were Bishops of Antioch *and* Rome *at this time.*

ABout the very same times, *Flavianus* died at *Antioch*, and was succeeded in that Bishoprick by *Porphyrius*. After *Porphyrius*, *Alexander* Presided over that Church. At *Rome*, *Damasus* having held that Bishoprick eighteen years, was succeeded by *Siricius*. After *Siricius* had Presided there fifteen years, *Anastasius* governed that Church three years. And after *Anastasius*, *Innocentius*. He was the first that began to persecute the *Novatianists* at *Rome*, whom he deprived of many Churches.

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CHAP. X.

That Rome *became subject to the* Barbarians *at that time, and was destroyed by* Alarichus.

AT that very time *Rome* hapned to be taken by the *Barbarians*. For one *Alarichus* a *Barbarian*, (who had been an Allie of the *Romans*, and had assisted the Emperour *Theodosius* in the War against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, on which account he was honoured with [a] Roman dignities,) could not bear his fortunate success. (book 5.) relates, that *Alarichus*, after the expedition against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, wherein he had done excellent service, was Commander of no *Roman* Forces, but returned into *Thracia*, and kept with him those *Barbarians* only, whom he had commanded. But, a little afterwards, when being sent for by *Rufinus*, he had ruined *Gracia* and *Epirus*, he was created *Master of the Milice* throughout *Illyricum*; as *Claudian* informs us in *his second book against Eutropius.*

[a] Or, *Roman dignity. Zosimus*

Vastator Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præsidet Illyricis. Jam quos obsedit, amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.
Sic hostes pensare solent. ——— Vales.

He presumed not indeed to seize the Empire: but retired from *Constantinople*, and went into the Western parts. Being arrived in *Illyricum*, he laid all places desolate immediately. The *Thessalians* resisted him in his march, about the mouthes of the River *Peneus*, from whence there is a passage * over the mountain *Pindus* to *Nicopolis* [a City] of *Epirus*. And coming to an engagement, the *Thessalians* killed about three thousand [of his Forces.] After this the *Barbarians* that were with him, burnt and ruined what ever was in their way and in fine took *Rome* it self. Which City they destroyed, and burnt the greatest part [b] of the admirable works and structures therein: but they made plunder of the money, and divided it [amongst themselves.] They also forced many of the *Senatorian Order* to undergo various punishments, and [afterwards] slew them. [*Alarichus*] likewise, in contempt to Empire, proclaimed one *Attalus* Emperour. Whom he ordered to go guarded like an Emperour one day; and the next made him appear in a servile habit. After he had done all this, he fled, being terrified with a Rumour, as if the Emperour *Theodosius* had sent an Army to fight him. Nor was this Rumour false. For an Army did really come. And he was unable to bear the same thereof; but, as I have said, fled away. 'Tis reported, that as he went to *Rome*, he was met by a pious person that led a monastick life, who advised him not to rejoyce in [perpetrating] so great and notorious mischiefs, nor to delight in slaughter and bloud. To whom *Alarichus* made this return, *I go not thither of my own accord. But some* * *thing does every day vex and disquiet me, saying, go to* Rome, *and ruine that City.* Thus much concerning this person.

* Or, *thorow.*

[b] Instead of [θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων θεαμάτων, *of their admirable works and structures*] I think it must be [ἀπὸ θαυμαστῶν ἐκεῖ θεαμάτων, *of the admirable works and structures therein:*] which reading we have expressed in our Version. *Vales.*

* Or, *some body.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Biſhops of Rome.

After *Innocentius*, *Zoſimus* was poſſeſt of the Churches at *Rome*, for the ſpace of two years. After whom, *Boniſacius* preſided over that Church three years, who was ſucceeded by *Celeſtinus*. And this *Celeſtinus* deprived the *Novatianiſts* alſo at *Rome* of their Churches, and forced their Biſhop *Ruſticula* to hold his Meetings in private and obſcure houſes. For till this time, the *Novatianiſts* flouriſhed mightily at *Rome*, had many Churches, and aſſembled numerous congregations therein. But envy * impaired them alſo; the Roman Biſhoprick, having (like that of *Alexandria*,) ſurpaſſed the Sacerdotall degree and bounds, and degenerated long before into a ſecular principality. And for this reaſon the [*Roman*] Biſhops would not permit even thoſe who agreed with them in the faith, peaceably and quietly to celebrate their meetings: but took from them all they had; only they praiſed them for their agreement in the faith. Notwithſtanding, the *Conſtantinopolitan* Biſhops were not thus affected. For they not only permitted [the *Novatianiſts*] to have their meetings within the City, but had a ſingular love and affection for them alſo, as I have ſufficiently declared already.

* Or, *ſeized*, or, *devoured*.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Chryſanthus *Biſhop of the* Novatianiſts *at* Conſtantinople.

After *Siſinnius*'s death, *Chryſanthus* was by force made Biſhop. He was the ſon of that * *Marcianus*, who had been Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* before *Siſinnius*. From his younger years he had had a Military Employ in the Pallace; afterwards in the Reign of *Theodoſius the Great*, he was made *Conſularis* of *Italy*, and after that *Vicarius* of the *Britannick* Iſlands; for his management of both which charges he was much admired. Being grown elderly, he returned to *Conſtantinople*; and deſiring to be made *Præfect* of that City, he was againſt his will compelled to take the Biſhoprick. For *Siſinnius* having mentioned him at the time of his death, as a fit perſon for the Biſhoprick; the *Novatian* people, with whom *Siſinnius*'s words were a Law, attempted to draw him by force, even againſt his will. But when *Chryſanthus* fled, *Sabbatius* ſuppoſing an opportune ſeaſon was offered him, wherein he might be made poſſeſſour of the Churches, gets himſelf ordained Biſhop by ſome obſcure [Prelates] and ſlights the oath which he had bound himſelf in. Amongſt thoſe who ordained *Sabbatius* Biſhop, *Hermogenes* was one, who had been Excommunicated and curſed by *Sabbatius*, for his blaſphemous books. But *Sabbatius*'s deſign proved unſucceſsfull to him. For the people hating * his unreaſonable ambition, (becauſe [a] he did all things with a deſign of getting into the Biſhoprick,) made it their whole buſineſs to find out *Chryſanthus*. Whom they found abſconding in *Bithynia*, whence they brought him by force, and preferred him to the Biſhoprick. He was a perſon of as great prudence and modeſty, as any man was: and by his means the Church of the *Novatianiſts* at *Conſtantinople* was preſerved and increaſed. He was the firſt perſon who diſtributed Gold * of his own to the poor. He received nothing from the Churches, ſave only [b] two Loaves of the *Bleſſed Bread* every Sunday. Moreover, he was ſo carefull about his Church, that he took [c] *Ablabius* the eloquenteſt Oratour of his own time, from *Troilus* the *Sophiſta*'s School, and ordained him Presbyter. Whoſe elegant and acute *Sermons* are now extant. But *Ablabius* was afterwards conſtituted Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* Church at *Nicæa*, in which City he taught *Rhetorick* at the ſame time alſo.

* Or, *his immorality*.

[a] Πάντα σκοπὸν τῷ παρεισδῦναι εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν ἔπραξε. This expreſſion is not in my judgment good Greek. *Nicephorus* in regard he liked it not, altered it thus: πάντα καλὸν ἐκίνει τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν παρεισδῦναι, *he moved every rope to get into the Biſhoprick*. But in my mind, this place in *Socrates* is to be thus reſtored: ὅτι πάντα σκοπὸν τὸ παρεισδῦναι εἰς τὸν Ἐπισκοπὸν ἔπραξε, *becauſe he did all things with a deſign of getting into the Biſhoprick*. Valeſ.

* Οἰκοθεν. *Muſculus* renders it *per ſingulas domos, from houſe to houſe*. *Grynæus* and *Curterius*, *de ſuis ipſius fortunis, of his own eſtate*. *Valeſius*, *ex propria pecunia, of his own money*.

[b] The Loaves which the Faithfull offered for a ſacrifice, were termed *the Loaves of Benediction*. For ſo *Dionyſius Exiguus* renders the 59th *Canon of the Laodicean Councill*, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον, *That the Bread of Benediction ought not to be offered in Lent, except on the Sabbath and on Sunday only*. Of theſe Loaves ſome were taken for the *Euchariſt*: the reſt were allotted for the food of the Clergy by the Biſhop; who alſo took ſome of them himſelf, as much as he would, as we are informed from this place. You muſt note further, that *Socrates* ſays ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *from the Churches*. For the Biſhop, according to his own arbitrement, diſpoſed of the oblations of all the Churches, which were under his own juriſdiction. See *Gelaſius's Decretalls*, cap. 27. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἀβλάβιον τὸν ἑωυτῆς. S[r] *Henry Savil* from *Chriſtophorſon*'s book, at the margin of *his own copy, hath mended it thus*, ἀβλάβιον ἑωυτῷ. Which reading *Chriſtophorſon* has followed. But in my judgment, it muſt be thus written, ἀβλάβιον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, &c. *The beſt Oratour of his own time*, &c. The Schollars of the *Sophiſts*, who learned *Rhetorick* were heretofore termed *Rhetoricians*. Notwithſtanding, all the *Sophiſts* Schollars had not that appellation, but the eminenteſt of them only, who being initiated by a certain Rite, wore a *Rhetorician's Pallium*, which was red or ſcarlet-coloured. We are informed hereof by *Cyrillus* in *his Lexicon*: τείβωνες, παραλλήματά τινα. Τῶν μὲν ῥητόρων· ἐρυθροί τε καὶ φοινικοῖ· φαιοὶ δὲ ἦσαν φιλοσόφων· παράσημον δὲ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην φορούμενον: that is, *Pallium's were certain Cloaks. Some* [*were worn*] *by Rhetoricians: which were red and ſcarlet-coloured others, by Philoſophers, which were of a dark-colour. This was the Badge, worn by them daily*. By what Rite *Rhetoricians* were wont to be made at *Athens*, *Olympiadorus* (*in excerptis Hiſtoriarum apud Photium*,) *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Eunapius* do declare. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Fight which hapned at Alexandria *between the* Chriſtians *and* Jews, *and concerning* Cyrillus *the Biſhops difference with* Oreſtes *the* Præfect.

About the ſame time, the *Jewiſh* Nation were driven out of *Alexandria* by *Cyrillus* the Biſhop, for this reaſon. The *Alexandrians* are more ſeditious and tumultuous, than any other people: and if at any time they get an occaſion, they [uſually] break out into intollerable miſchiefs. For their rage is not appeaſed without bloud. It hapned at that time, that the populace of that City were tumultuous amongſt themſelves, not upon any weighty or neceſſary occaſion, but by reaſon of that miſchief which abounds in all Cities, I mean an earneſt deſire of looking upon Dancers. For in regard a Dancer gathered great multitudes together on the Sabbath day, becauſe the *Jews* work not on that day, nor are buſied in hearing their Law, but [ſpend their time in ſeeing] *Theatricall Shews*; that day uſually occaſioned mutuall factions and diviſions among the people. And although this was in ſome meaſure regulated and repreſſed by the *Præfect* of *Alexandria*, nevertheleſs the *Jews*

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continued enraged againſt thoſe of the contrary faction: and beſides their being always enemies to the *Chriſtians*, they were much more incenſed [a] againſt them on account of the Dancers. Therefore, when *Oreſtes Præfect* of *Alexandria* [b] made a *Police* (ſo the *Alexandrians* do uſually term *publick Orders*,) in the Theatre; ſome of Biſhop *Cyrillus*'s favourers were preſent there alſo, being deſirous to know the Orders that were made by the *Præfect*. Amongſt whom was a perſon by name *Hierax*, a teacher of the [c] meaner ſort of Learning.

[a] Inſtead of [κατ' ἑαυτὸν] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* read κατ' ἀυτὸν, *againſt them.*] Which reading I like better.

Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* retains the common reading. *Valeſ.*

[b] Πολιτείαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιοῦντος. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* was miſtaken in thinking there was a Feſtivall which the *Alexandrians* called *Politia*. Nor was *Chriſtophorſon* leſs out, in ſuppoſing the publick Edicts of the *Imperiall Præfects* to be ſo termed by the *Alexandrians*, which *Oreſtes* publiſhed then in the Theatre. In which he is doubly miſtaken. Firſt, becauſe he thought that all the *Imperiall Edicts* were by the *Alexandrians* called *Politia*; whereas, thoſe Edicts only had that name, which belonged to the quiet and profit of the City. Agreeable whereto, thoſe Orders made in reſpect to the prizes of Corn and other vendible commodities uſually expoſed to ſale in the Market, at *Paris* we now term *in French* a *Police*, and *the Orders of Police*. Secondly, *Chriſtophorſon* miſtakes in ſuppoſing that theſe Edicts were publiſhed by *Oreſtes* in the Theatre. For *Socrates* does not ſay ſo, but only that *Oreſtes* made (that is, dictated, or rehearſed to his officers) theſe orders in the Theatre. For the *Roman* Magiſtrates were wont to ſit in judgment and decide matters in the Law, in the Theatre, *Circus*, or in any other place they had a mind to. So *Amm. Marcellinus* relates (book 15.) concerning *Leontius Præfect* of the City. Moreover, the orders then made by *Oreſtes*, reſpected the Theatre, and the *publick ſhows*. Valeſ.

[c] Περὶ γράμματα (which are the terms here uſed,) do import *the firſt Ruaiments which children learn*. The teachers hereof are by the *Greeks* termed *Grammatiſtæ*, and by the *Latines Literatores*. Valeſ.

He was a zealous hearer of *Cyrillus* the Biſhop, and always mighty diligent about raiſing the * Clappings at his Sermons. The Jewiſh multitude ſpying this *Hierax* in the Theatre, cried out immediately, that he came into the Theatre for nothing elſe, but to raiſe a Sedition amongſt the people. Moreover, *Oreſtes* had long before conceived an hatred againſt the ſecular Government of Biſhops, becauſe it diminiſhed much of their power who had been appointed Governours of Provinces by the Emperour; and alſo more eſpecially, becauſe *Cyrillus* was deſirous of prying into his Acts and Orders. Having ſeized *Hierax* therefore, he made him undergo tortures publickly in the Theatre. With which *Cyrillus* being acquainted, ſends for the chief of the *Jews*, and threatned them with condign puniſhment, unleſs they deſiſted from being tumultuous againſt the *Chriſtians*. Of which menaces after the *Jewiſh* multitude were made ſenſible, they became more pertinacious; and contrived plots to damnifie the *Chriſtians*. The chiefeſt of which deſigns of theirs, and which occaſioned their expulſion out of *Alexandria*, I will relate here. Having † agreed upon a ſign amongſt themſelves, [which was,] that every one of them ſhould wear a ring on their fingers made of the bark of a *Palm-tree-branch*, they took a reſolution of making an attack upon the *Chriſtians* by a night-fight. One night therefore they ſent ſome perſons provided for that purpoſe, who cried out in all the * ſtreets of the City, that *Alexander*'s Church was on fire. The *Chriſtians* hearing this, ran ſome one way, others another, that they might preſerve the Church. Then the *Jews* ſet upon them immediately, and ſlew them: they abſtained from killing thoſe of their own party, by ſhewing their rings; but they murdered all the *Chriſtians* they hapned to meet with. When it was day, the Authours of this nefarious fact were not concealed. *Cyrillus* highly incenſed hereat, went accompanied with a great multitude to the *Jews Synagogues* (ſo they term their houſes of prayer,) which he took from them: he alſo expelled the *Jews* out of the City, and permitted the multitude to make plunder of their goods. The *Jews* therefore, who had inhabited that City from the days of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, were all forced to remove naked from thence at that time, and were diſperſed ſome in one place, others in another. *Adamantius*, [one of them] [d] a profeſſour of Phyſick, went to *Conſtantinople*, and fled to *Atticus* the Biſhop; and having turned a profeſſour of Chriſtianity, returned afterwards to *Alexandria* again, and fixt his reſidence there. But *Oreſtes* Præfect of *Alexandria* was highly incenſed at what was done; being exceedingly troubled, becauſe ſo great a City was on ſuch a ſudden emptied of ſo numerous a company of inhabitants. Wherefore, he acquainted the Emperour with what had been done. *Cyrillus* himſelf likewiſe made known the *Jews* wickedneſſes to the Emperour; nevertheleſs, he ſent meſſengers to *Oreſtes*, on account of procuring a reconciliation. For the people of *Alexandria* compelled him to do this. And when *Oreſtes* would not admit of any conferences about a reconciliation, *Cyrillus* [e] held forth the Book of the Goſpells to him, thinking he ſhould by that ſtrike a reverence into *Oreſtes*. But when he would not be mollified even by this means, but continued an irreconcileable War between himſelf and *Cyrillus*; This accident hapned afterwards.

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[d] Ἰατρικῶν λόγων σοφιστὴς. Theſe perſons the *Greeks* in one word term ἰατροσοφιστὰς, that is, *profeſſours of Phyſick*. Such a one was *Magnus Medicus*, who profeſſed Phyſick publickly at *Alexandria*; but was a better *Orator* then *Phyſitian*; as *Eunapius* informs us, in *his book De Vitis Sophiſtarum*. Such a one alſo was *Geſius* the Phyſitian in the times of the Emperour *Zeno*; concerning whom ſee *Stephanus Byzantius, in the word* γάζα. *Damaſcius* (*in the Life of Iſidorus*) ſpends a great many words about this *Geſius*; and from him *Suidas*, *in the word* γέσιος. Where he divides Phyſick into two parts, *Theory* and *Practiſe*. Valeſ.

[e] *Cyrillus* therefore held forth the Book of the Goſpells, that thereby he might conjure and earneſtly beſeech *Oreſtes Præfect* of *Egypt*, to be reconciled with him. We have remarked already (ſee book 6. chap. 11. note *b*.) that the Antients did uſually conjure and earneſtly beſeech, by thoſe things which they uſed to ſwear by. The *Chriſtians* uſage was to ſwear by the Goſpells, laying their hands on thoſe *ſacred Books*, as 'tis evidently known. *Valeſ.*

* Κέστος, *Plautus, clapping of hands; ſuch as is now uſed at Plays; then belike uſuall at Sermons.*

† Or, *given.*

* Or, *in all the Wards of the City.*

CHAP. XIV.

That the Monks of Nitria *came down to* Alexandria *in defence of* Cyrillus, *and raiſed a Sedition againſt* Oreſtes *the* Præfect.

SOme of the Monks who inhabited the mountaines of *Nitria*, retaining an heat of mind from *Theophilus*'s times, who had armed them unjuſtly againſt *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren, were incenſed with a zeal then alſo, and took a reſolution of fighting couragiouſly in defence of *Cyrillus*. About five hundred perſons therefore of them went out of their Monaſteries, came down to the City, and obſerve the *Præfect* going forth in his Chariot. They came to him, and called him *Sacrificer* and *Pagan*, and gave him many other reproachfull terms. The *Præfect*, having a ſuſpicion that a plot was framed againſt him by *Cyrillus*, cryed out that he was a *Chriſtian*, and had been baptized by *Atticus* the Biſhop at *Conſtantinople*. But when the Monks heeded not what he ſaid, one of them, by name *Ammonius*, flings a ſtone and ſtrikes *Oreſtes* on the head. By which wound he was all over beſmeared with bloud: and his * *Appa-*

* Or, *Officers.*

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ritors that attended him, except a very few, receded, ran some one way, others another, [and hid themselves] in the Crowd, to avoid being killed by the throwing of stones. In the interim the *Alexandrians* flockt together, with a resolution to be revenged upon the Monks on the *Præfect*'s account. They put all the rest of them to flight; but seized *Ammonius*, and bring him before the *Præfect*. He, agreeable to the Laws, [a] put him to *The Question* publickly, and tortured him to such a degree, that he died. Not long after, he acquainted the Emperours with what had been done. But *Cyrillus* gave the Emperour a Narrative [of the business] contradictory [to *Orestes*'s.] And he took *Ammonius*'s body, deposited it in one of the Churches, altered his name calling him *Thaumasius*, ordered he should be stiled a Martyr, and extolled his magnanimity publickly in the Church, as if he had undergone the combat in defence of piety. But the modester and more sober persons even of the *Christians*, approved not of this favour of *Cyrillus*'s shown towards *Ammonius*. For they certainly knew, that *Ammonius* had undergone the punishment of his rashness, and died not under his tortures, as forced to renounce Christ. Wherefore, *Cyrillus* himself caused the memory of this affair to be by little and little buried in silence. But that fierce contention between *Cyrillus* and *Orestes* stopt not here. For it was [b] rekindled by another accident not unlike those foregoing.

[a] That is, *tortured him*. Instead of [ὑπολαβὼν, *undertaking*,] it must undoubtedly be [ὑποβαλὼν, *put him to*, or *made him undergo*,] as Sr *Henry Savil* had mended it at the Margin of *his Copy*. Nor did *Musculus* read otherwise, who has rendred this place thus: *quem ille publicè secundum leges torturæ subjicit, whom he makes to undergo torture in publick, agreeable to the Laws*. Where you see *Musculus* took the word δημοσίᾳ for *an adverb*, and is therein followed by *Christophorson*. For thus he renders it: *Præfectus palàm, uti leges postulant, de eo quæstionem exercere, The Præfect, as the Laws required, put him to the Question openly*. Notwithstanding, δημοσία may be taken *adjectively* in the same sense. I have observed a little before from *Amm. Marcellinus*, that the *Roman* Magistrates were wont to take Criminalls openly and in publick, and torture them; in regard they had their *Apparitors* always about them. Therefore, even whilest they rode in their Chariots, they put offenders *to the Question*, as *Marcellinus* relates concerning *Leontius*, and *Socrates* at this place concerning *Orestes*. Vales.

[b] The *Verb*, ἀπέσβεσε, *extinguished*, is in no wise agreeably used here. I had much rather make it ἀνέφλεξε, *rekindled*. For ἀνῆψε (which *Verb* Sr *Henry Savil* and the *Geneva Printers* have set in the margin from *Christophorson*'s Copy,) is not to be born with, in regard it signifies, *was kindled*, not, *was renewed*. I found here no alteration in the M.SS. Copies. *Nicephorus* has also followed the common reading. For, instead of ἀπέσβεσε, *extinguished*, he makes use of ἠμαύρωσε, *was obscured*, or, *obliterated*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Hypatia *the Philosophéress*.

[a] The incomparably Learned Sr *Henry Savil*, at the margin of *his Copy*, had made this remark, which we thought good to communicate to the studious Reader.

THere was a woman at *Alexandria*, by name *Hypatia*. She was daughter to [a] *Theon* the Philosopher. She had arrived to so eminent a degree of Learning, that she excelled [all] the Philosophers of her own times, and succeeded in [b] that *Platonick School* derived from *Plotinus*, and expounded all the precepts of Philosophy to those who would hear her. Wherefore, all persons who were studious about Philosophy, flockt to her from all parts. By reason of that eminent * Gracefullness and readiness of expression, wherewith she had accomplished her self by her Learning, she addressed frequently even to the Magistrates, with a singular modesty. Nor was she ashamed of appearing in a publick Assembly of men. For all persons revered and admired her, for her eximious modesty. Envy armed it self against this woman at that time. For, because she had frequent conferences with *Orestes*, for this reason a calumny was framed against her amongst the Christian populace, as if she hindred *Orestes* from coming to a reconciliation with the Bishop. Certain persons therefore of fierce and over hot minds, who were headed by one *Peter* a Reader, conspired against the woman, and observe her returning home from some place. And having pulled her out of her Chariot, they drag her to the Church named [c] *Cæsareum*. Where they stript her, and murdered her with Shells. And when they had torn her piece-meal, they carried all her members to a place called *Cinaron*, and consumed them with fire. This fact * brought no small [d] disgrace upon *Cyrillus* and the *Alexandrian* Church. For, murthers, fights, and things of that nature, are wholly forreign to the Embracers of *Christianity*. These things were done on the fourth year of *Cyrillus*'s Episcopate, in *Honorius*'s tenth and *Theodosius*'s [e] sixth Consulate, in the month of *March*, in *Lent*.

* Παῤῥησίαν; *confidence and freedome in speaking*.

[c] *Athanasius* mentions this Church, in *his Epistle ad Solitarios*, pag. 860. ὅτε ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ ἐν τῷ καισαρείῳ γενομένῃ θυσίας, καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα βλασφημίας, ὡς ἐξ ἐντολῆς αὐτῶν πεποιήκασιν Ἀρειανοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες; *have not the Arians and Pagans offered sacrifice in the Great Church, in the Cæsareum, and [performed] blasphemies against Christ, by his command as it were?* He means the Cow, which the Pagans would have offered in *the Great Church*, of which he had spoken before, at pag. 848. *Epiphanius* says a great deal concerning the same Church, in *Hæres. Arian. chap.* 2. 'Tis called *Basilica Cæsarea* in *Liberatus's Breviarium*, cap. 18. *Vales.*

* Or, *wrought no small disgrace to*, &c.

[d] 'Tis certain, that *Damascius* (in *the life of Isidorus the Philosopher*, which by Gods assistance I will ere long set forth larger by half, than it is) does make *Cyrillus* the Authour of *Hypatia*'s murder. *Damascius*'s words are these: ἤδη γοῦν ποτὲ σωέβη τὸν ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ αἵρεσιν κύριλλον, παρελθόντα διὰ τὸ οἶκον τῆς ὑπατίας, and so on, which occur in *Suidas*. 'Tis a most elegant passage, which in favour to the studious Reader, I will render into *English*, and annex it here, repeating *Damascius*'s words a little higher. *The Governours also of the City Alexandria, as soon as they came into that City, visited her in the first place. Which has been usually done at Athens also. For, though the thing it self be lost, yet the name of Philosophy seems as yet magnificent and venerable to persons who hold the principall place in the government of the publick. It happened therefore one time, that* Cyrillus *a Bishop of the Christian Religion, passing by* Hypatia*'s house, saw a great company before her door, both of men and horses; some of whom came, others went away, and others stayed. And when he had inquired what that multitude meant and why so great a tumult was made, he was answered by his followers, that they then saluted* Hypatia *the Philosophéress, and that that was her house. Which when* Cyrillus *had been acquainted with, he was so galled with envy, that he forthwith contrived her murder, and that in the most nefarious manner. For when* Hypatia *went out of her house as she was wont to do, many inhumane Ruffians, who fear neither the punishment of the Gods, nor the revenge of men, assault and kill her; defiling their own country with a most horrid crime and disgrace. The Emperour was highly incensed thereat, and had revenged it, had not* Ædesius *corrupted the Emperours friends. The Emperour pardoned the Assassines. But he drew the revenge upon his own head, and on his own family: For his Nephew underwent the punishment.* Thus far *Damascius*. Where by *Nephew* he means, as I suppose, *Valentinianus* the son of *Placidia*, who was *Aunt* to *Theodosius Junior*. Vales.

[e] Καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τὸ ἕκτον, *and Theodosius's Tenth*, &c. *Christophorson*

sided; as *Damascius* (in the *Life of Isidorus*, *pag.* 1038,) and *Æneas Gazæus* (*in Theophrasto*,) do inform us. But the *Succession* of this School is not to be deduced from *Plotinus*. For *Plotinus* never taught Philosophy at *Alexandria*. *Plotinus* was indeed instructed in Philosophy at *Alexandria*, by *Ammonius*; but he himself never kept a School there, but continued teaching at *Rome* for the space of twenty six years compleat, untill his death; as *Porphyrius* relates *in his Life*. Wherefore, instead of *Plotinus*, I would more willingly put *Ammonius* here. Unless we should say, that the *Alexandrian School* had associated *Plotinus* to themselves, as being the eminentest Master and Instructor of the *Platonick Philosophy*. By this means our *Socrates* may be excused. *Vales.*

phorſon has done ill to mend it thus, *Theodoſius's ſeventh Conſulate*; whoſe verſion led *Baronius* into a miſtake, as you may ſee at the year of Chriſt 415. From the incomparable *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M.SS. I have mended this place thus, *Theodoſius's ſixth Conſulate*; which emendation is confirmed by the *Faſti Conſulares*. Valeſ.

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CHAP. XVI.

That the Jews *entring upon another War againſt the* Chriſtians, *were puniſhed.*

SOme time after this, the *Jews* renued their abſurd and impious practiſes againſt the *Chriſtians*, and were puniſhed [again for them.] At a place named *Inneſtar*, which is ſcituate between *Chalcis* and *Antioch* of *Syria*, the *Jews* (as 'twas their uſage) exhibited ſome ſports. During their ſports they performed many mad actions, excited thereto by their drunkenneſs; and in their recreations reproach't not only the *Chriſtians*, but even *Chriſt* himſelf. And in deriſion to the Croſs, and to them who put their truſt in him that was crucified, they attempted this villanous fact. Having ſeized a *Chriſtian* boy, they bound him to a Croſs, and hung him up. At firſt they laughed at and jeered him. But becoming afterwards inraged, they ſcourged the boy till he died. For this reaſon there hapned a ſharp conflict betwixt them and the *Chriſtians*. And after the Emperours were acquainted with this fact, an Order was iſſued out to the Governours of the Province, to find out and puniſh the Authours thereof. Thus the *Jews*, who inhabited that place, were puniſhed for the wickedneſs they had committed in their ſports.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Paulus *Biſhop of the* Novatianiſts, *and concerning the Miracle done by him, when he was about to have baptized a* Jewiſh *Impoſtour.*

AT the ſame time, *Chryſanthus* alſo Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts*, having preſided ſeaven years over the Churches * of his own Sect, ended his life in the Conſulate of *Monaxius* and *Plintha*, on the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt*. He was ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick by *Paulus*: who before had been a Teacher of *Roman* Eloquence: but afterwards bad adieu to the *Roman* tongue, and betook himſelf to an *Aſcetick* courſe of life. And having gathered together a Monaſtery of Religious men, he followed a way of living not unlike that led by the Monks in the deſart. For I found him to be really ſuch a perſon, as *Evagrius* ſays the Monks who live in the Solitudes ought to be. For he imitated them exactly in all things, in continued faſts, in ſpeaking little, and in abſtaining from eating creatures that have life. Moreover, for the moſt part he abſtained from oyl and wine. Beſides, his care and ſolicitude about the poor was eminent and extraordinary. He was very diligent in his viſits to the impriſoned; he interceded likewiſe for many perſons with the Judges, who readily hearkned to him on account of his eminent piety. What need I be large in my relation concerning him? I will mention one action of his, highly worthy to be recorded in writing. A *Jewiſh* Impoſtour pretending himſelf converted to the Chriſtian Religion, had been frequently baptized, and by that device had gathered much money.

* Or, *under him.*

When he had deceived many Sects [of the *Chriſtians*] by this fraud: (for he had receved baptiſm from the *Arians* and *Macedonians*:) having no more perſons whom he might put tricks upon, at length he came to *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts*: and affirming that he earneſtly deſired Baptiſm, requeſted he might obtain it from his hand. He approved of the *Jews* deſire: but ſaid he would not give him Baptiſm, before he had been inſtructed in the grounds and principles of the Faith, and had exerciſed himſelf with faſtings ſeverall days. The *Jew* therefore having contrary to his own mind, been compelled to faſt, was ſo much the more urgent in his intreaties for Baptiſm. Wherefore *Paulus*, becauſe he would not offend him, now grown importunate, by any longer delays, makes proviſion for his Baptiſm. And having bought him a white veſtment, and ordered the * Font to be filled with water, he brought the *Jew* to it with a deſign to Baptize him. But † an inviſible act of divine power cauſed the water to vaniſh [on a ſudden.] In regard the Biſhop and thoſe that were preſent, (having not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch thing as had happened,) ſuppoſed the water to have run out by the paſſage underneath, whereby it was uſually let out; they filled the Font again, having with great accuracy ſtopt up its paſſages every where. And when the *Jew* was brought the ſecond time to the Font, all the water diſappeared again. Then *Paulus* ſpake theſe words: *either you are an Impoſtour, O man, or elſe, being ignorant, you have been baptized already.* A great multitude of people therefore running together to ſee this Miracle, one of them knew the *Jew*, and was certain that it was the ſame perſon who had been baptized before by *Atticus* the Biſhop. This Miracle was performed by the hands of [*Paulus*] Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts*.

* Or, *the belly of the Font.*

† Or, *a certain inviſible power of God.*

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CHAP. XVIII.

How, after the death of Iſdigerdes *the* Perſian *King, the League between the* Romans *and* Perſians *was broken, and a bloudy War hapned, wherein the* Perſians *were worſted.*

AFter the death of *Iſdigerdes* King of *Perſia*, by whom the *Chriſtians* in that country were not perſecuted in the leaſt, his Son by name *Vararanes* ſucceeded in that Kingdom; and being induced thereto by the *Magi*, he vexed the *Chriſtians* ſeverely, inflicting on them various puniſhments and *Perſian* tortures. The *Chriſtians* therefore in *Perſia*, conſtrained thereto by neceſſity, flie to the *Romans*, entreating them not to neglect and ſee them wholly deſtroyed. *Atticus* the Biſhop receives the ſuppliants kindly; and made it his buſineſs to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power. Likewiſe, he acquainted the Emperour *Theodoſius* with what had hapned. It fell out at the very ſame time, that the *Romans* were offended with the *Perſians* upon another account: becauſe the *Perſians* would not reſtore the Miners of Gold, whom they had hired of the *Romans*; and in regard they had deprived the *Roman* Merchants of their * effects. To this occaſion of difference, the flight of the *Chriſtians* in *Perſia* to the *Romans* made an acceſſion. For the *Perſian* King diſpatch't away an Embaſſie immediately, to demand the Fugatives. But the *Romans* would in

* Or, *Wares*, or, *Merchandizes.*

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no wiſe deliver up thoſe who had fled to them, not only becauſe they were deſirous of preſerving them as being ſuppliants, but in regard likewiſe of their readineſs to do any thing in defence of the *Chriſtian* Religion. Wherefore they choſe rather to have a war with the *Perſians*, than permit the *Chriſtians* to be miſerably deſtroyed. Hereupon the League was broken, and a fierce War broke out, concerning which I judge it not inopportune to give a ſhort narrative. The *Roman* Emperour ſent part of an Army firſt, which was commanded by *Ardaburius*. He made an irruption into *Perſia* through *Armenia*, and ruined one of the *Perſian* Provinces termed *Azazene*. *Narſæus* the *Perſian* King's Generall marched out to oppoſe him, at the head of a great *Perſian* Army. And coming to an Engagement, was worſted, and fled. [Afterwards] he judged it advantagious to make a ſudden irruption through *Meſopotamia* into the *Roman* territories being unguarded, [thinking] by this means to be revenged on the *Romans*. But this deſign of *Narſæus*'s was not unknown to the Generall of the *Romans*. Having therefore in a ſhort time laid *Azazene* deſolate, he likewiſe marched into *Meſopotamia*. Wherefore *Narſæus* (notwithſtanding he was furniſhed with a numerous army, yet) could not invade the *Roman* Provinces. But, coming to *Niſibis*, (which is a City ſcituate in the confines [of both Empires,] and belongs to the *Perſians*,) he ſent a meſſage from thence to *Ardaburius*, deſiring they might come to an agreement between themſelves about the management of the War, and that a place and day for an Engagement might be ſet. *Ardaburius*, gave the meſſengers this anſwer: *Tell Narſæus* [*thus*,] *the Roman Emperours will not fight when you have a mind they ſhould.* Moreover, the * Emperour perceiving that the *Perſian* muſtered up the whole force of his Kingdom for the carrying on of this war, placed all his hopes of Victory in God, and beſides ſent vaſt ſupplies of Forces. Now, that the Emperour (in regard he put his whole confidence in God,) received benefit from him immediately, 'twas from hence evident. The *Conſtantinopolitans* being very anxious, and doubtfull about the event of the war, the Angells of God appeared in *Bithynia* to ſome perſons going to *Conſtantinople* about their private concerns, and bad them tell [the *Conſtantinopolitans*,] that they ſhould be of good courage, and pray to God, and be confident that the *Romans* would be Conquerours. For they ſaid, that they themſelves were ſent from God to be the managers of the War. At the hearing hereof, the City was not only encouraged, but the Souldiers alſo became more bold and valiant. Whereas therefore (as I have ſaid,) the war had been removed from *Armenia* into *Meſopotamia*, the *Romans* ſhut up the *Perſians* in the City *Niſibis*, to which thy laid ſiege. And having made wooden Towers, which moved upon Engines, they brought them to the walls, wherewith they killed many of thoſe who fought from the walls, and [of them] who ran to their aſſiſtance. *Vararanes* King of *Perſia* hearing that his Country *Azazene* was laid deſolate, and his Army beſieged within the City *Niſibis*, reſolved to go in perſon with all his forces againſt the *Romans*. But, being afraid of the *Roman* Army, he called the *Saracens* to his aſſiſtance, who were then governed by *Alamundarus*, a valiant and warlike man. He brought a numerous multitude of *Saracens* with him, and ſpake to the King of *Perſia* to be confident and couragious, he likewiſe promiſed, that he would quickly make the *Romans* his priſoners, and deliver *Antioch* in *Syria* to him. But the event ſucceeded not according to his promiſe. For God poſſeſt the *Saracens* with a vain and irrationall terrour. Who ſuppoſing the *Roman* Forces to be falling upon them, became terrified, and not finding how they might make their eſcape, caſt themſelves armed as they were into the River *Euphrates*, wherein about an hundred thouſand men were drowned. Theſe things fell out after this manner. But the *Romans* who laid ſiege to *Niſibis*, being informed that the King of *Perſia* was bringing many Elephants along with him were terrified, and having burnt all their Engines which they had made uſe of in the ſiege, [a] retreated into their own Country. But, what engagements hapned afterwards; and how *Arſobindus*, another *Roman* Generall, killed the valianteſt perſon amongſt the *Perſians* in a ſingle duell; and how *Ardaburius* deſtroyed ſeven valiant *Perſian* Commanders in an *Ambuſcade*; or after what manner [b] *Vitianus* another *Roman* Generall vanquiſhed the Remains of the *Saracen*-forces, I think fit to omit, leaſt I ſhould ſeem to digreſs too far from my Subject.

* *Theodoſius.*

[a] We read ὑπεχώρησαν; not ἐπεχώρησαν. *Valeſ.*

[b] In the *Tripartite Hiſtory* which *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* rendred into *Latine*, this *Roman* Commander is termed *Beatianus*. Which name I like beſt. This Victory of the *Romans* over the *Perſians* hapned in the Conſulate of *Euſtathius* and *Agricola*, on the year of *Chriſt* 401, as *Marcellinus* informs us in *his Chronicon*; the Authour of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* ſays the ſame; who relates, that the Emperour *Theodoſius* had news of that Victory, in the month *Gorpieus*, on the *eighth of the Ides of September*, on the *third Feria*. This was the *fourteenth* year of *Theodoſius Junior*'s Reign. Wherefore *Theophanes* is miſtaken in *his Chronicle*, who places this Victory of the *Romans* over the *Perſians* on the eighteenth year of *Theodoſius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Palladius *the* Courier.

MOreover, the Emperour *Theodoſius* was in a very ſhort time acquainted with the Actions [of his Forces.] After what manner the Emperour had ſo ſudden an account of what was done in places at ſo great a diſtance, I will relate. It was his good fortune to have a * ſervant of a vigorous mind and ſtrong body, his name was *Palladius*. This perſon could ride on horſe-back at ſuch a rate, that in three days ſpace he could go to thoſe places which are the boundaries of the *Roman* and *Perſian* Territories, and again in as many days return to *Conſtantinople*. The ſame man paſſed through all other parts of the world with an incredible ſwiftneſs, whitherſoever the Emperour ſent him. Wherefore, an eloquent perſon uttered this ſaying on a time concerning him: *This man by his ſwiftneſs makes the* Roman *Empire, which in it ſelf is large, ſeem to be little.* Moreover, the King of the *Perſians* was amazed, when he heard theſe things of this man. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning *Palladius*.

* Or, *man.*

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CHAP. XX.

How the Persians *had another severe overthrow given them by the* Romans.

THe *Roman* Emperour residing at *Constantinople*, and being informed of a Victory apparently given him [a] by God, was so good, that although his Forces had managed the War very fortunately, nevertheless he embraced a Peace. He sends *Helion* therefore (a person whom he had a mighty esteem for) with Orders to make up a Peace with the *Persians*. *Helion* arriving in *Mesopotamia*, [at that place] where the *Romans* had made a great Ditch for their own security, sends one *Maximinus* (an eloquent person, who was [b] *Assessour* to *Ardaburius* the General,) Embassador about a Peace. When this person was come to the *Persian* King, he acquaints him with his being sent about a Peace, not from the *Roman* Emperours, (for he affirmed that the Emperour as yet was wholly ignorant of that War: and when he knew of it, he would look upon it as contemptible:) but from his chief Commanders. When the *Persian* King was resolved readily to embrace the Embassy: (for his Army was in great distress, by reason it wanted provisions;) those Souldiers, who amongst the *Persians* are termed *The Immortalls*, (their number is ten thousand [and they are] valiant men,) came to the Emperour, and said, that a Peace was not to be admitted of, before [c] they had made an attack upon the *Romans*, then careless and negligent. The King is perswaded by them; shuts up the Embassadour in prison; and sends *The Immortalls* to put their design upon the *Romans* in execution. Being come [to the place appointed,] they divided themselves into two parties, and took a resolution of surrounding part of the *Roman* Army. The *Romans* seeing but one party of the *Persians*, made provision to receive their attack. The other party was not seen by them. For they rush't forth to fight on a suddain. But when the Engagement was just beginning, the *Roman* Army under the command of [d] *Procopius Master of the Milice* (divine providence so ordering the matter,) appears from an eminence. *Procopius* seeing his Fellow-Souldiers in danger, attacks the *Persians* in the Rear; and so they who a little before had surrounded the *Romans*, were themselves encompassed. After the *Romans* had in a short time slain every man of these, they set upon those who issued forth upon them from the *Ambuscade*, every man of whom likewise they dispatch with their Darts. Thus, those termed *The Immortalls* amongst the *Persians*, were all of them manifestly proved to be Mortalls; Christ inflicting this punishment upon the *Persians*, because they had murdered many pious persons that were his worshippers. The *Persian* King, informed of this overthrow, pretended himself wholly ignorant of the Action: and having given admission to the Embassy, he spake to the Embassadour in this manner: *We embrace a Peace, not that We yield to the* Romans: *but We* [*do it to*] *gratifie You, because We have found You to be the prudentest person of all the* Romans. [e] Thus the War which had been undertaken upon the account of those *Christians* who lived in *Persia*, was concluded. Which thing hapned in the Consulate of the *Two Augusti*, *Honorius* being the thirteenth and *Theodosius* the tenth time Consul, on the fourth year of the three hundredth *Olympiad*. The persecution [which had been raised] against the *Christians* in *Persia*, ceased at the same time also.

a The *Florentine* M.S. inserts two words here, altogether necessary, after this manner: τῷ ἐναργῶς [ἐκ Θεοῦ] ᾠδαχθεῖσαν νίκην, *a victory apparently given him* [*by God.*] Which words (before I had gotten *that Manuscript*,) I had put in at this place, from *Nicephorus*, and *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

b ἀξδαβουρίου συνεδρεύσαντος. *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, *Ardaburius the Commanders Colleague*. *Musculus* has translated it better, *Assessour*. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* renders it *Councellour*, which is the same. Concerning the *Councellours* or *Assessours* of Judges, as well *Civill* as *Military*, I have made many remarks in *my notes on Amm. Marcellinus*; which 'tis unnecessary to repeat here. Further, this *Maximinus* seems to be the same person, who was afterwards sent Embassador by the Emperour *Theodosius* to *Attalas*; as *Priscus* relates in *his Excerpta Legationum*: where he attests, that he was nobly descended, and had been very usefull to the Emperour in many affairs. *Vales.*

c Instead of [αὐτοῖς] it must undoubtedly be [αὐτοὶ, *they.*] that is, *the Immortalls*: So *Christophorson* and Sr *Henry Savil* read. *Vales.*

d *Sidonius* makes mention of this *Procopius*, in *his Panegyrick* of *Anthemius Augustus*; where he relates, that he was son-in-law to *Anthemius* heretofore Consul and *Præfectus Prætorio*; who during *Theodosius Junior*'s minority, had had the chief management of affairs in the Empire. *Vales.*

e I doubt not but this place is thus to be restored: ἔτῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐν Περσίδι χειρισάντες γλώσσῃ, ὁ πόλεμος καλεσάλη· ὃ γέγονεν ἐν ὑπατείᾳ δύο αὐγούστων, *Thus the war which had been undertaken upon the account of those Christians who lived in* Persia, *was concluded. Which thing* [that is, which conclusion of the war] *hapned in the Consulate of the two Augusti.* So *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Et hoc modo bellum propter Christianos exortum de Parthorum regione cessavit. Contigit autem Consulatu* Honorii XIII. *&* Theodosii X. 'Tis certain, in this Consulate the *Persian* war was not waged, but concluded. For it had been begun on the foregoing year, when *Eustathius* and *Agricola* were Consuls, as I have remarked before; see chap. 18, note *(b.)* This is confirmed by *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*, in these words: Honorio XIII. *&* Theodosio X. *Coss. Persæ cum* Romanis *pacem pepigere, in* Honorius's *thirteenth and* Theodosius's *tenth Consulate, the* Persians *made a Peace with the* Romans. Vales.

CHAP. XXI.

After what manner Acacius *Bishop of* Amida, *behaved himself towards the* Persian *captives.*

MOreover, the good action of *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida*, rendred him much more eminent at that time amongst all men [than he had been before.] For, when the *Roman* Souldiers would by no means restore the *Persian* Captives (whom they had taken when they ruined [a] *Azazene*,) to the King of *Persia*; and the Captives, in number about seaven thousand, were in the interim destroyed by famine; (which thing was the occasion of no small grief to the King of *Persia*) *Acacius* thought that business was in no wise to be then neglected. [b] Having [therefore] called together the Clergy under himself: *Men* [*and Brethren,*] said he, *Our God stands not in need of Dishes or Cups. For he neither eats, nor drinks, in regard he wants nothing. Whereas therefore the Church is possest of many vessells of gold and silver by the beneficence and liberality of those who belong to it, 'tis agreeable that by a sale of these vessells we should both* [c] *redeem the Captives from the Souldiers, and also provide them food.*

a So he has termed this Province before, at chap. 18. *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, calls it *Arxanes*, or *Arzanes*; for so 'tis in some copies. One of the five Provinces beyond *Tigris* was called *Arzanene*, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests, book 25. which is sometimes termed *Arxanene*, and *Araxiane*, and *Araxene*, as I have remarked at the *forestid book of Amm. Marcellinus.* Vales.

b Instead of [συσκαλέσας δὲ τοὺ ὑφ' αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς ἀνδρας, ἔφη. *But having called together the Clergymen under himself, he said,*] this place would be written more elegantly, thus [συσκαλέσας τοὺ ὑφ' αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς· ἄνδρες, ἔφη, &c. *Having* [*therefore*] *called together the Clergy under himself: Men* [*and Brethren*] *said he, &c.*] And so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. Our emendation is plainly confirmed also by *Nicephorus.* Vales.

c Ῥύσασθαι δὲ τοὺς τῶν αἰχμαλώτους. *Christophorson* renders it ill, *to redeem the Captive Souldiers*: for those who had been taken prisoners by the *Romans* in *Arzanene*, were *unarmed*; most of them

them being Boors, who inhabited that Country. Besides, the *Romans* are termed *Souldiers* by way of *Emphasis*, to distinguish them from the *Barbarians*, as I have noted at *Amm. Marcellinus*. So our *Socrates* calls the *Romans*, *Souldiers*, almost in the next words after these. *Vales.*

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Having discourst of these and many other such like things as these to them, he ordered the vessells to be melted down, and having paid the Souldiers a ransom for the Captives, and fed the Captives [for some time,] he afterwards gave them money to bear their charges, and sent them home to their King. This action of the admirable *Acacius* highly astonished the King of *Persia*, because the *Romans* made it their business to conquer their Enemies both ways, as well by War, as by Beneficence. And 'tis said, that the *Persian* King was very desirous that *Acacius* should come into his presence, to the end he might enjoy a sight of the man; and that that was effected by the Emperour *Theodosius*'s order. When therefore God had given so eminent a Victory to the *Romans*, many persons who excelled for their eloquence, wrote * *Panegyricks* in praise of the Emperour, and recited them in publick. Moreover, the Emperour's Wife wrote a Poem in *Heroick* Verse: for she was a woman of a great eloquence. For, being the daughter of [d] *Leontius* the *Athenian-Sophist*, she had been instructed by her Father, and cultivated with all manner of Literature. When the Emperour was about marrying of this woman, *Atticus* the Bishop made her a *Christian*, and at her Baptism, instead of *Athanaïs*, named her *Eudocia*. Many persons therefore, as I have said, recited *Panegyricks*; some with a design to make themselves taken notice of by the Emperour; others endeavouring to publish the powerfullness of their own eloquence; being altogether unwilling, that that Learning they had gotten by much labour, should lie concealed.

* Or, *Panegyrical Orations.*

[d] This is the *Leontius* (if I mistake not,) whom *Olympiodorus* relates by his own care and industry to have been promoted to the *Sophistick* Chair at *Athens*; whenas he himself as yet declined it; as *Photius* declares in *his Bibliotheca*. Vales.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the excellencies, wherewith the Emperour Theodosius Junior *was endowed.*

But I, who am neither studious about being taken notice of by the Emperour, nor desirous of making a shew of eloquence, have taken a resolution of setting forth those excellencies wherewith the Emperour is endowed, sincerely and without any Rhetoricall flourishes. For, in regard his virtues are so singularly usefull, my Sentiment is, that to pass them over in silence would be a loss to posterity, which would be defrauded of the knowledge thereof. In the first place therefore, although he was born and educated in the * Imperiall Pallace, yet he contracted nothing of an effeminacy or stupidity from that education. But was [always] so prudent, as to be reputed by those who addressed to him, to have attained a knowledge and experience in most affairs. His patience in undergoing hardships was such, that he could endure heat and cold couragiously; and would fast frequently, especially on those days termed *Wednesdaies* and *Fridaies*. And this he did, out of an earnest endeavour of observing the Rites of the *Christian* Religion with an accuracy. He governed his Pallace so, that it differed not much from a monasterie. Wherefore he, [a] together with his sisters, rose early in the morning, and recited *alternative Hymns* in praise of God. Moreover, he could say the sacred Scriptures by heart. And with the Bishops who conferred with him, he discourst out of the Scriptures, as if he had been an *Ecclesiastick* of a long standing. He was much more diligent in making a Collection of the sacred Books, and of the Expositions which had been written thereon, than *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* had been heretofore. For clemency and humanity he excelled all men by far. The Emperour *Julianus*, although he was a profest philosopher, yet could not moderate his rage and anger towards the *Antiochians* who had * derided him; but inflicted most acute tortures upon † *Theodorus*. But *Theodosius* bad farwell to *Aristotle*'s *Syllogismes*, and exercised Philosophy in deeds, getting the mastery over Anger, Grief, and Pleasure. He never revenged himself upon any one who had been injurious to him. Yea, no man ever saw him angry. Being on a time asked by one with whom he was pleased to be familiar, why he never put to death any person who had injured him? his answer was, *Would to God it were possible for me to restore to life those that are dead!* To another questioning him about the same thing, [b] *'Tis no great or difficult thing* (said he) *for him that is a man, to die: but 'tis Gods property only by repentance to restore to life him that is once dead.* Further, his Practise of this Virtue was so constant and earnest, that if any person had happened to commit a crime which deserved a capitall punishment, he was never led so far as the City-gates onwards on his way to the place of execution, before a pardon was granted, whereby he was immediately recalled. When on a time he exhibited a *Show of hunting wild beasts in the Amphitheatre* at *Constantinople*, the people cried out, *Let one of the boldest* [c] Bestiarii *encounter the enraged wild beast.*

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[a] Instead of [ἀυτὸς τοιγαρῶν σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῆ ἀδελφαῖς] it must be [ἀυτὸς τοιγαρῶν σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτὸς ἀδελφαῖς, *wherefore he, together with his sisters*;] as *Nicephorus* expresses it book 14. chap. 3. The mistake arose from hence, because these particles ῆν and σὺν are usually confounded one with the other by Transcribers. *Vales.*

* See *Socrat.* book 3. chap. 17.

† Book 3. chap. 19.

[b] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has rendred this whole place thus: *Non est inquit, magnum neque difficile hominem mori, quia neque Deo soli, semel mortuum ex pœnitentiâ suscitare. It is not, saith he, a great nor difficult thing for a man to die, because neither* [*is it a great or difficult thing*] *to God alone, by repentance to raise a man once dead.* For you must understand [*is it a great or difficult thing*] to be used *in common* to both clauses. *Nicephorus Callistus* has worded this passage thus: ἄλλο, εἶπε, καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν. Θεῷ δὲ ἀνεῖη μόνῳ, τὸν ἅπαξ θανόντα τῇ μεταμοίᾳ ἀναπαλέσασθαι. Which words *Langus* has rendred thus: *Nihil est novi, dixit, siquis homo quum sit, è vitâ excedat: unius autem Dei esse, cum qui semel mortuus sit, per pœnitentiam ad uitam revocare. It is no new thing, said he, that he who is a man should depart out of this life: but 'tis God's property only, by Repentance to recall to life him who is once dead.* But I like not *Nicephorus*'s using τῇ μεταμοίᾳ instead of ἐν μεταμοίᾳ. For, the discourse here is not concerning *the life of the soul*, but *that of the body*. Wherefore, I approve rather of *Musculus*'s Version, who has rendred it thus: *ex pœnitentiâ verò revocare eum qui semel mortuus est, non est nisi soli Deo possibile. But by repentance to recall him who is once dead, is a thing possible only to God.* Notwithstanding this Version pleased not *Christophorson*, because it may seem to attribute repentance to God. But this expression may be born with, in regard God in the sacred Scriptures is now and then said *to repent himself* of some fact. *Vales.*

[c] *Scaliger* in *his notes on the fourth book of Manilius*, and (after him) *Salmasius* in *his notes on Capitolinus*, pag. 258, have long since observed, that the *Greeks* called those θηριόλας (which is the term here used,) *who let themselves out to fight with wild beasts*. But I approve not of their confounding the *Confectores* with these θηριόλους. For the *Confectores* were another sort of persons, as I have remarked on *Eusebius*, (book 4. chap. 15. note *n.*) *who fought not with the wild beasts*, but *dispatcht them at a distance*. Vales. See *Eusebius Pamphilius's book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, chap. 5. note *(b.)*

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To whom he gave this answer, *You know not, that We are wont to be spectatours at Shows with clemency and humanity.* With which saying he instructed the people, to be in future delighted with Shows wherein there was less of cruelty. Further, his piety was such, that he honoured all God's Priests; but most especially those whom he knew to be more eminent for sanctity of life. 'Tis reported, that when the Bishop of [d] *Chebron* had ended his life at *Constantinople*, he desired to have his * *Hair-cloth-Cassock*, which (although it was very foul and nasty) he wore instead of a Cloak, believing he should thereby partake something of the dead Bishop's sanctity. There hapning tempestuous weather one year, he was forced to exhibit the usuall and set Shows in the *Cirque*, in regard the people were extreamly earnest for them. But when the *Cirque* was filled with Spectatours, the Storm increased, and there was a vast fall of Snow; at which time the Emperour gave an evident demonstration, how he was affected towards God; [for] he made proclamation by the Cryer to the people, in these words: *'Tis much better, that we should omit the Show, and all joyn in prayer to God, that we may be preserved unhurt from the imminent Storm.* The Cryer had scarce made an end of proclaiming these words, when all the people began to supplicate God in the *Cirque* with the greatest joy immaginable, and with a generall consent sang Hymns to him. And the whole City became one congregation. The Emperour himself went in the midst [of the multitude] in a private habit, and began the Hymns: nor was he frustrated of his hope [at that time.] For the air returned to its former serenity; and instead of a scarcity of bread-corn, the divine benevolence bestowed a plentifull crop upon all persons. If at any time a War was raised, in imitation of *David*, he fled to God, knowing him to be the disposer of Wars; and by his prayers he managed them successfully. I will here relate therefore, how, a little after the *Persian* War, (when the Emperour *Honorius* was dead, in the Consulate of *Asclepiodotus* and *Marianus*, [e] on the fifteenth of the month *August*,) by putting his confidence in God, he vanquished the Tyrant *Johannes*. For, 'tis my Sentiment, that the Actions which hapned at that time, are worthy to be recorded: because, what befell the *Hebrews* (who were led by *Moses*) in their passage over the red Sea, the same [almost] hapned to the Emperour's Commanders, at such time as he sent them against that Tyrant. Which Actions I will relate in short, leaving the ampleness of them, which does require a peculiar work, [to be set forth at large] by others.

[d] This City, and the name of this Bishop, are equally unknown to me. *Vales.*

* Σαγίον; all Translatours (whom I have seen) except *Valesius*, render it *his Sack-cloth*; the Greek term comprehends both significations.

[e] *Theophanes*, in *his Chronicon*, says the same. But *Olympiodorus* dissents; who says *Honorius* died on *the twenty seventh of August.* Vales.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Johannes, *who Tyrannized at* Rome, *after* Honorius *the Emperour's death. And how God* * *mollified, by* Theodosius's *prayers, delivered him into the hands of the* Roman *Army.*

* Or, *bowed*, or, *inclined.*

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HOnorius *Augustus* therefore being dead, the Emperour *Theodosius* informed thereof, conceals it, and deceives the populace [by feigning] sometimes one thing, at others another. But he sends his Military Forces secretly to *Salona*; which is a City of *Dalmatia*; to the end that if any * Rebellion should happen in the Western parts, a force to resist it might not be far off. Having made provision after this manner before hand, he then published the death of his † Uncle. But in the interim, [a] *Johannes* the chief of the Emperour's *Notaries*, unable to bear the || greatness of his own preferment, seizes the Empire, and sends an Embassage to the Emperour *Theodosius*, requiring to be admitted Colleague in the Empire. *Theodosius* imprisoned his Embassadours; and dispatches away *Ardaburius*, *Master of the Milice*, who had done excellent service in the *Persian* War. He being arrived at *Salona*, sailed from thence to *Aquileia*; and had ill success as he then thought; (but 'twas afterwards demonstrated to be prosperous.) For, an unlucky wind blew, which drove him into the Tyrant's hands. Who having taken *Ardaburius*, hoped *Theodosius* would be necessitated to Elect and Proclaim him Emperour, if he were desirous of preserving the life of his *Master of the Milice*. And the Emperour, when informed hereof, was really in an Agony, as was also the Army which had been sent against the Tyrant, least *Ardaburius* should suffer any mischief from the Tyrant. Moreover, *Aspar*, *Ardaburius*'s Son, when he understood that his Father was taken by the Tyrant, and knew that many *Myriads* of *Barbarians* were come to the Tyrant's assistance, knew not what course to take. But, the prayer of the Emperour, beloved by God, at that time prevailed again. For an Angel of God in the habit of a Shepherd, became a guide to *Aspar* and the forces with him, and leads them through the Lake which lies near to *Ravenna*. For in that City the Tyrant resided, where he detained the * *Master of the Milice* Prisoner. No person was ever known to have passed through this Lake. But God rendred that passable at that time, which before had been impassable. [b] When therefore they had passed the waters of the Lake [as if it had been] over dry ground, they found the gates of the City open, and seized the Tyrant. At which time the most pious Emperour gave a demonstration of his Religious affection towards God. For whilest he was exhibiting the *Cirque-Sports*, news was brought him that the Tyrant was destroyed. Whereupon he speaks to the people: *Come*, said he, *if you please, let us rather leave our Recreation, and go into the Church, and put up our thanksgivings to God, in regard his hand hath destroyed the Tyrant.* These were his words; and the Shows ceased immediately, and were neglected: and all persons went through the midst of the *Cirque*, singing praises together with him with one consent of mind and voice, and went into God's Church. And the whole City became one congregation. Being come into the place of prayer, they continued there all day.

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* Or, *Innovation.*

† That is, *Honorius.*

[a] This is the *Johannes*, *Primicerius* [or, *Chief*] of the *Notaries*, who when *Rome* was besieged, had been sent Embassadour to *Alaricbus* King of the *Goths*, whose Friend and Guest he had been, as *Zosimus* relates, book 5. *Vales.*

|| Or, *Fortunateness.*

* That is, *Ardaburius.*

[b] Instead of [διαβάντες δὲ διὰ ξηρᾶς τὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ, *but having passed the water of the Lake through dry ground*] the reading in the *Florent.* M. S. is [διαβάντες γὰρ, &c. *when therefore they had passed*, &c.] but, in my judgment, another particle is to be added, after this manner διαβάντες γὰρ ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς, &c. *When therefore they had passed the waters of the Lake as if it had been over dry ground.* Vales.

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CHAP. XXIV.

That, after the ſlaughter of Johannes *the Tyrant,* Theodoſius *the Emperour proclaimed* Valentinianus *(the Son of* Conſtantius, *and of his Aunt* Placidia,*) Emperour of* Rome.

MOreover, after the Tyrant's death, the Emperour *Theodoſius* [a] became very ſolicitous, whom he ſhould proclaim Emperour of the Weſtern parts. He had a Coſin-German very young, by name *Valentinianus*, the Son of his Aunt *Placidia*. She was daughter to the Emperour *Theodoſius The Great*; and Siſter to the two *Auguſti*, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Valentinianus* had a Father, by name *Conſtantius*, who having been proclaimed Emperour by *Honorius*, and reigned with him a ſhort time, died ſoon after. This Coſin-German of his he created *Cæſar*, and ſent him into the Weſtern parts, committing the chief management of affairs to his mother *Placidia*. Moreover, *Theodoſius* himſelf haſtned into *Italy*, that he might both proclaim his Coſin-German Emperour, and alſo (by being preſent there himſelf) inſtruct the *Italians* by his own prudent advice, not eaſily to yield ſubjection to Tyrants. Being gone as far as *Theſſalonica*, he was hindred from proceeding on his journey by a ſickneſs. Having therefore ſent the Imperiall Diadem to his Coſin-German, by *Helion* a perſon of the *Senatorian Order*, he himſelf returned to the City *Conſtantinople*. But, I think this Narrative which I have given concerning theſe tranſactions, to be ſufficient.

[a] The emendation of this place is owing to the *Florentine* M. S. wherein, inſtead of [ξυμφερων τις ην, *was a prudent perſon,*] 'tis plainly written thus [ξυμφερηλις ην, *became very ſolicitous.*] *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Atticus's *Government of the Churches; and that he ordered* Johannes's *name to be written into the* Dypticks *of the Church; and that he foreknew his own death.*

[IN the interim] *Atticus* the Biſhop in a wonderfull manner enlarged the affairs of the Church; adminiſtring all things with a ſingular prudence, and by his Sermons inciting the people to Virtue. Perceiving that the Church was divided, in regard the * *Johannitæ* held † ſeparate Aſſemblies, he ordered, that mention ſhould be made of *Johannes* in the prayers, according as it was uſuall for other Biſhops, who were dead to be mentioned; on which account he hoped many would return to the Church. Moreover, he was ſo liberall, that he made proviſion not only for the poor of his own Churches, but ſent money alſo to the neighbouring Cities towards the relief and comfort of the neceſſitous. For he ſent three hundred Crowns to *Calliopius* a Presbyter of the Church of *Nicæa*, to whom he wrote this Letter.

* See book 6. chap. 18.
† Or, *aſſemblies without the Church.*

Atticus to *Calliopius*, health in the Lord.

I underſtand, that in your City there are an infinite company of perſons oppreſſed with hunger, who ſtand in need of the compaſſion of pious men. By terming them an infinite company, *I mean* a multitude, *not an accurate and determinate number. In regard therefore I have received a ſum of money from him who with a liberall hand giveth to good Stewards, and* [whereas] *it happens that ſome are oppreſſed with want, to the end that thoſe who have wherewithall might be tried, but do not give to the indigent; take (dear friend!) theſe three hundred Crowns, and beſtow them as you ſhall think good. But give them to thoſe who are wholly aſhamed to beg, not to them that throughout their whole lives have declared their belly to be their trade. Moreover, when you give, have no reſpect to any Sect or Religion whatever in this particular act; mind this one thing only, to feed the hungry, but not to difference or diſtinguiſh thoſe who embrace not our Religion.*

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After this manner *Atticus* took care even of the indigent that were at a diſtance from him [a]. Moreover, he made it his buſineſs to extirpate the ſuperſtitions of ſome men. For having one time received information, that thoſe who ſeparated from the *Novatianiſts* on account of the Jewiſh paſſover, had tranſlated the body of *Sabbatius* from *Rodes*, (for he had been baniſhed into that Iſland, where he ended his life) and buried it, and did uſually pray at his grave: he ſent ſome perſons by night, to whom he gave order to [dig up] *Sabbatius*'s body, and * bury it in ſome other Sepulchre. But the perſons who uſually went thither, when they found the grave dug up, in future left off worſhipping † that place. Beſides, he was very elegant and happy in impoſing names [upon places.] A ‖ Sea-Port ſituate in the mouth of the *Euxine-Sea* (which had antiently been called * *Pharmaceus*, he named † *Therapeia*, leaſt at his holding religious aſſemblies there, he ſhould call that place by an infamous name. Another place near adjacent to *Conſtantinople* he named ‖ *Argyropolis*, for this reaſon. * *Chryſopolis* is an ancient Sea-Port ſituate in the head of the *Boſphorus*: many of the ancient Writers make mention of it, eſpecially *Strabo*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and the admirably eloquent *Xenophon in his ſixth Book concerning the expedition of* Cyrus; *and the ſame Authour in his firſt Book concerning the Grecian affairs*, ſpeaks to this effect concerning this City, [*viz.*] that *Alcibiades*, when he had built a wall round it, ſet up a *Toll* therein *which conſiſted of a payment of the tenth peny*. For thoſe who ſail out of *Pontus* were compelled to pay *the tenth peny* there. *Atticus* therefore perceiving this place, which was ſituate over againſt *Chryſopolis*, to be pleaſant and delightfull, ſaid it was fit and agreeable it ſhould be termed *Argyropolis*. Which ſaying of his † put that name upon the place immediately. When ſome perſons ſpoke to him, that the *Novatianiſts* ought not to hold their aſſemblies within the Cities; his anſwer was, *you know not how much they ſuffered together with us when we were perſecuted in the Reignes of* Conſtantius *and* Valens. *And beſides* (ſaid he) *they have been* * *Aſſertours of our Faith. For though they made a ſeparation long ſince from the Church, yet no innovation about the Faith hath been introduced by them.* Being arrived on a time at *Nicæa* upon account of an Ordination, and ſeeing *Aſclepiades*, a very aged perſon,

[a] After theſe words, there was a whole line and ſomething more wanting; which we have made up from the incomparable *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. after this manner: ὁ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς δεισιδαιμονίας πυθὼν ἐκκόπτειν ἐσπούδαζεν, *Moreover, he made it his buſineſs to extirpate the ſuperſtitions of ſome men.* Which words were in that copy alſo, which *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* made uſe of, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For thus he renders it; *ſed & ſuperſtitionem quorundam ſtudebat abſcindere, moreover he endeavoured to cut off the ſuperſtition of ſome men.* But, that *Chriſtophorſon* had conſulted no M. S. Copies of *Socrates*, 'tis evident both from this place and alſo from many others. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Hid it.*

† Or, *That Sepulchre.*
‖ Or, *A Station for Ships.*
* That is, *Venomous*, or, *full of poyſon.*
† That is, *A medicine*, or, *cure.*
‖ That is, *The Silver-City.*
* *The Golden-City.*

† Or, *Confirmed that name to the place.*

* Or, *Witneſſes.*

perſon,

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perſon, Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* there, he asked him, *how many years have you been a Biſhop?* When he made anſwer [that he had been a Biſhop] fifty years, *You are happy, O man,* (ſaid he) *in regard you have been diligent about ſo good a work for ſuch a long time!* He ſpake theſe words to the ſame *Aſclepiades, I do indeed commend* Novatus; *but the Novatianiſts I can in no wiſe approve of. Aſclepiades* amazed at this ſtrange expreſſion, replied, how can you ſay this, O Biſhop? To whom *Atticus* made this anſwer; *I commend* Novatus, *becauſe he refuſed to communicate with thoſe perſons who had ſacrificed. For I my ſelf would have done the ſame. But I do not in any wiſe praiſe the Novatianiſts, in regard they exclude the Laicks from communion on account of very light and triviall offences.* To which *Aſclepiades* made this return; there are, beſides ſacrificing, many other ſins *unto death,* (as the Scriptures term them,) on account whereof [b] you exclude *Eccleſiaſticks,* but we *Laicks* alſo from communion, leaving to God alone a power of pardoning them. Further, *Atticus* [c] foreknew even the time of his own death. For at his departure from *Nicæa,* he ſpake theſe words to *Calliopius* a Presbyter of that place:

[b] Τμεῖς μὲν πως τῶν λαϊκῶν. The preposition πως muſt be expunged; which neither *Nicephorus,* nor *Epiphan. Scholaſticus,* nor the other Tranſlatours do acknowledge. Unleſs, inſtead of πως, any one has a mind to ſubſtitute πως, and read thus; *You in a certain manner exclude Eccleſiaſticks.* But, this place wants not difficulty. For, it may ſeem to be concluded from hence, that Eccleſiaſticks in the Catholick Church, who had been excommunicated for more enormous crimes, were cut off from the Church without all hope of pardon; but Laicks not ſo. Which may be thus explained. Laicks, who had been ſeparated from communion on account of publick crimes, recovered peace and communion again by the remedy of penitency, at leaſt once. But to Eccleſiaſticks who had been excommunicated, the door of penitency was ſhut. For they were not admitted to publick penitency. They continued therefore for ever excommunicated. For which reaſon Eccleſiaſticks were very rarely excommunicated: but were either depoſed, or ſuſpended from their Office for ſome time, or at leaſt reduced to a Laick-communion. But, the *firſt Canon of the Neocæſarian Synod* does gainſay this; wherein the Eccleſiaſticks who had committed Fornication or Adultery, are driven from communion, and brought to penitency. This paſſage may be explained otherwiſe alſo. For, from ſuch time as *Nectarius* aboliſhed the *Penitentiary,* all Laicks had a free power of communicating left them; nor was any one removed from communion on account of a deadly crime, except Eccleſiaſticks only. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Atticus* did not only foreknow the day of his own death, but long before his death, he built himſelf a Sepulchre, as I am informed from an old Epigram; which becauſe 'tis not yet extant in Print, I will here annex:

Παύλε σιλεντιαείε εἰς τάφον ἀτλικῦ πνὸς κατασκάσαντος.

Ἀτλικὸς ἐς ξυνὴν μὲ παναχεῖον ἐλπίδα μοίρης
Θυμῷ θαρσαλέῳ ζῶν, ἐλάχνε τάφον.
Παίζων δ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς θανάτυ φόβον· ἀλλ' ὑπόδηγον
Ἡέλιον, σοφίης μιμνέτω ἠελίῳ. i. e.

Paulus Silentiarius's *Compoſure on the Tomb of one* Atticus.

Atticus, *whileſt he was living, (in whoſe mind*
a Fortitude not to be daunted ſhin'd,)
Dug me his Grave, in common hope of Fate
untractable and incompaſſionate.

Such were his Virtuous Actions, that Death's fear,
and Frightfull Terrours by him ſlighted were.
But, by the Sun, to late poſterity
his Sun-like wiſedom ſhall recorded be.

This Epigram is extant in *Conſtantinus Cephalas's Anthologia,* not yet Printed. 'Tis my ſentiment, that *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* is meant hereby. For I know no other *Atticus,* to whom this Elogy of Wiſdom and Virtue can be agreeable. Notwithſtanding, this is contradicted by *Paulus Silentiarius*'s being inſcribed the Authour of this Epigram, who (as 'tis manifeſt from *Agathias*'s teſtimony,) flouriſhed long after *Atticus,* in *Juſtinian*'s times. Wherefore, either the inſcription of the Epigram, or our conjecture, muſt of neceſſity be falſe. *Valeſ.*

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Haſten to Conſtantinople *before* Autumn, *if you are deſirous of ſeeing me again alive. For, if you delay, you will not find me living.* Upon his ſaying whereof, he miſtook not. For in the twenty firſt year of his Epiſcopate, on the tenth of *October,* he died, in *Theodoſius*'s eleventh and *Valentinianus Cæſar*'s firſt Conſulate. Moreover, the Emperour *Theodoſius* being then in his return from *Theſſalonica,* was not at his Funerall. For *Atticus* was interred the day before the Emperour's Entry into *Conſtantinople.* Not long after *Valentinianus Junior* was [d] Declared *Auguſtus,* about the twenty third of that ſame *October.*

[d] *The Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* underſtood this paſſage in *Socrates* amiſs. For he thought, that *Valentinianus Junior Placidiæ*'s Son, had been ſtiled *Auguſtus* on the 23d of *October:* but *Socrates* ſays not ſo; he relates only, that *Valentinianus* having been Proclaimed *Auguſtus* was publiſhed at *Conſtantinople on the twenty third of October.* Which two things are vaſtly different. *Sigonius (Book* 11 *De Occidentali Imperio)* relates that *Valentinianus* was created *Auguſtus* at *Ravenna on the Ides* (that is, *the fifteenth*) of *October,* in *Theodoſius Auguſtus*'s *eleventh* and *Valentinianus's own firſt Conſulate.* 'Tis certain, on the eighth of *October* in the ſame Conſulate, *Valentinianus* was as yet but *Cæſar,* as we are informed from the 47th *Law in the* Theodoſian *Code de Epiſc. Eccleſ. & Clericis,* dated at *Aquileia.* By which place *Sigonius* was chiefly induced, to place *Valentinianus*'s being proclaimed *Auguſtus on the Ides of October,* and to relate it to have been made at *Ravenna.* For in regard it was publiſhed at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty fifth of that ſame month, it could not have been done later. *Onufrius* (in *his Faſti*) has followed *Sigonius*'s opinion. Further *Marcellinus* and *Fordaines* (in *his book De Succeſſione Regnorum*) do mention this Declaration to have been made at *Ravenna:* but *Olympiodorus* and *Idatius* (in *his Chronicon*) ſay 'twas done at *Rome.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Siſinnius, Atticus's *ſucceſſour in the* Conſtantinopolitane *Biſhoprick.*

After *Atticus*'s death, a great conteſt happened about the Ordination of a Biſhop, ſome deſiring one perſon, others another. For, one party ('tis ſaid) were earneſt to have *Philippus* a Presbyter; another, *Proclus;* who was a Preſbyter alſo. But the whole body of the people with a generall conſent wiſhed *Siſinnius* might be made [Biſhop;] who was a Presbyter alſo himſelf: he had not been conſtituted * over any of the Churches within the City, but had been promoted to the Presbyterate in a Village belonging to *Conſtantinople,* the name whereof is *Elæa;* and 'tis ſituate over againſt the Imperiall † City: in which Village the Feſtivall of our Saviour's Aſcenſion was from [an ancient] uſage celebrated by the whole people in generall. All the Laicks were deſirous to have this man [made Biſhop,] both becauſe he was a perſon ſingularly eminent for his piety, and alſo more eſpecially in regard his diligence in relieving the indigent was earneſt even beyond his power. The deſire therefore of the Laity prevailed: and *Siſinnius* is ordained on the twenty eighth of *February,* in the following Conſulate, which was *Theodoſius*'s twelfth and *Valentinianus Junior Auguſtus*'s ſecond. Afterwards, *Philippus* the Presbyter (becauſe *Siſinnius* was preferred before him,) was very bitter and large in his [a] invectives againſt that Ordination,

* Or, *in any of the Churches,* &c.

† *Conſtantinople.*

[a] *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca,* chap. 35.) atteſts the ſame; where his words concerning *Philippus Sideta*'s *Chriſtian Hiſtory* are theſe: ἐν δὲ τῇ ὠσῦ τῆς ἱερωσύνης συγγραφῇ, &c. *But in his Hiſtory he is very ſevere upon* Siſinnius, *becauſe, when as they were both of the ſame degree and order, and he himſelf ſeemed ſuperiour in eloquence and all ſorts of literature; yet* Siſinnius *(ſays he) was elected to the Archiepiſcopall See.* Valeſius.

in

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in that [voluminous work termed the] *Chriſtian Hiſtory*, which he wrote; wherein he calumniates both the perſon ordained, and alſo thoſe who had ordained him; but more eſpecially, the Laity. And his expreſſions are ſuch, that I am unwilling to record them; for I can in no wiſe approve of his raſhneſs, in having been ſo audacious, as to commit ſuch things to writing. But, I judge it not inopportune to ſay ſomething in ſhort concerning him.

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Philippus *the Presbyter, who was born at* Side.

Philippus was by Country a *Sidenſian*. *Side* is a City of *Pamphylia*, at which *Troilus* the *Sophiſta* had his originall extract; of his own relation to whom *Philippus* boaſted. Whileſt he was a Deacon, he had had frequent converſe with *Biſhop *Johannes*. He was a very laborious and painfull ſtudent, and had made a Collection of many books, and thoſe of all ſorts. He imitated the *Aſian* Style, and wrote many Books. [For, he confuted the Emperour *Julian*'s Pieces, and compiled a *Chriſtian Hiſtory*, which he divided into ſix and thirty Books. Each Book contained many Tomes, in ſo much that in all they were near a thouſand. The †Contents of each Tome equalled the Tome it ſelf in bigneſs. This work he entitled not *an Eccleſiaſtick*, but *a Chriſtian Hiſtory*. In it he heaped together variety of Learning, being deſirous to ſhew, that he was not unskilled in Philoſophick Literature. For which reaſon, he makes frequent mention therein of *Geometricall*, *Aſtronomicall*, *Arithmeticall*, and Muſicall *Theorems*. He alſo deſcribes Iſlands, Mountains, Trees, and ſeverall other things not very momentous. Upon which account he has made it a looſe work: and therefore hath (in my judgment) rendred it uſeleſs both to the ignorant, and to the Learned alſo. For, the ignorant are unable to inſpect the heighth and grandeur of his Stile. And thoſe that are well verſed in Learning nauſeate his inſipid repetition of words. But, let every one paſs a judgment upon thoſe Books according to his own liking. I only ſay this, that the times wherein affairs have been tranſacted are confounded by him. For when he has mentioned the times of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, he runs back to thoſe of *Athanaſius* the Biſhop. And this he does very frequently. Thus much concerning *Philippus*. 'Tis requiſite that we ſhould now declare what hapned in *Siſinnius*'s time.

* That is, *Chryſoſtome*.

† Or, *Subject*, or *Argument*.

* *Speculations, Precepts*, or, *Axioms*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That Siſinnius *ordained* Proclus *Biſhop of* Cyzicum: *but the Inhabitants of that City would not admit him* [*to be their Biſhop.*]

THe Biſhop of *Cyzicum* being dead, *Siſinnius* ordained *Proclus* Biſhop of that City. When therefore he was about going thither, the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* prevent him, and ordain a perſon that was an *Aſcetick*, his name *Dalmatius*. And this they did in contempt to a *Law by which 'twas eſtabliſhed, that the ordination of a Biſhop [there] ſhould not be made contrary to the *Conſtantinopolitane* Biſhop's mind. But they diſregarded this Law, as being [ſaid they] a perſonall prerogative granted only to *Atticus*. *Proclus* therefore continued deſtitute indeed of the preſidency over his own Church, but he flouriſhed and grew famous for his Sermons [Preach't] in the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. But we ſhall ſpeak concerning this perſon in due place. *Siſinnius* having ſurvived his being made Biſhop not full out two years, ended his life in the Conſulate of *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*, on the twenty fourth of the month *December*. He was a perſon, for his temperance, good life, and love to the poor, highly eminent. As to his temper, he was a perſon to whom acceſs might eaſily be had, and of a diſpoſition plain and without falſehood; therefore no Lover of buſineſs. For which reaſon buſie men were offended at him; amongſt whom he had the character of a ſlothfull perſon.

* What Law this was and by whom made, 'tis uncertain. My Sentiment is, that 'twas an *Imperiall Law*, whereby proviſion had been made, that the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* ſhould not ordain themſelves a Biſhop contrary to the conſent of *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. For if this had been a *Sanction made in a Councill of Biſhops*, *Socrates* would have uſed the term *Canon*, rather than have called it *a Law*. After *Atticus*'s death, the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* diſregarded this Law. For they ſaid, that that priviledge had in an eſpeciall manner been granted to *Atticus*, and belonged not to his Succeſſours. But, they were miſtaken. For long before *Atticus*, the *Conſtantinopolitan* Prelates had given Biſhops to the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*. For, in *Conſtantius*'s time, *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ordained *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*. See *Liberatus's Breviarium* chap. 7. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

That after Siſinnius's *death*, [*the Emperours*] *ſent for* Neſtorius *from* Antioch, *and made him Biſhop of* Conſtantinople; *who quickly diſcovered his own temper and diſpoſition.*

After *Siſinnius*'s death, the Emperours were pleaſed not to prefer any perſon of the *Conſtantinopolitane* Church to that See, becauſe they were men ſtudious of vain-glory: although many were very earneſt to have *Philippus*, others not fewer in number [ſtrove to get] *Proclus*, ordained. But they reſolved to ſend for a Forreigner from *Antioch*. For there was a man there, by name *Neſtorius*, born at the City *Germanicia*, who had a good voice, and a readineſs of expreſſion. Wherefore they determined to ſend for him, as being a fit perſon to teach the people. After an intervall of three months therefore, *Neſtorius* is brought from *Antioch*. Who was cried up indeed for his temperance amongſt many perſons; but what a tempered man he was as to other things, the more prudent diſcovered from *his firſt Sermon. For, being ordained on the tenth of *Aprill*, in the Conſulate of *Felix* and *Taurus*; addreſſing himſelf to the Emperour he forthwith uttered that famous expreſſion in the preſence of all the people. *Give me* (ſaid he,) *O Emperour! the Earth cleared from Hereticks, and in recompence thereof I will give you Heaven. Aſſiſt me in deſtroying Hereticks; and I will aſſiſt you in vanquiſhing the* Perſians. Although theſe words, were extreamly pleaſing to ſome of the Vulgar, who had conceived an hatred againſt Hereticks; yet to thoſe

* Amongſt the Ancients it was wont to be very carefully obſerved, what the Biſhops (eſpecially the Prelates of the greater Churches) ſaid in their firſt Sermon to the people. For from that Sermon a conjecture was made of the Faith, Doctrine, and Temper, of every Biſhop. Wherefore they were wont to take particular notice of, and remember their ſayings. A remark of this nature *Socrates* has made before, at book 2, chap. 43. concerning the firſt Sermon of *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. And *Theodoret* and *Epiphanius* declare the ſame concerning *Meletius Antiochenus*'s firſt Sermon to the people. *Valeſ.*

(who,

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(who, as I have ſaid, had skill in giving a conjecture of his Sentiments from his expreſſions,) neither the levity of his mind, nor his inclination to anger and violence joyned with his vain-glorioufneſs, were concealed: in regard he conteined not himſelf during the ſmalleſt ſpace of time, but broke out into ſuch expreſſions as theſe; and (if I may uſe the proverb) *before he had taſted the water of the City*, ſhewed himſelf an inraged perſecutor. On the fifth day therefore after his ordination, he takes a reſolution to demoliſh the *Arians*'s Oratory, in which they performed their devotions ſecretly; whereby he drove thoſe Hereticks to a deſperation. For when they ſaw their place of Prayer pulling down, they threw fire into it and burnt it. Moreover, the fire ſpread further, and conſumed the adjacent buildings. Whereupon a tumult was raiſed all over the City, and the *Arians* made preparations to revenge themſelves. But God the keeper of the City, permitted not the miſchief to gather to an head. However, *Neſtorius* was in future termed *an* [b] *Incendiary*, not only by the Hereticks, but by thoſe alſo of his own Faith. For he deſiſted not, but framed intreagues againſt the Hereticks, and did his utmoſt to ſubvert the City. For he attempted to moleſt the *Novatianiſts* alſo, his envy ſpurring him on, becauſe *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* was famous in all places for his piety. But the Emperours by their admonitions repreſſed his fury. Now what miſchiefs he did to the *Quartodecimani* throughout *Aſia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and how numerous the multitudes were that came to their deaths by his means at *Miletum* and *Sardis* in a tumult there raiſed, I think fit not to mention. But, what manner of puniſhment he underwent, as well for theſe [wickedneſſes,] as for his * unbridled tongue, I will declare hereafter.

[b] Πυρκαϊάν. I choſe to render it *an Incendiary* (as *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* does,) rather than *Incendium*, *a fire*, though, 'tis confeſt, this is the true import of the word. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *open tongue.*

CHAP. XXX.

After what manner the Burgundions *embraced the* Chriſtian *Religion, in the Reign of* Theodoſius Junior.

I Will now relate a thing worthy to be recorded, which hapned about this very time. There is a barbarous Nation, which has its habitation beyond the River *Rhine*, they are called the *Burgundions*. Theſe perſons lead a * quiet life. For they are almoſt all Carpenters; by which [trade] they earn wages, and get a livelyhood. The Nation of the *Hunni* by making continuall Inroades upon this people, depopulated their Country, and frequently deſtroyed many of them. The *Burgundions* therefore, reduced to a great ſtreight, fly for refuge to no man; but reſolved to commit themſelves to ſome God. And having ſeriouſly conſidered with themſelves, that the God of the *Romans* did vigorouſly aſſiſt and defend thoſe that feared him; by a generall conſent they all came over to the faith of *Chriſt*. Going therefore to one of the Cities of *Gallia*, they made a requeſt to the Biſhop, that they might receive *Chriſtian* Baptiſm. The Biſhop ordered them to faſt ſeaven days, in which intervall he inſtructed them in the grounds of Faith, and on the eighth day baptized and diſmiſſed them. Being encouraged therefore [hereby,] they marched out [a] againſt the *Hunni*, and were not fruſtrated of their expectation. For the King of the *Hunni* (whoſe name was [b] *Optar*,) having burſt himſelf in the night by eating too much; the *Burgundions* fell upon the *Hunni* then deſtitute of a Commander in chief, and a few engaged very many, and conquered them. For the *Burgundions* being in number only three thouſand, deſtroyed about ten thouſand of the *Hunni*. And from that time the Nation of the *Burgundions* became zealous profeſſours of *Chriſtianity*. About the ſame time, *Barba* Biſhop of the *Arians* died, in *Theodoſius*'s thirteenth and *Valentinianus*'s third Conſulate, on the twenty fourth of *June*, and *Sabbatius* is conſtituted Biſhop in his ſtead. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning theſe things.

* Or, *unbuſied.*

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[a] Inſtead of [κατὰ τῶν τυράννων, *againſt the Tyrants*] it muſt undoubtedly be [κατὰ τῶν Οὔννων, *againſt the Hunni:*] for the *Burgundions* were oppreſſed by them, as *Socrates* atteſts. *Valeſ.*

[b] This perſon (as I ſuppoſe,) is *Oſtar* King of the *Hunni*; whom *Jordanes* (in *his Hiſtory of the Goths*, chap. 35,) relates to have been the *Roa*, and *Mundiuchus Attila*'s Father. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXI.

With what miſeries the Macedoniani *were afflicted by* Neſtorius.

MOreover, *Neſtorius* behaved himſelf contrary to the uſage of the Church, [a] and cauſed others to imitate himſelf in ſuch things, as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Biſhop. For, one *Antonius* Biſhop of *Germa* a City in the *Helleſpont*, imitated *Neſtorius*'s rage towards the Hereticks, and made it his buſineſs to perſecute the *Macedoniani*, taking the *Patriarch*'s order as a pretext for his Apology. The *Macedoniani* for ſome time endured his vexatiouſneſs. But after *Antonius* began to diſquiet them more vehemently; being unable to undergo his moleſtation any longer, they [grew deſperate, and] brake out into a cruell madneſs; and having privately ſent ſome men who preferred what is pleaſant before that which is good, they murder him. The *Macedoniani* having perpetrated this villanous fact, *Neſtorius* took hold of what had been done as an occaſion of his own rage. And he perſwades the Emperours to deprive them of their Churches. As well thoſe Churches therefore which they had before the old walls of *Conſtantinople*, as them [they were poſſeſt of] in *Cyzicum*, were taken from them; as were likewiſe many others, which they had in the Villages of the *Helleſpont*. Some of them came over to the [Catholick] Church, and embraced the *Homoöuſian* Faith. But, as 'tis proverbially ſpoken, *Drunkards never want wine, nor Contentious perſons ſtrife*. It hapned therefore, that *Neſtorius*, who buſied himſelf in expelling other perſons, was himſelf turned out of the Church, for this reaſon [following.]

[a] In my own judgment, I have mended this place very happily. For, whereas there was no ſenſe in the common reading, (which is this, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑαυτὸν μισεῖσθαι ἐποίει, *and otherwiſe cauſed himſelf to be hated in ſuch things*;) by a very ſmall change I have mended the place thus, ἀλλὰς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αὐτὸν μισεῖσθαι ἐποίει, *and cauſed others to imitate himſelf in ſuch things*. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* left it thus written. Otherwiſe, what he adds concerning *Antonius* Biſhop of *Germa*, would in no wiſe agree with that which goes before. At the very next words, inſtead of [ὡς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα δείκνυσιν, *as 'tis apparent from what hapned from him,*] I read [ὡς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενα δείκνυσιν, *as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Biſhop.*] Which emendation ſeems to me altogether neceſſary. For, that which follows concerning *Antonius* the Biſhop, was in no wiſe done by *Neſtorius*. Valeſ.

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CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Presbyter Anastasius, *by whom* Nestorius *was perverted to Impiety.*

ANastasius the Presbyter, who had come from *Antioch* with *Nestorius*, was his intimate acquaintance. *Nestorius* had an high esteem for him, and made use of his advice in the management of business. This *Anastasius* being Preaching one time in the Church, uttered these words, *Let no man stile* Mary * *Theotocos. For* Mary *was a woman. But 'tis impossible for God to be born of a woman.* The hearing hereof disturbed many persons, as well of the Clergy as Laity. For they had been heretofore taught, to confess Christ to be God, and in no wise to separate him as man from the Divinity on account of his Incarnation; whereto they were induced by the Apostle's words, who saith; *Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh; yet now henceforth know we him no more.* [a] And [again,] *wherefore leaving the discourse concerning Christ, let us press forwards to perfection.* A disturbance therefore having been raised in the Church (as I have said,) [about this matter;] *Nestorius* endeavoured to confirm *Anastasius*'s expression; (for he was unwilling, that the man for whom he had so great an esteem, should be reproved as having spoken blasphemy;) and made frequent discourses concerning it in the Church, in which he proposed contentious questions concerning this thing, and every where rejected this term *Theotocos*. This question therefore being entertained in one manner by some, and in another by others; on this account a dissention arose in the Church. And being Engaged in an Encounter by night as it were, sometimes they asserted these things, at others those, affirming and in like manner denying one and the same thing. But *Nestorius* was supposed by most men, to entertain such Sentiments, as to assert the Lord [Christ] to be a meer man, and to introduce the opinion of *Paul* of *Samosata* and *Photinus* into the Church. Now, so great a controversie and disturbance was raised about this matter, that 'twas thought necessary a Generall Councill [should be convened.] But I my self, after my reading the Books [b] published by *Nestorius*, found him to be an ignorant person. And I will declare the truth unfeignedly. For, his vices which I have spoken of already, I have not mentioned out of any hatred to him, nor will I, to gratifie any man, lessen my account of the good which I found in him. *Nestorius* seems not to me, to be a follower either of *Paul* of *Samosata*'s opinion, or of *Photinus*'s, nor in the least to assert the Lord [Christ] to be a meer man. But he was put into a fright by this term [*Theotocos*] only, as if it had been a Bugbear. And this befell him meerly by reason of his great Illiterateness. For being naturally endowed with eloquence, he was supposed to be a man of learning; but in reality was unlearned and ignorant. He likewise scorned to read the Books of Ancient [c] Expositours. For being puft up with pride by reason of his ability to speak well, he minded not reading the Ancients with any thing of accuracy; but thought himself better then any man else. To begin therefore from hence, he was wholly ignorant, that in the *Catholick Epistle of* St *John* (to wit, in the ancient Copies thereof,) it was thus written; [d] *every spirit which separates Jesus* [*from God,*] *is not of God.* For, this sentence has been expunged out of the ancient Copies by those, whose desire it is to separate the Divine nature from the * humane *Oeconomy*. Wherefore, the Ancient Expositours have made this very remark, to wit, that some persons have depraved this Epistle, being desirous † to separate the Manhood of Christ from his Deity. For the Humanity is joyned to the Divinity. [e] Nor are they any more two, but one. The Ancients emboldened by this Testimony, scrupled not to stile *Mary Theotocos*. For *Eusebius Pamphilus* (in *his third Book concerning the Life of Constantine,*) has these express words. *For* * Emanuel *endured to be born for us. And the place of his Nativity is amongst the* Hebrews *termed* Bethlehem. *Upon which account the Empress* Helena *most dear to God, adorned the place, where the* † God bearing *Virgin was delivered, with admirable Monuments, and illustrated that sacred Cave with all manner of ornaments.* And *Origen* (in *the first Tome of his* [*Comments*] *upon the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans,*) expounding in what manner [*Mary*] may be termed *Theotocos*, handles that Question largely. 'Tis apparent therefore, that *Nestorius* was wholly ignorant in the writings of the Ancients. For which reason, as I have said, he opposes this only term [*Theotocos.*] For, that he

* That is, *The Mother of God*, or, *the Virgin that bore God*: a term that made a great disturbance in the Christian world, as the Reader will see hereafter.

[a] *Nicephorus*, when he wrote out this passage of *Socrates*, added the word [*again,*] shewing thereby, that the following words were taken out of St *Paul's Epistle*. Indeed, the words immediately preceding occur at 2 *Cor.* 5. 16; but whence these are quoted, I cannot yet find. *Vales.*

[b] St *Henry Savill*, had remarked at the margin of his Copy, that in his judgment, instead of [δοθεῖσαν, *proposed,*] it should be [ἐκδοθεῖσαν, *published.*] And a little after, where the reading is [φυσικὸς γὰρ ἐυλαλὸς ὤν, *for being a naturall eloquent man*] that *Learned Knight* had written in the margin *fortè* φυσικῶς, *perhaps it should be* [φυσικῶς, *naturally;*] to which emendation we agree, as by our Version appears. For *Nicephorus*, who has extracted this passage out of *Socrates*, words it thus. *Vales.*

[c] Instead of [ἑρμηνεύων] it must undoubtedly be [ἑρμηνέων, or ἑρμηνευτῶν, *Expositours,*] though the same errour be in *Nicephorus* also. But *Socrates* himself does a little after this, shew it should be ἑρμηνέων. For, his words are οἱ παλαιοὶ ἑρμηνεῖς, *The Ancient Expositours.* Vales.

[d] In the *first Epist.* of St *John*, chap. 4. vers. 2, 3; the words in the Greek Copies now extant are these Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι· καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν. *Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God.* In the *Latine Copies* 'tis thus worded: *Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, ex Deo est: & omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum, ex Deo non est, Every spirit which confesses Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and every spirit which separates Jesus, is not of God.* In that *Greek Copy* therefore, which the old *Latine Translatour* made use of, it was written thus: Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, *every spirit which separates Jesus from God is not*; as *Socrates* attests it to have been written in the ancient Copies. Notwithstanding, *Socrates* seems to have read, Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν; which words we have expresst in our Version. For *Socrates*'s following words are, ὡς τινες εἰεν βεβλασφημηκότες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, &c. *that some persons have depraved* [*or, corrupted*] *this Epistle, being desirous to separate the Manhood of Christ from his Deity* [*or, Man from God.*] In the *Alexandrian Copy* (the various readings whereof *the English* have given us,) this place in *John* is thus written; Καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, *And every spirit which confesses not Jesus, is not of God.* Which comes nearer to the vulgar reading. *Vales.*

* Or, *Dispensation of man.*

† Or, *To separate man from God.*

[e] *Socrates* mistakes here; and whilest he reproves *Nestorius*, falls into the Errour of *Eutyches*, who thought, *that after the Union, there was not two, but only one nature in Christ.* Unless we should say, that *Socrates* speaks concerning the *persons*, not the *Natures*. By this means *Socrates* might be excused, if his words would admit of this sense. 'Tis certain, ἀνθρωπότης, and θεότης (concerning which terms these words are spoken) do altogether signifie *Natures*, not *persons*. Vales.

* That is, *God with us.*

† Τὴν θεοτόκον τῶν κύτων.

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he asserts not Christ to be a meer man, as *Photinus* and *Paul* of *Samosata* did, we are evidently informed even from his own discourses which he hath published. Wherein he does in no place destroy the *Hypostasis* of the Word of God; but every where professes him to have a proper, reall and peculiar person and existence: nor does he deprive him of a subsistence, as did *Photinus* and *Paul* of *Samosata*. Which Tenet the *Manichæans* and *Montanus*'s followers have been so audacious as to assert. That this was *Nestorius*'s opinion, I my self have found, partly by reading his own works, and partly from the discourses of his Admirers. Further, this frigid and empty discourse of *Nestorius* has raised no small disturbance in the world.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the horrid wickedness commited upon the Altar of the Great Church by the fugitive servants.

THese things having been transacted [after this manner,] there hapned a most detestable fact, perpetrated in the Church. For, the servants of one of the Great men, fellows that were Barbarians, having by experience found their Master to be cruell, fled to the Church, and with their swords drawn leapt upon the Altar. Being intreated to go out, they could by no means be prevailed upon; but hindred the divine Services. And holding their naked swords in their hands for [the space of] many days, they stood in a posture to make resistance against any one that approached them. Moreover, when they had killed one of the Ecclesiasticks, and wounded another, at last they slew themselves. Whereupon, one of those then present said, that the prophanation of the Church was no good sign, [in proof whereof] he added two *Iambicks* of a certain old Poet:

[a] *Nicephorus* quotes these two Verses thus:
Σημεῖα κὴ γὸ ταῦτα γίνεδς φιλεῖ,
Ὅταν τι ναοῖς ἐγκατασκήψῃ μύσος.
But the latter verse would be written better thus:
Ὅταν τι μῦσος ἐγκαθασκήπτῃ ναοῖς. *Vales.*

[a] *For such* Prognosticks *happen in that while When horrid Crimes the Churches do defile.*

Nor was he who spake these words, mistaken in his Sentiment. For (as it was conjectured,) a division amongst the people, and his deposition who had been the Occasioner of this division, was hereby portended.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning the former Synod at Ephesus *convened against* Nestorius.

FOr within a small intervall of time, the Bishops in all places were by the Emperour's Edict ordered to meet together at *Ephesus*. Immediately after the Feast of *Easter* therefore, *Nestorius* went to *Ephesus*, accompanied with a great and promiscuous multitude, where he finds many Bishops met together. But *Cyrillus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria* made some delaies, and came not till about *Pentecost*. On the fifth day after *Pentecost*, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* arrived. Whilest *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch* was slow in coming, the [Prelates] that were present began to debate the Question. And *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* made some onsets [of dispute,] being desirous to disturb and terrifie *Nestorius*; for he had conceived an hatred against him. Moreover, when many asserted the Deity of Christ, *Nestorius* expresst himself thus, *I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old. And therefore I am clear from your bloud; nor will I in future come to you any more.* Having said this, he afterwards held conventions with the other Bishops, who were followers of his opinion. So that the persons present were divided into two factions. Those of *Cyrillus*'s party * staid in the Councill, and cited in *Nestorius*. But he refused to come in, and deferred his appearance till the arrivall of *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch*. Whereupon those of *Cyrillus*'s party, (after they had severall times read over *Nestorius*'s Discourses about this Question, which he had made to the people; and from the reading thereof had given in their judgment, that he had constantly spoken blasphemy against the Son of God) deposed him. When this was done, [a] *Nestorius*'s party made up another Synod apart by themselves, and depose *Cyrillus*, and together with him *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*. Not long after these transactions, *Johannes* Bishop of *Antioch* arrived. And being informed of what had been done, was highly displeased with *Cyrillus*, as being the occasioner of the disturbance which had hapned, in regard he had with so much rashness and precipitancy proceeded to the deposition of *Nestorius*. But *Cyrillus*, and together with him *Juvenalis*, to revenge themselves upon *Johannes*, depose him also. These affairs being after this manner confused and disturbed, *Nestorius* perceiving this contention had arrived to such an height as to ruine communion, retracted, and termed *Mary Theotocos*, saying, *Let* Mary *be styled* Theotocos, *and let all animosities cease*. But though he made this retractation, yet no body admitted of it. For at this present he continues deposed, and lives in exile at *Oäsis*. And this was the conclusion of the Synod held at that time. These things were done in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Antiochus*, on the twenty eighth of *June*. But *Johannes* after his return to *Antioch*, assembled many Bishops, and deposed *Cyrillus*, who was then gone home to *Alexandria*. However, they laid aside their enmity soon after, came to a reconciliation, and restored one another to their Episcopall Chairs. But after *Nestorius*'s deposition, a most violent disturbance seized the Churches of *Constantinople*. For the people were divided by reason of his frigid and empty babling, as I have said already. But all the Clergy by a generall consent *Anathematized* him. (For so we *Christians* do usually term the sentence against a blasphemer, when we propose it to publick view on a Pillar as it were, and render it visible to all persons.)

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* Or, *Made up the Synod.*

[a] *Socrates* mistakes at this place, in attributing that to *Nestorius* which was done by *John* Bishop of *Antioch*. Therefore *Evagrius* and (who has followed him) *Nicephorus* do deservedly reprehend our *Socrates*. Now, the business, as we are informed from the *Acts of the Ephesine Synod*, was transacted in this manner. When *Nestorius* had been condemned and deposed by the holy Synod, and the Letters of Deposition had been sent to him, he sent forthwith a relation to the Emperour *Theodosius*, wherein he complained of his Adversaries violence, and that they would not expect the coming of the Eastern Bishops, who, 'twas said, would quickly be there. This relation was subscribed by ten Bishops of *Nestorius*'s party. On the fifth day after, comes *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, with the Eastern Bishops. Who having understood what had been done, assembled together the Bishops (as well the Eastern Prelates whom he had brought with him, as those ten, which (as we have said) had subscribed *Nestorius*'s Relation,) and deposed the Bishops *Cyrillus* and *Memnon*. At this Little Councill of *Johannes*'s, *Nestorius* himself was not present, because having been condemned by an Episcopall sentence, he had not been restored by the determination of a Synod. But the Bishops of his party, whom the sentence of the Synod had in no wise touched, were

present. Wherefore *Socrates* may be excused, if we say that these words [ὃς δεῖ νεῦσειν] do not denote *Nestorius* himself, but *the Bishops who were of his party, and had subscribed his Relation.* But in the other particulars *Socrates* is not to be excused. *Vales.*

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CHAP. XXXV.

How, after Nestorius's *Deposition, when some were desirous of placing* Proclus *in the Episcopall Chair, other Bishops elected* Maximianus *Bishop of* Constantinople.

[AFter this] there was another debate about the Election of a Bishop. And many were for choosing *Philippus*, whom we have mentioned a little * before; but more † nominated *Proclus*. And the opinion of those [who voted] for *Proclus* had carried it, had not some of the most powerfull persons hindred it, who said 'twas forbidden by the Ecclesiastick Canon, that he who had been nominated Bishop of any City, ‖ should be translated to another ‖ See. This having been said and believed, compelled the people to be quiet. After an intervall therefore of four months from *Nestorius*'s Deposition, a person by name *Maximianus*, is Elected to the Bishoprick; as to his course of life he was an *Ascetick*: but had himself also been made one of the Presbyters. He had long before gotten the repute of a pious and holy person, because at his own charge he had built Monuments, wherein Religious persons might be buried after their decease. He was a man of mean accomplishments in speaking, and desirous of leading a life void of business.

* See chap. 26, and 27.

† Or, *Elected.*

‖ Or, *City.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Instances, whereby this Writer does (as he supposes) evince, that a Translation from one See to another is not prohibited.

BUt in regard some persons, by alledging the Ecclesiastick Canon, have hindred *Proclus*, who had then been nominated Bishop of *Cyzicum*, from being seated [in the Episcopall Chair of *Constantinople*;] my desire is to say something briefly concerning this matter. Those persons who undertook to speak these things at that time, in my judgment spake not true; but either feigned them out of an *Odium* [they had conceived] against *Proclus*, or else were wholly ignorant of the Canons, and of severall other things of great use to, and frequently practised in the Churches. For, *Eusebius Pamphilus, in the sixth* * *Book of his Ecclesiastick History*, relates, that *Alexander* Bishop of one of the Cities in *Cappadocia*, coming to *Jerusalem* on account of prayer, was detained by the Inhabitants of that City, and consecrated Bishop in the room of *Narcissus*, and in future presided over the Churches there as long as he lived. So indifferent a thing it was amongst our Ancestours, for a Bishop to be translated from one City to another, as often as necessity required. And if it be requisite to annex the Canon to this our History, it will be demonstrated in what a manner they have belyed that Canon, [who have quoted it] in order to their hindring *Proclus*'s Ordination. The [a] Canon therefore runs thus. *If any person who has been Ordained Bishop of a Church, goes not to that Church over which he has been Ordained* [*Bishop*,] *not by reason of his own fault, but either because of the peoples refusall* [*of him*,] *or for any other necessary Cause* [*not proceeding from himself*;] *this person shall be partaker of the Honour and Ministration, provided he molests not the affairs of that Church wherein he shall celebrate Assemblies. But he ought to embrace whatever the Synod of the Province,* [b] *having had* Cognizance *of his Case, shall think good to determine.* [*Socrates* speaks of this Synod at book 2. chap. 8; and this very Canon occurs at pag. 447. Tom. 1. *Edit. Beveridge.*]

* Chap. 11.

[a] This is, *the eighteenth Canon of the Synod at Antioch.*

But *Socrates* is mistaken, in thinking that the Bishops relied upon this Canon, that they might exclude *Proclus* from the *Constantinopolitan See*. 'Tis true indeed, that *Proclus* was one of their number who are meant in the foresaid Canon. For after he had been ordained Bishop of *Cyzicum* by *Sisinnius Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, he was not admitted by the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*, as *Socrates* has related before. But the Bishops who were against *Proclus*'s Election, relied not upon this Canon, but quoted the *twenty first Canon* [which occurs at *pag.* 450, *Tom.* 1. *Edit. Bever.*] of the same Synod in confirmation of their own opinion; the Contents whereof are these: Ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ παροικίας ἐπὶ ἑτέραν, &c. *A Bishop ought not in any wise to remove from one See to another, neither rushing into it wholly on his own accord, nor forcibly compelled by the people, nor yet necessarily constrained by the Bishops: but let him continue in that Church, which God has at first allotted to him, nor let him remove from thence, agreeable to the Pristine determination made concerning this matter.* Our *Socrates* is therefore mistaken, who has put *the eighteenth Canon of the Antiochian Synod*, instead of *the one and twentieth*. He is out in this also, to wit, in supposing, that these words in the close of *the eighteenth Canon* [ἐκδίκεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν, ὅπερ ἂν, &c.] do favour his own opinion. Those words we have rendred thus: *Suscipere autem debet quicquid Provinciæ Synodus de ejus negotio judicans constituerit, But he ought to embrace whatever a Synod of the Province, having had* Cognizance *of his Case, shall think good to determine. Socrates* thought this to be the consequence of these words, *viz. that if a Synod of the Province should think fit to translate the foresaid Bishop to some other See, that Bishop ought to obey that determination.* But 'tis plain that he is out, in regard Translations of Bishops are expresly forbidden in *the twenty first Canon.* Vales.

[b] Κείνασι τὸ παρεστὰμενον δόξαν. Which words *Dionysius Exiguus* renders thus, *Quod visum fuerit judicando Decreverit, shall by judging Decree what shall seem good. The old Translatour* also (whose Version was heretofore in *Henricus Memmius's Library*, and has lately been published at *Paris*) renders it after this manner: *Sed spectare cum oportere, quo usque Provinciæ Synodus de eo quæ eis videntur ordinet, But he ought to expect, till such time as a Synod of the Province shall determine concerning him what they think good.* Where you may remark by the by, that the *old Translatour* in *his Copy*, read not the word [πλείαι, *perfect*;] as neither did *Socrates*. The same phrase occurs above in the *Appendix to the sixth book*, where *Johannes* speaks to the Bishops thus. τὸ παρεστὰμενον ὑμῖν καλαζιώσασθε αὐτοὶ διαλαβόντες καὶ κέρναντες δέησαι: which we have thus rendred into *Latine*, *Causam ad vos delatam perpendentes ipsi ac dijudicantes definite.* But 'tis better to translate it thus, *quodcunque vobis visum fuerit, &c.* Vales. Our *English rendition* of that place is this, *do you inquire into the Cause, and make such a definitive determination as you shall think fit.*

This is the Canon. Now, to make it evident, that many Bishops have been translated from some Cities to others, by reason of the Churches necessities now and then [intervening;] I will [here] annex the names of such [Bishops] as have been translated.

[c] *Perigenes* had been ordained Bishop of *Patræ*.

[c] *Perigenes* had been born and baptized at *Corinth* the *Metropolis* of *Achaia*: having afterwards been made a Clergy-man, he continued Presbyter of the same Church a long while with great integrity. Afterwards when he had been promoted to the Bishoprick of *Patræ* by the Bishop of *Corinth*, and the Inhabitants of *Patræ* had refused to receive him, he was forced to return to *Corinth*. The Bishop of which City dying not long after, the *Corinthians* requested he might be their Bishop; which request of theirs they made known to *Bonifatius* Bishop of *Rome*. But *Bonifatius* would do nothing in that affair, before he had received the Letters of *Rufus* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, who was deputed the *Vicegerent* of the *Apostolick See* throughout *Achaia* and *Macedonia*. He wrote therefore two Letters to him concerning this business, to which was annext the *Corinthians* Request. These Letters bore date in the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plintha*. Afterwards, when *Bonifatius* had received *Rufus*'s Letters, he approved of *Perigenes*'s Election, and wrote a Letter to him and the *Corinthians*. I have Collected these things from two Letters of *Bonifatius* to *Rufus*, which Letters were lately published at *Rome* by *Lucas Holstenius* a Learned person, and one that has deserved well of Ecclesiastick Antiquity. Further, this *Perigenes* was present at the *Ephesine Synod* convened against *Nestorius*. For in the *First Action* thereof occur these words, Περιγένης κορίνθου τῆς ἑλλάδος, *of Perigenes* [*Bishop*] *of Corinth in Greece.* Vales.

But

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But in regard the Inhabitants of the foresaid City refused to admit him, the Bishop of *Rome* ordered he should be constituted Bishop in the *Metropolitane* See of *Corinth*, the Bishop of that Church being dead. Over which Church *Perigenes* presided as long as he lived. *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum* was first of all Bishop of *Sasimi* one of the Cities in *Cappadocia*: afterwards he was made [Bishop] of *Nazianzum*. *Melitius* had formerly presided over the Church in *Sebastia*, and afterwards he Governed that in *Antioch*. *Alexander* Bishop of *Antioch* translated *Dositheus* Bishop of *Seleucia* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. [d] *Reverentius* [was removed] from *Arci* [a City] of *Phanice*, and afterwards translated to *Tyre*. *Johannes* was translated from [e] *Gordum* [a City] of *Lydia* to [f] *Proconnesus*, and presided over the Church there. *Palladius* was translated from *Helenopolis* to *Aspuna*. *Alexander* was translated from *Helenopolis* to *Adriani*. [g] *Theophilus* was translated from *Apamea* [a City] of *Asia*, to *Eudoxiopolis* anciently termed [h] *Salambria*. *Polycarpus* was translated from *Sexantapristi* [a City] of * *Mœsia*, to *Nicopolis* of *Thracia*. *Hierophilus* was translated from *Trapezopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia* to *Plotinopolis* in *Thracia*. [i] *Optimus* was removed from *Agdamia* in *Phrygia* to *Antioch* [a City] of *Pisidia*. *Silvanus* was translated from *Philippopolis* in *Thracia*, to *Troas*. Let thus many be sufficient to have been named at present, who were removed from their own Cities to other [Sees.] But I judge it usefull to speak something in short concerning *Silvanus*, who was translated from *Philippopolis* in *Thracia* to *Troas*.

[d] In the *Sfortian* M.S. this person is called *Renverentius*. But in *Nicephorus* 'tis *Reverentius*, which is truer. *Epiphan. Scholasticus* terms him *Reverentius* also. In the *fourth book* of the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, *chap. De Translationibus Episcoporum*, he is corruptly stiled *Revenus*. Valef.

[e] *Nicephorus* makes *Gordum* a City of *Lycia*, not *Lydia*: but all other [Writers] assign it to *Lydia*. Further, this *Johannes* Bishop of *Proconnesus* was present at the *Ephesine Synod*, as 'tis recorded in the *first Action* of *that Council*. Valef.

* Or, *Mysia*.

[f] In the *Florentine Manuscript* 'tis *Proconnesus*. In *Nicephorus*, in the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, and in the *Acts of the Ephesine Councill*, 'tis written *Proiconnesus*. *The Author of the Etymologicon* (in the word Περικόννησος) defends both readings. And deduces the originall of this name (which has the Letter *(i)* added) from hence, either because this Island furnishes the other Islands with marmour, περίκα, that is *Gratis*, *freely*, or *for nothing*; or else from the word περξ, which signifies *Hinnuleum*, *a little Hind*. But *Dionysius Atheniensis* (in his book [entitled] κλίσεις, which he wrote *concerning the building of Cities*,) says 'twas called *Proconesus* from the multitude of *Harts* there, which they term περκας. Others will have its name derived from a vessell which the *Greeks* call περκον, because when the *Milesii* at first brought a Colony thither, they were met by a Virgin carrying such a Vessell. *Valef.* In *Robert Stephens Edit.* 'tis termed *Proconesus*.

[g] In the *fourth book of the Jus Græco-Romanum*, pag. 53; he is termed *Theosebius*. And so he is called in the *Tripartite History* (which *Epiphan. Scholasticus* translated;) and in *Ivo Carnotensis* (in *Prologo Decreti.*) But *Nicephorus* terms him *Philippus*, which I wonder at. *Valef.*

[h] From the *Florentine* and *Sfortian Manuscripts*, and from *Nicephorus* and *Epiphan. Scholasticus*, instead of *Salabria*, we have made it *Salambria*. 'Tis a City of *Thracia*, which the *Greeks* heretofore termed *Selymbria*, as *Strabo* and *Stephanus* do attest: but afterwards 'twas called *Salambria*. So in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*: *Mansio Salamembria* [*in mentioned which was*] 44 *miles distant from Constantinople*. Valef.

[i] This is the *Optimus* Bishop of *Anticch* in *Pisidia*, of whom the Emperour *Theodosius* makes mention in the *third Law of the Theodosian Code*, *de Fide catholicâ*; to whom, (together with *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*,) the charge and Administration of the Churches of *Asia* is committed. *Valef.*

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning Silvanus, *who was translated from* Philippopolis *to* Troas.

Silvanus had formerly been a *Rhetorician* [in the School of] *Troilus* the *Sophista*. But in regard he proposed to himself an accuracy in the profession of the Christian Religion as his chief design, and exercised himself in the severities of an *Ascetick life*, [on account hereof] he refused to [a] wear the *Rhetoricians Pallium*. But afterwards, *Atticus* the Bishop [b] laid hold of him, and ordained him Bishop of *Philippopolis*. After he had lived three years in *Thracia*, and found himself unable to endure the cold (for he had a very thin, lean, and infirm body;) he entreated *Atticus*, that he would ordain another in his stead, affirming that he refused to live in *Thracia* upon no other account, than because of the cold. Another person therefore having for this very reason been ordained in his room, *Silvanus* continued at *Constantinople*, and with a most exquisite diligence followed an *Ascetick* course of life. He was so great a stranger to delicateness and fineness, that he would frequently appear in publick amongst so numerous a concourse of people as were in that populous City, shod only with Sandalls made of [c] *Sparsum*. After some intervall of time the Bishop of the Church *Concerning* the *Rhetoricians*. For he says that *Silvanus* had before been a *Rhetorician*, that is, an *Advocate* out of *Troilus* the *Sophist*'s School: but afterwards left off his *Pallium*, and imbraced a *Monastick life*. Concerning the *Rhetoricians Pallium* see what we have remarked before at book 7. chap. 12. note *(c.)* To which may be added this passage out of *Theophylactus Simocatta*'s *Menodia*, *which he spoke in praise of the Emperour* Mauricius *after* Phucas's *death*: Σπουδαίως δὲ λόγοι ἦν κρέττων, τῷ ἐυφημίαν αὐ μᾶσαι. τὸ λευκὸν εἶναι τεθέσθαι. Which words *Theophylactus* himself cites in the *eighth book* of *his History*, chap. 12. Whence it may be gathered, that the *Rhetoricians Pallium was white*, *not red*, or *Scarlet coloured*, as we have noted before from *Cyrillus*, and *Basilius Grammaticus*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* speaks also concerning the *Rhetoricians Pallium*, in *his twentieth Oration concerning the praises of Basilius*. pag. 328. *Edit. Paris.* 1609 where *Billius* (by the same mistake) has rendred it *Pallia Philosophica*, *the Philosophick Palliums*. Valef.

[a] Τελέωνα φορεῖν. *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, thus, *Pallium Philosophicum*, *the Philosophick Pallium*, adding a word of his own, to wit, *Philosophick*. But *Socrates* speaks not concerning the *Philosophick Pallium*, but concerning *that of the*

[b] I agree not with *Christophorson*, who has rendred this place so, as if *Atticus* had sent for *Silvanus* to come to him. What need was there of sending for him, who was present at *Constantinople*, to wit, a *Rhetorician* in the School of *Troilus* the *Sophist* who taught Rhetorick at *Constantinople*? The word συλλαβεῖν signifies something more, to wit, *to lay hold of*, and *use force towards any person*. By this term therefore *Socrates* shews, that *Silvanus* was against his own will, and with a reluctancy made Bishop of *Philippopolis* by *Atticus*. *Philippopolis* is the *Metropolis* of that Country strictly and properly called *Thracia*. You must know further, that the ordination of the *Metropolitanes* of *Thracia* belonged then to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. For the *Patriarchs* by a certain singular priviledge ordained *Metropolitanes*, as I have observed at large in *my dissertation on the sixth Canon of the Nicene Councill*. [*The Learned Reader will meet with this dissertation of* Valesius's *at pag.* 188. *of his notes on* Socrates *and* Sozomen; *Edit. Paris.* 1668.] Hence 'tis, that the same *Atticus Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, ordained the said *Silvanus* Bishop of *Troas*, upon the request of the Inhabitants of that City. For *Alexandria Troas* [or, *Alexander's Troas*,] was the *Metropolis* of *Phrygia*. This is in express words established by the *twenty eighth Canon of the Chalcedon Councill*, [which occurs at Tom. 1. pag. 145, *Edit. Beveredg.*] which Treats *concerning the priviledges of the Constantinopolitane See*: to wit, that the *Metropolitanes* only of the *Thracican*, *Pontick*, and *Asian-Diœceses*, should be ordained by the *most holy Constantinopolitane See*; the Decrees being, (as usually,) first made, by the common consent of the Clergy and Laity, and directed to the *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*. For thus *the foresaid Canon* does determine, ψηφισμάτων συμφώναν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων, *The Decrees made as usually*, *being agreed upon and transmitted to him*. The Canon means the *Decree of Request*, such a one as the *Corinthians* sent to *Bonifatius*, desiring they might have *Perigenes* for their Bishop; as we have observed before at chap. 36, note *(c.)* *Valef.*

[c] Ἀπὸ χορτίνων σανδαλίων. *Christophorson* renders it, *Sandaliis indutus fœno confectis*, *shod with Sandalls made of hay*. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* (who is followed by *Langus*, *Nicephorus's Translator*, book 14. chap. 39.) translates it *solcas de sparto*, *Sandalls of Sparum*.

Spartum is a kind of Shrub like our Broom, of which they made bonds to tie their Vines, ropes for Ships, and (as it ſeems) *Sandalls* alſo. Such *Sandalls* as theſe were thoſe termed *Carbatinæ*; concerning which ſee *Julius Pollux Onomaſt.* book 7. chap. 22. *Heſychius* (in the word καρβατίνη,) ſays *they were mean ſhooes worn by the Peſants*; and expounds that term thus, μονόπελλον ὑπόδημα, *a ſhooe with one ſole.*

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of *Troas* departed this life. On which account the Inhabitants of *Troas* came [to *Conſtantinople*] to deſire a Biſhop. Whileſt *Atticus* was conſidering whom he ſhould ordain, it hapned that *Silvanus* came to give him a viſit. As ſoon as *Atticus* ſaw him, he [d] laid aſide his care [about that affair] immediately, and ſpoke to *Silvanus* [on this wiſe,] *You have no further excuſe for your avoiding the care and government of* [*this*] *Church. For* Troas *is not a cold place. Behold, God has provided you a convenient place for the infirmneſs of your body. Delay not therefore, Brother, but go to* Troas. Wherefore *Silvanus* removed to that City: where he did a Miracle, which I will now relate. A vaſt Ship for carrying of burthens, made for the conveyance of great pillars, (ſuch a veſſell they term *Plate*;) had been newly built on the Shore of *Troas*. This Veſſell was to be Launched. But though many ropes [were faſtned to the Ship,] and a great number of perſons [did their utmoſt] to hale it [Seaward,] yet it was not in any wiſe to be moved. After this had been done for many days, then they thought that a devil detained the Veſſell. Wherefore, they went to Biſhop *Silvanus*, and entreated him to make a prayer in that place. For they believed, that by that means only the Ship was to be drawn into the Sea. But he, entertaining modeſt thoughts of himſelf, ſtiled himſelf a ſinner, and ſaid, that was a work to be done by ſome righteous perſon, not by him. When they continued their Suit with a greater earneſtneſs, he went to the Shore. Where after he had prayed, he * took hold of one of the ropes, and bad them ſet cloſe to the buſineſs. And when they had haled the Ship on a little, ſhe ran ſwiftly into the Sea. This Miracle performed by *Silvanus*'s hands ſtirred up thoſe of that Province to piety. But *Silvanus* was a good man as to other things alſo. For perceiving that the Eccleſiaſticks made a gain of their contentions who were engaged in Suits at Law, he would never make any one of the Clergy a Judge. But received the Libells of the *Litigants* himſelf, and called one of the faithfull Laicks to him, whom he knew to be a Lover of juſtice; to whom he committed the hearing of the cauſe, [by which means] he [e] freed the *Litigants* from contentiouſneſs. For theſe reaſons *Silvanus* got himſelf a great name amongſt all men. Thus much concerning *Silvanus*, which although declared by way of digreſſion, yet (in my judgment) the mention hereof * is not unuſefull. But let us return to that place, from whence we have digreſſed. After *Maximianus* therefore was ordained Biſhop [of *Conſtantinople*] in the Conſulate of *Baſſus* and *Antiochus*, about the twenty fifth of *October*, the affairs of the Church were in a ſedate and quiet poſture.

[d] Inſtead of [ἐπέθετο, *laid upon*] we read [ἀπέθετο, *be laid aſide*] agreeable to *Chryſoſtom*'s and Sr *Henry Savil*'s reading. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *touched.*

[e] In *Robert Stephens Edition* the reading is [ἀπέλασεν, *he drove.*] In the *Florent.* M. S. 'tis ἀπέλαστεν. Wherefore, I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote [ἀπέλλαστεν, *he freed*, or *releaſed.*] For the common reading, in my judgment, is not to be born; although *Nicephorus* confirms it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Has not been unfruitfull.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THEOD. Jun. and VALENTINIANUS.

Concerning the Jews *in* * Creet, *how, many of them turned* Chriſtians *at that time.*

* This Iſland is now termed *Candia.*

ABout the ſame time, many of the *Jews* [who dwelt] in *Creet*, turned *Chriſtians*, on account of this calamitous accident. A certain *Jew*, who was an *Impoſtor*, feigned himſelf to be *Moſes*: and affirmed himſelf to have been ſent from heaven, that he might [a] lead out the *Jews* who inhabited that Iſland, and conduct them through the Sea. For he was (as he ſaid) the ſame perſon, who preſerved the *Iſraelites* heretofore [by leading them] through the *Red-Sea*. For the ſpace of one whole year therefore, he travelled about to all the Cities of that Iſland, and perſwaded the *Jews* who inhabited therein, to believe theſe things. And he exhorted them to leave their money and poſſeſſions: for he promiſed, that he would lead them through a dry Sea into the Land of Promiſe. They, deceived by ſuch hopes as theſe, neglected all employments; and moreover deſpiſed the things they poſſeſſed, permitting any perſons they met with to take them. When the day was come which had been ſet by this *Jewiſh Impoſtor*, he himſelf went before, and they all followed with their wives and little children. He leads them therefore to a Promontory which * ran out into the Sea, and ordered them to caſt themſelves from thence into the Ocean. They who came firſt to the Precipice, did ſo, and loſt their lives immediately, part of them being daſh't [in pieces] againſt the Rocks, and part drowned in the Waters. And many more of them had periſhed, had not ſome Fiſhermen and Merchants (who were *Chriſtians*,) by the diſpoſall of divine providence hapned to be preſent. Theſe perſons drew out and ſaved ſome of them who were almoſt choak'd with the waters; who having been in ſo imminent danger, were then ſenſible of their own madneſs. They kept the others alſo from caſting themſelves into the Sea, by telling them that thoſe were deſtroyed who had thrown themſelves in firſt. The *Jews* therefore, having at length underſtood the Impoſture, blamed their own indiſcretion in believing. But when they endeavoured to [ſeize] the † *Pſeudo-Moſes* and kill him, they could not apprehend him. For he diſappeared [on a ſudden;] and this made moſt men ſuſpect that he was a deſtructive Devil, who had clothed himſelf with an humane ſhape, that he might deſtroy their Nation in that Country. By reaſon of this calamitous accident, many of the *Jews* then in *Creet*, bade adieu to *Judaiſm*, and * embraced the Faith of the *Chriſtian* Religion.

[a] In ſome Copies the reading is [ἐκλαβεῖν] at which word *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* and *Nicephorus* with good reaſon were diſpleaſed; and therefore both of them omitted it. in my judgment it ſhould be [ἐκβαλεῖν, *might lead out*] Valeſ.

* Or, *hung over into, &c.*

† Or, *falſe-Moſes.*

* Or, *betook themſelves to.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Fire which hapned in the Church of the Novatianiſts.

NOt long after this time, *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* gat the repute of a perſon truly beloved by God, and indeed rendred [his own reputation] far greater than what it had been before. For, there hapned a moſt furious

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rious fire [at *Constantinople*,] such a one as had never † been known before. For a great part of the City was destroyed by this fire: in so much that the [a] greatest Granaries, and that termed *the* [b] *Achillean Bath*, were burnt down. At length the fire, consuming [all things in its way,] approacht the *Novatianists* Church, which stands neer *Pelargus*.

† Or, *happened.*

[a] Τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὠείων. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ὠρείων with an aspirate. And *Langus* translates it *Barns*, or *Granaries*. *Musculus* renders it *Maxima ædificia, the greatest Edifices*. *Christophorson, fortissima munimenta, the strongest Fortresses*. I had rather follow *Langus*. For ὠρεῖον is a barbarous Greek word, which signifies a *Barn* or *Granary*; as *Meursius* has long since observed in his *Glossary*. *In the Kings Copy* I found it written ὀρεῖον at this place. Further, there were five publick *Barns* or *Granaries* at *Constantinople*; to wit, four in the *fifth Ward*. Vales.

[b] In the *Alexandrian Chronicle* (pag. 728, *Edit. Monach.* 1615,) the words are these: *On Theodosius Augustus's fourteenth Consulate which he bore with* Maximus, *there arose a great fire from the* Neorium, *which burnt down the Granaries and the Achillean Bath, in the month* Loös, &c. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* renders it, *Thermas quæ vocantur Achillea, that termed the Achillean Bath*. Which rendition is confirmed by *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*, (pag. 26. Edit. Paris. 1619;) at the Consulate of *Maximus* and *Paterius*, which was the year of Christ 443. *His Coss.* (says he) *Thermarum quæ Achilleæ dicuntur, Encænia facta, in their Consulate, that termed the Achillean Bath was* [after it had been rebuilt,] *dedicated*. And *the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicon* affirms the same (pag. 730, *Edit. ut prius,*) in these words; ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων, &c. *In the same persons* [that is, *Maximus*'s and *Paterius*'s] *Consulate, the publick Bath termed Achilles was dedicated*, in the month *Audunæus, before the third of the Ides of* January. The *Achillean Bath* therefore (after it had been consumed by fire, in the *fourteenth Consulate* of *Theodosius* which he bore with *Maximus*, on the year of Christ 433,) was rebuilt and dedicated on the tenth year after. *Vales.*

When therefore *Paulus* the Bishop saw his Church in danger, he rush't into it [and ran] as far as the Altar, where he * commended the preservation of the Church and the things therein to God, nor did he omit the pouring forth his prayers both for the City, and for the Church. † And God heard his prayer, as 'twas demonstrated by the event. For though the fire brake into the Church through all the doors and windows, yet it did no harm. It wholly consumed many adjacent Edifices on every side of it: but you might have seen the Church it self in the midst of the whole fire, triumphing over its raging Flames. And when this fire had continued two whole days and as many nights, it was wholly extinguished, after it had burnt down a great part of the City. But the Church appeared entire and untoucht. And (which is more to be admired) there was not the least * appearance of smoak to be seen on its timber, or walls. This hapned about the sixteenth of *August*, in *Theodosius*'s fourteenth Consulate which he bore with *Maximus*. Since which time the *Novatianists* do celebrate [the memory of] their Church its having been preserved, every year about the sixteenth of *August*; on which day they put up their thanksgivings to God. And all persons in a manner, not only *Christians* but very many *Pagans* also, since that time honour that place, by reason of the Miracle which hapned therein; and have a veneration for it as being truly holy. But thus far concerning these things.

* Or, *committed.*

† Or, *But God heard the man.*

* Or, *token, or footstep.*

CHAP. XL.

That Proclus *succeeded* Maximianus *the Bishop.*

MAximianus having quietly governed the Churches two years and five months, died in the Consulate of *Areobindus* and *Aspar*, on the twelfth of *April*. That day hapned to fall on the week of *Fasts*, [to wit] the week which immediately precedes the Feast of *Easter*: and it was the * fifth day of that week. At which time the Emperour *Theodosius* made a prudent provision for this affair. For least a debate should arise again about the Election of a Bishop, which might raise a disturbance in the Church; he delayed not, but whilest *Maximianus*'s body lay as yet unburied, ordered the Bishops that were present [in the City] to place *Proclus* in the Episcopall Chair. For the Letters of *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he approved of [a] this [Election,] were then come; which Letters he had sent to *Cyrillus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, to *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch*, and to [b] *Rufus* [Bishop] of *Thessalonica*; informing them, that nothing hindred him (who had been nominated and actually was Bishop of one City,) from being translated to another. Therefore after *Proclus* was placed in the Episcopall Chair, he made a Funerall for the body of *Maximianus*. But we have now an opportunity of speaking something in short concerning *Proclus*.

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* That is, *Thursday* in the *Passion week.*

[a] Instead of [τοῦτο] I read [τούτῳ,] as did Sr *Henry Savill* and *Christophorson*. Moreover, I agree with *Baronius*, who (at the year of Christ 434,) has truly remarked, that these Letters of *Cælestine* Bishop of *Rome* were not written on this year, but two years before; to wit, when (after *Nestorius*'s deposition,) they were busie about Electing a Bishop of *Constantinople*. 'Tis certain on this year (when *Areobindus* and *Aspar* were Consuls) *Cælestine* was dead, and *Xystus* had succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Rome*. Vales.

[b] *Valesius* has told us before (at *note (c.) on chap.* 36,) that *Rufus* Bishop of *Thessalonica* was deputed the Vice-gerent of the Apostolick See [that is, *Rome*] throughout *Achaia* and *Macedonia*. He adds here, *that he had the same Vice-gerency throughout* Illyricum, *as the Epistles of* Innocentius *and* Bonifacius Bishops of Rome *do declare, which are to be seen in* Lucas Holstenius's Roman Collection. *For (continues* Valesius) *the Bishops of* Thessalonica *had that privileedge from the times of* Pope Damasus, *as we learn from the* same Collection. Balsamo (*in* his comments *on the* Synod in Trullo, pag. 359, Edit. Paris. 1620.) *affirms, that the Bishops of* Thessalonica *were heretofore the Legates of the* Roman Bishop; *and that the Bishop of* Rome *has a power of constituting Legates in the* Constantinopolitane Patriarchate; *but denies that he has a power of ordaining Bishops*; *wherein* Balsamo *is much mistaken. For those Provinces, which then when* Balsamo *wrote, were under the* Constantinopolitan Prelate, *had heretofore been under the Bishop of* Rome. *Further, the* Nicene Synod *has determined, that the ancient usages should be observed.* Thus far *Valesius*. But, as you see, he gives no reason to confute what *Balsamo* has said, to wit, *that the Bishop of Rome has no power to ordain Bishops within the Constantinopolitane Patriarchate*. And therefore I will (and so may the *Reader* too, if he pleases) suspend my belief, till some reasons are assigned. This passage in *Balsamo* (here quoted by *Valesius*) occurs in Dr *Beveredge's Synod*. Tom. 1. p. 154. See *the Learned Doctors notes*, pag. 126.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning Proclus *the Bishop what manner of man he was.*

PRoclus was from his younger years a Reader, he frequented the Schools, and imployed his time in [the study of] *Rhetorick*. Being come to man's estate, he was for the most part conversant with *Atticus* the Bishop, and had been his *Notary*. When he had made a great proficiency, *Atticus* promoted him to the *Diaconate*. Having been preferred to the *Presbyterate*, *Sisinnius* (as I have said * before) ordained him Bishop of *Cyzicum*. These things had hapned long before this. But, 'twas at this time that he obtained the Chair of the *Constantinopolitane* Church. He was a person endowed with as good a disposition and moralls, as was any man whatsoever. For having been educated under *Atticus*, he studiously imitated

* *At chap.* 28.

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all that was good in him. [a] But he exerciſed a patience far greater than *Atticus*. For he, * now and then, ſhewed himſelf terrible to Hereticks. But *Proclus* was calm and mild to all perſons: [b] in regard he foreſaw, that they might be brought [to embrace the true faith] by this means, rather than by force. For being reſolved to vex and diſquiet no Hereſie whatever, he preſerved the dignity and honour of his mildneſs and manſuetude intire and unviolated, and [as if it had been ſome pledge] reſtored it to the Church. In which particular thing he imitated the Emperour *Theodoſius*. For 'twas His fixt and unalterable determination, not to make uſe of his Imperiall power and authority againſt Criminalls: and *Proclus*'s reſolution was, not to value any ones entertaining ſuch ſentiments concerning God, as were different from thoſe embraced by himſelf.

* Ἐν καιρῷ, *upon occaſion.*

[a] In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, the reading is, πλὼ δὲ ἀνεξικακίαν πλέον ἢν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν ἐξήσκησεν, *But he exerciſed a patience far greater than he* [Atticus] *had.* The word [εἶχεν, *had*] is wanting in the *Sforzian* M. S. Wherefore I doubt not but *Socrates* left it written thus, πλὼ δὲ ἀνεξικακίαν πλέον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἐξήσκησε. *But he exerciſed a patience far greater than* Atticus. Which emendation is confirmed by *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* and *Nicephorus*, for *Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 38,) words it thus; ἀνεξικακίᾳ δὲ καὶ πλέον ἤπερ ἐκεῖνοι, *moreover, he was far more patient than they*, [that is, *than* John Chryſoſtome *and* Atticus.] And *Epiphan. Scholaſt.* renders it thus: *Sed in iſto patientia potior apparebat, but in him a better* [or more deſireable] *patience appeared.* Valeſ.

[b] We reade [τούτῳ δὲ, *in regard* ——— *by this means*;] before which words we have put a *Colon*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLII.

That, this Writer *ſpends many words in praiſe of the Emperour* Theodoſius Junior's *probity.*

ON account hereof therefore, *Proclus* was highly commended by the Emperour. For * He himſelf alſo was like to ſuch as were true Prelates; nor did he any wiſe approve of thoſe, who were deſirous of perſecuting others. Yea, I can ſpeak it with confidence, that for meekneſs he excelled all thoſe who were true and genuine Eccleſiaſticks. [a] And what is recorded of *Moſes* in the *Book of Numbers*, * *Now the man Moſes was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth*; the ſame may be now ſaid of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, to wit, that he is very meek, above all the men which are upon the face of the earth. For by reaſon of this his meekneſs, God has ſubdued his enemies under him, without military engagements, as hath been demonſtrated by his Victory over the Tyrant † *Johannes*, and [ſhall be made evident] from the deſtruction of the || Barbarians, which ſucceeded that ſoon after. For what manner of aſſiſtances have been given by God to juſt men heretofore, ſuch like have even in our times been beſtowed on the moſt pious Emperour, by the God of the Univerſe. Nor do I write this out of flattery, but I will give a Narrative of affairs (which all men have been throughly acquainted with,) as they truly are.

* That is, *Theodoſius.*

[a] The diſcourſe will be more gracefull and Emphaticall, if we add a particle thus, καὶ καθάπερ, &c. *And what is recorded*, &c. and ſo make this the beginning of a period. Thus *Nicephorus* reads it. *Valeſ.*

* Numb. 12. 3.

† See book 7. chap. 23.

|| *See the following* chapter.

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CHAP. XLIII.

How great calamities thoſe Barbarians *underwent, who had been the Tyrant* Johannes's *Auxiliaries.*

FOr after the ſlaughter of the Tyrant, thoſe *Barbarians* whom he had called to his aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, made preparations to overrun [and ruine] the *Roman* * Provinces. When the Emperour heard of it, according as his uſage was, he committed the care of this affair to God: and having been earneſt in prayers, not long after obtained what he deſired. Further, it will be advantagious, to hear what [calamities] befell the *Barbarians*. Their Commander in chief, whoſe name was [a] *Rougas*, is killed by a clap of thunder. Then followed a plague, which deſtroyed moſt of the men under his command. Nor was this only ſufficient; but fire alſo deſcended from heaven, and conſumed many of thoſe who remained. And this put the *Barbarians* into the greateſt terrour imaginable, not ſo much becauſe they had dared to take up Arms againſt the valiant Nation of the *Romans*; as in regard they found them aſſiſted by a powerfull God. Moreover, *Proclus* the Biſhop Preached a Sermon at that time in the Church, wherein he applied a prophecy [taken] out of *Ezechiel* to the deliverance effected by God at that juncture; [for which diſcourſe] he was greatly admired. The prophecy runs thus: *And thou ſon of man, prophecy againſt* [b] Prince Gog, Rhos, Miſoch and Thobell. *For I will judge him with death, and with bloud, and with an overflowing rain, and with ſtones of hail. And I will rain fire and Brimſtone upon him, and upon all thoſe with him, and upon many Nations* [*which are*] *with him. And I will be magnified and glorified, and I will be known in the eyes of many Nations. And they ſhall know that I am the Lord.* On account thereof therefore, as I have ſaid, *Proclus* was much admired. But on the Emperour, becauſe of his meekneſs, many other [Bleſſings] were conferred by divine providence. Amongſt which this was one, [which I will now relate.]

* Πράγματα, *affairs.*

[a] In *Priſcus's Hiſtory of the Goths*, the King of the *Hunni* is termed *Rouas*, who was ſucceeded by *Attalas*. In *Jordanes* he is called *Roas*, the brother of *Octar* and *Mundiuchus*, the uncle of *Attalas*. *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlator calls him *Roilas*, for what reaſon I know not: for in *Nicephorus* 'tis *Rougas*, as well as here in *Socrates*. Valeſ.

[b] See Ezech. 38. verſ. 2, 22, & 23. In the *Septuagint Verſion*, at v. 2. the words are ἄρχοντα ῥὼς *Prince Rhos.* But the term ῥὼς is wanting in the *vulgar Tranſlation*, inſtead whereof *Hieronymus* has rendred it thus, *Principem capitis Moſoch, Prince of the chief of Moſoch.* Wherefore, what *Langus* remarks here concerning the *Ruſſi*, is in my judgment forreign to this place. *Valeſ.* In the *Hebrew*, the words at this text are נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ; which in the *margin* of our *Engliſh Verſion* is render'd exactly, thus, *Prince of the chief of Meſhech. Socrates* quotes this whole text out of *Ezechiel*, in the words of the *Septuagint Verſion*, and we have tranſlated them accordingly. The difference between the *Greek Verſion* and *Originall Hebrew* at this text is great. Our *Engliſh Tranſlatours* (as they generally do, ſo here) follow the *Hebrew.*

CHAP. XLIV.

That the Emperour Valentinianus Junior *married* Eudoxia *the daughter of* Theodoſius.

HE had a daughter by his Wife *Eudocia*, her name *Eudoxia*. His * Couſin Germane *Valentinianus*, whom he had made Emperour of the Weſtern parts, deſired he might marry this [Princeſs.] To which when the Emperour

* See book 7. chap. 24.

THEOD. Jun. and VALENTINIANUS.

Emperour *Theodosius* had given his consent, and both the *Augusti* (after they had deliberated about celebrating the marriage at some place on the frontiers of both Empires,) had resolved each to make a journey half way, and do it at *Thessalonica*: *Valentinianus* sends *Theodosius* intimation by Letter, that he should not give himself that trouble: for, that he would come in person to *Constantinople*. Having therefore secured the Western parts [with a sufficient guard,] he comes to *Constantinople* on account of the marriage. Which having been celebrated in the Consulate of [a] *Isidorus* and *Senator*, he took his Wife, and returned into the Western parts. Such a felicity as this befell the Emperour at that time.

[a] These persons were Consuls on the year of Christ 436.

But *Prosper*, *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*, and the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, disagree from *Socrates*. For those Authours relate, that this marriage was celebrated on the year following, whereon *Aëtius* bore his second Consulate with *Sigisvultus*, in the month of *November*. The same is confirmed by *Jordanes* in *his book de Successione Regnorum*; where after he has spoken concerning the whoredom committed by *Honoria* with her *Procurator Eugenius*, which was done in the Consulate of *Arcobindus* and *Aspar* on the year of *Christ* 434; He adds these words; *Posthæc tertio anno Valentinianus*, &c. *On the third year after this the Emperour* Valentinianus *comes from* Rome *to* Constantinople *in order to his marrying* Eudoxia *daughter to the Emperour* Theodosius: *and having given all* Illyria *as a gratuity to his Father in Law, after the celebration of the marriage, he returned with his Wife to his own Kingdomes. Cassiodorus Senator* attests the same concerning the donation of the *Western Illyricum* (book 11. *Variarum*, Epist. 1. pag. 684, *Edit. Aurel. Allobrog.* 1622.) in these words: *Placidiam mundi opinione celebratam, avorum* [or, *principum*, or, *aliquorum*, as 'tis in some Copies,] *Prosapia gloriosam, purpurato filio studuisse percepimus; cujus dum remisse administrat Imperium, indecenter cognoscitur imminutum. Nurum denique sibi amissione Illyrici comparavit, factaque est conjunctio regnantis, divisio dolenda provinciis.* Vales.

CHAP. XLV.

That Proclus *the Bishop perswaded the Emperour to translate the Body of* Johannes *from the place of his Exile* [*where it had been buried,*] *to* Constantinople, *and to deposite it in the Church of* The Apostles.

NOt long after this time, *Proclus* the Bishop reduced *those [to the Church] who had made a separation [from it] on account of Bishop *Johannes*'s deposition; having mitigated their disgust by a †prudent expedient. What that was, we must now relate. After he had perswaded the Emperour [to give his consent thereto,] he brought the body of *Johannes*, which had been buried at *Comani*, to *Constantinople*, on the thirty fifth year after his deposition. And when he had carried it through the City, publickly in great pomp and state, he deposited it with much honour and solemnity in that termed the Church of *The Apostles*. Those persons therefore who had made a separation on *Johannes*'s account, were by this means prevailed upon, and became united to the Church. And this hapned in the sixteenth Consulate of the Emperour *Theodosius*, about the twenty seventh of *January*. But I cannot forbear wondring here, how [it came to pass,] that Envy should assail and corrode *Origen* after he was dead, and yet spare *Johannes*. For *Origen* was excommunicated by *Theophilus* about two hundred years after his death. But *Johannes* was admitted to communion by *Proclus*, on the thirty fifth year after he died. So great was the difference between *Proclus*'s disposition, and that of *Theophilus*. But prudent men are not ignorant, [a] in what manner these things have been, and daily are done.

*He means those termed the *Johannitæ*. See book 6. chap. 18.

†Or, *by prudence.*

THEOD. Jun. and VALENTINIANUS.

[a] By these words *Socrates* does plainly discover his opinion. For he would say, that these things are usually done through envy, or out of favour. For because *Origen* was condemned by *Theophilus*, so many years after his death; that *Socrates* ascribes to *Theophilus*'s envy towards *Origen* himself, or against those termed the *Long-Monks*. And, whereas *John Chrysostome* was brought back with honour into his own Country, on the thirty fifth year after his death; that *Socrates* attributes to the love and benevolence of *Proclus* and the people of *Constantinople*. But I am not of *Socrates*'s opinion. For although in affairs of this nature, the affections of men have some effect. Yet divine Justice and providence, whereby the Church is governed, doth always overrule. *Origen* therefore was condemned for his Heterodox opinions; and *John Chrysostome*, being consecrated for his integrity of life and doctrine, continues in the Church to this very day. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning the death of Paulus *Bishop of the* Novatianists, *and concerning* Marcianus *who was his successour.*

SOme little time after the Removall of *Johannes*'s body, died *Paulus* also Bishop of the *Novatianists*, in the same Consulate, about the twenty first day of *July*. Who at his own Funerall reduced all the disagreeing Heresies into one Church in a manner. For they all accompanied his body to the *Grave with singing of Psalmes: because whilest he lived, all [Sects] loved him exceedingly for his †Sanctity of life. But, because the same *Paulus* performed a memorable action just before his death, I judge it usefull to insert it into this History, for their advantage who shall peruse this Work. For, that during his sickness he observed his usuall *Ascetick* [discipline as to his] dyet, and transgressed not in the least [the rules] thereof; and, that he never omitted performing the [usuall] prayers with a fervency; [all this] I think fit to leave unmentioned: least by spending time in giving a narrative hereof, I shou'd obscure that memorable and most usefull action (as I have said) which he performed. What that is, must now be declared. Being neer dying, he sent for all the Presbyters belonging to the Churches under him, to whom he expresst himself thus: *Take care about electing a Bishop* [*over your selves*] *whilest I am alive; least afterwards your Churches be disturbed.* When they made answer, that the Election of a Bishop was not to be left to them: *for in regard* [said they,] *some of us have one Sentiment, others another, we shall never nominate the same person: but we wish, that you your self would name that man whom you desire* [*to be your successour.*] To which *Paulus* made this return: *deliver me then this profession of yours in writing*, [*to wit,*] *that you will Elect him whom I shall appoint to be chosen.* When they had done that, and confirmed it by their subscriptions, [a] he sate on his bed, and (without discovering it to those who were present,) wrote *Marcianus*'s name in the paper. This person had been promoted to the *Presbyterate*, and likewise had been instructed in an *Ascetick* course of life under *Paulus*: but was then gone to travell. After this he Sealed up the

*Or, *Tomb.*

†Or, *Reitude.*

[a] Ἀναχλίσας τῆς κλίνης. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ὑποχλίσας, *he sate upon*; in which Author these words are added, καὶ χάρτην λαβών, *and having taken the paper*: which seem altogether necessary. *Vales.*

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the paper himſelf, and cauſed the chief of the Presbyters to Seal it up alſo, and then delivered it to one *Marcus*, (who was Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* in *Scythia*, but had at that time made a journey to *Conſtantinople*;) to whom he ſpake theſe words: *If God ſhall permit me to continue much longer in this life, reſtore this* * depoſitum *to me* [*now*] *committed to your truſt to be kept ſafely. But, if it ſhall pleaſe him to remove me out of this world, in this paper you will find whom I have Elected to be my ſucceſſour in the Biſhoprick.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, he died. On the third day therefore after his death, when they had unſealed the paper in the preſence of a great multitude, and found *Marcianus*'s name therein, they all cried out that he was a worthy and fit perſon. And without delay they diſpatcht away ſome meſſengers who might ſeize him. They took him by a pious fraud at his reſidence in *Tiberiopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia*; from whence they brought him along with them, and about the twenty firſt [b] of the ſame month ordained, and placed him in the Epiſcopall Chair. But enough concerning theſe things.

* *This pledge*, or, *Gage.*

[b] Although our M. SS. Copies alter not the reading here; yet I agree with *Chriſtophorſon* and S[r] *Henry Savill*, who have mended it thus [*of the month Auguſt.*] Doubtleſs, in regard *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* died on the twenty firſt of *July*, and the paper wherein he had named *Marcianus* to be his ſucceſſour, was unſealed three days after his death, as *Socrates* has told us before; 'tis not to be ſuppoſed, that *Marcianus* could be ordained Biſhop on the twenty firſt *of the ſame month*, to wit, *July*; in regard he abſconded in *Tiberiopolis* a City of *Phrygia*: from whence he was to be brought to *Conſtantinople*, that he might be there conſtituted Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLVII.

That the Emperour Theodoſius *ſent his Wife* Eudocia *to* Jeruſalem.

MOreover, the Emperour *Theodoſius* offered up his Thankſgivings to God for the benefits which he had conferred upon him. And this he performed, by honouring *Chriſt* with ſingular and eminent honours. He likewiſe ſent his wife *Eudocia* to *Jeruſalem*. [a] For ſhe had oblieged herſelf alſo to a performance of this vow, if ſhe might ſee her daughter married. But the Empreſs herſelf alſo * beautified the Churches at *Jeruſalem*, and all thoſe in the Eaſtern Cities, with various ornaments, both when ſhe went thither, and likewiſe at her return.

[a] Inſtead of [ᾧ γὰρ αὐτὴ ταῦτα εὐξήν, &c. *For he had oblieged himſelf to a performance*, &c.] I doubt not but it ſhould be [ᾧ γὰρ αὐτὴ, *for ſhe had obliged herſelf*;] that is, *Eudocia*. Thus *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* read, as appears from his Verſion; which is thus, *Hoc enim & ipſa votum habuerat, ſi filiam videret nuptam, For ſhe herſelf alſo had* [*made*] *this vow, if ſhe might ſee her daughter married.* Valeſ.

* Or, *honoured.*

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CHAP. XLVIII.

Concerning Thalaſſius *Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia.

ABout that very time, to wit, in *Theodoſius*'s ſeventeenth Conſulate, *Proclus* the Biſhop attempted a wonderfull thing, the like to which has not been performed by any of the Ancient Biſhops. For *Firmus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* being dead, the *Cæſareans* came [to *Conſtantinople*,] and requeſted they might have a Biſhop. And whileſt *Proclus* was conſidering whom he ſhould preſer to that See, it hapned that all the Senatours came to the Church on the Sabbath, to give him a viſit, amongſt whom was [a] *Thalaſſius* alſo, a perſonage who had born a *Præfecture* over the Provinces and Cities of *Illyricum*. But [though] (as it was reported) he had been the perſon pitch't upon who was about to have the Government of the *Eaſtern* parts committed to his care by the Emperour; [yet] *Proclus* laid his hands on him, and inſtead of his being conſtituted a *Præfectus Prætorio*, made him Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. Thus ſucceſsfull and proſperous were the affairs of the Church. But I will here cloſe my Hiſtory, with my prayers [to God,] that the Churches in all places, the Cites, and Provinces may live in peace. For, as long as peace flouriſhes, thoſe that are deſirous to do it, will have no ſubject for their writing an Hiſtory. For we our ſelves (who have performed what you enjoyned us in Seven Books, O Sacred man of God, *Theodorus!*) ſhould have wanted matter for this our Hiſtory, if the lovers of ſeditions and tumults would have been quiet. This Seventh Book contains [an account of affairs tranſacted during] the ſpace of two and thirty years. The whole Hiſtory, which is comprized in Seven Books, contains the ſpace of an hundred and fourty years. It begins from the firſt year of the two hundredth ſeventy firſt *Olympiad*, wherein *Conſtantine* was proclaimed Emperour; and ends at the ſecond year of the three hundredth and fifth *Olympiad*, whereon the Emperour *Theodoſius* bore his ſeventeenth Conſulate.

[a] This is the *Thalaſſius*, or *Thalaſſus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, to whom *The one Law* (*Tit. 6. Legum Novellarum Theodoſii Junioris*) was directed, which is dated at *Conſtantinople*, on the *third of the Ides of Auguſt*, in *Theodoſius*'s ſeventeenth Conſulate which he bore with *Feſtus*. After this day therefore, on this very year, *Thalaſſius* was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea* by *Proclus*. Which action of *Proclus*'s *Socrates* does not without cauſe wonder at, as new, and not practiſed by former Biſhops. *Nectarius* indeed, when he was *Prætor* of *Conſtantinople*, had been created Biſhop of that City. But, the Emperour's conſent had been firſt obtained, as *Socrates* has told us before. But here *Proclus* meerly by his own impulſe, laid his hands on a *Præfectus Prætorio*, who by the Emperour had been deſigned to the government of the *Orientall Præfecture*. Notwithſtanding, it is to be underſtood, that the Emperour's conſent was afterwards obtained, who approved of what *Proclus* had done. But, in promoting inferiour Magiſtrates to Eccleſiaſtick degrees, the Prince's conſent was in no wiſe neceſſary. For the *Præfectus Prætorio*'s approbation was ſufficient, under whoſe diſpoſe the Preſidents of Provinces were. We have an eminent inſtance hereof in the *Life of* S[t] *Germanus Altiſſiodorenſis*, which was written by *Conſtantius Preſbyter*. Which *Germanus* being Preſident of a Province, and *Amator* Biſhop of *Altiſſiodorum* [a City in *France*, now called *Auxerre*] having a mind to appoint him his ſucceſſour; *Amator* procured the conſent of *Julius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Gallia*'s, before he attempted to do that; as 'tis related in book 1, chap. 3, *concerning the Life of* S[t] *Germanus*. Further, this *Thalaſſius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* was preſent at the *falſe Synod* at *Epheſus* [convened] againſt *Flavianus*; as we are informed from the *Acts of the ſaid Synod*, which are recorded in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Councill*. Valeſ.

The End of *Socrates Scholaſticus's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.*

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

Evagrius Scholasticus EPIPHANIENSIS,

(And [One] of the

EX-PRÆFECTS,)

IN SIX BOOKS,

Translated out of the GREEK, according to that Edition set forth by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1673.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annexed an account of the foresaid *Historian's Life*, and *Ecclesiastick History*, Collected by VALESIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed by *John Hayes*, Printer to the University. 1681.

VALESIUS'S ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, AND Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis.*

Evagrius Scholaſticus was by Nation a *Syrian*, as was alſo † *Theodoret:* born at *Epiphania* (which was a City of *Syria Secunda*;) as he himſelf has declared in the Title of his own work. Therefore I wonder at *Gerardus Voſſius*, who (in *his Book de Hiſtoricis Græcis*, pag. 498,) relates that *Evagrius* was born at *Antioch*. But *Evagrius* himſelf, (both in the *Title of his Hiſtory*, and alſo in *his Third Book*, Chap. 34,) does expreſsly atteſt that he was born at *Epiphania*. For, ſpeaking there concerning *Coſmas* Biſhop of *Epiphania*, his words are theſe; Κοσμᾶς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὁπισκοπῶν Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἣ τὸν ὀρόντην σωίοικον ἔχει, &c. *Coſmas Biſhop of Our Epiphania, in the Vicinage whereof runs the* [*River*] *Orontes*, &c. Beſides, *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca*, chap. 29,) affirms that *Evagrius* was born in *Epiphania* a City of *Syria Cœle*. But, which is ſtrange, *Nicephorus Calliſtus* does in two places term our *Evagrius* (not *Epiphanienſis*, but) Ἐπιφανῆ, that is, *Illuſtrious*.

† He was Biſhop of *Cyrus*; and ſet about writing *an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* (which *Valeſius* has publiſhed with the other *Greek Hiſtorians of the Church*) towards the latter end of *Theodoſius Junior*'s Reign, at the ſame time that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* wrote theirs. He began where they did, (to wit, from thoſe times whereat *Euſebius* cloſed *his Hiſtory*;) and ended with them; *viz.* at the latter end of *Theodoſius Junior*'s Empire. 'Tis more than probable, that he wrote after *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. For (1) all the Ancients were of this opinion. (2) He that reads *his Hiſtory*, will find it nothing elſe but a ſupplement of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* their Hiſtories. (3) *Theodoret* himſelf, in the *firſt chapter of the firſt Book of his Hiſtory*, ſays theſe words: τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας τὰ λειπόμενα συγγράψαι πειράσομαι, *I will attempt to commit to writing the Remaines of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.* (4) Laſtly, he publiſhed *his Hiſtory* after the year of Chriſt 448, (as *Valeſius* demonſtrates in *his Preface before his Hiſtory*;) whereas *Socrates* and *Sozomen* had finiſhed their Hiſtories on *the ſeventeenth Conſulate of Theodoſius Jun.* that is, in the year of Chriſt 439. He is moſt particular in his account of the affairs of the *Eaſtern Church*, in regard he lived there. *His Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* are but *five in number* (as he himſelf intimates at the cloſe of *his fifth Book*;) wherein he comprehends the affairs tranſacted in the Church, during the ſpace of 105 years.

For, in *Nicephorus's Firſt Book*, chap. 1, the words are theſe; ὅγε μὴν Εὐάγριος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς, &c. *Moreover*, Evagrius *the Illuſtrious*, &c. And, in Book 16. Chap. 31; *Nicephorus* quoting a paſſage of *Evagrius*, out of *his Third Book*, Chap. 34, (which paſſage I have juſt now mentioned,) expreſſes himſelf thus, οἷα δὲ καὶ Εὐάγριος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς περὶ σάλπυγος ἱστόρησεν, *Moreover, in like manner as* Evagrius *the Illuſtrious has related concerning* Severus. But, my Sentiment is, that Tranſcribers have miſtook at both thoſe places, and have written Ἐπιφανὴς [*Illuſtrious*,] inſtead of Ἐπιφανέως [*Epiphanienſis*.] Doubtleſs, *Nicephorus* might have been evidently informed, from *Evagrius*'s own words which he there produces, (which we have alſo quoted above,) that *Evagrius* had been born at *Epiphania*. Further, *Evagrius* was born in the Reign of *Juſtinianus Auguſtus*, on the year of Our Lord 536, or 537, as I have demonſtrated from *Evagrius*'s own Teſtimony, in *my* * *Notes on Book* 4. *Chap.* 29. *of his Hiſtory*. On the year of *Chriſt* 540, his Parents committed him to the care of a *School-Maſter*, that he might learn *the Letters*. At which time (when *Thomas* Biſhop of *Apamia* had given notice to the neighbouring Cities, that on a ſet day he would ſhow the enlivening wood of the Croſs, which was kept at *Apamia*;) *Evagrius* was lead to that City by his Parents, and with his own eyes ſaw that Miracle, which was then performed in the Church; as himſelf atteſts

* See *Evagrius's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, book 4. chap. 29, note (f.)

teſts in *his Fourth Book*, Chap. 26. Now, this hapned on the year of *Chriſt* 540; when the *Perſians*, having made an irruption into *Syria*, had burnt *Antioch*: which was done in *Juſtinus Junior's Conſulate*, as we are informed by *Marcellinus Comes*, and *Marius* in *his Chronicon*. Two years after this, when † *The Lues Inguinaria* began to rage in the *Eaſt*, *Evagrius* was as yet under a School-Maſter, learning *the Letters*, and was ſeized by *that Peſtilence*, as he himſelf atteſts, Book 4. chap. 29. Having afterwards left the Schools of the *Grammarians*, he betook himſelf to the Study of *Rhetorick*. And when he had made a great proficiency in *that Art*, he was regiſtred * amongſt the company of *Advocates*. Whence he got the Appellation of *Scholaſticus*: which term ſignifies *a Lawyer*, as *Macarius* informs us in *his fifteenth Homily*, in theſe words: † *He that deſires to have a knowledge in* Forenſian Caſes, *goes and learns the* Notes [Letters, *or*, Abbreviatures.] *And when he has been the firſt there, he goes to the School of the* Romans, *where he is the laſt of all. Again, when he comes to be the firſt there, he goes away to the School of the* Pragmatici [*or*, Practicants] *where he is again the laſt of all, and* Arcarius [*or*, Novice.] *Then, when he is made* a Scholaſticus, *he is* Novice, *and the laſt of all the* Lawyers. *Again, when he comes to be the firſt there, then he is made a* Preſident [*or* Governour *of a* Province.] *And when he is made a* Governour, *He takes to himſelfe an* Aſſiſtant [Councellour] *or* Aſſeſſour. In *Macarius's Greek Text*, I have mended it thus, ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πεάγματα, *he that deſires to have a knowledge in Forenſian Caſes*; not as 'tis in the common reading, ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν γεάμματα, *he that deſires to have a knowledge in Letters*. Further, in what City *Evagrius* practiſed the Law, 'tis uncertain. Notwithſtanding, my conjecture is, that he pleaded Cauſes at *Antioch*: in which City there were three *Fora* [that is, *Courts of Judicature*] or *Tribunals*; and as many *Schools of Advocates*, as I have obſerved from *Libanius*, in my Notes on *Evagrius*, Book 1. * chap. 18. 'Tis certain, he could not be an *Advocate* at *Epiphania*, (which, as we have declared already, was the place of his Nativity;) in regard that City had no *Judiciary Forum*, but brought its Cauſes to *Apamia*, in which City the *Conſularis* of *Syria Secunda* held a Court of judicature. But, for my believing *Evagrius* to have been an *Advocate* at *Antioch*, rather than at *Apamia*, this is my chief reaſon; becauſe he was moſtly converſant in that City, where he married a wife alſo, and begat ſons of her. He married a daughter likewiſe in that City, as himſelf atteſts in *his Fourth Book*, chap. 29. And after ſhe, together with her ſon, had ended her life by the Peſtilentiall diſeaſe, on the tenth year of *Mauricius*; *Evagrius*, deprived of his wife and children, remarried, and took to wife a young Virgin in that City, as he relates *Book 6. chap.* 8. Where he atteſts alſo, that the whole City kept holiday on that account, and celebrated a publick Feſtivity, * both in *Pompous Shows*, and alſo about his marriage-bed. Whence 'tis by the way apparent, how great his authority was at *Antioch*. Moreover, he wrote *his Hiſtory* at *Antioch*, as may be Collected from *the twentieth* * *chapter* of *his Firſt Book*. Where ſpeaking concerning the *Empreſs Eudocia's Jeruſalem-journey*, he ſays, ſhe came to *Antioch*: ἣ χρόνοις ὑστερον δὴ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐπεσημήνη Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν πολιν, ἐνταῦθα τε γίνεται, that is, *a long time afterwards, in her journey which ſhe made to the Holy City of Chriſt our God, ſhe* [*Eudocia*] *comes hither*, (to wit, *to Antioch.*) *Evagrius* therefore lived at *Antioch* when he wrote this Hiſtory. Hence 'tis that *Evagrius* is ſo diligent in recounting the *Works* and *Publick Edifices* of the City *Antioch*; as may be ſeen in *his Firſt Book*, *chap.* 18, and in *his Third Book*, chap. 28. At which places he does not obſcurely intimate, that he lived at *Antioch*, whileſt he wrote theſe things. Hence 'tis alſo, that he mentions with ſo much care and diligence, the earth-quakes, wherewith *Antioch* was now and then ſhaken: and, that in the *Notation* of the times he always makes uſe of the *Antiochian* years. Laſtly, this may be Collected from the *ſeventh chapter* of *his Sixth Book*, where he relates, that *Gregorius Patriarch* of *Antioch* (having been accuſed of *Inceſt*, before *Johannes*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, by a Silver-ſmith,) appealed to the Emperour, and to a Synod. And when he went to *Conſtantinople*, in order to the proſecution of his Cauſe before the Emperour and Synod, he took *Evagrius* along with him, as his *Aſſeſſour* and Counſeller, that he might make uſe of his advice. By which words *Evagrius* does plainly enough declare himſelf to have been an *Advocate* and a Lawyer. For *Aſſeſſours* were wont to be taken out of their body, as well by the *Civill* as *Military* Magiſtrates. Nor was *Evagrius* Councellour to *Gregorius* in this criminall affair only, but in other cauſes alſo. For in regard *Gregorius* was *Patriarch* of the *Orientall* Church, and * could not but have the examination of many Cauſes every day, he muſt neceſſarily ſtand in need of ſome *Aſſeſſour*, who might ſuggeſt to him the *Forms of Right* and of the Laws. Indeed, *Evagrius*'s words do fully declare what I have ſaid. For he ſaith; * Περὶ τούτων μὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ παρεδρεύοντι καὶ παρόντι γε ἀυτῷ, καὶ τὴν βασιλέως γέγονε, τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑφέξων, *Having me therefore his Aſſeſſour and Companion, he went to the Emperour's* [*City*, *Conſtantinople*,] *in order to the making his defence againſt theſe* [*accuſations.*] But let the Studious determine concerning this matter, according to their own arbitrement. 'Tis ſufficient for me, to have propoſed my conjecture to the Readers. Further, the ſame *Gregorius* made uſe of *Evagrius*'s judgment, not only in *Judiciary proceedings*, but in writing *Letters* alſo, and *Relations*, which he now and then ſent to the Emperour; in *his Sermons* likewiſe and *Orations*; as *Evagrius* atteſts at the † *cloſe of his Hiſtory*. Which * Volume when *Evagrius* had publiſhed, not

† *The plague in the Groyn.*

* Or, *in the number.*

† Ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πράγματα, ἀπέρχεται καὶ μανθάνει τὰ σημεῖα· καὶ ὅταν γένηται ἐκεῖ πρῶτος, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸν σχολὴν τῶν ῥαμαίων, καὶ ἔστιν ὅλων ἔσχατος· πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅταν γένηται πρῶτος, ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸν σχολὴν τῶν πραγματικῶν, καὶ ἔστι πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅλων ἔσχατος, ἀρχάριος· εἶτα ὅταν γένηται σχολαστικὸς, ὅλων τῶν δικολόγων ἀρχάριός καὶ ἔσχατός ἐστι· πάλιν ὅταν ἐκεῖ γένηται πρῶτος, τότε γίνεται ἡγεμών. Καὶ ὅταν γένηται ἄρχων, λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν ἢ συνδιάδεσον.

Valeſius quotes this paſſage out of *Macarius*, in *his notes* on *Socrates*, book 6. chap. 6. note (*f.*)

* See *Note* (*b*) in *that chapter.*

* *Tum in Pompa*, *both in Pomp.*

* See *note* (*b*) in *that chapter.*

* Or, *ought to have*, &c.

* See *Evagrius* book 6. chap. 7.

† See *Evagrius* book. 6. chap. 24.

* That is, the volume of *relations*, *letters*, &c.

not without the consent of *Gregorius* the *Patriarch*, in the Reign of *Tiberius Constantinus*, he had the dignity of a *Quæstorate* bestowed upon him by the same Emperour. And not long after, when he had made *an Oration concerning the praises of* Mauricius Augustus, *on account of the Birth of the most noble child* Theodosius, he received the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture* from the same *Mauricius*; as he himself attests *at the close of his History*. *Evagrius*'s words there are thus translated by *Christophorson*: *Pro quibus duos honoris gradus consecuti sumus: Quæsturam à* Tiberio Constantino, *& munus Tabularum servandarum, in quibus Præfectorum nomina inscribebantur, à* Mauricio Tiberio: *For which we have obtained two degrees of honour: a Quæsture of* Tiberius Constantinus, *and the Office of keeping the Tables, wherein the names of the Præfects were inscribed, of* Mauricius Tiberius. Which ill rendition deceived *Gerardus Vossius* and *Philippus Labbæus*. For *Vossius* (in *his* * *Book de Historicis Græcis,*) treading in *Christophorson*'s steps, says thus: *Pro duobus autem hisce Libris ait gemino se honore esse affectum. Nam à* Tiberio Constantino *Quæsturâ fuisse ornatum: sed a* Mauricio *consecutum esse, ut Tabulis publicis præesset: now, for these two Books, he says, he had a double honour conferred on himself. For he was honoured* [*as he saith*] *with a Quæsture by* Tiberius Constantinus: *and, that he obtained of* Mauricius, *the having the charge of the publick Tables.* But *Philippus Labbæus* (in *his dissertation de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,*) hath * *interpolated* Christophorson *s Version*, after this manner: *Seque duos honoris gradus ait consecutum: & primùm à* Tiberio Constantino *ad Quæsturam evectum; tum à* Mauricio *munus adeptum servandarum Tabularum, in quibus non tàm nomina, quàm ipsa Præfectorum acta inscribebantur: And he says that he himself obtained two degrees of honour: and in the first place, that he was preferred to a Quæsture by* Tiberius Constantinus; *and secondly, that he procured of* Mauricius *the office of keeping the publick Tables, wherein not only the names, but the Acts of the Præfects were inscribed. Musculus* has done much better, who hath rendred the passage in *Evagrius* thus: *Quarum etiam Gravià duas dignitates sumus consecuti: à* Tiberio Constantino *Quæstoratum largiente,* Mauricio *verò* Tiberio *Literas Hyparchicas mittente, On account of which* [*Volume of Relations, Letters, &c.*] *we have obtained two dignities:* [*one*] *from* Tiberius Constantinus, *who gave us a Quæsterate; and* [*another*] *from* Mauricius Tiberius *who sent us his Hyparchicall Letters.* He would have said, *The Codicills of a Præfecture*, which the *Latines* term † *Letters* also, as I have long since observed in *my Notes on Ammianus Marcellinus*. Hence 'tis, that in the Title of *his History*, *Evagrius* terms himself ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν, [*one*] *of the Ex-Præfects*, because *he had been rewarded with the Codicills of an honorary Præfecture by the Emperour*. After this, the same *Evagrius* published *Six Books of Ecclesiastick History*, beginning from those times wherein *Theodoret* and *Socrates* had closed their Histories; that is, from the *Ephesine Synod*, wherein *Nestorius* was condemned and deposed: to wit, from the year of *Christ* 431. And he has continued *his History* to the twelfth year of the Emperour *Mauricius*, which was the year of *our Lord* 594. In *his Third Book*, at chap. 33, speaking concerning *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch* he says that at such time as he wrote these things it was the *Six hundredth fourty first year of the Antiochians*. In regard therefore the *Antiochian-Hera* precedes *that of our Saviour's Nativity* fourty eight years; if from the number 641 we substract 48 years, it will be the year of Christ 594. The same may also be Collected from Book 4, chap. 29. where *Evagrius* writes, that whilest he penned this History, *that Plague in the Groyne* which had almost wholly destroyed the whole world, had already raged two and fifty years. Now, this Plague began to rage two years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*, that is, in the year of Christ 542. To which number of years if you add two and fifty, it will be made *the year of Christ* 594. Further, *Evagrius*'s diligence is chiefly to be commended, because, undertaking to write *an Ecclesiastick History*, he made a Collection of whatever was pertinent to that Subject, out of the best Writers, to wit, *Priscus, Johannes, Zacharias, Eustathius* and *Procopius* [who were all] *Rhetoricians*. His Style likewise is not to be found fault with. For it has a Beauty and Elegancy; as *Photius* does also attest. But the chief thing commendable in *Evagrius* is, that of all the *Greek Writers of Ecclesiastick History*, he is the only person, who has kept the Doctrine of the true Faith intire and undefiled; as (after *Photius*) *Baronius* has observed in *his Annalls*. Notwithstanding, he deserves reproof for this, *viz.* because he has not used so much diligence in searching out the Monuments of *Ecclesiastick Antiquity*, as in reading *Profane Writers*. Indeed, almost the whole *Sixth Book* is spent in a *Narrative* of the *Persian War*. Besides, his Style in many places is *Redundant* and *Luxuriant*, as *Photius* has truly remarked in *his Bibliotheca*. An instance of which *superfluity of Expression* you have in Book 1. Chap. 2; where he speaks concerning *Nestorius* after this manner: Ἡ θεομάχος γλῶσσα, τὸ καϊάφα δίκτεον συνέδριον, &c. *that tongue full of hostility against God, that second Sanhedrim of Caïphas*, &c. and, in Book 2. chap. 3; where he describes S^t *Euphemias Church*, which was at *Chalcedon*: The same *redundancy of Style*, the Studious Reader will of himself easily observe, in many other places.

* Pag. 274. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

* Repaired, or, put a new face upon.

† Or, Letters-Patents.

Moreover, *Rob. Stephens* was the first person that Printed *Evagrius's History in Greek*, from one only *Manuscript Copy* belonging to the *Kings Library*, *which Manuscript* is very new, and not extraordinary good. For in many places 'tis defective and imperfect. But we have mended and perfected *Evagrius*'s *History* in so many places, from *two Manuscript Copies* of the best note, that it may seem now to have been first published. The first of *these Copies* was the *Florent. Manuscript*, [taken] out of S^t *Laurence's Library*, which the most famous *Michael Erminius* compared with the *Geneva Edition*, and sent me the *Various Readings* written out with his own hand. On which account I profess my self very much ob-

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lieged to him. This Manuſcript is the beſt and ancienteſt of all the Copies of *Evagrius*. For 'tis written in parchment, [and was tranſcribed] about five hundred years ſince more or leſs, as I have been informed by one that ſaw it, *viz. Emericus Bigotius*, an excellent Schollar, and a perſon who has deſerved well of Learning; by whoſe favour and Intervention I received the fore mentioned *Various Readings*, ſent by the moſt famons *Michael Erminius*. In the ſame *Florentine Manuſcript*, ſome not unlearned *Scholia* were written in the margin, which we have put into *our Annotations*, in their due places. But, the Reader is to take notice, that in this *Florentine Manuſcript* is contained *Socrates Scholaſticus's Hiſtory* alſo, the various Readings whereof the ſame *Erminius* ſent me long ſince, written out with his own hand; as I have atteſted above four years ſince, in *that Preface* I prefixt before *my Edition of Socrates* and *Sozomen*. The *ſecond Manuſcript Copy* was taken out of the Library of that *moſt Illuſtrious Prelate* Dionyſius Tellerius, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Rheims*: this is no very ancient Copy; but 'tis a good one, and tranſcribed by the hand of a Learned man. This Copy was of great uſe to us in many places, as we have now and then ſhown in *our Annotations*.

THE

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphaniensis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

The *Writers* Preface [wherein he declares] on what account he betook himself to the Writing of this present History.

EUSEBIUS *Surnamed* PAMPHILUS, *a Person both eminently Eloquent as to other things, and so powerfull in his Writings also, that by his perswasives he might be able (if not to render them* [a] *perfectly Orthodox, yet) to prevail upon his Readers so far as to embrace our* [Sentiments:] Eusebius *surnamed* Pamphilus [I say,] Sozomen, Theodoret, *and* Socrates, *in the best and most accurate manner have set forth in Writing, both the Advent of* [our] Compassionate God *amongst us, and* his Ascent *into the heavens; and also those things which the divine Apostles, and other Martyrs have couragiously performed in their Combats* [in defence of the *Faith;*] *Moreover, whatever else hath been transacted by those of our Religion, whether praise-worthy, or otherwise, till some* [b] *part of the Emperour* Theodosius's *Reign. But, in regard no person has hitherto given an orderly Narrative of the transactions that hapned afterwards, which* [notwithstanding] *are not much inferiour to them; I have resolved (though I am but little versed in such things,) to undertake this Work, and to compile an History of those affairs; being very confident, that by his assistance, who infused wisdome into Fishermen, and made the tongue of a Brute utter an articulate voice; I shall raise affairs already buried in Oblivion, give life to them by my Discourse, and render them immortall by an* [eternall] *commemoration: to the end that every one of my Readers may know, what* [has been done,] *when, where, how, against whom, and by whom affairs have been transacted, untill our own times: and* [to the end that] *nothing worthy to be remembred, may lie concealed by a remiss and dissolute Sloth, and (which is its next neighbour,) Oblivion. Divine assistance therefore being my guide, I will begin, where the Authours I have already mentioned, closed their History.*

[a] I like not *Christophorson's* Version, who has rendred Λίαν ἀκριβεῖς, *Perfectè Christianos, perfectly Christians.* I would rather render it *perfectly Orthodox.* For the followers of true opinions are properly termed ἀκριβεῖς. *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca*) speaks thus concerning *Socrates Scholasticus*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν οὐ λίαν ὀρθὸν ἀκριβῆς. *Moreover, in his Sentiments he is not very Orthodox.* The meaning of this place therefore, is this: *Eusebius* (although he be very fit to perswade his Readers to embrace the Christian Religion, yet) is not able to make them very accurate in the doctrine of the *Christian* Faith, in regard he himself seems to have inclined towards the opinion of the *Arians.* For, this was the sentiment of many persons concerning *Eusebius Pamphilus*; whom I have sufficiently answered, in *the Preface I have written to the same Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History.* Vales.

[b] The word [μέρους, *part*] is wanting in *the Kings*, in the *Florentine*, and in the *Tellerian* M. SS. nor is it in *Robert Stephens's Edition.* The *Geneva-Prinsers* were the first that put in this word, from *Christophorson's Copy*, the *Various Readings* whereof are extant at the end of the *Cologne-Edition.* *Christophorson* has expressed this word in his Version. For thus he renders it: *ad aliquam partem Regni Theodosii, to some part of Theodosius's Reign.* But, it seems more elegant to me, to suppress, rather than add this word. If a word must be added, I had rather add χρόνου, *time.* Vales.

CHAP. I.

That, after the destruction of the impious Julian, *when the Heresies had been a little quieted,* * *the Devil afterwards disturbed the Faith again.*

* Or, *The wicked Devil.*

WHen the impiety of *Julian* had now been drowned in the bloud of the Martyrs, and *Arius*'s madness bound in the Fetters made at *Nicæa*; and when *Eunomius* and *Macedonius*, [a] driven away by the Holy Spirit [as it were [a] Ἐκβαδέντων, *Christophorson and* Sr *Henry Savil* have mended it thus, ἐκβιαδέντων, *compelled*, or *rejected by force.* But, that reading is much better, which the *Florentine* and *Tellerian*, M. SS. give us, to wit, ἐκβεβαδέντων, *driven away — as it were by an impetuous wind.* 'Tis a *Metaphor* taken from Shipwrack't persons who are driven away by the violence of a Storm. *Evagrius* compares the Holy Spirit to a wind, by the force whereof *Eunomius* and *Macedonius* being driven away, were at length Shipwrack't at *Constantinople*, to wit, condemned in the *Constantinopolitan Synod.* Vales.

by an impetuous wind,] had been Shipwrack't about the *Bosphorus*, and at the sacred City *Constantinople*: when the Holy Church, having laid aside her late filth, and * recovering her Pristine beauty and gracefullness, was clothed † *in a Vesture of Gold wrought about with divers colours*, and made fit for her Lover and [Celestiall] Bridegroom: the Devil, Virtue's enemie, unable to bear this, raises a new and || unusuall kind of War against us; contemning the worship of Idols which now lay trampled under foot, and abandoning *Arius*'s Servile madness. He was indeed afraid of making an attack against [our] Faith, [openly] as an enemy, in regard it was fortified by so many and such eminent Holy Fathers; and [because] he had lost many of his Forces in the Siege thereof. But he attempts this business in such a method [rather] as theeves make use of, by inventing certain Questions and Answers, whereby he in a new manner * perverted the erroneous to *Judaism*; the Wretch being insensible, that he should be foiled † even this way. For, that one [b] Term, which before he had made the sharpest resistance against, he now admires and embraces: rejoycing mightily (though he could not wholly * vanquish us, yet) that he was able to adulterate even but one word. Having therefore many times [c] wound up himself within his own malice, he [d] invented the change of one Letter, which might indeed † lead to one and the same sense, but notwithstanding would separate the understanding from the tongue; least with both they should confess and glorifie God in a concordant and agreeable manner. Further, in what manner each of these things was performed, and what conclusion they had, I will declare in their due places and times. Whereto I will likewise add whatever else I could finde worthy to be related, although it may seem forreign to my subject; [resolving] [c] to close my History where it shall seem good to the compassionate and propitious Deity.

* Or, *being restored to her pristine*, &c.

† See the *Septuagint Version*, at Psalm 45. vers. 9.

|| Or, *monstrous*.

* Or, *reduced*.

† Or, *even from hence*.

[b] He means *the Term Homoiousios* [that is, *Coessentiall*.] For the malignant Devill made his chiefest resistance against this word, in regard it was the *Beesome* as it were of all Heresies, and the firmest fortress of the true Faith. *Vales.*

* Or, *remove*.

† Or, *draw*.

[c] Ἱλυσπωμένῳ; a term used to denote the manner *how a Serpent moves*; which is incomparably well expresst by *Virgill*, in these words,

——— Sinuatque immensa volumine terga,
And he windes up his vast back in a Roll, or, *Volume.*

[d] Instead of [ἐτέχνωσε] I had rather make it [ἐτέχνασε;] as it is in the *Tellerian* M.S. Further, 'tis very intricate, what word *Evagrius* should mean here. The Term *Homoiousios*, [that is, *of like substance*, or, *essence*] might indeed be meant. But, because in this word there is *an addition* (rather than *a change*,) of one Letter, [to wit, *of the Letter I*;] therefore *the præpositions* [ἐξ, and ἐν,] that is, [*of*, and *in*] are rather to be meant: *which præpositions* raised great stirs and commotions in the Church, on account of the *Eutychian Heresie*; some affirming that Christ was to be adored, [as subsisting] *of two natures*, others, [as subsisting] *in two natures*. Vales.

[c] This place wants not difficulty. *Musculus* renders it thus: *Ubi absolutam hanc historiam benigno Deo commendavero, Where I shall have commended this complicated History to the benign God.* But this rendition is not to be born with. Therefore *Christophorson* has translated it otherwise, to wit, after this manner: *Ibique finem scribendi faciam, ubi Deo clementi ac propitio visum fuerit, and there I will make an end of writing, where it shall seem good to the mild and propitious God.* But, neither does this translation fully satisfie me. For, first, *Evagrius* says not, ἀποδησόμενος, in the *future tense*, but ἀποδήμενος, in the *present tense*. Secondly, I do not remember that I ever read this phrase [ἀποτίθεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν] in such a sense as to import, *to finish an History*. Ἀποτίθεσθαι signifies properly *recondere*, *to lay up*: whence ἀποθήκη imports *a repository*, or, *store-cellar for wines*. It signifies also *to lay on the ground*, or, *depositе in a monument*. *Hesychius* in *his Lexicon* renders ἀποθέμενος by ὁ κείμενος, *he who lieth*. The same *Hesychius* says ἀποτίθεσθαι does signifie ἐκτίθεσθαι, *to expose*, or, *set forth*. *Which signification* is contrary to *the former*. For, *to hide*, and *to set forth* or *promulge*, are contrary the one to the other. I had rather therefore render this passage of *Evagrius* thus, *Historiam editurus, quando clementi placuerit Deo*, [*and*] *shall put forth my History, when it shall please the Gracious God.* Notwithstanding, if any one shall prefer *Christophorson's Version*, I will not much resist it. 'Tis certain, *Evagrius* (in the seventh chapter of *his first book*) uses these words τὸν βίον ἀπέθετο, so as to signifie, *he ended his life*. Nevertheless, in the thirteenth chapter of *this book*, *Evagrius* uses this word, in this sense, viz. *to relate*, or, *set forth*. For thus he says: γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν λογίως ἀπέθετο καὶ Θεοδώρητος, &c. *Moreover*, Theodoret *also wrote, and elegantly set forth*, [or, *related*.] &c. And in the 11th chapter of *this book*, ἀπετέθη is used in the same sense, instead of ἐξετέθη, *he set forth*. Also in the beginning of *his second book*, *Evagrius uses* ἀποθώμεθα, instead of ἐκθώμεθα, *we will set forth*. Vales.

CHAP. II.

How Nestorius *was detected by his disciple* Anastasius, *who in* his Sermon, *termed the Holy Mother of God, not* * Theotocos, *but* † Christotocos: *for which reason* [Nestorius] *was pronounced an Heretick.*

* That is, *the Woman who bore God.*

† That is, *the Woman who bore Christ.*

FOr as much as *Nestorius* (that tongue full of Hostility against God, that second *Sanhedrim* of *Caiphas*; that shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again [a] bargained for, and sold; *his* Natures being divided and torn in sunder, of Whom not one bone had been broken on the very Cross it self, according as it is written; nor had his woven coat in any wise been rent by the Murderers of God;) has rejected and abandoned the term *Theotocos*, ([a word] long since framed by many of the [most] approved Fathers by [the inspiration of] the Holy Spirit:) and, instead thereof, has coyned and formed [the term] *Christotocos*, an adulterate coyn [as it were,] stamped by himself: and has refilled the Church with innumerable wars, making an inundation of Civill bloud therein: I shall not, I suppose, want matter agreeable and fit for the composure of an History, nor [shall I despair] of bringing it to a conclusion, if (by the cooperation of Christ, who is God above all,) I shall begin from the blasphemy of the impious *Nestorius*. Now, the War of the Churches had its originall from hence. [There was] one [b] *Anastasius* a Presbyter, (a person of a very unsound opinion, an ardent Lover of *Nestorius* and his *Jewish* Sentiments,) who had accompanied *Nestorius* in the journey he made in order to [his entring upon] the Bishoprick [of *Constantinople*.] In which journey (having had a conference with *Theodorus* at *Mopsuestia*, and heard his opinions,)

[a] Συμφωνεῖται. 'Tis strange that *both Translators* have erred in their Versions of this place. For, *Musculus* renders it thus: *officina blasphemiæ, in quâ rursus ad judicium vocatur & venditur Christus, that shop of blasphemy, wherein Christ is again called to judgment, and sold.* *Christophorson* translates it after this manner: *Qui Blasphemiæ officinam, in quâ Christus denuò trucidatur & divenditur, instruxit; who furnished up a shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again killed and sold.* Neither of them have rendred it well. For, neither is this expression [*to be called to judgment*] agreeable to a shop; nor is there any such *Greek word* as συμφονεῖται. I wonder at Sr *Henry Savill*, who set this most ridiculous emendation of *Christophorson's*, at the margin of his Copy. It should have been rendred thus, *that shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again bargained for, and sold at a price.* For σύμφωνω signifies properly *I make a bargain*, and σύμφωνον is *a bargain*, or, *agreement*; as it is in the *old Glosses*. Which term occurs frequently in the books of the *Greek Lawyers*. Vales.

[b] This *Anastasius* was *Syncellus* to *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Which is attested by *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, and by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. For the *Patriarchs* had their *Syncelli* (that is, *those that kept in the same Cell with them, or those that dwelt with them.*) whom they chose out of the order of Presbyters. So, in the *Epistle of the Constantinopolitan Synod to* Hormisda *Bishop of* Rome, *about the Election of* Epiphanius *Patriarch of* Constantinople, which Epistle *Baronius* Records at the year of Christ 520; amongst the Legates sent from the Synod, is named *Heraclianus* Presbyter of *The Greater Church*, and *Cohabitator*, [that is, *the person who dwelt with him*] to *Epiphanius* the *Patriarch*. *Epiphanius* himself also had formerly been *Presbyter* and *Syncellus* to *John*, *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, as *Dioscorus* attests in *his Epistle to Pope* Hormisda. Lastly, *John* had also been *Presbyter* and *Syncellus* to *Timothy*, *Patriarch of Constantinople*; as *Victor Tunonensis* informs us in *his Chronicon*, in these words: *Agapeto V. C. Cos. Timotheus C. P. Episcopus, Obtrectator Synodi Chalcedonensis, quinto die Aprilis occubuit, & Johannes Cappadox in cellâ propriâ atque Presbytero Episcopatum tradidit*; [*on my perill, mend it thus*, & Johanni Cappadoci Syncello proprio atque Presbytero

Presbytero Episcopatum tradidit; *there is nothing more certain than this emendation:*] that is, *in the Consulate of the most famous Agapetus, Timothy Bishop of Constantinople, the Reviler of the Chalcedon Synod, died on the first of April, and delivered the Bishoprick to John the Cappadocian, his own Syncellus and Presbyter.* The *Syncelli* were chosen also out of the order of *Deacons*. So, *in the third Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, one *Agorastius* a *Deacon* is termed *Syncellus* to *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*. Lastly, in *Eunodius* there is a Precept extant, whereby all Bishops are ordered to have their *cellulani*, [that is, *Chamber-fellows*, or *persons that were to keep in the same Cell with them.*] Which Precept runs thus: *Nullum ergo sacerdotem antiquis & modernis legibus obsequentem, &c. Our will is, that no Priest who is obedient to the ancient and modern Laws, and none of the Levites shall reside in any place without a person well approved of. And if the slenderness of any person's estate shall not permit him to have a companion, he himself shall become Cell-fellow to another.* The *Patriarchs* therefore were not the only persons who had their *Syncelli*. 'Tis certain, *Stephanus* is recorded to have been *Syncellus* to *Syncleticus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, by *Ephremius*, in *Photius*. Vales. See *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word Σύγκελλος.

was perverted from piety, as [c] *Theodulus* has related, treating hereof in one of *his Epistles*. [This *Anastasius*,] in a Sermon he Preacht ● the people that loved Christ, in the Church of *Constantinople*, was so audacious as openly and plainly to speak [these words;] *Let no person term* Mary Theotocos: *For* Mary *was a woman: but, 'tis impossible for God to be born of a woman.* The people that loved Christ being highly offended at the hearing hereof, and [supposing,] not without reason, that this expression opened a way to Blasphemy; *Nestorius*, the Authour of this Blasphemy, did not only not curb [*Anastasius*,] nor undertake the patronage of such Sentiments as were Orthodox and true: But also, openly and manifestly added strength to what *Anastasius* had said, and pertinaciously maintained disputes about these [points.] And sometimes he would insert and intermix his own opinions; and by belching forth the poyson of his own mind, attempted to teach such [doctrines] as were far more blasphemous. In so much that, to his own destruction, he uttered these words, *I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old*; as 'tis plainly related by *Socrates* in his account hereof, and [in the *Acts*] of the *Former Ephesine Synod*.

[c] I have found no mention of this *Theodulus* any where else. For, whereas *Nicephorus* names him at book 14. chap. 32, that mention of him is borrowed from our *Evagrius*. Notwithstanding, this person seems to have been that *Theodulus* a Presbyter in *Cœle-Syria*, who in the reign of *Zeno Augustus* wrote many things; as 'tis attested by *Gennadius Massilienſis*, and by *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*. Vales.

CHAP. III.

What Cyrillus the Great *wrote to* Nestorius, *and how the* third Synod at Ephesus *was convened, to which* Johannes [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch *and* Theodoret *came late.*

WHich [assertions] when *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, [a Prelate] of famous memory, had reproved by his own Letters; and *Nestorius* had defended them in his answers thereto; [a] nor could be prevailed upon, either by those [Letters] written [to him] by *Cyrillus*, or them [sent him] by *Celestinus* Bishop of the *Senior Rome*; but fearlessly vomited forth his own poyson against the whole Church: [*Cyrillus*,] (for which he had just cause,) made his requeſt to *Theodosius Junior* who at that time swayed the Sceptre of the *Eastern Empire*, that by his Order the *first Synod at Ephesus* might be convened. The [b] Imperiall Letters [therefore] were dispatcht away, both to *Cyrillus*, and also to the [Bishops that] presided over the holy Churches in all places. [*Theodosius*] appointed the day of the Synod's convention to be on the * day of the Holy *Pentecost*; whereon the life-giving spirit [of God] descended [c] upon us. *Nestorius*, in regard *Ephesus* is not far distant from *Constantinople*, came thither first. Also *Cyrillus* and the [Bishops] about him arrived before the day appointed. But *Johannes* Bishop of *Antioch*, together with the [Bishops] about him, was absent at the set day; not willingly, ([d] as it seems to many persons, from the Apology he made [in excuse for his not coming at the time appointed;]) but because he could not gather together the Bishops of his Province sooner. For the Cities [belonging to] the Bishops [under him,] are twelve days journey distant from that City (heretofore called *Antioch*, but now) termed *Theopolis*, to a man that is an expedite and nimble Traveller; but, to others [who are not so good at travelling] they are more [than twelve days journey distant.] And *Ephesus* is at least thirty days journey distant from *Antioch*. Wherefore [*Johannes*] affirmed, that he could in no wise meet at the appointed day, [if he should set out] when the Bishops, whom he had about him, had celebrated that termed the [e] *New Sunday* within their own Sees.

* In the year of Christ 431. See Dr *Beveredge's Annot. in Can. Concil. Ephes.* pag. 103.

[b] There is extant an Epistle of *Theodosius Junior's*, which they commonly called *Sacra*. For so *Theodosius* himself terms it, in *his Epistle to the Ephesine Synod*. In the *Latine Version* of *this Epistle*, the title is worded thus: *Sacra Imperatoria, missa Alexandriam ad Cyrillum Episcopum & Episcopos Metropolitanos ejus Regionis*. But the Greek words have a different import; they run thus: Θεῖον γράμμα ἀποσταλὲν ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κυρίλλῳ ὁπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ χώραν τῶν μητροπόλεων ὁπισκόποις, that is, *the Sacred Letters sent to* Alexandria *to* Cyrillus, *and to the Metropolitane Bishops every where*: for κατὰ χώραν has the same import with καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν, *in every Region*. And this is confirmed by *Theodosius* himself in *the same Epistle*, where he says, that by the same Copy he wrote πρὸς τοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ τῶν μητροπόλεων ὁπισκόπους, *to the Bishops of Metropolis's every where*. But, instead hereof, our *Evagrius* words it thus: γράμματον Βασιλικῶν, &c. *The Imperiall Letters* [*therefore*] *were dispatcht away, both to* Cyrillus, *and also to the* [*Bishops that*] *presided over the Holy Churches in all places*. Vales.

[c] The term [ἡμῖν, *upon us*] displeased *Nicephorus*. Therefore, instead thereof he substituted these words [τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀποστόλοις, *on the holy Apostles*.] But, this emendation was needless. For the term [ἡμῖν, *upon us*] is at this place put for *the Church of God*, which at that time resided in the Apostles. Indeed, the Holy Spirit had descended on *Mary* before, at such time as she conceived the Son of God: and afterwards upon Christ, when he had been baptized in *Jordan*, Which hapned to them by a speciall priviledge. But the Holy Spirit descended first on the day of *Pentecost* upon the Church of God by the Apostles; for the Apostles delivered the same Spirit (which they then received,) afterwards to their successours, by imposition of Hands. *Vales.*

[d] Ὡς πολλοῖς δοκεῖ. *Nicephorus*, instead of the word [δοκεῖ, *as it seems*] *uses* [ἔλεγον, *be said*.] But *Christophorson* read thus, ὡς πολλοῖς ἀπολογουμένοις δοκεῖ. For he renders this place after this manner: *Johannes Præsul Antiochiæ*, &c. John *Bishop of* Antioch, *together with his* [*Bishops*,] *was absent at the day appointed; not willingly indeed, as it seems to many persons, who have a mind to defend this fault of his*. Notwithstanding, I cannot approve of this emendation; although Sr *Henry Savill* hath set it at the margin of *his Copy*. *Musculus* renders this place thus: *Verùm præter animi sui sententiam, sicut & multis moram illam excusans, ostendit, But contrary to his own mind, as he has also demonstrated to many persons, in his excusing that delay*. But I am of opinion, that no alteration is to be made here, and do render the place thus: *But* Johannes *Bishop of* Antioch, *together with the* [*Bishops*] *about him, was absent at the set day; not willingly*, (*as it seems to many persons from the Apology he made*, &c. doubtless, there can be no other sense of these words. *Vales.*

[e] The *Greeks* heretofore termed *the first Sunday after Easter*, νέαν, or, καινὴν κυριακὴν, *The New Sunday*. So *Gregorius Nazianzenus* calls it in *his nineteenth Oration* which he spake at the Funerall of his own Father *Gregorius*. There is extant an Oration of the same *Gregorius's* (to wit, *his* 43 *Oration*) upon this *New Sunday*: in *which Oration* he gives a reason, why this day should be called *New Sunday*. Further, *the Synod in Trullo Can.* 66, terms *this Sunday* (which we now *commonly* call *Dominicam in Albis, the Sunday in the Albs*,) καινὴν κυριακὴν, *New Sunday*. Vales. Mr *Smith* (in *his Accounts of the Greek Church*,

[a] We have perfected this place from the incomparable *Florentine* M.S. by adding some words, which had been unhappily omitted by Transcribers. For, whereas in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, this clause is worded thus; καὶ οὔτε τοῖς Κυρίλλῳ, οὔτε τοῖς Καλεστίνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης ἐπισκόποις ἐπείθετο: we have altered it after this manner: καὶ οὔτε τοῖς Κυρίλλῳ, οὔτε τοῖς Καλεστίνῳ τῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης ἐπισκόπῳ γραφεῖσιν ἐπείθετο: *nor could be prevailed upon, either by those* [*Letters*] *written* [*to him*] *by Cyrillus, or them* [*sent him*] *by Celestinus Bishop of the Senior Rome*. Which I therefore thought good to give an Advertisement of, that the Readers might know, that we have neither added nor diminished any thing, except by the authority of *that most incomparable Manuscript*. Besides, the *Tellerian Manuscripts* agrees with the *Florentine Copy*. Vales.

Church, pag. 32, *Edit. Lond.* 1680,) tells us, that *the Grecks* do ſtill term *this Sunday*, καινὴν Ϲ νέαν, *the New Sunday*; and that 'tis alſo called κυριακὴ διακαινήσιμοϹ, that is, *regenerating*, or, *renewing Sunday*. See *Meurſius's Gloſſary*, in the word διακαινήσιμοϹ.

CHAP. IV.

How Neſtorius *was depoſed by the Synod, before the arrivall of* [*the Biſhop of*] Antioch.

WHen therefore fifteen days were paſt beyond the day prefixt, the Biſhops who had been called together for that reaſon (ſuppoſing that the Eaſtern [Biſhops] would not come at all, or if they did, that much time would be ſpent before they could be got together) [meet together in one place] [a] the divine *Cyrillus* adminiſtring, and the place of *Cæleſtinus*, who (as it has been ſaid) governed the Biſhoprick of the *Elder Rome:* they ſummon in *Neſtorius* therefore, entreating him that he would give in his anſwer to [the accuſations] brought againſt him. Who on the day before promiſed to come, if there ſhould be an occaſion for it, but [afterwards] neglected to fullfill his promiſe; and having been thrice called, after that he appeared not; [whereupon] the Biſhops convened undertook the examination [of the matter.] And when *Memnon* Biſhop of *Epheſus* had reckoned up the days which had paſſed after the ſet day, (they were in number ſixteen days;) and when the Letters of the divine *Cyrillus*, which had been written by him to *Neſtorius*, and alſo *Neſtorius's* [Letters] to *Cyrillus*, had been read; moreover, when that ſacred Letter of the famous *Cæleſtinus*, which he ſent to the ſame *Neſtorius*, had been annexed: further, when *Theodotus* Biſhop of *Ancyra*, and *Acacius* who preſided over the * See of *Melitina*, had declared thoſe blaſphemous Expreſſions, which *Neſtorius* had manifeſtly and openly belched forth at *Epheſus:* [laſtly,] when many ſayings of the holy and moſt approved Fathers, who have expounded the right and ſincere Faith, had been joyned together; and alſo, when the various blaſphemies fooliſhly and madly uttered by the impious *Neſtorius*, had been reduced into an Order: [I ſay, after all theſe things had been done] the Holy Synod pronounced ſentence [againſt *Neſtorius*] in theſe expreſs words: *Moreover, in regard the moſt Reverend* Neſtorius *would neither obey our Summons, nor admit the moſt Holy and moſt Religious Biſhops ſent by Us, We have been forced to proceed to an examination of his impious expreſſions. And having found, both from his Letters and Writings which have been recited, and alſo from his own words which he hath lately ſpoken in this* Metropolis, [*which expreſſions of his*] *have been confirmed* [*by the teſtimony of many perſons,*] *that his Sentiments and Doctrines are impious; being neceſſarily induced thereto, both by the* [*authority of the*] *Canons, and alſo by the Letter of our moſt Holy Father and Fellow-Miniſter* Cæleſtinus *Biſhop of the* Roman *Church, after many tears we have proceeded to* [*the pronunciation of*] *this ſad ſentence. Therefore, Our* Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *who has been blaſphemed by him, hath determined by this preſent Holy Synod, that the ſame* Neſtorius *is* * *diveſted of the Epiſcopall dignity, and* [*excluded from*] *all manner of ſacerdotall convention.*

[a] Here, and in *Robert Stephens's Edit.* this paſſage is worded thus: Κυρίλλου τοῦ θεσπεσίου διέποντοϹ, καὶ τὸν κλεσίνου τόπον, πλὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης πρωτεύοντοϹ; *The divine* Cyrillus *adminiſtring, &c.* In which clauſe (as the *Learned* Dr *Barrow remarks, in his Treat. of the Pope's ſuprem. pag.* 289) *a word ſeemeth to have fallen out. Zonaras* (on the 1 Can. *Synod. Epheſ. Tom.* 1. *Edit. Bever.* pag. 100.) expreſſes this paſſage more plainly, in theſe words: περιεστώτος τοῦ Ορθοδόξων πατέρων τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις κυρίλλου Πάπα ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντοϹ δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον κελεσίνου, *The Holy* Cyrill *Pope of Alexandria preſiding over the Orthodox Fathers, and alſo holding the place of Celeſtine.* And *Photius* thus: τῆ ῥώμης κελεσίνου ἐπλήρου τὸν καθέδραν καὶ πρόσωπον, [*Cyril*] *ſupplyed the ſeat and the perſon of* Celeſtine [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome. From which Authours 'tis plain, that *Cyrillus* had the diſpoſall of *Celeſtine's* ſingle ſuffrage, and that Pope's legall concurrence with him in his Actings in that Synod: But *Cyrillus* had no *Authoritative preſidency* from *Celeſtine*, becauſe the Pope could by no delegation impart *that*, himſelf having no title thereto, warranted by any Law, or by any Precedent; *that* depended on the will of the Emperours, who diſpoſed of *it* according as they ſaw reaſon. A notable inſtance whereof we meet with in the *next Epheſine Synod* (which in deſign was a *Generall Synod*, legally convened, though by ſome miſcarriages it proved abortive;) mentioned by *our Evagrius* in the tenth chapter of *this Book*: where though *Julius* (or rather *Julianus,*) *Pope Leo's Legate* was preſent; yet by the Emperours Order (ſee the words of *his Letter*, Syn. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 59.) *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* preſided. *Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 34,) tells us, that in regard *Celeſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* could not be preſent at this Synod, by reaſon of the dangers of ſuch a voyage, he made *Cyrillus* his Deputy: and that from this time *Cyrillus* and the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Alexandria* challenged the name of *Pope*, &c. Doubtleſs *Nicephorus* is miſtaken herein. For, *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* (in his third Epiſt. to *Philemon*, part of which is quoted by *Euſebius*, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 7. c. 7.) mentioning *Heraclas*, his predeceſſour in the *Alexandrian See*, ſays theſe words concerning him: τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν κανόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον ἔσχον τῆ μακαρίᾳ πάπα ἡμῶν ἡρακλᾶ παρέλαβον, *I received this Rule and Canon from* Heraclas *our Bleſſed Pope.* And *Athanaſius* (in *his ſecond Apologetick* Tom. 1. pag. 786, *Edit. Paris.* 1627;) has recorded an Epiſtle written to him from *Iſchyras*, which has this title, Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίῳ πάπα, *To Athanaſius the Bleſſed Pope.* Therefore, theſe words of *Nicephorus's* are (as *Valeſius* ſays truly in *his note here*) *inepta & falſiſſima, fooliſh and moſt untrue.* And, that other remark of *Valeſius's* here, which he makes from the former part of the now cited paſſage in *Nicephorus* (to wit, *that as well* Nicephorus, *as thoſe from whom he borrowed this, doubted not but the Biſhop of* Rome *was the Sovereign judge of all the Churches*;) is queſtionleſs no leſs fooliſh and falſe. 'Tis indeed true, that the Biſhops of *Rome* have ſome Genturies ſince claimed an Authority not only of preſiding in, but alſo of indicting and convening Generall Councills. But, how unjuſt this claim is, as well in reſpect of Right, as Practiſe, will be evident to him, who with attention and conſideration ſhall peruſe *theſe Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians.* Look back to what *Socrates* ſays in the *Proeme to his fifth Book:* σωιχῶς καὶ τοὺς Βασιλεὶς (ſays he) τῆ ἱστορίᾳ ϑεολαμβάνομεν, &c. *We do continually include the Emperours in this our Hiſtory, becauſe from ſuch time as they began to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, the affairs of the Church have depended on them; and the greateſt Synods have been, and at this preſent are convened by their determination and appointment.* But, for a moſt full and compleat ſatisfaction in theſe points, viz. *concerning the Biſhop of* Rome's *Sovereign power to indict and preſide in Generall Councills*; I referr the Reader to the *Learned* Dr *Barrow's Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy*, pag. 274. &c.

* Or, *chair.*

* Or, *removed*, or, *eſtranged, from.*

CHAP. V.

That Johannes [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch, *coming* [*to* Epheſus] *after five days, depoſes* Cyrillus [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria, *and* Memnon [*Biſhop*] *of* Epheſus; *whom the Synod pronounced innocent ſoon after, and depoſed* Johannes *and his party. And how, by* [*the interpoſition of*] *the Emperour* Theodoſius, Cyrillus *and* Johannes *were reconciled, and confirmed* Neſtorius's *depoſition.*

AFter this moſt legall and juſt Sentence, *Johannes* [Biſhop] of *Antioch* comes to *Epheſus*, together with the Prelates about him, arriving [there] five days after [*Neſtorius's*] depoſition. And having convened * thoſe [Biſhops] of his party, depoſes *Cyrillus* and *Memnon.* But when *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* had preſented Libells to that Synod which had been convened with them, (although † *Socrates*, through ignorance, has related [this matter] otherwiſe,) *Johannes* is ſummoned to give an account of that depoſition

* Or, *thoſe* [*Prelates*] *about him.*

† See *Socrates* book 7. chap. 34; and alſo note (*b.*) in that chapter.

depoſition which he had made. Who not appearing after he had been thrice called, *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* are abſolved from their depoſition: but *Johannes* and the [Biſhops] of his party are ſeparated from holy communion, and from all ſacerdotall authority. [Further,] *Theodoſius* at firſt approved not of *Neſtorius*'s depoſition; but having afterwards been informed of his Blaſphemy, when he had written very pious Letters to the Biſhops, *Cyrillus* and *Johannes*, they come to a mutuall agreement, and confirmed *Neſtorius*'s depoſition:

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Paulus [*Biſhop*] *of* Emiſa's *journey to* Alexandria, *and* Cyrillus's *commendation* [*of* Johannes] *on account of* [*his*] *Letter.*

WHen *Paulus* Biſhop of *Emiſa* was arrived at *Alexandria*, and had made a diſcourſe, which is ſtill extant, in the Church concerning this matter. At which time alſo *Cyrillus*, having highly commended *Johannes*'s Letter, wrote word for word thus: † *Let the heavens rejoyce, and the earth be glad. For the partition wall is demoliſhed, that which cauſed grief and ſadneſs is ceaſed, and the occaſion of all manner of diſſention is taken away; in regard Chriſt the Saviour of us all, has* *reſtored *peace to his own Churches; and the moſt Religious Emperours and moſt dear to God, have invited us thereto. Who having been the moſt incomparable Emulators of their Anceſtours piety, do preſerve the true Faith firm and unſhaken in their own minds: and they take an exquiſite care of the Holy Churches, to the end they may obtain both a far-ſpread and immortall Glory, and alſo render their Empire moſt highly renowned. To whom even the Lord of Hoſts himſelf diſtributes good things with a* *plentifull hand, gives them [power] to vanquiſh their adverſaries, and freely beſtows Victory [on them.] [a] For he cannot lie who has ſaid,* As I live, ſaith the Lord, I will glorifie them who Glorifie me. *When therefore My Lord and moſt Religious Brother and Fellow-Miniſter* Paulus *was come to* Alexandria, *we were filled with joy, and that moſt deſervedly, in regard ſo great a perſon [was come to be] an Interceſſour, and was willing* [b] *to undergo Labours above [humane] ſtrength: that he might vanquiſh the Envy of the Devil, unite diviſions, and by removing offences on both ſides, crown both Our and Your Churches with Concord and Peace.*

† This Letter of *Cyrillus* to *Johannes* occurs entire in *Binius*, Tom. 2. pag. 594. *Edit. Paris.* 1636.

* Or, *miniſtred.*

* Or, *rich.*

[a] In the incomparable *Florent.* M. S. I found it written [διαψεύσασθαι, *cannot lie*] which is the truer reading. *In the Acts of the Epheſine Synod*, where this Epiſtle is recorded (See *Binius*, as before, p. 595,) it is [διαψεύσονται *will not lie.*] But the reading of the *Florent.* M.S. is confirmed by *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian* M.S. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens*, the reading here is, διαψεύσεται, *hath not lied.*

[b] Τοῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πόνοις περισπουδεῖν. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place very ill, thus, *Et graviores quàm vires ferebant, ſuſcepit in concionando Labores, And in Preaching has undertaken far greater pains, than his ſtrength would bear.* *Muſculus* tranſlates it thus: *Et laboribus vires excedentibus colloquutionem ſuſcepiſſet, And with labours exceeding his ſtrength had undertaken a conference.* Neither of them has rendred it well. Περισπουδεῖν πόνοις, imports, *to endure or undergo labours.* So, ὁμιλεῖν τύχαις, ſignifies, *to bear the Viciſſitudes of fortune.* *Plutarch* (in *Marius*,) ſpeaking concerning *Jugurtha*, ſays theſe words, ὅπου τις ἦν ποικίλος ἀνὴρ τύχαις ὁμιλῆσαι, that is, *ſo various was that perſon as to his diſpoſition, [which was fitted] to bear the changes of Fortune.* Moreover, theſe words [ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, *above ſtrength*] may be underſtood two ways. For, we may either underſtand ἀνθρωπίνην, *humane*, (which we have done:) or elſe ἰδίαν, *his own.* *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have embraced the latter ſenſe; as did he alſo, who rendred the *Acts of the Epheſine Council* into *Latine.* Valeſ.

And, after the interpoſition of ſome words, [he Adds:] *Moreover, that this diſſention of the Church was altogether frivolous and* [c] *inexcuſable, we have been now fully ſatisfied, ſince my Lord the moſt Religious Biſhop* Paulus *has brought a paper which containes an irreprehenſible confeſſion of Faith; and has affirmed, that it was written by* Your Sanctity, *and by the moſt Religious Biſhops there. Now, the confeſſion runs thus, and 'tis inſerted in the very ſame words into this our Epiſtle. But concerning* Theotocos, and ſo forth. *When We had read theſe* [d] *Your ſacred words, and perceived, that We Our Selves embraced the ſame Sentiments; (For,* there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm;) *We glorified the Saviour of all men, rejoycing mutually, becauſe as well your, as our Churches, do profeſs a Faith which is agreeable, both to the divinely inſpired Scriptures, and alſo to the Tradition of our Holy Fathers.* Theſe things may be known by him who is deſirous of having an accurate account of thoſe affairs tranſacted at that time.

[c] Here, and in the *Acts of the Epheſine Councill*, the reading is ἀκ ἐυάφορον, *inexcuſable*, or, *inopportune.* But, in the *Tellerian* M.S. I found it written, ἀχ' ἐυάρμοσον, *and incongruous.* Valeſ.

[d] In *the Acts* of the *Epheſine Councill*, and in *Nicephorus*; inſtead of [ἡμῶν, *our*] it is [ὑμῶν, *your*;] which doubtleſs is the truer reading. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

What the impious Neſtorius *writes concerning his own ſufferings; and how, his tongue having at laſt been eaten out with worms, he ended his life at* Oaſis.

BUt, after what manner *Neſtorius* was baniſhed, or what befell him after that, or in what manner he departed out of this life, and what rewards he received on account of his Blaſphemy; [theſe particulars] have not been related by the Writers of Hiſtory. All which had been forgotten, and had been wholly loſt and ſwallowed by [length of] time, nor had been ſo much as heard of; had not I accidentally met with a book of *Neſtorius*'s, which contains a Narrative of theſe things. This Father of Blaſphemy therefore, *Neſtorius*, (who has not raiſed his building on that foundation which was laid, but hath built [his houſe] on the ſand, and [therefore] it has ſoon faln down, according to our Lord's parable;) making an Apology (which was his deſire,) in defence of his own Blaſphemy, [a] againſt thoſe who had accuſed him, (becauſe he had introduced ſome innovation contrary to what was fitting, and had not rightly requeſted that a Synod ſhould be convened at *Epheſus*;) amongſt other things writes [to this effect:] that he, wholly compelled thereto by neceſſity, had betaken himſelf * to [the defence of] this part, in regard the holy Church was divided, ſome affirming that *Mary* was to be termed † *Anthropotocos*, others, ‖ *Theotocos.* That therefore (as he ſays) he might not offend in one of theſe two, [viz.] [b] leaſt he ſhould either joyn things mortall with thoſe that are immortall, or elſe leaſt (by betaking himſelf to the other ſide) he might be deprived of that other party [who defended the term *Theotocos:*] he invented the word *Chriſtotocos.* in my judgment, thus to be explained. After that Sermon of *Anaſtaſius* the *Presbyter*, who was *Neſtorius*'s *Syncellus*, (See chap. 2. note *b.*) there aroſe a great diſſention in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church:

[a] Πρὸς τοὺ ἐγκαλέσαντας. In the incomparable *Florent.* M. S. I found it written [πρὸς τοὺ ἐγκαλέσαντας ὅτι, *againſt thoſe who had accuſed him*;] which is doubtleſs the truer reading: ὅτι has the ſame import with αὐτῷ, *him.* Valeſ.

* Ἐς τοῦτο τάξεως.

† That is, [*the Virgin*] *who bore man.*

‖ *She who bore God.*

[b] The meaning of this place is very obſcure; it is,

Church: in regard ſome affirmed, that *Mary* was to be termed *Theotocos*; others *Anthropotocos*. And when the Sedition increaſed daily, *Neſtorius*, deſirous to appeaſe it, invented a certain middle term; *viz.* that *Mary* ſhould in future be termed *Chriſtotocos*, *the Virgin who bore Chriſt*: leaſt, if he ſhould term her *Theotocos*, he might ſeem to joyn things mortal with thoſe that are immortal; (which thing he [that is, *Neſtorius*] look't upon to be impious:) or leaſt, if he had embraced the term *Anthropotocos*; the other party (to wit, thoſe who defended the term *Theotocos*,) ſhould have revolted from him, and held their Aſſemblies apart. This is the meaning of this place; which neither *Muſculus*, nor *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood. Therefore, inſtead of [ἢ ἀδιάλα συμπλεκομένων,] it muſt be [ἢ τὰ θνητὰ, ἢ ἀδιάλα συμπλέκων. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found this reading, ἢ ἀθανάτῳ συμπλεκομένῳ. *Valeſ.*

He intimates further, that at firſt the Emperour *Theodoſius*, out of that affection he bore towards him, confirmed not the [ſentence of] * depoſition pronounc't againſt him: but afterwards, that when ſome Biſhops [c] of both parties had been ſent from the City *Epheſus* to *Theodoſius*; [d] and when he alſo himſelf requeſted it, he was permitted to return to his own Monaſtery; which is ſcituate before the Gates of that City now called * *Theopolis*, and is not expreſsly named [there] by *Neſtorius*. But, they ſay, [e] it is now termed *Euprepius's* [Monaſtery,] which, as we aſſuredly know, ſtands before the [City] *Theopolis*, diſtant from thence not more than two furlongs. Moreover, the ſame *Neſtorius* ſays, that having reſided there during the ſpace of four years, he had all imaginable honour conferred upon him, and enjoyed all manner of reverence and reſpect: but that afterwards, by the Edict of [the Emperour] *Theodoſius*, he was baniſhed into that place called *Oäſis*. But he has concealed that which is the principall thing. For, during his Reſidence [f] there, he in no wiſe deſiſted from his own Blaſphemy. In ſo much that *Johannes* Biſhop of *Antioch* gave [the Emperour] an account thereof, and *Neſtorius* was condemned to perpetuall Baniſhment. [g] He wrote alſo another Book, compoſed in the manner of a Dialogue, to a certain *Egyptian* as it were, concerning his baniſhment into *Oäſis*; wherein he ſpeaks more at large concerning theſe things. The latter of whom renders it thus: *Scripſit autem & alium librum more dialectico, velut ad Egyptium quendam de exilio ſuo compoſitum, But he wrote another book alſo in a Logical manner, to a certain Egyptian as it were, compoſed concerning his own Exile.* And *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it thus: *Scripſit præterea Neſtorius alium Libellum acutè & ſubtiliter*, &c. *Moreover*, Neſtorius *wrote another little book, acutely and ſubtilly*, &c. What need was there of acuteneſs and Logicall ſubtilty in a little book, wherein *Neſtorius* treated concerning his own baniſhment into *Oäſis*? Therefore, I judge it better to render theſe words, [διαλεκτικῶς συγκείμενον] thus [*compoſed in the manner of a Dialogue.*] And thus *Nicephorus* expounded theſe words of *Evagrius*. For, inſtead thereof, he makes uſe of the word διαλογικώτερον, *more by way of Dialogue.* Which term *Langus* renders, *diſertius, more eloquently*: as if *Nicephorus* had ſaid, λογικώτερον. *Valeſ.*

But, what puniſhments he underwent on account of the Blaſphemies * coyned by him (not being able to lie concealed from [God's] all-ſeeing eye,) may be known from other Letters, ſent by him to the Governour of *Thebäis*. For, in thoſe [Letters] you may find, after what manner (in regard he had not yet undergone condign [h] puniſhment,) the judgment of God ſeized him, and involved him in [i] Captivity, a calamity of all [afflictions] the moſt miſerable. But, in as much as he was to endure greater puniſhments, he was let go by the *Blemmyæ*, amongſt whom he had been a Captive. And removing from place to place about the utmoſt borders of *Thebäis*, by the Edicts of *Theodoſius* who had determined that he ſhould return; and being daſh't againſt the earth, he ended his days agreeable to his own forepaſt life: [like] a ſecond *Arius*, declaring and * foreſhewing by his calamitous death, what rewards are appointed for [thoſe who utter] Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt. For both thoſe † perſons blaſphemed *Chriſt* in a like manner; *Arius*, by terming him a Creature; and *Neſtorius*, by thinking him to be a man. To * whom (becauſe he complains, that *The Acts* at *Epheſus* were not rightly compoſed [and made up,] but were framed by fraud and an illegall Artifice of *Cyrillus's*;) I would willingly ſay [thus much:] Why (ſince *Theodoſius* was his favourer,) was he baniſhed, and, without obtaining the leaſt commiſeration, condemned to ſo many Exiles, and concluded his life after ſuch a manner as this? Or why (if the ſentence [pronounced] againſt him by *Cyrillus*, and the other Prelates about him, were not divine,) both of them being now numbred amongſt thoſe departed [and dead,] (at which time, as it has been ſaid by one of the Heathen Sages, [k] *that which appears not any more in ſight* [or, *that which ſurvives not any longer*] *is honoured with a Benevolence that hath no enemy*;) has he himſelf been condemned as a Blaſphemer, and an enemy of God; but *Cyrillus* is praiſed and extolled [by all perſons,] as having been a loud [and eminent] Preacher, and a great defender of Orthodox Sentiments? But leaſt we ſhould be accuſed for writing what is falſe, Come on, let us bring forth *Neſtorius* himſelf into the midſt, giving a relation concerning theſe very things.

[c] Ἔυδεν τε καὶ εἰδεν; that is, *of both parties, as well* Catholicks, *as* Neſtorians. *Muſculus* has rendred it ill, thus, *ultero citroque, to and fro.* Valeſ.

[d] Inſtead of [ἀυτῆ τε ἀυτῆ δηδεν] the reading in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. is [ἀυτῆ τε αὖ δηδεν, *and when he alſo himſelf requeſted it.*] Valeſ.

* That is, *Antioch.* See chap. 3.

[e] From the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* M. S. I have mended this place thus: νῦν τὸ εὐπρεπὶς προσαγορεύεται, *it is now termed Euprepius's* [*Monaſtery:*] the reading before was very fooliſh, thus, νύν ἐστι. *Valeſ.*

[f] To wit, in the foreſaid Monaſtery, which was called *Euprepius's* Monaſtery. *Valeſ.*

[g] I like neither *Chriſtophorſon's*, nor *Muſculus's* Verſion of this place.

[h] In *Nicephorus*, (book 14. chap. 36.) inſtead of καταξελεύσεως, *torture*; the reading is truer, thus, ἐπεξελεύσεως, *puniſhment.* And ſo I found it written in the *Tellerian* M. S. *Valeſ.*

[i] I have mended this place from the incomparable *Florentine Manuſcript*; wherein the reading is thus [αἰχμαλοσίᾳ τῇ πάντων ἐλεεινοτάτῃ συμφορᾷ, *Captivity, a calamity of all* [*afflictions*] *the moſt miſerable*; than which emendation, there is nothing more certain. The reading in *Nicephorus* is the ſame alſo. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, 'tis thus worded: αἰχμαλώσα τῇ πάντων ἐλεεινοτάτῃ συμφορᾷ. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *ratifying*, or, *confirming.*

† That is, *Arius*, and *Neſtorius.*

* That is, *to Neſtorius.*

[k] Tranſlatours, in regard they had perſwaded themſelves, that the word ἐμποδὼν does always ſignifie *an hindrance*; have fallen into various errours. For *Langus* renders it thus: *Et ambo vos jam ex vitâ hâc exceſſiſtis, &c. And both of you have now made your departure out of this life: at which time, as one of the Heathen ſages has ſaid, nothing binders, but that every perſon may be honoured by a free benevolence of men, no adverſary intervening.* And *Chriſtophorſon* has tranſlated it after this manner: *Quando, ut ſapienti inter Gentiles ſcriptori placet*, &c. *At which time, as it pleaſes a prudent Writer amongſt the Heathens, every one is uſually honoured with a firm and concordant benevolence of all men, provided there be nothing which may lawfully be an impediment.* But, the term ἐμποδὼν does not always ſignifie *an Impediment*, or *Hindrance.* For the Ancients, as well *Rhetoricians* as *Philoſophers*, uſed ἐμποδὼν in ſuch a ſenſe as to ſignifie the ſame with ἐν ποσὶ *to be in ſight*, or, *appear openly*; as *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and *the Authour of the Ethymologicon* do inform us. But, the *Latter Writers*, and eſpecially *Hierocles the Philoſopher*, have uſed that word to ſignifie *an impediment* or *hindrance.* Therefore, *Muſculus* has rendred this paſſage in *Evagrius* beſt of all, thus: *Quando, ſicut quidam exterorum Philoſophorum dixit, quod non eſt amplius ſuperſtes, ſine ullius invidiâ & contradictione cum benevolentiâ honoratur; When, as one of the forreign Philoſophers has ſaid, that which ſurvives not any longer, is honoured with benevolence, without the envy and contradiction of any one.* Further, in the margin of the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, there is ſet at this place, τυκυδίδης, that is, *this ſentence is taken out of Thucidides.* 'Tis extant in *Thucidides's ſecond* book, pag. 128, *Edit. Francofurt.* 1594; *in the Funeral Oration which* Pericles *made.* Valeſ.

* Or, *brought forth.*

Recite

Recite to me therefore [O *Neſtorius!*] ſome paſſages in the expreſs words of your own Letter, which you wrote to the Governour of *Thebais*. *Becauſe of ſome* [*controverſies*] *lately agitated at* Epheſus *concerning the moſt Holy Religion*; *by an Imperiall Order we inhabit* Oäſis *otherwiſe* [*called*] Ibis. And after the interpoſition of ſome words, he adds: *But after the foreſaid* [Oäſis] *was totally deſtroyed by* [1] *a* Barbarick *Captivity, and by fire, and ſword; and we were diſmiſſed by the* Barbarians, *who on a ſuddain, how I know not,* * *were moved with a compaſſion towards us, and after they had terrified us with menacing declarations, that we ſhould immediately go out of that Country, in regard the* Mazices *would ſuddenly take poſſeſſion of it after them; we are come to* Thebais *together with the remainder of the Captives, whom the* Barbarians *(out of commiſeration) brought to us, for what intent I know not. Moreover, they have been every one permitted to go whither they deſired: but we by coming publickly to* Panopolis, * *do exhibite our ſelves. For we were afraid, leaſt any one,* † *by taking an occaſion from our Captivity, ſhould either frame an accuſation of flight againſt us, or elſe* [*form*] *a forged invention of ſome other fault. For malice is productive of all manner of calumnies. Wherefore, We beſeech Your* * *Magnificence, to take care (according to that proviſion the Laws have made,) of our Captivity, and not to deliver a Captive, who is ſubject to miſchief, to the evil arts of men; leaſt all Generations ſhould from hence forth cry out, that 'tis better to be the* Barbarians *Captive, than to fly for refuge to the* Roman *Empire.* Then, having added an Oath, he made his requeſt [to the Governour] thus: [*that You would pleaſe*] *to give the Emperour an account of our Remove from* Oäſis * *hither, which hapned from our being diſmiſſed by the* Barbarians: *that ſo, whatever determination ſhall be well pleaſing to God, may now at length be made concerning us.* [Alſo, out of] the ſame *Neſtorius*'s ſecond Letter to the ſaid Governour: *Whether You will account this preſent Letter from Us to Your Magnificence, as* [*written*] *from a friend, or as an admonition from a Father to a Son, hear, I beſeech you, with patience the Narration* [*contained*] *therein concerning many* [*matters,*] *written from us, wherein We have been as brief as poſſibly could be.* Oäſis *otherwiſe* [*termed*] Ibis, *having been ſeverall ways ruin'd of late, by an incurſion made into it by a multitude of the* [m] Nomades.

[1] Inſtead of [χ᾽ βαρβαεικῆς ἀιχμαλόσεως] the reading, as it ſeems, ſhould be [διὰ βαρβαεικῆς ἀιχμαλοσίας, *by a Barbarick Captivity.*] In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*, 'tis ἀιχμαλοσίᾳ, *by Captivity.* Valeſ.

* Or, *recovered a compaſſion*, &c.

* Or, *do appear perſonally.*

† Or, *by making our captivity* [*his*] *matter of enquiry.*

* Or, *Greatneſs.*

* That is, *To Panopolis.*

[m] In that Letter of *Neſtorius*'s mentioned before, the people who ruined *Oäſis* are termed *Blemmyæ*. Wherefore, *Nomades* ought here to be taken for an *Adjective*. Notwithſtanding, it may be the proper name of a Nation of *Barbarians*. 'Tis certain, the *Nubæ*, neighbours to the *Blemmyæ*, (who made frequent incurſions into the Country of *Oäſis*, as *Procopius* informs us, in book 1. *Perſic.*) were termed *Nomades* alſo, or *Numides*; which is atteſted by *Stephanus*.——But ſome one will object, if *Neſtorius* ſpeaks here concerning one and the ſame Captivity of *Oäſis*, how can that ſtand, which he ſays in the beginning of this Epiſtle, in theſe words: Ὀάπεως τῆς ἴδεως ἐν πολλῶν πρόσην ἀφανισθείσης. For, the incurſion of the *Blemmyæ* into *Oäſis* (in which *Neſtorius* had been taken Captive by the *Barbarians*, and was preſently diſmiſſed,) had hapned but a little while before, as he himſelf atteſts. But, the incurſion of the *Nomades* had hapned long before; as 'tis apparent from *Neſtorius*'s words in this laſt Epiſtle, which were juſt now cited. To all this I anſwer, that theſe words ἐν πολλῶν πρόσην, do not ſignifie *long ſince*, as *Langus*, *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* thought. For, the *Adverb* πρόσην, ſignifies *lately*, as every body knows. Doubtleſs, this incurſion had hapned a little before *Neſtorius* wrote theſe things. Therefore, ἐκ πολλῶν ought to be referred to the word ἀφανισθείσης. So that, 'tis the ſame as if he ſhould have ſaid, *Oäſis having been ſeverall ways ruined of late*: to wit, by fire, ſlaughters, and a *Barbarick* Captivity; as *Neſtorius* has ſaid above. *Valeſ.*

And after ſome words. *Theſe things having happned thus, (by what impulſe, or on what occaſion Your Magnificence was moved thereto, I know not;) we have been ſent by* Barbarian *Souldiers from* Panopolis, *to* Elephantina, [*a Town*] *ſituate in the Borders of the Province* Thebais; *towards which we have been drag'd by the forementioned military aſſiſtance. And when we had been tired by our travelling more than half that journey, we again met with an Order of Your Magnanimity by word of mouth,* [*whereby we were commanded*] *to return to* Panopolis. *Having therefore been wearied with the miſeries* [n] *of this ſo long a journey, our Body being infirm and aged, and our hand and ſide tired, we came again to* Panopolis, *in a manner breathing forth our Soul. And whileſt we were as yet cruciated with the calamities and miſchiefs of* [*our*] *pains, another Order written by Your Magnanimity* * *came in great haſt, whereby we were conveyed again from* Panopolis *to a place adjoyning thereto.* [o] *When we ſuppoſed, that we ſhould ſtop here, and were in expectation of the moſt Victorious Emperours determination concerning us; on a ſudden another* [*Decree*] *was again drawn up againſt us, without any commiſeration, in order to another* [*to wit,*] *a fourth Baniſhment.* And after ſome few words, [he continues] *But, I beſeech you, let what has been done be ſufficient, and* [*may it be enough*] [p] *to have Decreed ſo many baniſhments againſt one Body: and,* [q] *after the relations* [*which have been ſent to their Imperial Majeſties*] *by Your Magnificence, permit, I humbly beſeech you, that an accurate account* [*of our condition*] *may be made known to our moſt Victorious Emperours, even by us alſo, by whom that ought* [*to be done.*] *Theſe are our Advices, as to a Son from a Father.*

[n] The reading here, is, τῆς σῆς ὁδοιπορίας, *of this your journey*: and 'tis the ſame in *Nicephorus*. Notwithſtanding, I doubt not but it ſhould be, τῆς τόσης ὁδοιπορίας, *of this ſo long a journey.* And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* and *Sr Henry Savil* read it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *came flying.*

[o] Inſtead of [πωῦ τα σήσεσθαι καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς λογιζομένων, *when we ſuppoſed theſe things againſt us would ſtop*] I think it ſhould be thus: ἐνταῦθα σήσεσθαι ἡμᾶς λογιζομένων, *when we ſuppoſed we ſhould ſtop here.* Thus *Muſculus* ſeems to have read, who renders it in this manner: *Et cùm illic hæſuros nos arbitraremur, And when we thought we ſhould ſtop there.* Valeſ.

[p] Inſtead of [χ᾽ τὸ τοσαῦτα,] it muſt be χ᾽ τοῦ τοσαῦτας.] For, the word [ἀφικέσθαι] which preceded immediately, is underſtood. In the *Tellerian* M. S. the particle [τὸ] is wanting. *Valeſ.*

[q] Tranſlatours ſaw nothing at this place; who by a ſmall fault were induced into a great errour. Inſtead of [ἀνεχθεῖσι] it muſt undoubtedly be [ἀνενεχθεῖσι.] *Preſidents of Provinces* were heretofore wont to give the Emperour an account of all things which hapned with them. The doing whereof was termed ἀναφέρειν, and *the Relation it ſelf* ἀναφορᾷ, as I have noted on *Amm. Marcellinus*. Concerning *theſe Relations of Preſidents*, *Severianus* ſpeaks, in *his firſt Oration in Hexaëmeron*; the paſſage whereof I will annex here, becauſe the Tranſlatour underſtood it not: ὥσπερ γὰρ, ἀδελφοὶ, οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀναφορῶν ἄρχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα μηνύουσιν. ὅτω χ᾽ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῷ θεῷ, &c. *For, Brethren, as the preſidents by* [*ſending*] *Relations, make known all things* [*that are tranſacted with them*] *to the Emperour: ſo alſo the Angels*, &c. The Tranſlatour renders it *The Maſters of the Libells and ſuggeſtions*; which rendition is ill. For ἄρχοντες, in *Chryſoſtome* and the other writers of that age, are nothing elſe but *Preſidents* or *Governours of Provinces*. And ἀναφορὰ imports nothing elſe but *Relation* or *Narrative*. Wherefore in *Severianus*, it muſt be written thus: ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀναφορῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες, &c. *Valeſ.*

But if you be angry now, as you have been heretofore, do what you think good; ſince * *no reaſon is powerfull enough to ſway your mind.* After this manner [*Neſtorius*] in his Letters ſtrikes and leaps, with his fiſts and feet, and

* Or, *no reaſon is more powerfull than your mind.*

and reviles * the Emperours and Magiſtracy; having not been made prudent by the miſeries he ſuffered. But I have † read a certain writer declaring his Latter end [after this manner, to wit,] *That his tongue having been eaten out with worms, he departed to greater and immortall puniſhments* [*which are to be inflicted on him.*]

* Or, *the Empire.*

† Or, *heard.*

CHAP. VIII.

How, after Neſtorius, Maximianus, *and after him* Proclus, *then* Flavianus, *were made* [*Biſhops of* Conſtantinople.]

AFter that deſtructive Peſt *Neſtorius*, *Maximianus* ſucceeded in the Epiſcopate of the famous [City] *Conſtantinople*; under whom the Church of God enjoyed all imaginable peace and tranquillity. When he was taken from amongſt men, *Proclus* enters upon the Government of that See, who had heretofore been ordained Biſhop of *Cyzicum*. And after he was gone the common way * of mankind, *Flavianus* ſucceeded in that Chair.

* Or, *of men.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the unfortunate Eutyches, *and how he was depoſed by* Flavianus [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople; *and concerning the ſecond (to wit, that theeviſh) Synod at* Epheſus.

IN † his times, the controverſie about the impious *Eutyches* was ſtarted; a particular Synod having been convened [a] at *Conſtantinople*: [to which Synod] *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* (who was the firſt perſon that had [heretofore] refuted *Neſtorius*'s Blaſphemy, being untill then but a *Rhetorician*,) preſented Libells. Therefore, when *Eutyches*, after he had been ſummoned [to the Synod,] came not: and at his appearing [afterwards] had been convicted of having ſaid theſe words: *I confeſs, that our Lord* * *had two natures before the union: but, after the union I confeſs, but one nature:* (he aſſerted alſo, *that the Body of our Lord was not of the ſame ſubſtance with our bodies.*) [After this, I ſay,] he is depoſed.

† That is, *Flavianus*'s.

[a] Inſtead of [ἐπὶ τοῦ κωνσταντίνου] it muſt undoubtedly be [ἐπὶ τῶν κωνσταντίνου, at *Conſtantinople*; which is the reading in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*, book 14. chap. 47. where *Langus* renders it thus: *Flavianus Synodo Provinciali apud Conſtantinopolim coactâ*, &c. *Flavianus, a Provincial Synod having been convened at Conſtantinople*, &c. Whom *Chriſtophorſon* has followed. Notwithſtanding, I had rather render it *a particular Synod*, as *Muſculus* does. Indeed, that Synod conſiſted only of thoſe Biſhops, who at that time hapned to make their abode at *Conſtantinople*, on account of ſome Eccleſiaſtick affairs: which Prelates they commonly termed ἐνδημοῦντας ἐπισκόπους, *Biſhops that made their reſidence for ſome time only in the City. The Acts* of *this Conſtantinopolitane Synod* under *Flavianus*, are related in the *Firſt Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*; where theſe words occur [ſee *Binius* Tom. 3. pag. 80.] σωαχθείσης τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου τῆς ἐνδημούσης ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ μεγαλοπόλει, &c. *The Holy and Great Synod having been convened* [*conſiſting of ſuch Prelates as*] *reſided for ſome time in the forenamed Great City*, &c. If any one be deſirous of knowing the names of thoſe Biſhops then convened; they occur in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Synod*. Valeſ.. See *Binius*, Tom. 3. pag. 125. *Edit. Paris.* 1636.

* Or, *as if the Acts*, &c.

But when he had preſented a *ſupplicatory Libell* to *Theodoſius*, * pretending that the Acts of thoſe convened [in that Synod] had been falſified by *Flavianus*; in the firſt place a Synod of [the Biſhops] that were neer neighbours to *Conſtantinople* was aſſembled. In which ([b] ſome of the Magiſtrates alſo being preſent therein,) *Flavianus* is judged. And when this Synod had confirmed *the Acts*, as being true; a ſecond Synod is convened at *Epheſus*.

[b] Καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων: which words *Chriſtophorſon* hath rendred ill, thus, *Some Prelates of Churches*; whereas he ſhould have tranſlated it, *ſome of the Magiſtrates*. *Nicephorus* therefore (book 14. chap. 47.) has rightly explained theſe words of *Evagrius*, after this manner: ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἱερέων παρῆσαν, καὶ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου τινὲς, *in which* [*Synod*] *there were preſent both others of the Prelates, and alſo ſome of the Senate. The Actions* of this ſecond Conſtantinopolitan *Synod under* Flavianus are extant, recorded in the *firſt Action of the* Chalcedon *Council*. See *Binius* Tom. 3. pag. 129. *Edit. ut prius*. Where *Florentius* the moſt magnificent *Patricius*, *Mamas* the *Comes* and *Proximus*, [that is, *Clerk*] of the *Deſk of Libells and Sacred Cognitions*, and *Macedonius* the *Tribune* and *Notary*, are ſaid to have been preſent at this Synod. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

What was tranſacted by Dioſcorus *and* Chryſaphius [*at*] *the* * *abſurd Synod at* Epheſus.

* Παράλογον συνέδριον, *unexpected*, or *abſurd Synod*: *Valeſius* renders it, the *illegitimate Synod*; *Curterius* terms it *the mad Synod*.

AT this Synod *Dioſcorus*, ſucceſſour to *Cyrillus* in the See of *Alexandria*, was appointed to preſide: [a] which thing was effected by the Artifice of [b] *Chryſaphius* (a perſon of great intereſt in the Imperiall Pallace at that time,) out of [his] hatred to *Flavianus*. There met [at this Synod] at *Epheſus*, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, [c] who had been at the former *Epheſine* Synod, together with many other Prieſts [whom he had] about him. Together with theſe met *Domnus*, *Johannes*'s ſucceſſour in the *Antiochian* See: alſo Biſhop [d] *Julius*, who filled the place of *Leo* Biſhop of the Seniour *Rome*. *Flavianus* likewiſe was preſent with them, together with the Biſhops about him: deed it thus, τεχνάζητο τῷ χρυσαφίῳ. I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote thus: ἔστο τεχνάζητο χρυσαφίῳ. *Which thing* [that is, *Dioſcorus*'s Preſidency in that Synod] *was effected by the artifice of* Chryſaphius. Further, *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates and points this whole paſſage, in this manner: *Hujus concilii* Dioſcorus, *qui in* Alexandriæ *Epiſcopatum poſt* Cyrillum *ſucceſſit, quò odium in* Flavianum *incenderetur, præſes deſignatus fuit. Chryſaphius enim hanc rem callidè molitus fuerat. Of this Councill* Dioſcorus, *who ſucceeded* Cyrillus *in the Epiſcopate of* Alexandria, *to the end that the hatred againſt* Flavianus *might be inflamed, was appointed preſident. For* Chryſaphius *had craftily attempted this thing.* But *Muſculus*'s opinion ſeems far better to me, who before theſe words πρὸς ἕχθρας φλαυιανοῦ, places a ſubdiſtinction. For he renders it thus: *Præſidebat autem ei Synodo* Dioſcorus *poſt* Cyrillum Alexandrinus *Epiſcopus*; *id quod ita odio* Flaviani *inſtituerat* Chryſaphius, &c. *At that Synod preſided* Dioſcorus *Biſhop of* Alexandria *after* Cyrillus; *which thing* Chryſaphius *had ſo ordered out of* [*his*] *hatred to* Flavianus, &c. Inſtead of theſe words [πρὸς ἕχθρας (or ἕχθραν, as Sr *Henry Savill* mends it) *out of* [*his*] *hatred*;] *Nicephorus* has theſe, δι' ἔχθρας ἰὼν φλαυιανῷ, *by reaſon of his hatred reſiſting* [or, *breaking out againſt*] Flavianus. *Valeſ.*

[a] In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, the reading was [τῷ τεχνάσαντι τῷ χρυσαφίῳ] but *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savill*, by tranſpoſing the words, have mended it thus, τεχνάζητο τῷ χρυσαφίῳ.

[b] At the margin of the *Florentine Manuſcript*, this *Scholion* is ſet: περὶ τοῦ δυσεβοῦς χρυσαφίου σημείωσαι ὡς ἀεὶ οἱ κοίλωνικοὶ εὐνοῦχοι τοῦ ὀρθοδόξους ἀρχιερεῖς ἐκακούργων, That is, *Note concerning the Impious* Chryſaphius, *that the Eunuchs of the Bed-chamber have always done miſchief to the Orthodox Arch-Biſhops*. Of which thing we have an eminent inſtance in *Euſebius*, chief [Eunuch] of the Bed-chamber, who in *Conſtantius*'s Reign perſecuted *Athanaſius*, and the other Catholick Prelates. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐν ἐφέσῳ γραφὲν. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words amiſs; as if *Evagrius* had ſaid, that *Juvenalis* had formerly been Biſhop of *Epheſus*. But *Evagrius* does not ſay ſo; but only, that *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, had been heretofore at *Epheſus*, to wit, in the *former Epheſine Synod*, wherein *Neſtorius* had been condemned. *Valeſ.*

[d] The reading in *Nicephorus* is the ſame; but 'tis corrupt, inſtead of *Julianus*. For ſo it is truly written in the *Acts of the ſecond* Epheſine *Synod*, which are recorded in the *firſt Action of the* Chalcedon *Councill*; *poſt conſulatum* Zenonis & Poſthumiani *V. C. C. Die ſexto Idus* Auguſti, &c. *After the Conſulate of the moſt famous Perſonages* Zeno *and* Poſthumianus, *on the ſixth of the Ides of* Auguſt, *in the third Indiction, a Synod is convened in the Metropolis* Epheſus, *by the command of the moſt Religious and moſt Chriſtian Emperours; and the moſt Reverend*

rend and moſt Holy Biſhops, Dioſcorus *of* Alexandria, *and Biſhop* Julianus *(who was the Deputy of the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed* Leo *Biſhop of the* Roman *Church,) ſate in the Holy Church, which is called* [*Saint*] Mary's. *Baronius,* at the year of Chriſt 449, relates from *Marianus's Chronicon,* that this *Julianus* was Biſhop of *Puteoli.* Notwithſtanding, as it is now extant in *Marianus Scotus's Chronicon,* the Biſhop of *Puteoli* is not called *Julianus* but *Fulius,* who was ſent with *Hilarus* the Deacon by Pope *Leo,* to the *ſecond Epheſine Synod.* But, in the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops who Subſcribed to this *ſecond Epheſine Synod,* (which Subſcriptions are Recorded in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Council,* pag. 141;) he is termed *Julianus* the Biſhop. For theſe are the words there: *Fulianus Epiſcopus, tenens locum ſanctiſſimi Epiſcopi Romanæ Eccleſiæ, interpretante ſe Florentio Epiſcopo Lydiæ, dixit,* &c. From which words it ſeems to be concluded, that this *Fulianus,* who was preſent at the *ſecond Epheſine Synod,* was *Fulianus* Biſhop of *Coe,* who two years after was preſent at the *Chalcedon Councill,* and held there alſo the place of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome,* as it frequently occurs recorded in the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Synod.*——Obſerve here *Baronius's* inconſtancy; who, when he had written at the year of Chriſt 449, that that *Fulianus* (who was Legate of the Apoſtolick See at the *ſecond Epheſine Synod,*) was Biſhop of *Puteoli*; afterwards (at the year of Chriſt 451, chap. 78,) makes him Biſhop of *Coe.* Valeſ.

[c] The *Sacred Commonitory* (or, *Letters Mandatory,*) of the Emperour *Theodoſius* to *Elpidius, Comes* of the *Sacred Conſiſtory,* and to *Eulogius* the *Tribune* and *Prætorian Notary,* is extant in the *Acts* of the *Epheſine Conventicle* [or, *little Councill,*] which are Recorded in the firſt Action of the *Chalcedon Synod,* pag. 46, where theſe words here related by *Evagrius,* do occur. *Valeſ.*

[c] *Theodoſius* having given an Order to *Elpidius* in theſe expreſs words: *Let thoſe* [*Prelates*] *who before have been the Judges of* Eutyches *the moſt Religious* * Archimandrite, *be preſent and ſilent: but let them in no wiſe take the place of Judges, but expect the common* † *Sentence of all the moſt Holy Fathers; in regard thoſe things which have been judged by them, are now under ſcrutiny.* In this Synod *Eutyches* is reſtored (his Sentence of Depoſition being revok't,) by *Dioſcorus* and thoſe about him; * as the Contents of the *Acts* thereof do ſhew. And *Flavianus,* and *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum,* are condemned and depoſed. At the ſame Synod, *Ibas* Biſhop of the *Edeſſeni* is excommunicated: and [f] *Daniel* Biſhop of *Carræ* is depoſed: as is alſo [g] *Irenæus* of *Tyre,* and *Aquilinus* of *Byblus.* Moreover, ſome things were tranſacted [there] on the account of [h] *Sophronius* Biſhop of *Conſtantina.*

* Or, *Abbot.*

† Or, *ſuffrage.*

* Or, *as 'tis contained in the Acts.*

[f] A little before the *ſecond Epheſine Synod, Ibas* [Biſhop] of *Edeſſa,* and *Daniel* Biſhop of *Carræ* had been accuſed before the Emperour *Theodoſius* by their own Clergy. The Emperour gave order, that cognizance of their Cauſe ſhould be taken in a Synod at *Berytus,* in the preſence of *Damaſcius Tribune* and *Prætorian Notary.* The *Acts of this Councill* [at *Berytus*] are extant, recorded in the *tenth Action of the Chalcedon Synod,* (See *Binius.* Tom. 3. pag. 377.) which begin thus: *Poſt Conſulatum Flavii Zenonis & Poſthumiani, &c. After the Conſulate of the moſt famous perſonages* Flavius Zeno *and* Poſthumianus, *on the Calends of* September, *in the ſecond Indiction,* &c. I doubt not but it ſhould be written, *Conſulatu Zenonis & Poſthumiani, In the Conſulate of* Zeno *and* Poſthumianus. Otherwiſe, this Synod would have hapned after the *Epheſine little Councill,* which was convened after the Conſulate of *Zeno* and *Poſthumianus,* in the month of *Auguſt.* Now, the *Berytian Synod* connot be placed after that *Epheſine Synod,* in regard mention is made therein of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople,* and of *Domnus* of *Antioch:* both which, 'tis manifeſt, were depoſed in the *ſecond Epheſine Synod.* Add hereto the teſtimony of *Liberatus* the Deacon, who relates in *his Breviarium,* that this *Berytian Synod* was convened before *Eutyches* had framed his Hereſie. *Valeſ.*

[g] Long before the ſecond *Epheſine Synod, Irenæus* had been driven from his Biſhoprick, by an Edict of the Emperour *Theodoſius*; and *Photius* had been put into his See. 'Tis certain, *Photius* preſided at the *Berytian Synod,* which had been convened on the year before the *ſecond Epheſine Synod.* But, becauſe *Irenæus* had been ejected by the Emperours Order, not by the determination of a Synod, therefore he was depoſed in the *ſecond Epheſine Synod.* Valeſ.

[h] 'Tis ſtrange, how much Tranſlatours have erred in the Verſion of this place. For, *Langus, Nicephorus's Tranſlatour,* renders it thus: *Decrevit hæc Synodus quoque de Sophronio quædam, &c. This Synod alſo Decreed ſome things concerning* Sophronius, *who had come at that time to* Conſtantinople, *on account of ſeeing that City. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner: *Nonnulla ibidem acta fuere contra Sophronium Epiſcopum Conſtantinopolitanum, ſome things were acted there againſt* Sophronius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople. But he ought to have ſaid *Biſhop of Conſtantina.* For *Sophronius* was Biſhop of *Conſtantina,* as 'tis apparent from the *ſecond Antiochian Synod* under *Domnus,* which is inſerted in the 14th *Action of the* Chalcedon *Synod.* The ſame *Sophronius* was afterwards preſent at the *Chalcedon Synod,* as 'tis recorded in the *Acts of that Synod.* Now, *Conſtantina* is a City of *Phœnice.* Valeſ.

* *Theodoret* Biſhop of *Cyrus* was depoſed alſo by them, as was likewiſe *Domnus* [Biſhop] of *Antioch.* [i] What became of which Prelate afterwards, I cannot find. When theſe things had been tranſacted in this manner, the ſecond Synod at *Epheſus* was diſſolved.

* This was he, who wrote the *five books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.*

[i] In the place of *Domnus* Biſhop of *Antioch Maximus* was ſubrogated, as *Liberatus* informs us in *his Breviarium.* Who was afterwards confirmed in his Biſhoprick by Pope *Leo,* as we read in the *Tenth Action of the Chalcedon Council.* Notwithſtanding, the ſame *Maximus* appointed *Domnus,* as long as he lived, a certain allowance out of the Revenue of his Church, that being content with his maintenance, he might in future be quiet: which thing was approved of by the other Patriarchs in the *Chalcedon Council,* as may be ſeen in *the forecited Action.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XI.

This Writers *Apology in defence of the variety* [*of opinions*] *amongſt us* [Chriſtians,] *and his Deriſion of the* Pagan *Triſles.*

BUt, let * none of the Heathens deride us, becauſe the latter [Biſhops] depoſe the former, and always find out ſome new thing [which they add] to the faith. For we making reſearches after the ineffable Love of God [towards men,] which is paſt finding out, and being deſirous to honour and extoll it in the higheſt manner, doe betake our ſelves to this, or that [opinion.] Nor was any one of thoſe, who invented Hereſies amongſt the *Chriſtians,* ſo weak, that he would † deſignedly blaſpheme; nor has [any ſuch perſon] fallen into an errour, with a deſire to diſhonour the Deity: but 'twas rather his ſuppoſition, that if he ſhould aſſert this opinion, he ſhould ſpeak better than * thoſe who went before him. Beſides, thoſe [points] which are eſſentiall [a] and fundamentall, with a generall conſent we all confeſs and acknowledge. For 'tis the Trinity which we adore, and the Unity which we Glorifie: and God the Word, begotten before [all] ages, who was incarnate by a ſecond Generation, out of his compaſſion * to man. But if innovations have been introduced about ſome other [points,] they have proceeded from God our Saviour's giving [us] a free liberty of judging concerning theſe things; to the end that the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church may † reduce the things that are ſaid on the one ſide and on the other, to what is decent and pious, and || may [make them] fall into one exact and right way. And for this reaſon the Apoſtle [Saint *Paul*] has moſt perſpicuouſly and truly ſaid: * *There muſt be alſo Hereſies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifeſt* [*among you.*] And in this alſo the unſpeakable wiſdome of God is to be admired, who has ſaid to the divine [Saint] *Paul:* † *For my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs.* For, for what reaſons the members of the Church have been rent in ſunder, for the very ſame [cauſes] the true and irreprehenſible || *Dogmata* have been more accurately poliſhed and ſet forth; and the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church has increaſed, and been advanced even to the Heavens. But the nouriſhers of Heathenish errour, who are not deſirous of finding out either [the nature of] God, or his providentiall care about men, do mutually overthrow both their own, and

* Or, *none of thoſe who are mad upon Idolls.*

† Πρωτοτύπως, *originally,* or, *primarily.*

* Or, *him who went before him.*

[a] Τὰ μὴ σωτηρικὰ καὶ κύρια. In *Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 48. where he tranſcribes this paſſage of *Evagrius.*) the reading is [καὶ καιρία, *and opportune*] which reading is not ſo good, as I judge. Yet, I found it expreſsly ſo written in the *Tellerian* M. S. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *To the creature.*

† Or, *Cauſe privately.*

|| Or, *May meet in one exact,* &c.

* 1 Cor. 11. 19.

† 2 Cor. 12. 9.

|| *Doctrines,* or, *points.*

and their Anceſtours opinions. For they invent Gods upon Gods, and chooſe and name them from their own perturbations of mind; to the end that by taking to themſelves ſuch Gods, they may procure pardon for their own luſts and debaucheries. So forſooth, he who amongſt them [is accounted] the ſupream Father of men and Gods, having *Metamorphoz'd* himſelf into a bird, laſciviouſly ſnach't up the *Phrygian* Boy; and, as the reward of his uncleanneſs, gave him his Cup, [b] permitting him to begin to drink an inviting Cup to himſelf, that ſo both of them might in common ſwallow down their ſhame together with the *Nectar*. The ſame [*Jupiter* defiled himſelf] with infinite other impieties, which have been interdicted even amongſt the vileſt of men. And having changed himſelf into all the ſhapes of irrationall creatures, (he himſelf being of all the moſt brutiſh,) is made an * *Androgynus*, and [c] bears a child not in his belly, but on his thigh, to the end that theſe things contrary to nature might be done by him. At which Birth *Bacchus* [is brought forth,] who was himſelf an *Androgynus* alſo, and brought a reproach upon both Sexes: he was the Prince of drunkenneſs, of ſottiſhneſs cauſed by fulneſs of wine, of ſurfeits and debauches proceeding from ſo profuſe drinking, and of all the diſtempers riſing therefrom. To this [d] *Ægiochus*, this *Loud Thunderer*, they aſcribe this [e] as ſome brave and great [Action,] they term him parricide (a Villany judged by all men to be of the greateſt magnitude,) becauſe he drove *Saturn*, who had unfortunately begat him, out of his Kingdome.

[b] Τῶ φιλοσηοίαν ωεφηνεν ὁπτρέλας. He means (I ſuppoſe) that Story, which we are told concerning *Ganymed* Son of *Tros* King of *Troas* (which was one part of *Phrygia*.) This Boy, *Jupiter* having turned himſelf into an Eagle, ſnatch't up, and admitted him his Cup-bearer, in the room of *Hebe*, whom he had diſplaced; and makes him his *Catamite*.

* *A perſon that is both male and female.*

[c] The ſtory is this. *Semele* ('tis ſaid) being great with child by *Jupiter*, (to whom that god had ſworn to give whatever ſhe ſhould ask of him,) was by *Juno's* craft put upon making this requeſt to him; viz. *that he would lie one night with her in the ſame manner he uſed to lie with* Juno. The God-Lover granted her deſire; and *Semele* is burnt up with Thunder: but the Boy was taken out of her womb, and put upon *Jove's* thigh; of whom he was delivered (in ſuch manner as women are) at the due time. On which account *Bacchus* (who was the child thus brought forth,) had the name of *Bimater, one that had two mothers*.

[d] 'Tis an *Epithete* given to *Jupiter*, either (1) becauſe he wore the ſacred *Ægis*, [that is, *Breſt-plate*,] or (2) becauſe he was the raiſer of Storms, or rather (3) in regard he wore the skin of the *Goat Amalthæa*, which had been his Nurſe. See *Servius upon Virgil's* 8th *Æneid. Col.* 1320, *Edit. Baſil.* 1586.

[e] In ſtead of [ᾧ τὸ σεμνὸν, *and ſome brave*, &c. I doubt not but it ſhould be [ὡς τὸ σεμνὸν, *as ſome brave*, &c.] For, in theſe books of *Evagrius*, ᾧ is frequently uſed inſtead of ὡς. *Valeſ.*

What ſhould I ſay of Whoredome, which * has been conſecrated amongſt them, over which they have made the *Cyprian Venus*, begotten of a Shell, to preſide; which [Goddeſs] abominates continency as a moſt execrable thing and altogether intolerable: but ſhe is delighted with whoredomes and all manner of filthy actions, wherewith 'tis her deſire to be appeaſed. With whom *Mars* commits an unclean Act, and by the craft of *Vulcanus* is [taken and] expoſed to the view and deriſion of the other Gods. Any one may alſo deſervedly laugh at their *Phalli*, their *Ithyphalli*, *Phallagogia*, their vaſt *Priapus*, and *Pan* who is worſhipped with an obſcene member; and at their myſteries [celebrated] at *Eleuſine*, commendable for this thing only, [to wit,] that the Sun ſees them not, but they are condemned to dwell in darkneſs. But, leaving theſe things as well to the obſcene worſhippers as to the worſhipped, let us ſpur on our horſe * to the end of the Race, and render the remaining [tranſactions] of *Theodoſius's* Reign, manifeſt and evident to the eyes of all men.

* Or, *has had divinity attributed to it*; or, *has been deified*.

* Ἐπὶ τὸν γύαυν, *to the Mark*, or, *Goal*.

CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Emperour Theodoſius [*proſecuted and*] *expelled the Hereſie of* Neſtorius.

THe ſame Emperour wrote a moſt pious Conſtitution, extant in the *Firſt Book* of that termed *Juſtinian's Code*, which is in number *The Third* of the *Firſt Title*. In which [conſtitution, *Theodoſius*] incited thereto by God, has *with all ſuffrages* (as 'tis proverbially ſaid) condemned * him, for whom he had heretofore had a ſingular affection (as *Neſtorius* himſelf has related;) † and has denounced an *Anathema* againſt him, recorded in theſe expreſs words: *Moreover, We Decree, that thoſe who* ‖ *emulate the impious faith of* Neſtorius, *or follow his deteſtable doctrine, (if they be Biſhops, or Eccleſiaſticks,) ſhall be ejected out of the Holy Churches: but, if they be Läicks, they ſhall be* Anathematized. The ſame Emperour made other Laws on account of our Religion, which do ſufficiently demonſtrate the ardency of his zeal.

* *Neſtorius.*

† Or, *has ſurrounded him with an* Anathema.

‖ Or, *imitate*.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Saint Symeon *the* * Stylite.

IN theſe times, *Symeones*, [a perſon] of an holy [a] and moſt celebrated memory, flouriſhed and was * eminent: he was the firſt perſon that inſtituted the Station upon a pillar, the circumference of whoſe Manſion was ſcarce two Cubits; at which time *Domnus* preſided over the Church of *Antioch*. Who when he was come to *Symeones*, and had admired his ſtation and manner of life, was deſirous of ſome more ſecret [converſe with him.] Both of them therefore met together, [b] and having conſecrated the immaculate Body [of Chriſt,] they gave one another the Viviſick Communion. This perſon in the fleſh emulated the converſe of the Celeſtiall powers, withdrew himſelf from affairs upon earth, and putting a force upon Nature which tends downward, purſued things ſublime. And having placed himſelf in the midſt, [as it were] between heaven and things upon earth, he converſed with *moſt Holy*, and the like. Our *Evagrius* ſpeaking hereafter concerning *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, gives him this Elogy, γενηρεὺς τῶ παγαοιδύμε, *the moſt celebrated Gregorius*. Valeſ.

* Or, *who dwelt in* [or, *upon*] *a pillar*.

[a] Καὶ πάνυ ἀοιδίμε μνήμης. Sr *Henry Savil* in *his Copy* makes it one word, thus, παναοιδίμε. But I had rather write it παγαοιδίμε. For ſo *Grecians* do uſually ſpeak; as when they ſay παγοῦφημον *moſt eminently laudable*, παγάγιον

* Or, *conſpicuous*.

[b] Heretofore the Presbyters celebrated the Church-Service together with the Biſhop, and received the *Euchariſt* from his hand. So in the *tenth Action of the Chalcedon Councill*, *Baſſianus* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, in *his Supplicatory Libell* to *Marſianus* the Emperour, amongſt other things ſays theſe words: τῆ δὲ ἄγεγον ἡμέρᾳ λειτεργήσαντες πάντες ὁμῦ, &c. *Having on the day after all of us performed the Publick-Service together*, &c. And, at a great diſtance from that place, the ſame *Baſſianus* ſays, pag. 303, σέφανῳ πρεσβύτερῳ μῦ, &c. *Stephanus my Presbyter was with me four years, he performed the Publick-Service with me, communicated with me, and received the Communion from me, as from his Biſhop*. The ſame uſage alſo was heretofore practiſed in the *Roman* Church, to wit, that the Presbyters ſhould every day celebrate the Publick-Service together with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and receive the Communion from his hand. But on Sundays, when the Presbyters were neceſſitated to perform the Publick-Service apart in their own *Titles*, [*Pariſhes*, or, *Cures*,] on account of the people committed to their charge; they received the Lords Body ſent by the *Acolythi* from the Biſhop of *Rome*: that they might not ſeem to be ſeparated from the communion of their own Biſhop, eſpecially on that day; as *Pope Innocent* informs us in *his Epiſtle to Decentius*. Valeſ.

God,

God, and together with the Angels glorified him: offering to God from the earth his ſupplications for men, and procuring from heaven the ſupernall benevolence upon men. This perſons * Miracles have been written by one that was an eye-witneſs of what he did. *Theodoret* alſo Biſhop of *Cyrus* has † recorded them very eloquently. [c But] we have found, that they have been moſt eſpecially defective in this [following paſſage,] which to this day is preſerved amongſt thoſe of the Holy Solitude, and from which very perſons, we have received it. When therefore *Symeones*, that Angel upon earth, that Citizen in the fleſh of the *Jeruſalem* which is above, had inſtituted this new, and [hitherto] unknown way of living to men; the Inhabitants of the Holy Deſert ſend a meſſenger to him, whom they ordered to enquire [of *Symeones*,] what this new and ſtrange courſe of life was, and why he left that way which had been trodden and worn by the Saints, and proceeded in another new one, [hitherto] wholly unknown to men? And [they bade the meſſenger tell him] that they commanded him to come down, and go on in the way of the Elect Fathers. Now, if he ſhould ſhew himſelf [d] ready [and willing] to come down, their order was, that he ſhould be permitted to follow his own [way.] For by his obedience [they ſaid] it would be manifeſt, that by the direction of God he had undertaken this troubleſome and afflictive way of living. But if he refuſed, and would be the ſervant of his own will, nor would with a readineſs forthwith obey their admonition, ['twas their order] that he ſhould be pulled down by force. When therefore the meſſenger was come to him, and had acquainted him with the command of the Fathers, and *Symeon*'s had forthwith put down one of his feet, reſolving to fulfill the Order of the Fathers; [the meſſenger who had been ſent to him] permitted him to proceed on in his own way; and ſpake theſe words [to him:] *Be ſtrong, and behave thy ſelf like a man: thy ſtation is of God.* This truly memorable action [of *Symeon's*] which I have related here, is omitted by thoſe who have written concerning him. [Further,] this perſon was in ſo high a manner influenced by the power of divine grace, that when the Emperour *Theodoſius* had iſſued out an Order, that the Synagogues of the *Jews* inhabiting *Antioch* (which had been taken from them by the *Chriſtians*,) ſhould be reſtored to them again; he wrote to the Emperour with ſo much freedome and confidence, and reproved him ſo ſmartly, (revering [God] only his own King,) that the Emperour *Theodoſius* revoak't his own Orders, fulfilled all things in favour of the *Chriſtians*, removed the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who had ſuggeſted theſe things to him, from his Government, and entreated the moſt Holy and [e] *Aërial* Martyr in [theſe] expreſs words, *that he would put up his ſupplications and prayers for him, and impart to him his own bleſſing.* Moreover, *Symeon* ſpent ſix and fifty years in this afflictive and auſtere courſe of life. In the firſt Monaſtery, wherein he had been imbued with the precepts of a divine life, [he ſpent] nine years. And ſeven and fourty in that place called * *The Mandra*: during ten years [of which time] he performed his combat in a certain narrow place; [he dwelt] ſeaven years in the ſhorter pillars, and thirty years upon a pillar of fourty cubits long. His moſt ſacred body, after his departure out of this life, in the ſucceeding times was brought to *Antioch*, [to wit,] when *Leo* ſwayed the Imperiall Scepter, and *Martyrius* preſided over the Church of *Antioch*; at which time alſo *Ardaburius Maſter of the Orientall Milice*, came to *Symeon*'s *Mandra*, accompanied with thoſe Military Forces he had about him, and with other multitudes; and guarded the moſt pretious dead body of the bleſſed *Symeones*, to the end that the neighbouring Cities might not meet together and ſteal it. His moſt holy body therefore is conveyed to *Antioch*, very great miracles having been performed even by the way. The Emperour *Leo* deſired it might be given to him by the *Antiochians*. But the Inhabitants of *Antioch* preſented a *ſupplicatory Libell* to him, wherein were contained theſe words: *In regard we have no wall to our City, ([f] For 'tis faln by reaſon of the wrath [of God:]) we have brought [hither] the moſt Holy Body that it may be to us inſtead of a wall and a fortification.* By which words the Emperour *Leo* was prevailed upon, granted their requeſt, and permitted them [to enjoy] the Holy Body. Many of this perſons [Reliques] have been preſerved untill our times. Even I my ſelf have ſeen his holy head, (ſeverall Eccleſiaſticks being then preſent,) at ſuch time as the moſt celebrated *Gregorius* was Biſhop of *Antioch*; when *Philippicus* requeſted, that the pretious Reliques of the Saints might be ſent to him, in order to the guarding and defending the *Orientall* Milice. And, which is to be wondred at, the hair of his head was not faln off; but is preſerved perfect and entire, as if he were yet alive, and converſant amongſt men. The skin alſo of his forehead was wrinkled indeed, and become hard: but 'tis as yet preſerved whole, as are alſo moſt of his teeth, [g] excepting ſo many of them as have by force been taken away by the hands of faithfull perſons. [Which teeth of his] do by their * form declare, what, how great, and eminent a man of God this *Symeones* was. There lies likewiſe at his head, a chain made of Iron which he wore about his neck; with which his much-renowned body, worn out by auſterities, hath ſhared the honours [given] by God.

* Or, *Predictions.*

† See *Theodoret's works*, Tom. 3. pag. 876, &c. *Edit. Pariſ.* 1642.

[c] This place has been ſeverall ways corrected by Learned men, to wit, by *Chriſtophorſon* and *Curterius*, or rather by thoſe from whoſe Copies they tranſcribed theſe emendations. For ſome, after the word ἀφαλοιπότες, add *the verb* εἰσίν. Others read ἀφαλοίπην, and underſtand that concerning *Theodoret* only. But I ſuppoſe this place is to be reſtored thus: ἐν ᾧ τὰ μάλιστα ἀφαλοιποτας καλεληφαμὼ, ὃ μέχρι νῦν σωζόμωον παρὰ τοῖς τῆς ἁγίας ἐρήμε, παρ' αὐτῷ περιελήφαμὼ. And ſo I have rendred it: nor do I doubt but *Evagrius* wrote it thus. *Valeſ.*

[d] In the incomparable *Florentine* M.S. I found theſe words, written at the margin: πνδματικῆ ὡς ἀληθὼς ἐν τῷ κειτῷ ἢ ἠβὶ πατέρων τῶν τὸ μεγάλε συμεών & κείτης; that is, *The judgment of the Fathers concerning the Great* Symeon [*was*] *truly ſpirituall in Chriſt.* Valeſ.

[e] Theſe ſeem to be

the words of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, taken out of the Letter he wrote to the bleſſed *Symeones*. The Emperour therefore had prefixt this title before his Letter; τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀειῴ μάρτυρι, *To the moſt Holy and Aërial Martyr.* Where he terms him *Martyr*; on account of thoſe great ſeverities wherewith he afflicted his own body: and he ſtiles him *Aërial*, becauſe he ſtood on high in the air, in a pillar. The words ἐπὶ ὕψωι & do undoubtedly declare what I have ſaid; to wit, that thoſe now mentioned, or them immediately following, are the words of the Emperour *Theodoſius*. Notwithſtanding, *Chriſtophorſon* has pointed this place otherwiſe, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For he renders it thus: *Et ſanctiſſimum ac Aërium oraret Martyrem, uti nominatim pro ipſo Deum obſecraret, And he beſought the moſt Holy and Aërial Martyr, that he would beſeech God expreſsly for himſelf.* Which punctation of this paſſage I can in no wiſe approve of. *Valeſ.*

* See the following chapter, note (*a.*)

[f] After this clauſe, *Nicephorus* adds theſe words; σεισμὸς μεγάλε γενομένε, *a great earthquake having happned.* Valeſ.

[g] Ὅτι μὲν δὲ ὅσοι. *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savil* have mended this place thus [ὅσοι μὴ χερσὶν, *as many as have not by force*, &c.] But, the place may be mended by a ſmaller change, thus: εἰ μὴ ὅσοι, &c. *excepting ſo many of them as*, &c. Inſtead of theſe words, *Nicephorus* uſes, πλὴν ὅσοι; which is more elegant. *Valeſ.*

* Διὰ τὲ χύμα & by [their] *figure, form*, or *ſhape*: *Valeſius* renders it *by their greatneſs.*

For that dear and friendly iron deſerted not *Symeones*, even when dead. I would have given [h] a particular account of this perſons performances, (which would yield no ſmall advantage, both to my ſelf relating them, and alſo to thoſe who ſhould read them;) were it not, that *Theodoret* ([i] as I have ſaid before,) hath declared them more at large.

[h] Inſtead of [ὅπου τὸ καθέκαστον] I had rather it ſhould be [ἕ τὸ καθέκαστον, *a particular account of this perſons*, &c.] Which emendation ſeems to me to be altogether neceſſary; although *Nicephorus* defends the common reading. *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read according as I have ſaid. *Valeſ.*

[i] Ὡς ἔφην εἰπών. I am of the ſame mind with S[r] *Henry Savil*, who in the margin of his Copy has mended it thus, ὡς ἔφθην εἰπὼν, *as I have ſaid before*. The ſame fault is corrected before in this chapter, where the Synagogues are ſpoken of, which the *Antiochians* had heretofore taken away from the *Jews*. And ſo it is plainly written in the *Tellerian*. M. S. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Star which appears frequently in the Piazza *about the Pillar of Saint* Symeon, *which* this Writer *and others have ſeen: and concerning the ſame* Saint's *Head.*

But come on, I will inſert another thing alſo into this Hiſtory, which I my ſelf ſaw. I had a great deſire to ſee the Church of this holy perſon. It is about three hundred furlongs diſtant from * *Theopolis*, ſcituate on the very top of an hill. Thoſe who live there abouts call it [a] *The Mandra*; the moſt Holy [*Symeones*,] I ſuppoſe, left this name to the place of his *Aſcetick* exerciſes. The riſing of the hill extends to the length of twenty furlongs. The fabrick of the Temple repreſents the form of a Croſs, beautified with *Portico*'s of four ſides. [b] Oppoſite to thoſe *Portico*'s are placed Pillars, curiouſly framed of poliſh't ſtone, whereon the Roof is gracefully raiſed to an heighth.

* That is, *Antioch.*

[a] Inſtead of [μανδείαν, *The Mandria*,] in the *Tellerian* M.S. and *Niccephorus*, it is μάνδεαν, *The Mandra*. For ſo *Evagrius* himſelf terms it twice, in the foregoing chapter. But what *Evagrius* adds, to wit, that Saint *Symeones* gave that name to that place wherein he had exerciſed himſelf in the ſtudies of a more auſtere Philoſophy, is to be further inquired into. *Evagrius*'s words are theſe: τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ παναγὲς συμεῶνος τῷ περιηρεφεῖ τοῦ χώρου καλαιπόνῳ. *Chriſtophorſon* and S[r] *Henry Savil* mend it thus, καταλιπῶσης; wherein they are greatly miſtaken. They perceived not that *Evagrius* is wont ſometimes to tranſpoſe words. This place therefore in *Evagrius* is thus to be conſtrued: τὸ παναγὲς τῷ περιηρεφεῖ καλαιπόνῳ τοῦ χώρου τῆς ἀσκήσεως, *The moſt holy* [Symeones,] *I ſuppoſe, left*, &c. So *Nicephorus* underſtood this place in *Evagrius*. For thus he words it: μάνδεαν δὲ ὡς εἴρηται, &c. *The Inhabitants call the place of his Aſcetick exerciſes The* Mandra, *as has been ſaid; the Holy* [Symeon] *having given it that name.* Yet, any one may conjecture, that that name was given to that place after *Symeon*'s death, when many Monks flock't thither, and had built a Monaſterie there. For *Mandra* ſignifies a *Monaſterie*, being a Metaphor taken from *Hovells* wherein Sheep or Goats are foddered; which are called *Mandræ*. Hence the *Abbots* of Monaſteries are termed *Archimandritæ*, as may be ſeen in the *Chalcedon Councill*, and in the *Novells of the Emperours*. *Theodorus Lector* ſpeaks concerning this Monaſterie of *Symeon*'s, in book 1. *Collectan*; where he ſays, Δανιὴλ ὁ θαυμάσιος, &c. *The Admirable* Daniel, *who came out of* Symeon's Mandra, *went up upon the Pillar at Anaplum. Symeon Metaphraſtes* does likewiſe mention this Monaſterie, in *his Life of* Daniel *the Stylite, chap.* 7. at which place *Metaphraſtes* ſhews that this Monaſterie was built whileſt *Symeon* was living. Concerning which, neither *Theodoret*, nor *Evagrius*, ſpeak one word. But, I will not hide this, viz. that in the *Tellerian* M. S. the reading at this place is καλαιπώσης. *Valeſ.*

[b] Παρεστάκασι δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις. *Chriſtophorſon* renders this place thus: *Porticibus vero columnæ adjunctæ ſunt, To the Portico's are adjoyned Pillars.* Nor is *Muſculus*'s Verſion much different; who tranſlates it thus: *Inſunt autem porticibus columnæ, There are in the portico's pillars.* But the Greek term παρεστάκασι ſeems to import ſomething more. *Evagrius* makes uſe of the ſame word in book 4. chap. 31. where he deſcribes the Church of *Saint Sophia*. The place there is thus worded: ἐν δεξιῷ δὲ καὶ ἀριστερᾷ τὸ ἐυώνυμον κίονες αὐλοῖς παρεστήκασι. Which paſſage I have rendred after this manner: *In dextro autem ac ſiniſtro latere, ex adverſo fornicum poſitæ ſunt columnæ, On the right hand and on the left, oppoſite to the Arches are placed Pillars.* Doubtleſs, this word παρεστάκασι does either ſignifie that which I have ſaid [to wit, *to place over againſt*, or, *oppoſite*,] or elſe *juxta ponere, to place near. Langus, Nicephorus*'s Tranſlatour, renders theſe words of *Evagrius* which we have placed at the beginning of this note, after this manner: *Juxta porticus has ex ſaxo polito columnæ decentiſſime conſtructæ ſunt, near theſe portico's there are pillars of poliſh't ſtone moſt gracefully built.* Valeſ.

[c] In the midſt, there is an *open Court*, wrought with a great deal of art: in which [Court] ſtands the Pillar forty cubits long, wherein that incarnate Angel upon earth led a celeſtiall life. In the Roof of the ſaid *Portico*'s, there are [d] *Clatri*, (ſome term them *windows*;) [e] verging both towards the forementioned open Court, and alſo towards the *Portico*'s. At the left ſide therefore of the Pillar, I my ſelf [f] together with the whole multitude there gathered together, (the Country-men being dauncing about the Pillar,) have ſeen in the window a Star of a vaſt magnitude, running all over the window and gliſtering, not once, nor twice, nor thrice, but often: which [Star] vaniſhed frequently, and appeared again on a ſudden.

[c] *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood this place much amiſs. For thus he has rendred it: *verſus medium Templum, atrium eſt ſub dio, towards the middle of the Church, there is an open Court. Evagrius* does not ſay ſo; but, that in the midſt of theſe *Portico*'s there was a *Court* or *Area*. For *Courts* were uſually encompaſſed with four *Portico*'s, as I have remarked at *Euſebius*'s *books concerning the life of Conſtantine*. *Chriſtophorſon* was deceived by what *Evagrius* has ſaid a little before, to wit, that the Church was ſurrounded with *Portico*'s of four ſides. Therefore he thought, that the Church was in the midſt between the four *Portico*'s. Wherein he is much miſtaken. For the *Atrium* [or, *Court*] was in the midſt of thoſe four *Portico*'s. And that was the firſt thing which thoſe who went in met with, after they had paſſed *the Porch*, or *Entry*. After the *Atrium* was the Church, contiguous to one of the *Portico*'s. That this was the figure of this Church, the following words do ſufficiently declare. For *Evagrius* ſays, that women were forbidden to go into that Church: notwithſtanding, that they ſaw the miracle of that Star, from the gate which was in the Porch. The *Atrium* therefore occurred immediately after the Porch, nor was the Church in the midſt. Otherwiſe, the walls of the Church it ſelf would have hindred them from ſeeing the Star. *Valeſ.*

[d] Κλειθείδια. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have tranſlated it *Cancelli, Lattiſes*; which I can by no means approve of. For κλιθίδες ſignifie *Cancelli*. I would therefore rather render it *Clatri*. In the *Old Gloſſes*, *Clatri* are thus deſcribed: κανόνες, οἱ ἐν ταῖς θυείσιν ὀβελίσκοι, *Squares*, [that is, *croſs-bars*, or, *lattiſed-bars*,] *or bars that are in windows*. But in the *other Gloſſes*, *Clatrare* is expounded κλειδοῦν, *claudere, to ſhut*. The originall therefore of the *Greek* and *Latine* word is the ſame. *Valeſ.*

[e] I am of the ſame opinion with *Chriſtophorſon* and S[r] *Henry Savil*, who inſtead of ἀποκεινόμωσα, *anſwering*, mended it thus, ἀποκλινόμωσα, *verging*, or, *declining*. Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* defends the common reading, to wit, ἀποκεινόμωσα *anſwering*. Moreover, *Nicephorus* adds ſome words, which are not at this day extant in our *Evagrius*. The paſſage is thus worded in *Nicephorus*: ἅπερ πρὸς αὐλαῖς δὴ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν περιαύλιον ὑπαιθρον ἀποκείνεται, καὶ χώραν δίδωσι τοῖς ἠρεμοῦσιν ἐκτὸς ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔσω, καὶ ἔσω πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔξω. Which place in *Nicephorus Langus* renders thus: ——*Porticibus ipſis & ſubdiali quæ dicta eſt aulæ reſpondentes, locumque volentibus dantes, ut ex ipſo templo extra, & rurſum ab exteriori templi parte in templum proſpicere poſſint; which* [*clatri*] *are anſwerable both to the* Portico's *themſelves and alſo to the ſaid open-Court, and afford a place to thoſe that are deſirous of looking out, from within the Church, and again, of looking into the Church, from its outward part.* Whence *Nicephorus* had this, I know not; unleſs it were from *Symeon Metaphraſtes*, who had written the Life of *Symeones* the *Stylite*. *Nicephorus* does indeed atteſt, that he himſelf had read *Metaphraſtes*'s *Life of Symeones*. And 'tis not likely, that *Nicephorus* ſhould have added this of his own head. Now, for what reaſon theſe words were added, I have as to me it ſeemeth apprehended. To wit, *Metaphraſtes* (or, if you will, *Nicephorus* himſelf,) thought, that the women, who were in no wiſe ſuffered to go into that ſacred Edifice, beheld that Star, here mentioned, from theſe windows. But, he is much miſtaken, as we ſhall declare by and by. *Valeſ.*

[f] *Muſculus* renders this paſſage thus: *Cum univerſo collecto illic agreſtium circa columnam ſaltantium populo, Together with the whole multitude* [*or, people*] *of the Country-men there gathered together dauncing round the Pillar.* Whom *Chriſtophorſon* has followed; having expunged the *Comma*, which is placed after the word [*together.*] But this rendition is not to be born with. For the Country-men were not the only perſons then in the Church of Saint *Symeon*, when this Star was ſeen by *Evagrius*. But many Citizens were there alſo at that time, of which number *Evagrius* was one. Beſides, the people which *Evagrius* ſays were there gathered together at that time, were in the *Portico* at the left hand of the Pillar. But, the Ruſticks were in the *Atrium*, [or, *Open Court*,] dauncing about the Pillar. *Valeſ.*

But

But this happens only on those days, observed in memory of that most holy person [*Symeon.*] There are those who say, (nor are we to disbelieve the miracle, both because of their credibility who affirm it, and by reason of other things which we our selves have beheld :) that they have seen even [g] his very person flying up and down this way and that way, with his long beard, and his head covered with a * *Tiara*, as 'twas wont to be. The men who come to this place, have free liberty to enter in, and go round the Pillar many times together with their beasts that carry burdens. But a most exquisite care is taken, (for what reason I cannot say,) that no woman should go into the Church. Therefore, *they* stand without [the Church,] at the Porch, and behold the Miracle. For, [h] one of the [Church] Gates is placed exactly opposite to the glistering Star.

[g] Αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ πρόσωπειον. In *Nicephorus* the reading is πρόσωπον : which I think to be righteſt. In the *Tellerian* M.S. I found it written προσώπειον, the accent being changed. *Valeſ.*

* A round ornament, worn by *Princes* and *Prieſts* on their heads ; it was heretofore the dreſs of the *Perſian* women.

[h] Ἡ μία τῆ θυρῶν. Inſtead of the word [θυρῶν, *Gates*,] *Nicephorus* made it [θυείδων, *Windows*,] which was ill done, as I have remarked above, at note *(e.)* For, the women could not ſee through the window, in regard they [the women] were in the Porch, but the windows were placed in the very top of the *Portico*'s, into which the women were forbid to come. *Johannes Langus* therefore, having followed our *Evagrius*, has upon a good account corrected *Nicephorus*. For, thus he renders it : *Mulieres quoque, ſed extra templum ad poſtes ſtantes, miraculum hoc ſpectant. Janua enim una ex adverſo ſtellæ fulgentis locata eſt. Women alſo, but they ſtand without the Church at the gate, do behold this Miracle. For one of the gates is placed over againſt the ſhining Star.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Saint Iſidorus Peluſiota, *and* Syneſius *Biſhop of* Cyrenæ.

* Οὗ κλέος εὐρύ.

† Or, *melted his fleſh.*

‖ Or, *Image.*

During the ſame [*Theodoſius*'s] Reign flouriſhed *Iſidorus* alſo, * *whoſe glory* (to uſe a poetick expreſſion,] *is far ſpread*, a perſon celebrated amongſt all men, both for his Actions and Eloquence. This man † macerated his Body with Labours in ſuch a manner, and fatned his ſoul with ſublime and divine doctrines to ſo high a degree, that he lived an Angelick life upon earth, and was always the living ‖ Monument both of a Monaſtick Life, [a] and alſo of a contemplation upon God.

[a] *Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 53, where he tranſcribes this paſſage of *Evagrius*,) words it thus ; τῆς ἐς θεὸν θεωρίας, *of a contemplation upon God.* The ſame Reading I found in the *Tellerian* M. S. It may alſo be mended thus, τῆς ἐνθέου θεωρίας, *of a divine contemplation.* [In *Robert Stephens*'s *Edition*, the reading here is, τῆς ἐς ἐνθεωρίας.] Further, there is an illuſtrious Elogy of this *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, extant in *Ephremius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, in *his Epiſtle* to *Zenobius Scholaſticus*, which *Photius* records in *his Bibliotheca*. Where he ſays, *that he was by birth an* Alexandrian, *and venerable amongſt the Arch-Biſhops themſelves*, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς δὲ ἦν τὸ γένος καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν αἰδέσιμος. Valeſ.

He wrote many other [pieces,] filled [with paſſages] of manifold utility ; he wrote alſo to the celebrated *Cyrillus*, from which [Letters] 'tis evidently demonſtrated, that he flouriſhed in the ſame times with the divine [*Cyrillus.*] But becauſe 'tis my endeavour to adorn * this Hiſtory, as much as 'tis poſſible, come on, let *Syneſius* [Biſhop] of *Cyrenæ* come forth, that he may beautifie our Hiſtory † with the eminency of his own name. This *Syneſius* was accompliſhed with all other [Arts and Sciences ;] but * excelled in Philoſophy to ſo high a degree, that he was the Admiration of thoſe *Chriſtians*, who in paſſing their judgments upon what they ſee, are not [byaſſed] either by affection or hatred. They perſwade him therefore, [b] to be a partaker of the Salutary Regeneration, and to take the Sacerdotall yoak upon him, [c] although he had not as yet embraced the doctrine of the Reſurrection, * nor would be induced to believe that Article : they having moſt truly conjectured, that theſe [Sentiments] would follow this perſons other virtues, [in regard] the divine grace would permit [him] to have nothing imperfect. Nor was their expectation fruſtrated. For, what and how great a perſon he proved, is ſufficiently atteſted by the Epiſtles which he wrote with much Elegancy and Learning after [his undertaking] the Sacerdotall Function, by the [d] Oration he ſpoke to [the Emperour] *Theodoſius* himſelf, and by thoſe other uſefull Works of his that are extant.

* Or, *these things.*

† Or, *with his own memory.*

* Or, *exerciſed Philoſophy.*

[b] Or, *to count himſelf worthy of the Salutary Regeneration* ; that is, Baptiſme. As far as may be collected from theſe and the following words, *Evagrius* ſeems to have thought, that *Syneſius* was baptized and promoted to the Epiſcopall dignity at one and the ſame time. And yet, that this is falſe, *Petavius* proves by many arguments, in *his notes upon* Syneſius, pag. 2, and 3. Notwithſtanding, *Evagrius* is followed by *Photius* in *his Bibliotheca*, and by *Nicephorus* book 14. chap. 55. Although *Nicephorus* ſays not that *Syneſius* had been baptized and ordained at one and the ſame time : but, that when *Theophilus* had prevailed with him to receive *Chriſtian-baptiſme*, afterwards he endeavoured to perſwade him to enter upon the Epiſcopall Function. See *Nicephorus*'s words, at the book and chapter now cited. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *nor would think ſo.*

[c] Many perſons, I perceive, have perſwaded themſelves, that when *Syneſius* was elected Biſhop by the Inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, he wholly diſbelieved the Reſurrection of Bodies. Notwithſtanding, that this is not true, *Syneſius* himſelf atteſts in *his* 105th *Epiſtle*, which he wrote to his brother *Euoptius*, who was then at *Alexandria*. In that Letter, he gives reaſons why he could not undertake the Biſhoprick offered to him. ——— One of which is, *The Reſurrection of Bodies.* His Sentiment concerning which point, he declares in theſe words : πρὸς καθωμιλημένην ἀνάστασιν ἱερὸν τι καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἡγημαι, καὶ πολλοῦ δέω ταῖς τῶ πλήθους ὑπολήψεσιν ὁμολογήσαι, *That much-ſpoken-of Reſurrection I account a Sacred and Myſticall thing, and am far from aſſenting to the opinions of the Vulgar. Syneſius* therefore did not wholly deny the Reſurrection of the dead ; but expounded it agreeable to the *Platonicks*, and to *Origen*. *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 410,) thinks, that whatever is ſaid by *Syneſius* in *this Epiſtle*, is not ſpoken ſeriouſly, but feignedly and diſſemblingly, that he might decline the burthen of a Biſhoprick. But, *Petavius* has deſervedly found fault with this opinion of *Baronius*. For he ſays, that 'tis much more likely, that *Syneſius* wrote theſe things to his brother, in a manner agreeable to what he then thought. But, that having been afterwards inſtructed by *Theophilus* and other Prelates, before he was made a Biſhop, he embraced a true opinion concerning the Reſurrection. *Lucas Holſtenius* has at large examined *this Queſtion*, in a *peculiar diſſertation*, which in favour to the Studious, we have ſet forth at the *cloſe of our Annotations.* [The Learned Reader will meet with *this diſſertation*, *de Syneſio & de fugâ Epiſcopatûs*, at the cloſe of the third Vol. of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians ſet forth by* Valeſius, at pag. 202 of *Valeſius's notes.*] In the interim, the Reader is to be advertiſed that there is a miſtake in the Contents of this chapter, and in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, where *Syneſius* is termed Biſhop of *Cyrene*. *Syneſius* was indeed by Country a *Cyrenæan*. But he was Biſhop of *Ptolemais*, which is a City in *Cyrenaica*. Valeſ

[d] He means *the Oration de Regno*. Which, notwithſtanding was not ſpoken to *Theodoſius Junior*, but to *Arcadius*, in the year of Chriſt 400, that is, ten years before *Syneſius* had undertaken the Biſhoprick ; as *Dionyſius Petavius* has rightly obſerved in *his notes at that Oration of Syneſius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Divine Ignatius, *having been removed from* Rome, *was depoſited at* Antioch.

[a] *Evagrius* does frequently quote the Hiſtory of this *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* in his following books. For inſtance, in chap. 12, of *his ſecond book*, in chap. 10, and 28, of *his third book*, and in the 5th chapter of *his fourth book*. But he is a far different perſon from

AT the ſame time alſo, as 'tis recorded by [a] * *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* and others, the Divine *Ignatius* (after he had obtained, agreeable to his deſire, the bellies of wild-beaſts for his Tomb, in the *Amphitheatre* at *Rome* ;

that Johannes, of whom *Evagrius* makes mention at the cloſe of the laſt chapter of *his fifth book*. For, this *Johannes*, laſt mentioned, had written an Hiſtory of affairs from the latter end of *Juſtinianus*'s Reign, unto the Reign of *Mauritius*, as *Evagrius* does there atteſt: (See *Evagrius* book 5. chap. 24.) But the former *Johannes* had recorded the affairs tranſacted in the Reigns of *Theodoſius Junior*, *Leo*, and *Zeno*, as may be concluded from thoſe paſſages which *Evagrius* has taken out of that *Johannes*. And he had cloſed *his Hiſtory* at the deſtruction of *Antioch*, which hapned on the ninth year of *Juſtinus Senior*, as *Evagrius* relates. Further, that *Johannes* which I have mentioned in the ſecond place at the beginning of *this note*, was born at *Epiphania*. For *Evagrius* (in the forecited place, *viz.* book 5. chap. 24,) terms him *his fellow-Citizen* and *Kinſman*. Now, *Evagrius* was by originall extract an *Epiphanienſian*, as I have ſhown in *My account of his Life and Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. But, the *Johannes Rhetor*, whom, *Evagrius* mentions in this chapter, (if I may have leave to conjecture,) ſeems to me to have been an *Antiochian*. For, whatever paſſages our *Evagrius* cites out of him, belong to the City of *Antioch*. I have been more large in my Annotation on theſe things, for this reaſon, that I might correct the miſtake of *Johannes Voſſius*, who in *his Comment de Hiſtoricis Græcis*, has confounded theſe two *Johannes*'s, one with the other. *Valeſ.*

and after his ſtronger bones which were left [undevoured,] had been conveyed to *Antioch*, [and depoſited] in that place termed the [b] *Cœmitery*; many years after [all this, I ſay,]) is removed: the All-good God having inſtilled it into the mind of *Theodoſius*, to beſtow greater honours upon that [c] *Theophorus*, and to dedicate a Temple (which the Inhabitants termed *The* [d] *Tychæum*,) heretofore conſecrated to *Dæmons*, to that Valiant Conquerour and Martyr.

[b] The obſcurity and ill-punctation of this place, led *Nicephorus* in the firſt place, and after him *Chriſtophorſon*, into a miſtake. The obſcurity of this paſſage aroſe from hence, becauſe our *Evagrius*, according to his uſage, includes too many words in one and the ſame period, which were to have been divided into more periods. Therefore, after the word [*Cœmitery*] a diſtinction is to be placed, which neither *Nicephorus* nor *Chriſtophorſon* ſaw. *Nicephorus* thought, that the reliques of *Ignatius* were brought from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople* in the times of *Theodoſius Junior*, and having been carried to Antioch by the ſame Emperours order, had been depoſited there in the *Cœmitery*. Which is moſt notoriouſly falſe. For, long before *Theodoſius Junior*'s Reign, the reliques of the *Martyr Ignatius* had been depoſited in the *Cœmitery* of the City *Antioch*, as Saint *Jerome* does expreſsly atteſt in *his Book de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.* where theſe are his words concerning *Ignatius*. *Reliquiæ corporis ejus Antiochiæ jacent extra portam Daphniticam in Cœmiterio, The Remaines of his body lie at* Antioch, *without the* Daphnitick-*gate in the* Cœmitery. *Theodoſius Junior* therefore tranſlated not the reliques of *Ignatius* from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, and after that to *Antioch*; but he ordered them to be removed out of the *Cœmitery* which was without the City *Antioch*, and carried into the City. Thus, 'tis certain, *Muſculus* underſtood this paſſage in *Evagrius*, as appears from his Verſion. For he has rendred it thus: *Tunc & divinus Ignatius, poſteaquàm ſicuti voluerat*, &c. *Then alſo the divine* Ignatius *(after (according as he had deſired) he had obtained the bellies of wild-beaſts inſtead of a Sepulchre, in the* Roman Amphitheatre, *and his bones as being the ſtronger* [*parts of him*] *had been left by the beaſts, were carried to* Antioch, *and buried in the* Cœmitery, *a long time after) is removed by* Theodoſius, &c. *Muſculus* ſeems to have expunged the Article ἄ, that the whole place might be conſtrued after this manner: ἐπειδὴ τύραν ἐθικὼς ἀπεκομίσθη, &c. Which I very much approve of. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τὸν Θεοφόρον. This ſeems to have been the *Sur-name* of the Bleſſed *Ignatius*. Which is concluded from hence, becauſe we read this Title prefixt before all *his Epiſtles*, Ἰγνατίῳ ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρῳ, *Ignatius who alſo* [*is termed*] *Theophorus*. In the *Martyrdome of the Bleſſed* Ignatius, which *Arch-Biſhop Uſher* has ſet forth, *Ignatius* ſtiles himſelf *Theophorus* in the preſence of the Emperour *Trajan*. And, being asked, who *Theophorus* was, he anſwers; *He who bears Chriſt in his breaſt*. Valeſ. See *Socrat. Eccleſ. Hiſtor. book 6. chap. 8. note (a.)*

[d] The Heathens attributed to all Cities their *Genii*, to whom they built Temples, which in Greek were termed τυχαῖα or τυχεῖα; as I have remarked at *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s *book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine, chap. 11. note (q.) The Temple of the publick Genius of the City of* Antioch is mentioned by *Amm. Marcellinus* book 23. pag. 238; which *Julian* in *his Miſopog.* terms τὸ τῆς τύχης ἱερόν. *Valeſ.*

That therefore which had heretofore been the *Temple of the publick Genius*, is made a pure Church, and holy Temple [dedicated] to *Ignatius*; his ſacred Reliques having with great pomp been conveyed into the City on a Chariot, and depoſited in that Temple. On which account, a ſolemn Feſtivall and a [day of] publick joy is celebrated [yearly] even till our times; which [Feſtivall] has been rendred more magnificent by *Gregorius* Biſhop [of that place.] Theſe things were done there, [becauſe] from that time God would honour the pious memories of [his] Saints. For, the impious and deſtructive *Julian*, that Tyrant hatefull to God, (in regard *Apollo Daphnæus*, * who made uſe of [c] *Caſtalia* for a voice and † an Oracle, could not give any anſwer to the Emperour conſulting his Oracle, becauſe the holy * *Babylas*, his near-neighbour, had quite ſtopped up his mouth:) againſt his will, and forc't thereto by ſtripes [as it were,] honoured the Saint with a removall: (at which time a ſpacious Church was erected to him before the City, which [ſtructure] continues ſtanding at this day:) to the intent that the *Dæmons* might in future freely perform their own [buſineſs] according as ('tis reported) they had before-hand promiſed *Julian*. This affair therefore was by the diſpenſation of God our Saviour ordered in this manner, to the end that the power of thoſe who had ſuffered Martyrdome might be made manifeſt, and that the ſacred reliques of the holy Martyr, removed into an undefiled place, might be honoured with a moſt beautifull Church.

* Or, *who had Caſtalia*, &c.

[c] He means the *Caſtalian Fountaine*. Concerning which *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, and others have related many things. *Gregorius*'s words in *his ſecond Inveſtive againſt Julian* (*Tom.* 1. pag. 127. *Edit. paris.* 1609.) are theſe: πάλιν ἡ κασταλία σεσίγηκεν ἡ μαντὶς ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἡ μαντὶς καὶ οὐκ ἀναθυμιᾶται, ἀλλὰ γελᾷ μόνον· πάλιν ἀνθεῖ ἡ δάφνη φυτὸν, &c. *Caſtalia has been ſilenced again, and is ſilent, and is water, not uttering oracles, but exciting laughter.* Apollo [*is become*] *a dumb Statue again.* Daphne [*is*] *a tree again*, &c. At which words of *Gregorius*, ſee (if you pleaſe) what the *Scholiaſt Nonnus* has remarked, chap. 21. I ſhould not have taken notice of this, had I not perceived that neither of the Tranſlatours had ſeen it. *Valeſ. Nonnus's Scholion* (which *Valeſius* here referres his Reader to,) is this: *Caſtalia fons erat in Antiochia*, &c. Caſtalia *was a fountaine in* Antioch, *at which* Apollo *is by the antients reported to ſit, and to give forth oracles at the water. And when any perſons came thither on account of conſulting the Oracle, that water (as 'tis reported) ſent forth gentle blaſts and puffs of wind; and then the Prieſts, who were about the fountain, declared thoſe things which the will of the Dæmon had brought forth.*

† Or, *Prophecy.*

* See *Socrat. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 3. chap. 18.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Attila *King of the* * Scythæ; *and how he deſtroyed the Provinces of the* East *and* West. *And concerning the ſtrange* † *Earthquake and other dreadfull prodigies which hapned in the world.*

* Τῶν σκυθῶν. *Valeſius* renders it *The Hunni.*

† Or, *wonder.*

IN theſe very times, that much-talk't-of War was raiſed, by *Attila* King of the *Scythæ*. Which war *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician* has written with much accuracy and eloquence, relating [to us] in a ſingular neatneſs and elegancy of ſtile, how * he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* parts [of the Empire,] how many and how great Cities he took and reduced to a ſubjection to himſelf, and [laſtly] after the performance of what [great Actions] he departed out of this life. Whileſt the ſame *Theodoſius* ſwayed the [Imperial] Scepter, a moſt terrible and horrid [a] Earthquake, which exceeded all others that had been before, hapned almoſt throughout the whole world. In ſo much that many Towers belonging to the Imperial City [*Conſtantinople*] fell down flat, and that called the *Long-wall* of *Cherroneſus* fell likewiſe; the earth alſo was rent in ſunder, and many Villages ſank down into it: Moreover, many and almoſt innumerable calamitous Accidents

* *Attila.*

[a] This Earthquake hapned on the year of Chriſt 447, in the Conſulate of *Ardabures* and *Callepius*; as *Marcellinus*

in *his Chronicon*, and the *Author of the Alexandrian* Chronicle doe relate. *Marcellinus*'s words are these: *Ingenti terræ motu per loca varia imminente, plurimi urbis Augustæ muri recenti adhuc reædificatione constructi, cum quinquaginta septem turribus corruerunt: An exceeding great Earthquake being imminent through severall places, a vast part of the walls* [or, most of the walls] *of the Imperial City which had been but very lately rebuilt, fell down, together with fifty seven Towers.* Which words I have annexed for this reason, that I might shew that *Evagrius*'s words here have been misunderstood by Translatours; who rendred these words [ἀνὰ τὰ βασιλίδα] thus [*in Palatio, in the Palace*;] when as they ought to have rendred them, *in the Imperial City*. By which name *Evagrius* usually calls *Constantinople*. Vales.

dents hapned both at Land and Sea. For, some Fountains were wholly dryed up; and in other places abundance of water gushed forth, where there had been none before. Trees, of themselves vastly rooted, were thrown up into the air [b] together with their roots. And many heaps of earth were on a sudden made up into mountains. The Sea threw forth dead fishes [upon its shore,] and many Islands therein were swallowed up. Ships making their Voyages at Sea, were seen upon dry ground, the waters having receded [and left them.] Many places in *Bithynia*, in the *Hellespont*, and in both *The Phrygias*, were sorely damnified. This calamity raged over the whole earth for some time; notwithstanding, it continued not with that vehemency wherewith it began: but abated by small degrees, till such time as it wholly ceased.

[b] Σὺν τοῖς σφισι ῥίζαις. The *Rules of Grammar* do require, that we should write σὺν ταῖς σφῶν ῥίζαις, *together with their roots*. In the *Tellerian* M. S. the reading is σὺν ταῖς. A little before, where the reading is διαχύναι τὴν γῆν, *the earth was dissipated*: the *same Manuscript* has it written thus: διασχίναι τὴν γῆν, *the earth was separated*, or, *rent in sunder*. Vales.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the [*publick*] *Buildings in* Antioch, *and who they were that erected them.*

IN these very times [of *Theodosius*'s Reign,] *Memnonius*, *Zoilus*, and *Callistus*, [a] Personages eminent for [their profession of] our Religion, were sent by *Theodosius* to be [b] Governours of *Antioch*. *Memnonius* with much of beauty and accuracy raises from the very ground that [Edifice] which by us also is termed *the Psephium*, leaving an open *Atrium* [or, *Court*] in the *middle*.

[a] Instead of [τῶν ἡμετέραν θρησκείαν διαπρέποντες;] it must, I think, be [τὴν ἡμετέραν θρησκείαν διαπρέποντες, *Personages eminent for*, &c. For, this reading is required by the *Rules of Grammar*. Vales.

[b] That is, *to be Consulares of Syria*. For, the *Consularis of Syria* governed the City *Antioch*, and the other Cities of *Syria-Cœle*. Further, take heed of supposing, that these three men (to wit, *Memnonius*, *Zoilus*, and *Callistus*) were sent at one and the same time by *Theodosius*, to preside over the *Antiochian Jurisdiction*. For this was not the usage of the *Romans*. We ought therefore to understand, that each of them had been sent at severall times, one after the other, by *Theodosius*. You must know further, that 'twas usuall for the *Consulares* of *Syria*, that they might ingratiate themselves with the *Antiochians*, to erect some publick structure. *Libanius* informs us hereof (in *his Antiochic.* pag. 370, Tom. 2. *Edit. Paris*, 1627.) in these words: ὃ δὴ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κεφάλαια ἦν ἄλλων, &c. *'Tis no wonder therefore, if that* [City] *which excells the rest in other things, which, after she has vanquished other* [*Cities*] *in the study and exercise of wisdome, has* [*out done*] *even herself, should render those who come to be her Governours, her Lovers. The beginning, middle, and close of each of which persons Government, is this, to make some addition to the City.* The same *Libanius*, a little before in *the same page*, says there were three *Tribunals* in the City *Antioch*, and as many *Scholes of Advocates*, to wit, equall to the number of the *Tribunals*, [or *Judicatories*.] The first *Tribunal* seems to have belonged to the *Præfectus Prætorio of the East*, whose residence was at *Antioch*. The second was the *Tribunal* of the *Comes of the East*. The third was the *Jurisdiction of the Consularis of Syria-Cœle*. *Libanius*'s words are these: ἀνὰ γὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολίδομῴοις παιδείας, τρεῖς χορὶ ἦντόφων, ἰσάριθμοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγείρον): which passage is to be rendred thus: *For, besides the Erudition which is in the* Decurions, *three Scholes* [or, Quires] *of Advocates are* [*there*] *assembled, equall in number to the Judicatories.* Vales.

Zoilus [built] the *Royall Porticus*, which [is placed] [c] at the South-side of *Rufinus* [*his Porticus*;] and retaines his name even to our age, although the buildings have [frequently] been altered on account of various calamitous accidents. Moreover, *Callistus* has raised a most magnificent and splendid structure (which as well the Ancients as those of our Age, have termed *Callistus's Porticus*,) before * that Pallace which is made the Court of Judicature, directly opposite to the *Forum*, in which there is a most beautifull house, the [d] *Prætorium* of the *Masters of the Milice*. After these persons, *Anatolius* being sent *Master of the Milice* into the *East*, built that termed *Anatolius's Porticus*, and beautified it with matter of all sorts. These [Remarks] (though they are forreign to our design in hand, yet) [will not seem] unhandsome and contemptible to lovers of Learning.

* Or, *those buildings which are made*, &c.

[c] The reading in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and here is this [ᾗ πρὸς τὸ νότον τῆς ῥοφίνου πλευρᾶς, *at the Southern part of Rophinus's side*.] The *Geneva-Printers*, from *Christophorson's Copy*, have set it forth thus: τῆς πρὸς τὸ παλατῖνὸ ῥοφίνου πλευρᾶς, [*at the Southern*] *side of Ruphinus's Pallace*. Sr *Henry Savil* also, in *his Copy* which I have by me, has expunged the word *Rufinus*, and in stead thereof has substituted these [τὸ παλατῖνὸ ὄροφον, *the Roof of the Pallace.*] And thus *Christophorson* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he has rendred it thus: *Qui ad Australe latus tecti palatii, quod Rufini nomen obtinet, spectat; which looks towards the southern side of the Roof of the Pallace which bears the name of Rufinus.* But, in regard these words [τὸ παλατῖνὸ] or [τὸ παλατῖνὸ ὄροφον] occur not, either in *the Kings*, or in *the Florentine*, or *Tellerian* M.SS. in my judgment, they ought deservedly to be expunged. *Vales.* *Valesius* has rendred this passage thus: *quæ ad meridianum latus porticus Rufini sita*; which we have expresst in our *English Version*. The import of the *Greek*, if rendred word for word, is this, *at the Southern part of Rophinus's side*.

[d] Τῶν σπαθησίων τὰ καπετώλια. *Musculus* renders it, *Mansionem ducum*; *the Mansion of the Dukes*, or, *chief Military Commanders*. *Christophorson*'s Version is not much different; for he renders it thus: *è regione fori in quo pulcherrima domus est quam præfecti præsidiorum incolere solent*; *Over against the Forum wherein there is a most beautifull house, in which the Præfects of the Milice* [or, *of the Military Forces*,] *do usually dwell*. But, by σπαθησίους in this place, in my judgment, must be understood, (not the *Military Commanders in chief*, or, *Masters of the Milice*, but) the *Magistrates* or *Duumviri*, who in *Greek* were termed σπαθηγοὶ, as I have already remarked in *my notes* on *Am. Marcellinus*, and *Eusebius*; [See *Eusch. Eccles. Hist.* book 7. chap. 11. note (*p.*) and book 8. chap. 11. note (*c*)] Now, why I suppose this word is rather thus to be taken here, this is the reason, because that house is said to have been in the *Forum*, over against the Pallace wherein was the Court of Judicature. Moreover, such a house as this seems to be more agreeable to a *Municipall Magistrate*, than to a *Resident of the Milice*. Besides, these houses were in *Greek* termed σπαθήγια. Such a one was the *Strategium* at *Constantinople*, as I have noted at the *first book of Socrates*, [chap. 16. note (*d.*)] Although the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in *The transactions of the Emperour Severus*, brings another reason of this word. But now, having examined the business more attentively; by σπαθησίους I understand here the *Masters of the Milice throughout the East*, who had a splendid *Prætorium* in the *Forum* of the City *Antioch*. *Theophanes* mentions this *Prætorium*, in *his Chronicon*, pag. 147. ἀνήφθη γὰ τὸ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας τῆ ἁγίᾳ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἕως τὸ πραιτωρίου τὸ σπαθησίατε ἔφθασεν; *For the fire was kindled from the Church of Saint Stephen, and burnt* [or, *went*] *as far as the Prætorium of the Master of the Milice*. Vales.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the severall Wars, which hapned both in Italy, *and* Persia, *during the Reign of* Theodosius.

* DUring the times of the same *Theodosius*, frequent Rebellions hapned in *Europe*, whilest *Valentinianus* was Emperour of *Rome*. Which *Theodosius* repressed, by sending great Forces both by Land and Sea, [which made up] [a] as well a *Foot Army*, as a *Navall* strength. Moreover, he vanquished the *Persians* (* who were grown insolent, *Isdigerdes*, Father to *Vararanes*, being then their

* Or, *who raged.*

* Or, *during the same times of Theodosius.*

[a] Πεζικῶν τε καὶ ναυτικῶν στρατῶν. If we would follow the Laws of

Grammar; it muſt be made γνῆ-πε. But becauſe γνήτας σεφ-τοὺ is not uſed in the plurall number, I would rather make it πζικῷ τε καὶ γνήτῳ σεφτῷ; as the reading is in the *Tellerian* M.S. In the incomparable *Florentine* M.S. 'tis plainly written πζικῷ. *Valeſ.*

† See *Socrates*, book 7. chap. 8, and 18.

King, or, as † *Socrates*'s Sentiment is, during the Reign of *Vararanes* himſelf:) in ſuch a manner, that on their requeſt to him by their Embaſſadours, he gratified them with a Peace, which [b] laſted untill the twelfth year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Reign. Theſe tranſactions have been related by other Writers; and are alſo very handſomely reduced into an *Epitome*, by *Euſtathius* the *Syrian* of *Epiphania*, who has likewiſe written *The Siege of Amida*. At the ſame time, as 'tis ſaid, the Poets [c] *Claudianus* and [d] *Cyrus* flouriſhed. Further, this *Cyrus* arrived at the higheſt Chair of the *Præfects*, which [grand Officer] our Anceſtours termed *The Præfectus Prætorio* [or *Præfect of the Court.*] He was alſo *Maſter of the Weſtern Milice*, at which time *Carthage* was taken by the *Vandalls*, thoſe *Barbarians* being [then] governed by *Genſerichus*.

[b] Here it muſt be ἐλήκεσε; not ἐλήκησε, as it is in *Robert Stephens's Edit.* Valeſ.

[c] This is the *Claudian*, whoſe excellent Verſes are at this day extant. But, a twofold difficulty occurs at this place: (1) How a *Latine* Poet ſhould come to be mentioned here by *Evagrius*? (2) Why he is placed by the ſame *Evagrius* on the times of *Theodoſius Junior*, when as *That Claudian*, whoſe verſes we now have, flouriſhed in the Reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, as *His writings* inform us? The anſwer to the firſt Queſtion is eaſie. For *Claudian* wrote not only *Latine*, but *Greek Poems* alſo. On which account, in the *Old Epigram* which was inſcribed on the *Baſis* of *his Statue*, he is ſaid to have had the ſoul of *Virgil* and *Homer* alſo, transfuſed into him. He began to write a *Latine Poem* firſt in the year of Chriſt 395, whereon *Olybrius* and *Probinus* were Conſuls. He wrote an Elegant Poem on their Conſulate, which is ſtill extant. When this attempt had ſucceeded happily to *Claudian*, it encouraged him to the writing of *Latine* verſes afterwards; whereas he had publiſhed only *Greek* Poems before, as himſelf atteſts in *his Elegy to Probinus*, in theſe words:

Romanos bibimus primùm Te Conſule fontes,
Et Latiæ ceſſit Graja Thalia togæ.

Incipienſque tuis a facibus omina cepi,
Fataque debebo poſteriora Tibi.

'Tis certain, *Claudian* was by Nation a *Grecian*, born at the City *Alexandria*, as *Suidas* informs us at the word κλαυδιανὸς. *Claudian* himſelf alſo atteſts the ſame, in *his Poem to Hadrianus Præfectus Prætorio*, (who was himſelf alſo an *Alexandrian.*) For he writes thus concerning *Alexander* the *Macedonian*;

Conditor hic patriæ. Sic hoſtibus ille pepercit.

And in the *cloſe of the ſame Poem*, he has theſe words:

Sæviet in miſeros cognata potentia cives.
Audiat hæc commune ſolum, longéque carinis
Nota Pharos, &c. Valeſ.

[d] The *Poet Cyrus* was by Nation an *Ægyptian*, born at the Town *Panopolis*. Who having on account of his poetick faculty been highly acceptable to *Eudocia Auguſta*, wife to *Theodoſius Junior*, (for this woman was φιλοεπὴς, *a Great lover of verſes:*) is promoted by the Emperour *Theodoſius* to the *Præfecture of the Prætorium*, and to *That of the City*. He was alſo *Ex-Conſul*, and *Patricius*, as *Suidas* relates. But afterwards, when the *Empreſs Eudocia*, on account of ſome unknown reaſons, had left the Pallace, and was gone to the City *Jeruſalem*; *Cyrus*, deprived of his power, is made Biſhop of *Cotyæum* a City of *Phrygia*, or rather of *Smyrna*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* and *Theophanes* doe inform us. He lived till the times of *Leo Auguſtus*, as *Suidas* atteſts. *Theophilact* (in the 8th book of *his Hiſtory*, chap. 8,) makes mention of this *Cyrus* the *Conſul* and *Poet*; where he ſays, that the Church of the *God-bearing Virgin* at *Conſtantinople*, was built by him, in the times of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Empreſs Eudocia, *and her daughter* Eudoxia; *and how* [Eudocia] *came to* Antioch, *and* [*went*] *to* Jeruſalem.

[M]Oreover, [] this *Theodoſius* married *Eudocia*, (after ſhe had received ſalutary Baptiſm; by originall extract an *Athenian*, [a woman] eloquent and beautifull;) by the mediation of *Pulcheria Auguſta* his ſiſter. By her *Theodoſius* had a daughter, [by name] *Eudoxia*, whom, when ſhe afterwards came to be marriageable, the Emperour *Valentinianus* married, having [on that account] gone from the *Elder Rome* and arrived at *Conſtantinople*. [a] But, [] a long time after this, [*Eudocia*] in her journey which ſhe made to the Holy City of Chriſt our God, [b] comes hither:

[a] A particle is to be added here, after this manner: ἡ δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον, *But, a long time after this, ſhe;* that is, *Eudocia*. For, unleſs you add this particle; what follows will be meant concerning *Eudoxia*, *Eudocia*'s daughter; of whom *Evagrius* has ſpoken juſt before. But, the adding of this particle [δὲ, *But*] ſhews that the diſcourſe is not now concerning *Eudoxia*, but her Mother *Eudocia*. Valeſ.

[b] Ἐνταῦθα γίνεται. *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood this place very erroneouſly. For, they ſuppoſed that by the word ἐνταῦθα the City *Jeruſalem* was meant; when as the City *Antioch* is to be underſtood. For *Evagrius* wrote *his Hiſtory* at *Antioch*, in which City he had fixt the Manſion of his own fortunes, as we have ſhown in *our account of his Life and Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. Moreover, *Nicephorus* fell into the ſame miſtake with *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon*. For in *his* 14th *book*, *chap.* 50, where he writes out this paſſage of *Evagrius*, he underſtands the word [ἐνταῦθα] of the City *Jeruſalem*. But, 'twas eaſie to have perceived from *Evagrius*'s following words, that theſe words could not have been meant of the City *Jeruſalem*. For *Jeruſalem* was not a Colony of *Greeks*, but rather of *Jews*, and after that, of *Romans*. Nor, did *Ulpianus*, *Libanius*, and the other writers here mentioned by *Evagrius*, write concerning the City *Jeruſalem*. Nor, laſtly, could the Empreſs *Eudocia*, who by originall extract was an *Athenian*, ſpeak to the Citizens of *Jeruſalem* in this verſe,

Ὑμετέρης γλωσσῆς καὶ αἵματ' ἔυχομαι εἶ.
I boaſt that I am of Your Stock and Blood.

'Tis certain, the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* does ſay, that *Eudocia* made an Oration to the *Antiochians* out of a Golden Chariot. *Valeſ.*

And having made an Oration in publick to the people here, ſhe cloſed her Speech with this Verſe:

I boaſt that I am of Your Stock and Bloud.

(Intimating thereby the *Colonies* which had been ſent hither out of *Greece*. If any one be deſirous of having an exact account of theſe [Colonies,] [c] *Strabo the Geographer*, *Phlegon*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrianus*, and [d] *Piſander the Poet*, have written concerning them with great accuracy:

[c] That place in *Strabo*, which *Evagrius* points to here, is extant in *his* 16th *book*; pag. 750. *Edit. Paris.* Valeſ.

[d] There were two *Piſanders*, *Poets*. The one a *Rhodian*, who wrote *the Poem Heraclea in two books*, which treats concerning *Hercules*'s *Actions*. Some make this *Piſander* ancienter than *Heſiod*. Others place him on the *thirty third Olympiad*, as *Suidas* relates. The other *Piſander* was a *Lycaonian*, born at *Larindi* a Town of *Lycaonia*, ſon of the *Poet Neſtor*. *Suidas* ſays he flouriſh't in the Reign of *Alexander* ſon of *Mammea*. He wrote *ſix books* in *Heroick Verſe*, ἡρωϊκῶν θεογαμιῶν, *concerning the marriages of the Heroes and Goddeſſes*, which were ſtuft with all manner of Hiſtory, as *Suidas* atteſts. *Zoſimus* mentions this work in *his fifth book*: where he ſpeaks concerning the building of the City *Hemona*: ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς ἱστορεῖ πεισανδρίθη, ὁ τῇ περὶ ἡρωϊκῶν θεογαμιῶν ὑπογραφῇ πᾶσαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἱστορίαν περιλαβών: which words of *Zoſimus*, *Leunclavius* tranſlates in this manner; *Sicuti Piſander Poeta memoriæ prodidit, qui heroicarum divinarumque nuptiarum titulo totam hanc propemodùm hiſtoriam complexus eſt, As Piſander the Poet has recorded, who under the Title of Heroick and Divine marriages, has in a manner compriſed this whole Hiſtory.* This is not the meaning of *Zoſimus*'s words. For *Zoſimus* ſays, *that Piſander the Poet, in this Poem of his concerning the marriages of the Heroes and Goddeſſes, has in a manner comprehended all Hiſtory.* *Suidas* does likewiſe atteſt the ſame; whoſe words concerning *Piſander* are theſe: ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν ποικίλην δι' ἐπῶν. ἣν ἐπιγράφει ἡρωϊκῶν θεογαμιῶν ἐν βιβλίοις ἓξ, *he wrote a various Hiſtory in verſe; which he intitled, concerning the marriages of the Heroes and Goddeſſes, in ſix books.* In this work therefore, *Piſander* had written concerning *Triptolemus the Argive*, and concerning *Io*, who were the firſt that built *Antioch* a City of *Syria*. Further, this work ſeems to have been comprehended in *ſixteen books*, and not *in ſix*, as 'tis erroneouſly extant in *Suidas*. For *Stephanus* in *his book de Urbibus*, cites *the tenth, and fourteenth book of Piſander*. Valeſ.

racy:

racy: as have also [c] *Ulpianus*, [f] *Libanius*, and [g] *Julianus*, [all] most incomparable *Sophistæ*.) On which account, the *Antiochians* at that time honoured her with a Statue artificially made of Brass, which Statue continues standing at this day. By her perswasion, *Theodosius* made a very great addition to [this] City, extending its wall as far as that Gate which leads to the *Suburbs* of *Daphne*; as may be seen by those who are desirous of it. For even in this our age [the foundation of] the old wall is visible, its remains leading them by the hand as 'twere, who have a mind to view it. Notwithstanding, there are those who affirm, that the *Elder Theodosius* enlarged the wall; and bestowed two hundred pound weight of Gold upon [h] *Valens*'s *Bath*, part whereof had been consumed by fire.

[c] This is *Ulpianus* the *Antiochian Sophist*, who taught *Rhetorick* first at *Emesa*, and afterwards at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Constantine*, as *Suidas* attests. *Eunapius* mentions him, in *the Life of Proæresius the Sophist*.

This person therefore, amongst the *other Orations* which (as *Suidas* relates,) he wrote, had composed a *peculiar Oration in praise of his own Country*, wherein he spake concerning the Colonies at severall times brought into it. *Valesius*.

[f] *Libanius* the *Antiochian Sophist* wrote *an Oration*, with this Title, *Antiochicus*, which is still extant, published in the *Second Tome of his Works*. Nor is it to be doubted, but *Evagrius* means *this Oration* at this place. Further, in the said Oration, *Libanius* with great accuracy recounts all the *Greek* Colonies, which at severall times had been brought to *Antioch*. Amongst these he reckons also those *Athenians*, whom *Seleucus*, after the destruction of the City *Antigonia*, had brought to *Antioch*. Valesius.

[g] Who this *Julianus* the *Sophista* should be, I have not yet found. There was one *Julianus* a *Cappadocian*, the most eminent of all the *Sophists* of his own time, who taught *Rhetorick* at *Athens*. Concerning whom *Eunapius* relates many passages, in *his book de Vitis Sophistarum*. *Suidas* says he flourisht in the times of *Constantine the Great*. But whereas he says, that he was Contemporary with *Callinicus* the *Sophist*, therein he contradicts himself; in regard *Callinicus* the *Sophist* lived in the Reign of *Philippus* and *Gallienus*. I am apt to think therefore, that there were two *Julianus*'s *Sophists* at *Athens*. The former of whom lived in the same times with *Callinicus* the *Sophist*. But the other flourisht in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*.

[h] *Amm. Marcellinus* mentions *this Bath* in *his* 31 *book*, near the beginning: his words are these; *Vocesque Præconum audiebantur assiduè, mandantium congeri ligna ad Valentini Lavacri succensionem, studio ipsius principis conditi. And the voices of the Cryers were heard continually, ordering wood to be heaped together in order to the burning of* Valens's *Bath, built by the endeavour of that Prince.* Valesius.

CHAP. XXI.

That Eudocia *did* [*many*] *good actions about* Jerusalem; *and concerning the different Life and Conversation of the* Monks *in* Palestine.

FRom this City therefore, *Eudocia* [a] went twice to *Jerusalem*. On what account [she did this,] || or what *her primary design* (as they say) was, must be left to *Historians*; who notwithstanding, in my judgement, seem not to declare the truth.

[a] The reading in *Robert Stephens* is [διαφοιτεῖται, *went.*] *Nicephorus* read [δὶς ἀφικνεῖται, *went twice.*]

|| Ἢ τί ποτε τοῦτο πως ὡς φασι βεβουλημένη.

For (book 14. chap. 50.) he words it thus: καὶ δὶς δὲ λόγος ἔχει ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφικέσθαι, *And 'tis reported that she went twice to Jerusalem.* Which reading *Christophorson* has followed, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders this place thus: *Eudocia vero Constantinopoli Hierosolymam bis profecta est, But* Eudocia *went twice from* Constantinople *to* Jerusalem. And thus I found it expressly written in the *Tellerian Manuscript*. *Eudocia*'s former journey to *Jerusalem* hapned on the *sixteenth Consulate of Theodosius* which he bore with *Faustus*, on the year of Christ 438, as *Baronius* has rightly observed from *Socrates* and *Marcellinus*'s *Chronicon*. On the year following, she returned from *Jerusalem* to *Constantinople*, carrying along with her the Reliques of Saint *Stephen*, as *Marcellinus* relates in *his Chronicon*. But, Writers are not agreed, on what year her *second Jerusalem-journey* hapned. *Baronius* places it in the Reign of *Marcianus Augustus*. But I do maintain, that this second journey was undertaken by *Eudocia Augusta* long before *Marcianus*'s Empire, whilest *Theodosius* survived. For *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* (at the XVIII. *Consulate of* Theodosius Augustus *which he bore with* Albinus, which was the year of Christ 444.) writes thus: *Severum Presbyterum & Johannem diaconum Eudociæ Reginæ, &c. Saturninus the Comes of the Domesticks, being sent by the Emperour* Theodosius *kills* Severus *the Presbyter and* Johannes *the Deacon of* Eudocia *Augusta, who were ministring at the City* Ælia. Eudocia, *by what grudge* [*or, grief*] *incited thereto I know not, killed* Saturninus *forthwith and being immediately deprived of her Royall servants, by the command of the Emperour her Husband, she staid to die at the City* Ælia. The same is confirmed by the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*. For he relates, that in the same Consulate *Paulinus* the *Master of the Offices* was slain by the Emperour *Theodosius*'s order: and therefore, that *Eudocia* being aggrieved (for she knew that *Paulinus* had been slain on her account;) requested of the Emperour *Theodosius*, that a liberty might be allowed her of going to *Jerusalem*. Notwithstanding *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* places *Paulinus*'s slaughter on the year of Christ 440, *Valentinianus* being then the fifth time Consul with *Anatolius*. Therefore, if *Eudocia* went the second time to *Jerusalem* on account of *Paulinus*'s slaughter; according to *Marcellinus*'s opinion, that hapned on the year of Christ 440. Further, concerning *Saturninus* the *Comes* (whom *Eudocia Augusta* ordered to be slain at *Jerusalem*,) there is a passage extant in *the History of Priscus Rhetor*, pag 54; which I will annex here: Καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ἐπένδυσε βασιλεὺς, καὶ σατορνίλε τῶ ἐκκισία καὶ ἀγιᾷ κοσμικῆς, συγγατέρα εἰρήνῃ σώσειν. Τὸν δὲ σατορνίλον ἀνεῖλεν ἀδυναῖς ἢ καὶ εὐδοκία. ἀμφοτέρες γὰρ ἐκωλεῖτο τοῖς ὀνόμασιν.

But, after her arrivall at Christ's holy City, she performed many things in honour of God [our] Saviour. For she built * religious Monasteries, and those they term the [b] *Lauræ*.

* Or, *pure.*

[b] A *Laura* differs from a *Monastery*, because a *Laura consists of many Cells far disjoyned one from another*. But a *Monastery is inclosed within one wall*. And in a *Laura the Hermites* [or, *Anachorites*] lived: but in a Monastery the Monks lived together. *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* informs us hereof, in *his Life of Euthymius*, in these words; *Te autem oportet venire ad meam Lauram, &c. But it behoves you to come to my Laura, and to pull down the Cells of the Brethren to the very foundations. But* [*you must*] *build a Monastery there, where you have built my Cœmitery. For it pleases God, that the place should not be a Laura, but a Monastery rather.* The same *Cyrillus*, in the *Life of Saint Saba*, does frequently declare the same difference between a *Laura* and a *Monastery*. Our *Evagrius* also at this place observes the same difference between the *Phrontisteria* [*Monasteries*] and the *Lauræ*. For in the *Phrontisteria* (says he,) the Monks lived in flocks, [or, companies,] made use of a common table, and performed the diurnall and nocturnall prayers together. But, in the *Lauræ*, the *Anachorites* lived separately, shut up in small Cells. *Valesius*.

In which, the way of living is different: but [their] conversation * is directed to one and the same scope of piety. For some live in companies, and are desirous of none of those things which depress [the soul of man] to the earth. For they have no Gold. But why do I mention Gold, when as not one of them has either a † garment of his own, or any thing of food [properly belonging to himself?] For, that * garment or short coat, wherewith one is cloathed now, is by and by put on by another: so that, one's garment seems to belong to all of them, and all of them to have a right in and the use of one's garment. A common table is spread for them, not covered with dainty provisions, nor with any other meats; but furnished only with herbs and pulse, of which they are supplied with such a quantity only, as is sufficient to keep them alive. They pour forth their common prayers to God all day and all night long, afflicting and † wearying themselves with labours in such a manner, that they seem to look like some dead persons without graves [c] above the earth. They frequently perform those termed the [d] *Fasts of Superposition*, continuing their fasts during the space of two, and three whole days. There are some of them who fast five days, and more, and [after that] with much adoe take necessary food.

* Or, *terminates in one and the same pious design.*

† Ἰσχνὴ ἐσθής.

* *short cloak.*

† Or, *pressing.*

[c] I am of the same mind with *Christophorson*, who (instead of [ὑπὸ γὴν, *under the earth*]) read [ὑπὲρ γὴν, *above the earth*;] which latter reading *Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 50.) has followed. Besides, the word [δοκεῖ, *seem*] was wanting here; which we have put in from the *Florentine* M. S. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found it written, ὑπὲρ γὴν, *above the earth*. Valesius.

[d] Τὰς καλουμένας νηστείας. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have rendred this place very ill. *Nicephorus* has explained it well, in this manner:

manner: ὅτι δὲ πολλάκις καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὑπερθέμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ πεμπταῖοι καὶ πρὸς, διαλελύσθαι ἀΐουσι: that is, *theſe perſons frequently extend their faſts to the length of two and three days. There are thoſe* [*of them*] *who for five days and more, continue without taſting of meat. Dionyſius Petavius* alſo, in the *fifth chapter of his Miſcellaneous Exercitations againſt Salmaſius*, has rightly expounded this place of our *Evagrius*; to wit, concerning *Superpoſition*, which was the moſt exquiſite ſort of faſt amongſt the *Chriſtians*. But, whereas *Petavius* conjectures, that inſtead of ὑπερθέσεις, it ſhould be written here ὑπερθέσεις; in this I cannot aſſent to him, in regard this emendation recedes too far from the footſteps of the vulgar reading. Indeed, at this place I would rather make it ὑπερθεσίμους. But, you muſt underſtand [ἡμέρας, *days*,] or [νηστείας, *faſts*.] The *Latines* have termed it *Superpoſitionem*, *Superpoſition*; inſtead of *Jejunium*, *faſt*: as may be ſeen in the *Eliberitane Council*, and in *the Pœnitentiall Canons*. See what we have remarked at the *fifth book of Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* chap. 24. *note (m.)* In the incomparable *Tellerian* M.S. I found it written ὑπερθεσίμους, as I had conjectured. *Valeſ.*

Again, others enter upon a contrary Courſe of life, ſhutting themſelves up alone in very ſmall houſes which have ſuch a breadth, and ſuch an heighth, as that they cannot ſtand upright in them, nor yet with conveniency lie down; [thus] they † Heb. 11. 38. continue with patience † *in Dens and Caves of the earth*, according to the Apoſtle's expreſſion. Otherſome live together with the Beaſts, and make their prayers to God in ſome Coverts of the Earth which are paſt finding out. Moreover, another way of living has been found out * Or, *all manner of &c.* by them, which tranſcends * all the degrees of fortitude and ſufferance. For, penetrating into a Deſert ſcorched [with the Sun,] as well men as women, and covering thoſe parts only which modeſty forbids to be named, they expoſe the reſt of their bodies naked to the ſharpeſt and moſt intenſe colds and heats of the air, equally deſpiſing heats and colds. They wholly reject that food which men uſually eat; and feed upon the ground (on which account they are termed [c] *Boſci*,) whence they take no more than ſufficeth to keep them alive. So that, in time they become like unto beaſts, and the ſhape of their [bodies] is depraved and altered, and the Sentiments of their mindes in future becomes diſagreeable to thoſe of other men: whom when they ſee, they run from; and being purſued, they either [make their eſcape] by the ſwiftneſs of their feet, or [f] get into ſome impaſſable places in the ground to hide themſelves. Moreover, I will relate another thing, which I had almoſt forgot, although it is the principall thing of all. There are ſome perſons amongſt them, though but very few, [g] who, after they are arrived at a freedome from perturbations of mind by [a continued exerciſe of] virtue, return to the world, and ſhewing themſelves to be mad in the midſt of crowds of men, they thus trample upon vain glory, which Coat (according to wiſe *Plato*,) the ſoul does uſually put off laſt.

[c] Βοσκὲς; that is, *Pabulatores*, *Feeders upon the ground*. *Sozomen* (book 6. chap. 33.) relates, that ſome Monks in *Meſopotamia* were called by this name, becauſe they were the firſt who found out this ſtricter ſort of abſtinence. *Valeſ.*

[f] Inſtead of [πειζονλες] the reading in the *Florent.* M. S. is truer; which is this, πειζονται *get into*. Beſides, inſtead of ἑαυτοὺς, it muſt be made ἑαυτοῖς. *Valeſ.*

[g] I have reſtored this place partly from the *Florent.* and partly from the *Tellerian* M.SS. after this manner: οἳ ἐπὰν διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ ἀπαθεὶς ἔϊ) τύχωσιν, *who, after they are arrived at a freedome from Perturbations of mind by* [*a continued exerciſe of*] *Virtue*. In the *Florent.* M. S. the reading is [ἐυπαθεὶς, *obnoxious to injuries:*] but in the *Tellerian* M. S. and in *Nicephorus* 'tis [ἀπαθεὶς, *free from perturbations of mind.*] A little after this, inſtead of [πεφορῆς, *turning themſelves about*,] it muſt undoubtedly be mended thus [θεοφόρες, *mad*;] which is the reading in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, this whole paſſage is thus worded and pointed: ὅι ἐπὰν δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ ἐυπαθεὶς ἔϊ) τύχωσιν, ἐς κόσμον ἐπανιασι ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὄχλοις. Καὶ πεφορῆς, &c. Which I cannot make ſenſe of.

* Or, *ſtudied*, or, *deviſed*. [h] *Chriſtophorſon* has

Further, they have * learned to eat with ſuch undiſturbedneſs as to their paſſions and affections, that, [h] if need ſo requires, [they eat] with *Victuallers* and *Retailers of Proviſion*, without bluſhing either at the place, or the perſon, or at any thing elſe. They often frequent the publick Baths alſo, and for the moſt part converſe with and bath themſelves in the company of women; having vanquiſhed their paſſions to ſuch a degree, that they * put a force upon nature her ſelf, and are not to be [i] inclined to [what is proper to] their own nature, either by the ſight, or touch, or even the very embracing of a woman. But with men, they are men, and with women they are women; it being their deſire to partake of both Sexes, and not to be of one, *that if neceſſity compells them to go into a Victualling-houſe, or a Brothel-houſe, they neither avoid the place, &c. Chriſtophorſon*, no doubt, followed *Nicephorus*'s expoſition, who (book 14. chap. 50.) has rendred *Evagrius*'s words thus: ἀπαθῶς δὲ ὅτῳ ἐσθίουσες, κἂν ἐν καπηλείῳ ἢ μαϛωτείῳ εἰ τοῦτο δεήσοι γένοιτο, &c. *They eat without affection and commotion of minde, although* [*it be*] *in a Victualling-houſe, or bauly-houſe, if there be a neceſſity of doing this.* But I have reſtored this place from the incomparable *Florent.* M. S. in this manner: κἂν ἀνάγκη καπήλοις ἢ παλιϛκαπήλοις δεήσει, *if need ſo requires* [*they eat*] *with Victuallers or Retailers of Proviſion.* What a παλιϛκαπηλος was, and how he differed from a καπηλος, I think every body knows. How much a καπηλος differed from *a Merchant*; ſo much a παλιϛκαπηλος differed from a καπηλος. The *old Gloſſes* render παλιϛκάπηλον *in Latine dardanarium, one that buys proviſions to ſell them againe.* Valeſ.

* Or, *tyrannize over.*

rendred this place thus: *Adeo etiam ſine deleſtatione cibum capiunt, &c. They alſo take their meat ſo much without delight, and exerciſe ſo auſtere a diſcipline in that thing,*

[i] The conjecture of Learned men diſpleaſes me not; who inſtead of [μηδὲ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, &c. *and will not anſwer to*, &c.] have mended it thus, μηδὲ ἀποκλίνεσθαι, *and are not to be inclined to*, &c. Which latter reading *Chriſtophorſon* has followed, as 'tis apparent from his *Verſion*. Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* has retained the vulgar reading, to wit, that firſt mentioned. *Valeſ.*

To ſpeak briefly therefore, in this incomparable and divine way of living, virtue enacts laws contrary to nature, having eſtabliſhed Sanctions of her own, to wit, not to impart to any of them a ſatiety of thoſe things [which are] neceſſary [for life.] But * their Law commands them to be hungry, and thirſty, and to cover the body ſo far only, as neceſſity † requireth. And, their way of living is ſo equally and exactly poyzed and ballanced, that when they tend diametrically oppoſite, they are not in the leaſt ſenſible of any alteration [of things,] although the diſtance between them be vaſt. For, things contrary are in ſuch a manner mixed in them, (the divine grace joyning things not to be mixt, and again ſeparating them;) that life and death, (which two are contraries, both in nature, and in the things themſelves,) dwell together in them. For where [there occurs] paſſion or perturbation, it behoves them to be dead and buried. But when 'tis [the time of] prayer to God, then [they muſt be] Robuſt in body, Vivid and Vigorous, although they are grown decrepid with age. Moreover, [k] both Sorts of life are ſo complicated and conjoyned in them, that although they have indeed wholly put off the fleſh, [yet] they live ſtill, and converſe with the living, adminiſtring medicines to bodies, offering up the deſires of ſuppliants to God, and [laſtly] performing all other things agreeably to their former life; [l] excepting only that they do not want neceſſaries, nor are limited to any place; but they hear all, and converſe with all.

* That is, *the Monaſtick Law.*

† *Forceth*, or, *urgeth.*

[k] *Johannes Langus* expounds theſe words concerning *the preſent and future life*. For he has rendred the place of his *Nicephorus* in this manner: *Vitam utramque illi, &c. They do ſo complicate and conjoyn both lives, to wit, the future, &c.* But, in my judgment, by theſe words [*both ſorts of life*] the *Secular*, and *Monaſtick* life are to be underſtood: which is, plainly confirmed by *Evagrius*'s following words. For he ſays, πάντα ἄλλα ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ βιοτῇ διεξιλαύνες, *and performing all other things agreeable to their former life.* Valeſ.

[l] The reading of this place is truer in *Nicephorus*, thus πλὴν ὅτῳ μὴ ἧϛ ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς ἔϊ) καὶ τόπῳ πειζεζωϛ, *excepting only that they do not want neceſſaries, nor are limited to any place.* Valeſ.

There

There are amongſt them frequent and unwearied bendings of the knees, and [after them] [m] Laborious ſtations; deſire being the only recreation of their age, and of their voluntary infirmity. They are a kind of *Champions* without fleſh, *Wreſtlers* without bloud; who inſtead of a ſplendid banquet and delicious dainties, have a faſt, and, in place of a full furniſhed table, nothing (as near as 'tis poſſible) that they may taſt of. Whenſoever a ſtranger comes to them, though it be in the morning, yet they receive him with a ſingular hoſpitality, and friendly invitation to eat and drink; having found out another ſort of faſting, to wit, to eat even againſt their will. So that this thing ſtrikes [all men] with an aſtoniſhment, that (whereas they want [n] ſo many [neceſſaries] for ſufficient food, yet) they are contented with ſo very few: being enemies to their own wills and nature, but ſlaves [o] to the deſires of their neighbours; that in all things the ſweets of the fleſh might be expelled, and the ſoul might have the Government, prudently chooſing and conſerving what is beſt and moſt acceptable to God. Bleſſed perſons, in reſpect of the life they lead here; but much more bleſſed on account of their tranſlation to that other, after which they pant continually, haſtning to ſee [p] him whom they love.

[m] Inſtead of σύμπονοι, *Laborious*, I think it ſhould be σύνλογοι, *intent*, or *continued*. For I have found, that theſe two words are frequently confounded in *Manuſcript copies*. Valeſ.

[n] Inſtead of [πόσον ἐς τέρψιν, &c.] I doubt not but it ſhould be πόσων. *Valeſ.*

[o] We owe the amendment of this place to the *Florent.* M. S. in which Copy, inſtead of [τοῖς ἧσ πάλαι θελήμασιν] it is plainly written thus, τοῖς ἧσ πάλας θελήμασι, *to the deſires of their neighbours*. Sr *Henry Savil* had drawn a line under this place, ſignifying thereby, that there was a fault here. But he ſaw not how it was to be mended. *Nicephorus* alſo retains the vulgar reading. *Valeſ.*

[p] Τὸν ποθούμενον αὐτοῖς. The reading in the *Tellerian* M. S. pleaſes me better; which is [τὸ ποθούμενον αὐτοῖς, *the thing deſired by them*;] this to me ſeems more elegant. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

What [*ſtructures*] *the Empreſs* Eudocia *built in* Paleſtine, *and concerning the Church of the* Proto-Martyr Stephen, *within which ſhe was pioufly buried: moreover, concerning the death of the Emperour* Theodoſius.

WHen therefore the wife of *Theodoſius* had converſed with many ſuch perſons as theſe, and had built many Monaſteries, like unto them which I have mentioned; and moreover, had repaired the walls of *Jeruſalem* [and made them] much better; ſhe erected a vaſt Church, eminent for its * ſplendidneſs and beauty, [in honour] of *Stephen* the firſt of the *Deacons* and *Martyrs*, about the diſtance of one furlong from *Jeruſalem*. In which Church ſhe was depoſited, after her departure to an immortall life. Further, *Theodoſius* [having ended his life] ſometime after theſe things, or, as ſome will have it, before *Eudocia*; and changed the Empire (which had been Governed by him eight and thirty years,) [for an eternall life:] the moſt incomparable *Marcianus* aſſumes the *Roman* Empire. The Actions therefore, which were performed by Him during his Ruling the *Eaſtern* Empire, ſhall moſt plainly be ſet forth † in the following Book, provided divine aſſiſtance will furniſh us with its own favour and benevolence.

* Or, *Excellence*.

† Or, *in the following Hiſtory*.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Emperour Marcianus, *and what ſignes preceded,* * *declaring he ſhould be Emperour.*

* Or, *declaring his Empire.*

WHat was tranſacted during the times of *Theodoſius* [*Junior*,] we have comprehended in our firſt † Book. Come on, we will now bring *Marcianus* forth, that famous Emperour of the *Romans*; and in the firſt place we will relate, who and whence he was, and in what manner * he arrived at the *Roman* Empire: and then we will declare the affairs tranſacted by him, in their proper places [and times.] *Marcianus* therefore, as 'tis related by many others, and alſo by [a] *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician*, by originall extract was a *Thracian*, the ſon of a Military man. * Deſiring to follow his father's courſe of life, he went to *Philippopolis*, [hoping] he might there be enrolled in the Companies of the Milice. As he was going thither, he ſees the body of a man newly ſlain, which lay thrown upon the ground. Near to which he made a ſtand, (for he was eminent in reſpect of his other [endowments,] but moſt eſpecially, on account of his humanity and compaſſion:) lamented what had hapned, and for a ſufficient while deſiſted from proceeding on his journey, being deſirous to perform what was fitting [to be done to the dead body.] When ſome perſons had ſeen this, they gave the Magiſtrates of *Philippopolis* an account of it. Who having apprehended *Marcianus*, interrogated him concerning the murder of the man. When therefore conjectures and probabilities prevailed more than truth it ſelf, and than the tongue of the perſon accuſed denying the Murder; and when [*Marcianus*] was about to undergo the puniſhment of a Murderer; divine aſſiſtance on a ſudden diſcovered the perſon that had committed the murder. Who having been puniſh't for that fact with the loſs of his head, [thereby] * preſerved the head of *Marcianus*. Being thus unexpectedly ſaved, he goes to one of the companies of the Milice in that place, [b] it being his deſire to enter himſelf a Souldier therein. They admired the man, and conjecturing upon good grounds that he would in future become a great perſon and one of extraordinary worth, they received him moſt willingly, and enrolled him amongſt themſelves, not laſt of all, as the Military Law directs; but, in the place of a Souldier newly dead, whoſe name was *Auguſtus*, they regiſtred *Marcianus* (who was likewiſe called *Auguſtus*,) in the *Muſter-Roll*. Thus [*Marcianus* by] his own name was beforehand in poſſeſſion of the denomination of our Emperours, who at ſuch time as they put on their purple [aſſume] the Appellation of *Auguſti*. As if the name had refuſed to abide with him without the dignity; and again, as if the dignity could have required no other name for its being majeſtically adorned. So that, *his Proper*, and *his Appellative* name was the ſame; both *his Dignity*, and likewiſe *his Appellation*, being declared by one and the ſame denomination. Moreover, another accident hapned, from which it might be conjectured, that *Marcianus* would come to be Emperour. For, having had a Mili-

† Or, *diſcourſe.*

* Or, *he was crowned with.*

[a] Inſtead of [*Patriſcus*] it muſt be *Priſcus*, which is the reading in the *Tellerian* M. S. and in *Nicephorus* book 15. This is the *Priſcus*, out of whoſe *books of Hiſtory* we have the *Excerptæ Legationes*. Valeſ.

* Or, *endeavouring.*

* Or, *pardoned*, or, *forgave.*

[b] Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατιώτῃ βιβλόμενος. *Muſculus* has rendred it well, thus, *ut in eo militiæ nomen daret, that he might liſt*, [or, *enter*] *himſelf a Souldier therein.* Not that the term στρατιώτης does exactly import the ſame with *nomen dare*, *to liſt*, or, *enter*, or, *enroll*. For, στρατιώτης does properly ſignifie, *to deſire* and *to ſue for*. So *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſeus*, about the cloſe of *his* 11th *book*, uſes this phraſe, παρεγγέλλειν τῷ ἀξιοῦν, *to ſue for an office*. But, *Appian* uſually words it thus, στρατηγέλλειν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν. And ſo does the *Old Author* in *Suidas*, in the word στρατηγέλλονται. Now, *Candidates*, when they ſued for an office, were wont *nomen ſuum profiteri, to tell their name and be inrolled*. *Johannes Langus* renders it, *Militare Sacramentum dicere, to ſay the Military Oath*. Which Verſion I diſprove of. For στρατηγία is the *album militare, the Muſter-Roll*, wherein the names of all the Souldiers were regiſtred. *Vegetius*, book 2. chap. 5. terms it *Matriculam, the Liſt of Souldiers*. *Evagrius* uſes παρεγγελία in this ſenſe, hereafter in this chapter; μαρκιανὸν τὸν καὶ αὔγουστον ἐς τὴν παρεγγελίαν ἐγγράψαντες, *they regiſtred* Marcianus (*who was likewiſe called* Auguſtus) *in the Muſter-Roll*. Further, the names of the Souldiers were inſerted into the *Muſter-Roll*, before they had ſaid the Oath; as *Vegetius* atteſts in the forequoted place. *Candidus Iſaurus* makes uſe of the ſame term, in *his firſt book Hiſtor.* where his words concerning *Leo* are theſe: ὃς ἦν ἐκ Δακίας μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἰλλυρικοῖς στρατιωτικῷ παρεγγείλας τάγματι, *who was of that Dacia in Illyricum, having been regiſtred in a Military Company*. Valeſ.

tary

tary Command under *Aſpar* [in the War] againſt the *Vandalls*, it hapned that *Marcianus*, together with many others, was taken priſoner, (*Aſpar* having been very much worſted by the *Vandalls*;) and brought into a field with the other Captives; it being *Geiſerichus*'s deſire to ſee the Priſoners. After they were gathered together, *Geiſerichus* being ſeated in an high room, pleaſed himſelf with viewing the multitude of thoſe taken Priſoners. And in regard much time was ſpent [there, the Priſoners] did what each of them had a mind to: (For *Geiſerichus* had given order, that thoſe who guarded the Captives, ſhould looſe them from their bonds.) Some of them therefore did one thing, others another. But *Marcianus* laid himſelf down on the ground, and ſlept in the Sun, which was hot and more ſcorching than uſuall at that ſeaſon of the year. [In which very interim] an Eagle came down from on high in the air, and raiſing herſelf by a flight with her face perpendicularly oppoſite to the Sun, made a ſhadow like a cloud over *Marcianus*, whereby ſhe refreſhed and cooled him. *Geiſerichus* wondring hereat, with great foreſight conjectured at what would happen; and when he had ſent for *Marcianus*, he cauſed him to be diſmiſſed from his Captivity, having firſt bound him in great Oaths, that after his coming to the Empire, he ſhould inviolably keep his faith to the *Vandalls*, and not move his Arms againſt them. Which ingagement, as [c] *Procopius* relates, *Marcianus* did in reality keep and perform. But leaving this digreſſion, let us return to our Subject. *Marcianus* was pious towards God, juſt as to what related to his Subjects: accounting thoſe true riches (not which were hoarded up, or brought together from the Collections of Tribute; but them only) which might ſupply the wants of the indigent, and render their eſtates who poſſeſt much, ſecure and ſafe. He was formidable, not for his puniſhing, but becauſe ['twas feared] he was about to puniſh. On theſe accounts therefore he obtained the Empire, [which fell to him] not by an hereditary Right, but [was] the reward of his vertue; as well the Senate, as all other perſons of what degrees and orders ſoever, conferring the Imperiall dignity upon him by a generall ſuffrage, to which they were perſwaded by *Pulcheria*. Whom, in regard ſhe was *Auguſta*, *Marcianus* married; but knew her not as a wife, ſhe continuing a Virgin till her death. And theſe things were done, before *Valentinianus* Emperour of *Rome* had confirmed this Election by his own conſent. Notwithſtanding, by reaſon of [*Marcianus*'s] virtue, he afterwards made it authentick. Further, it was *Marcianus*'s deſire, that [one] worſhip might in common be exhibited to God by all perſons, (thoſe tongues, which had been confuſed through impiety, being again piouſly united;) and that the Deity might be praiſed with one and the ſame * *Doxologie*.

[c] The words of *Procopius*, which *Evagrius* points to here, were heretofore extant in the *firſt book of his Vandalicks*. But now they are wanting in the *Auguſtane Edition*, at pag. 96. For there is a defect in the Greek Text there, after theſe words ὥσπερ Ζεὺς ἀχ- Ὀλύμπιος. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Glorification.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, *and what was the Occaſion of its being convened.*

WHileſt therefore the Emperours mind was taken up with theſe deſires, there came to him, both the * *Reſponſales* of *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome*, affirming that *Dioſcorus* in the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*, had not admitted of *Leo*'s Letter, wherein was contained † the doctrine of the true Faith: and alſo thoſe perſons who had been injured by the ſame *Dioſcorus*, intreating that their Cauſe might be judged in a Synod of Biſhops. But above all *Euſebius*, who had been Biſhop of *Dorylæum*, was moſt importunately urgent, ſaying, that by the treacherous contrivances of *Chryſaphius Theodoſius*'s [a] *Protector*, he and *Flavianus* had been depoſed, becauſe, to *Chryſaphius* demanding Gold for *Flavianus*'s own ordination, *Flavianus* (to ſhame him) [b] had ſent the ſacred Veſſells; and becauſe *Chryſaphius* agreed with *Eutyches* in his erroneous and falſe opinions. *Euſebius* ſaid moreover, that *Flavianus* had been beaten, and kick't, and in a miſerable manner murdered by *Dioſcorus*. *Chryſaphius* is thus termed by *Priſcus Rhetor*, in *his Excerpt. Legationum*. The *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* calls him *Spatharius*, which we may render *Eſquire of the Emperours body*. He is termed *Spatharius* alſo *in Geſtis de nomine Acacii*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath ſet forth. *Valeſ.*

* Ἀναγκαιοδόσι τοῖς ἀποκρίσεσι, *thoſe perſons that were employed in the anſwers, &c.*

† Or, *the determination of Orthodoxy.*

[a] Ὑπασπιστής, that is, *The defender of the Emperours perſon*, or, *his Protector.*

[b] *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* relates that *Theodoſius Junior*, who then made his Reſidence at *Chalcedon*, by the impulſe of *Chryſaphius* commanded *Flavianus*, (newly ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*,) that for his ordination he ſhould ſend him the *Eulogiæ*, [that is, *the Loaves of Benediction*, or, *pieces of the Bleſſed bread*, See *Socrat.* book 7. chap. 12. note (*b*;) and alſo *Meurſius's Gloſſary*, at the word εὐλογίαι.] And when *Flavianus* had ſent *white loaves*, in the name of a Benediction, *Chryſaphius* made anſwer, that the Emperour demanded *golden Eulogiæ*. In anſwer to which *Flavianus* wrote back, that he had no money which he could ſend, unleſs inſtead of money he ſhould preſent him with the ſacred Veſſells of the Church. And this thing, as *Theophanes* ſays, raiſed a deadly grudge between *Chryſaphius* and *Flavianus*. Valeſ.

For theſe reaſons, a Synod is convened at *Chalcedon*, Couriers and Expreſſes being ſent, and the Biſhops in all places called together * by the moſt pious Emperours Letters, firſt at *Nicæa*: (in ſo much that, *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, writing to them concerning thoſe perſons he had ſent to ſupply his own place, to wit, *Paſchaſinus*, *Lucentius*, and the reſt, inſcribed [his Letters thus,] *To thoſe convened at* Nicæa:) but afterwards at *Chalcedon* in the Country of the *Bithynians*. [c] *Zacharias Rhetor*, in favour to *Neſtorius*, does indeed [d] affirm that he was ſent for out of Exile [to this Councill.] But, that this was not ſo, may be conjectured from hence, that the Synod does every where *Anathematize Neſtorius*. The ſame is alſo expreſsly atteſted by *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Berytus* (in *his Letter* to *Johannes* a Biſhop, and to another *Johannes* a Presbyter, concerning the matters agitated in the Synod,) in theſe very words: *Thoſe perſons meeting again, who demanded* Neſtorius's *Reliques, cryed out againſt the Synod*, [*in this ſort:*] *for what reaſon are Holy men* Anathematized? *In ſo much that the Emperour, being highly incenſed, commanded his Guards by force to drive them a far off.* How therefore *Neſtorius* could have been called [to this Council,] who was dead long before, I cannot tell.

* Or, *by pious Letters.*

[c] *Zacharias Rhetor* wrote an *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* from the beginning of the Emperour *Marcianus*'s Reign (as it may be conjectured from this place,) untill the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*. But, he wrote not with ſincerity and moderation (as an Hiſtory ought to be written,) but was corrupted with favour and hatred, that is, ἐμπαθῶς *with affection and partiality*, as *Evagrius* ſays. *Evagrius* atteſts the ſame concerning him, in book 3. chap. 7. And in chap. 18. of *his third book*, he accuſes the ſame *Zacharias* of negligence. *Valeſ.*

[d] In the *Florentine* M. S. the reading of this place is more entire, thus, ὃν τῆς ὑποροείας μετάπεμπτον γνώδε φησί. And we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.* *In Robert Stephens Edition*, the words [ὃν τῆς ὑποροείας, *out of Exile*] are wanting.

CHAP. III.

A deſcription of the Great Martyr Euphemia's *Church, which is in* [*the City*] Chalcedon: *and a Narrative of the Miracles performed therein.*

[THe Fathers] therefore are aſſembled in the ſacred Church of the Martyr *Euphemia*. This Church ſtands in *Chalcedon*, a City belonging to the Province of the *Bithynians*. It is diſtant from the *Boſphorus* not more than two furlongs, [ſcituate] in a moſt pleaſant place, on an * eminence which riſes eaſily and by degrees: in ſo much that, thoſe who go up into the Church of the Martyr, are inſenſible of Labour in their walk, but being got within the Temple, on a ſudden they appear at a vaſt height. Whence caſting down their eyes as 'twere from a Watch Tower, they have a proſpect of all the fields beneath, extended into a levell and even plain, clothed in green with graſs, waving with ſtanding corn, and beautified with the ſight of all ſorts of trees: [they ſee] woody mountains alſo, [the trees whereon] bend and then raiſe [their tops] finely to an heighth. Moreover, [they have a proſpect of] ſeverall Seas, ſome of which [ſeem] * purple coloured by reaſon of their ſerenity, and do ſweetly and mildly play with the Shoares; to wit, where the places are calm: but others are rough and boyſterous with ſurges, by the very reciprocall motion of their waves forcing a ſhoar † ſand mixt with little ſtones, Sea-weed, and the lighteſt ſort of ſhell-fiſh, and then drawing them back again. Moreover, the Church it ſelf ſtands right over againſt *Conſtantinople*. So that, the Temple is [not a little] adorned with the proſpect of ſo great a City. The Church conſiſts of three moſt ſpacious ſtructures. The firſt is an *Open Court*, beautified with a large || *Atrium*, and with Pillars on every ſide. After this there is another Structure, for breadth, and length, and pillars, [a] almoſt alike; differing only in this, that it has a Roof laid over it. In the Northen ſide whereof at the riſing Sun, there is a round Edifice built in form of a [b] *Tholus*, ſet round within with pillars moſt artificially framed, which are alike as to their matter, and equall in bigneſs. [c] Over theſe [pillars,] there is an * *Hyperoon* raiſed to a vaſt heighth, under the ſame Roof: ſo that, even in this Room alſo, they that deſire it, may both ſupplicate the Martyr, and alſo be preſent at the ſacred Myſteries.

* Or, *hill.*

* Τῇ γαλήνῃ πορφυρίζουσι; which words *Valeſius* renders thus: *ſerenitate renidentia, ſhining, or, glitſering by reaſon of their calmneſs.*

† Καχλαμώδεσι; it ſignifies *ſmall, or, ſand full of little ſtones.*

|| *Court*, or, *Courtyard.*

[a] I have mended this place from the *Florentine* M. S. after this manner; ἀμικρὸν ἀλλήλοις παραπλήσιον, *almoſt alike.* Nevertheleſs, *Nicephorus* has followed the vulgar reading, which is μικρὸς παραπλησίως. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found it written μικρὸν παραπλήσιον. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἐς θόλον, that is, *in form of a Cupolo*, or *Cuppolo*; as the *Italians* now term it. *Harpocration* (in the word θόλος) tells us, that the place where the *Prytanes* (who were a ſort of Magiſtrates amongſt the *Athenians*) eat, was termed *Tholus*; ὑπὸ ἐνίων δὲ (continues he) σκιὰς, διὰ τὸ ὅπως ἀκοδομῆσθαι αὐτὸν στρογγύλον παρέμοιον θολίᾳ, *but by ſome 'tis termed* σκιὰς, (that is, *an Arbour*) *becauſe 'tis built round, in that form, like an hat with an high round crown.*

[c] 'Tis ſtrange that Tranſlatours ſhould not have perceived the fault of this place: for what can the ſenſe be of theſe words; *Sub his columnis tabulatum eſt ſublime, &c. Under theſe pillars there is an high chamber*, &c, according as *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred it? Inſtead of [ὑπὸ τούτοις, *under theſe*] it muſt undoubtedly be ἐπὶ τούτοις, *over theſe*; which is the reading in *Nicephorus*; his words are theſe: ἐφ' οἷς ὑπερῶον τι, &c. which *Langus* renders thus: *Super quibus porticus ſublimis eâdem ſub Teſtudine conſtructa eſt, over which* [*pillars*] *there is an high Gallery built under the ſame Roof.* Valeſ. * Or, *Upper-Room.*

But, within the *Tholus*, towards the Eaſt, [d] there is a magnificent Tomb, where lie the moſt holy Reliques of the Martyr, depoſited in an oblong Cheſt (ſome term it [e] *The Macra,*) moſt curiouſly made of ſilver. The Miracles which are at certain times performed by the holy Martyr, are manifeſtly known to all *Chriſtians*. For, frequently in their ſleep ſhe appears, either to the Biſhops during their ſeverall times of preſidency over that City, or elſe to ſome perſons (otherwiſe eminent for [piety of] life,) who come to her [Church,] and orders them [f] to make their Vintage in the Temple. After this hath been made known, both to the Emperours, to the Patriarch, and alſo to the City; as well thoſe who ſway the Imperiall Scepter, as the Pontif's, Magiſtrates, and the reſt of the whole multitude of the people, go immediately to the Church, with a deſire to partake of the Myſteries. In the ſight of all theſe perſons therefore, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, together with the Prieſts about him, goes into the ſacred Edifice, where the holy Body I have mentioned is depoſited. [g] There is a little hole in the Cheſt, on its left ſide, which is ſhut up and made faſt by ſmall doors. Through this hole they let down a long iron rod, after they have faſtned a ſponge to it, as far as the moſt holy Reliques; and when they have turned the ſponge about, they draw the iron-rod up to them, [the ſponge at the end whereof is] full of bloud, and bloudy clotters. Which when the people behold, immediately they adore and glorifie God.

[d] Ἔνθα σκιὰς. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* render it *Sacrarium, a Veſtry*, or *little Chappell. Muſculus* tranſlates it *adytum, a ſecret place in a Church to which few have acceſs.* Which I approve not of. I have rather rendred it *tumulum, a Tomb*, or *Monument.* For that is the import of the term σκιὰς, as *Heſychius* and *Suidas* do atteſt. But, by *a Tomb*, or *Monument*, I mean a place fenced in with Barrs made lattiſe-wiſe, in the midſt whereof was that ſilver-cheſt wherein the Reliques of the holy Martyr *Euphemia* were depoſited. For, that it was ſo, is apparent from *Evagrius*'s following words. *Valeſ.*

[e] Inſtead of μακρὸν *Macra*, I think it ſhould be ἀρκὸν *The Arke.* Truly, I do not ſee what ſenſe there can be in the vulgar reading; in regard μακρὸς and ἐπιμήκης ſignifie the ſame; nor is it a proper name, but *an adjective.* 'Tis better therefore to read ἀρκὸν *The Arke.* Some perſons, ſays *Evagrius*, term the Martyrs Cheſt, *Arcam, the Arke.* For ſo the Latines term it. The *Old Gloſſes* render σορὸς, *arca funebris, an arke*, or *cheſt, for the dead.* Valeſ.

[f] Κατὰ τὸ τέμενος τρυγᾶν. Tranſlatours underſtood not this place. *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* made it τρυφᾶν. For *Muſculus* renders it thus: *Ut circa templum ad honorem ejus jucundentur præcipit, and orders them that in honour of her they ſhould be merry about the Temple.* And *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it thus: *Jubet ut in ipſo templo feſtum deliciis, & opiparis epulis celebrent, ſhe orders that in the very Church they ſhould celebrate a feaſt with dainties and ſumptuous banquets.* But, *Evagrius*'s following words do altogether refute this emendation. For, he adds not one word at this place, which may in any wiſe belong to luxury or delicious food. *Nicephorus* has indeed retained the vulgar reading: but has explained it ill, thus: ἀρθόνως ἥδ' θαυμάτων τρυγᾶν ἐνεκελεύσατο: that is, as *Langus* has rendred it, *ut miraculorum talium fructum perciperent, eſt cohortata, ſhe exhorteth them, that they ſhould freely partake of the fruit of ſuch miracles.* But *Nicephorus* added theſe words of his own head; nor has he comprehended *Evagrius*'s meaning; in regard *Evagrius* ſpeaks not here of more miracles, but of one only miracle, to wit, the bloud flowing out of the Tomb of the holy Martyr. I have followed the ordinary reading, and have explained this place in the ſimple and obvious ſenſe *concerning the making of a Vintage.* Which agrees exactly with *Evagrius*'s following words. For the bloud, which in a moſt plentifull manner was preſs't out of the bleſſed Martyrs reliques, was not unlike wine, which is ſqueezed out of preſt grapes. Beſides, the Feſtivall day of the holy *Euphemia* fell on the time of Vintage, to wit, on the ſixteenth of *September*, as we are informed from the *Greek Menologie.* Valeſ.

[g] I am of the ſame opinion with Learned men, who inſtead of [Ἔτι δὲ, *But moreover*] have long ſince altered the reading, and made it Ἔστι δὲ *There is*, &c. Which emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and by *Nicephorus*. Further, *Langus* renders χλειθρίδιον (which is the term here uſed,) *feneſtellam, a little window: Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it *tranſennam, a Loup*, or, *Caſement.* I (as *Muſculus* has done,) had rather render it *foramen, an hole.* For *Sozomen* terms it thus, book. 9. chap. 2. where I have made more remarkes concerning ſuch *little windows* as theſe, which were made in the *Capſæ* [*cheſts wherein were laid the Reliques*] of the Martyrs. *Valeſ.*

[Further,]

[Further,] ſo great a plenty [of bloud] is extracted out thence, that both the pious Emperours, and alſo all the Prieſts [there] convened, moreover the whole multitude which flock together at that place, in a moſt plentifull manner do partake of it, and likewiſe ſend it over the whole world, to the Faithfull that are deſirous of it. And the congealed bloud laſts [ſo as it is] for ever, nor is the moſt holy bloud in any wiſe changed into any other colour. * Theſe miracles are performed, not at any determinate period of time, but according as the Life of the Biſhop, and the gravity of his Moralls ſhall † deſerve. For, 'tis reported, that when ever a perſon of probity, and one eminent for his virtues, does govern [that Church,] this miracle is performed, and that moſt frequently: but when there is no ſuch Prelate, ſuch divine ſignes as theſe do rarely happen. But I will relate another [miracle,] which no time or ſeaſon ‖ interrupts: nor does it make any difference between the Faithfull and the Infidells; but 'tis alike * ſhown to all perſons. When any perſon comes into that place, wherein the pretious Cheſt is, which contains the moſt holy Reliques, † he ſmells a fragrant ſcent, which tranſcends all the uſuall ſavours [ſmelt] by men. For, this ſcent is neither like that ‖ which ariſes from Meadows, nor like that ſent forth by any the moſt fragrant things, nor is it ſuch a one as is made by Perfumers: but 'tis a certain ſtrange and moſt excellent ſcent, [h] which of it ſelf demonſtrates the [virtue and] power of thoſe things that produce it.

* Or, *which things are magnificently celebrated.*
† Or, *require.*
‖ Or, *cuts in ſunder.*
* Or, *expoſed, or, obvious.*
† Or, *he is filled with.*
‖ Or, *which is gathered.*

[h] The term [λειψάνων, *Reliques*] is wanting in the *Kings*, the *Florentine*, and *Tellerian Manuſcripts*, and likewiſe in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. Nor have the *Geneva-Printers* done well, who from *Chriſtophorſon's books* put this word in here, whereas it is in no wiſe neceſſary at this place, nor is it confirmed by the teſtimony of any written copy. For, thoſe various readings which are produced from *Chriſtophorſon's* books, are for the moſt part nothing elſe but the conjectures of learned men. This whole paſſage therefore ought to be written as 'tis read in the *Tellerian* and *Florentine Manuſcripts*; to wit, thus: ἐξ αὐτῆς παρασῖσα ἁγίᾳ ἀναδιδόντων τὸν δύναμιν, *which of it ſelf demonſtrates the* [*virtue and*] *power of thoſe things that produce it.* And ſo *Nicephorus* read: for he has expreſt this place of *Evagrius* thus: τεκμηριῶσα τὸ ἀναδιδόντος τὸν δύναμιν, *which gives an indication of the power of that thing which produceth it.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning thoſe things which were agitated and eſtabliſhed in the Synod; and how Dioſcorus [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria *was depoſed; but,* Theodoret, Ibas, *and ſome others were reſtored.*

IN this place, the Synod I have mentioned is convened, the Biſhops *Paſchatius* and *Lucentius*, and *Bonifacius* the Presbyter, adminiſtring (as I have ſaid,) the place of *Leo Pontif* of the *Elder Rome*: *Anatolius* preſiding over the *Conſtantinopolitane* [Church;] and *Dioſcorus* being Biſhop of [the Church of] the *Alexandrians*. *Maximus* [Biſhop] of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis* of *Jeruſalem* [were there alſo.] Together with whom were preſent thoſe Prelates whom they had about them; and alſo thoſe perſonages who held the principall places in the eminent Senate [of *Conſtantinople*.] To whom they, who filled *Leo*'s place, ſaid, that *Dioſcorus* ought not to ſit together with them in the Councill. For this [they affirmed] was given them in charge by their Biſhop *Leo*, and unleſs it were obſerved, they would remove out of the Church. And when [thoſe] of the Senate asked, what were the matters objected againſt *Dioſcorus*; they returned anſwer, that he ought to render an account of his own judgment, who, contrary to what was fitting and juſt, had accepted the perſon of the Judge. After which words, when *Dioſcorus* by the Senates Decree had come forth into a place in the midſt; *Euſebius* made his requeſt, that the *Supplicatory Libell*, which he had preſented to the Emperour, might be recited; which requeſt he worded thus: *I have been injured by* Dioſcorus; *the Faith hath been injured*; Flavianus *the Biſhop has been murdered, and together with me unjuſtly depoſed by him: do you give order, that my* ſupplicatory Libell *may be read.* Which thing when [the Judges] had diſcourſed of, the *Libell* was permitted to be read, the contents whereof were theſe.

[a] *To the Lovers of Chriſt, our moſt Religious and moſt pious Emperours,* Flavius Valentinianus, *and* Marcianus, *always* Auguſti; *From* Euſebius *the meaneſt Biſhop of* Dorylæum, *who ſpeakes in defence of himſelf, of the Orthodox Faith, and of* Flavianus *of bleſſed memory who was Biſhop of* Conſtantinople. [*It is*] *the deſigne of your power, to make proviſion for all your Subjects, and to ſtretch forth an hand to all thoſe who are injured: eſpecially* [b] *to them who are reckoned amongſt the* Eccleſiaſticks. *For hereby* [c] *you worſhip the Deity, by whom a power hath been given you to Rule and Govern* * *the world. In regard* * Or, the things under the Sun. *therefore the Faith of Chriſt and we have ſuffered many and grievous things, contrary to all reaſon and equity, from* Dioſcorus *the moſt reverend Biſhop of the great City* Alexandria; *we addreſs to Your piety, entreating we may have Right done Us. Now, the buſineſs is this. At a Synod lately held in the* Metropolis *of the* Epheſians, *(would to God that Synod had never been held, that it might not have filled the world with miſchiefes and diſturbance!) that* * *Good man* Dioſcorus, *diſregarding the conſideration of what is juſt, and* [*not reſpecting*] *the fear of God, (for he was of the ſame opinion, and entertained the ſame Sentiments with the vain-minded and Hereticall* Eutyches; *but concealed it from many perſons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evidenced from his own declaration:) † took an occaſion from that accuſation which I had brought againſt* Eutyches, *a perſon of the ſame opinion with himſelf, and from that ſentence pronounc't againſt the ſame* Eutyches *by Biſhop* Flavianus * *of Holy memory*; [*whereby*] *he aſſembled a multitude of diſorderly and tumultuous perſons: and having poſſeſt himſelf of power by money, as much as in him lay he has weakened the pious Religion of the* Orthodox, *and has confirmed the ill opinion of the Monk* Eutyches, *which long ſince, even from the beginning, hath been condemned by the Holy Fathers. Whereas therefore, the matters are not*

[a] This whole Preface, as far as theſe words *always Auguſti*, is wanting in *the Kings*, and *Florentine*, and *Tellerian Manuſcripts*. *Chriſtophorſon* was the firſt that put in theſe words, from the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*; notwithſtanding, they ſeem not at all neceſſary at this place. *Valeſ.* The ſaid Preface is wanting in *Stephens's*, Edition; where alſo, inſtead of παρὰ εὐσεβίου *by Euſebius*, the reading is [περὶ εὐσεβίου, *concerning Euſebius.*]

[b] Inſtead of [τοῖς ἱερωσύνην τελοῦσι, *to thoſe who perform the Prieſthood.*] it muſt without doubt be written [τοῖς εἰς ἱερωσύνην τελοῦσι, *to thoſe who are reckoned amongſt the Eccleſiaſticks*;] as the reading is in *the firſt Action of the Chalcedon Councill*, where this *ſupplicatory Libell* of Biſhop *Euſebius* to the Emperour *Marcianus* is recorded. *Valeſ.*

[c] Inſtead of [θεραπεύεται, *is worſhipped*] I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote, θεραπεύεις, *you worſhip.* 'Tis certain in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Councill*, the reading is θεραπεύοντες, *worſhipping.* Which though it be corrupt, nevertheleſs confirms our emendation. *Valeſ.*

* 'Tis Ironically ſpoken.

† Or, *found.*

* Τῆς ὁσίας λήξεως, *of an holy character, or, name.*

ſmall and triviall, which he hath audaciouſly attempted, both againſt the Faith of Chriſt, and againſt Us, We fall at the feet of Your [*Imperial*] *Majeſty, and humbly beſeech You, to order the ſaid moſt Religious Biſhop* Dioſcorus, *to give in his anſwer to what is objected againſt him by us: to wit, by having the* Monuments *of the* Acts, *which he has made againſt us, read before an Holy Synod. From which* [Acts] *we are able to demonſtrate, that he is eſtranged from the* Orthodox *Faith, hath confirmed an Hereſie full of impiety, has unjuſtly depoſed us, and in a moſt grievous and injurious manner oppreſſed us: You ſending your divine and adorable* Mandates *to the Holy and* Oecumenicall *Synod of Biſhops moſt dear to God, to the end that it may hear the cauſe between us and the forementioned* Dioſcorus, *and bring to the knowledge of* Your Piety *all that is tranſacted,* * *according to that which ſhall pleaſe* Your Immortall height. *And if we ſhall obtain this, we will pour forth inceſſant prayers for your eternall Empire, moſt divine Emperours!* After this, by the joynt deſire of *Dioſcorus* and *Euſebius*, the *Acts of the ſecond Epheſine Synod* were publickly recited. The particular declaration whereof, (it being † comprehended in many words, and contained || within the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*;) leaſt I ſhould ſeem verboſe to thoſe who haſten towards [a knowledge of] the concluſion of Tranſactions, I have ſubjoyned to this *Second Book* of my Hiſtory; giving thoſe perſons who are deſirous of an exact and particular knowledge of all matters, a liberty of reading theſe things, and of having an accurate account of all tranſactions imprinted on their mindes. [In the interim] I will curſorily mention the more principall and momentous matters: to wit, that *Dioſcorus* was * convicted, becauſe he had not admitted of the Letter of *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome*; and becauſe he had effected the depoſition of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *New Rome*, within the ſpace of one day; and becauſe he had gotten the Biſhops who were convened, to ſubſcribe [their names] in a paper not written on, as if therein had been contained *Flavianus*'s depoſition. Whereupon, thoſe perſons who were of the Senate, made this Decree. [d] *We perceive, that a more exact ſcrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when* [e] *the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard* Flavianus *of Pious Memory, and the moſt Religious Biſhop* Euſebius *(from a ſearch made into the* Acts *and* Decrees, *and alſo from their teſtimony by word of mouth who preſided in the Synod then convened; who have confeſſed that they have erred, and depoſed them without cauſe, when they had in no wiſe erred in the Faith:) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjuſtly depoſed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable to God,) to be juſt, (provided it ſhall pleaſe our moſt Divine and moſt Pious Lord,) that* Dioſcorus *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Alexandria, Juvenalis *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, Thalaſſius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia, Euſebius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* [f] Ancyra, Euſtathius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Berytus, *and* Baſilius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Seleucia *in* Iſauria, *which* [Prelates] *had power, and preſided over the then Synod, ſhould lye under the very ſame puniſhment, being by* [*the ſentence of*] *the ſacred Synod according to the Canons* * *removed from the Epiſcopall dignity: all things which have been conſequently done being made known* † *to his moſt ſacred Imperial Majeſty.* After this, *Libells* having been given in on the ſecond day againſt *Dioſcorus*, on account of [various] crimes, and concerning money [forcibly by him taken,] when *Dioſcorus*, being twice and thrice called, appeared not, by reaſon of [ſeverall] excuſes which he alledged; they who filled the place of *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome*, || made this declaration in theſe expreſs words.

[g] *What* Dioſcorus *who hath been Biſhop of the Great City* Alexandria *has audaciouſly attempted againſt the Order of the Canons, and the Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitution; hath been made manifeſt, both by thoſe things which have already been inquired into at the* Firſt Seſſion, *and alſo from what hath been done this day. For this perſon, (to omit many other things,) making uſe of his own authority, uncanonically admitted to communion* Eutyches, *(a man that embraces the ſame Sentiments with himſelf, who had been canonically depoſed by his own Biſhop of Holy Memory, we mean our Father and Biſhop* Flavianus;) *before* * *his ſitting* [*in the Synod*] *at* Epheſus *together with the Biſhops beloved by God. Now, the Apoſtolick See has granted a pardon to thoſe* [*Prelates,*] *for what hath been involuntarily done there by them. Who alſo to this preſent continue of the ſame opinion with the moſt Holy Arch-Biſhop* Leo, *and with all the Holy and* Oecumenicall Synod. *On which account, he hath received them to his own communion, as being aſſerters of the ſame faith with himſelf. But* † *this man till this very time hath not deſiſted from boaſting of theſe things, on account whereof he ought rather to mourn, and lay himſelf proſtrate on the earth. Beſides, he permitted not the Letter of the Bleſſed Pope* Leo, *to be read, (which had been written by him to* Flavianus *of Holy Memory;) and this* [*he did,*] *notwithſtanding he was ſeverall times entreated by thoſe perſons who had brought the Letter, to ſuffer it to be read; and notwithſtanding he had promiſed with an Oath that it ſhould be read.*

The

* Πρὸς τὸ παιεσάιῶιον. See *Socrat.* book. 7. chap. 36. note (*b.*)

† Or, *formed*, or, *made up into*, &c.

|| Or, *within thoſe things agitated at Chalcedon.*

* Or, *detected.*

[d] This is the ſentence, which the moſt magnificent Judges who were preſent at the *Chalcedon Councill*, pronounc't after an hearing of the Cauſe: which ſentence is recorded in the very ſame words, in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Councill*, pag. 152. *Edit. Bin.* Notwithſtanding, 'tis a wonder to me, that *Chriſtophorſon* had not ſeen this, who has confuſed and diſturbed all things at this place in ſuch a manner, that you can extract nothing of ſound ſenſe from his verſion. That which diſturbed him, was his ſeeing the *Secular Magiſtrates* in a Councill of Biſhops and their pronouncing ſentence as Judges. But *Chriſtophorſon* ought to have conſidered, that thoſe Magiſtrates concerned not themſelves in the Cauſe of the Faith, but leſt the Biſhops a free right and power of determining concerning that matter. Indeed, at ſuch time as the Rule of Faith was drawn up by the Biſhops convened at *Chalcedon*, theſe very Magiſtrates, who before had often moved the Councill that that might be done, would not be preſent at the Seſſion of Biſhops. But in the buſineſs between *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* and *Dioſcorus* of *Alexandria*, in which affair nothing was treated of concerning the Faith, but concerning violence, fraud, and other crimes: in this buſineſs, I ſay, the *Secular Magiſtrates* had a right to pronounce ſentence. Which nevertheleſs was not a definitive ſentence, but *an Interlocution* only, as 'tis apparent from the *Acts of the Councill*. Valeſ.

[e] Τελεωτέρας σωόδυ γινομένης. In the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Councill*, the reading is τελεώτερον, *more perfect and compleat.* In the *compendium of the Acts of this Synod*, which *Evagrius* has ſubjoyned at the cloſe of this book, it is τελειότερον. The reading in the *Florent.* and *Tellerian Manuſcripts* at this place is τελεώτερον. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens*, the reading is the ſame with that at the beginning of this note.

[f] Ἐπίσκοπον ἀερωδρίας, *Biſhop of Armenia.* The ſame fault occurs in the *Compendium of the Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*, which is extant at the end of this book. Notwithſtanding, 'tis manifeſt, that it muſt be, ἀγκυ̃ρας, *of Ancyra*, agreeable to the reading in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Councill*. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is [*of Armenia.*]

* Or, *made ſtrangers to.*

† Τῶ θείᾳ κορυφῆ, *to the divine height.*

|| Or, *pronounced ſentence.*

[g] This ſentence pronounc't by the Deputies of the Apoſtolick See, is extant in the *third Action of the Chalcedon Councill*, pag. 192. *Valeſ.*

* *Dioſcorus's.*

† *Dioſcorus.*

The not reading of which Letter [h] *has filled the most Holy Churches over the whole world with ſcandalls and detriment. Nevertheleſs, although ſuch things as theſe have been audaciouſly attempted by him, yet it was our deſign, to have voutſafed him ſomething of compaſſion* [i] *in relation to his former impious Fact, as alſo to the reſt of the Biſhops beloved by God, although they had not the ſame authority* [k] *of judging that he was inveſted with. But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his * latter facts, (for he has audaciouſly pronounced an Excommunication againſt the moſt Holy and moſt Pious* Leo *Arch-Biſhop of* Rome the Great; *and moreover, (when* Libells *ſtuft with Crimes were preſented to the Holy and Great Synod againſt him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Biſhops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prick't by his own conſcience; [Laſtly,] he has illegally received [to Communion] thoſe, who had juſtly been depoſed by ſeverall Synods: [on theſe various accounts we ſay]) he himſelf hath pronounced ſentence againſt himſelf, having many ways trampled under foot the Eccleſiaſtick Rules. Wherefore, the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed* Leo *Arch-Biſhop of the Great and the Elder* Rome, *by Us and the preſent Synod, together with the thrice Bleſſed and moſt eminent Apoſtle* Peter, *who is the* † *Rock and Baſis of the Catholick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath diveſted him of the Epiſcopall dignity, and * hath removed him from [the performance of] every Sacerdotall Office. Therefore, the Holy and Great Synod it ſelf will* [l] *Decree thoſe things concerning the forementioned* Dioſcorus, *which ſhall ſeem agreeable to the Canons.*

[h] In the third Action of the Chalcedon-Council, this place is otherwiſe read, to wit, thus: αἱ ἁγιωτάτ τ ἐκκλησίαι, the moſt Holy Churches over the whole world have been tempted, or tryed. Valeſ.

[i] Inſtead of [τ τῆς προς ἔριδος, &c] in the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, the reading is [ἐκ τῆς προτέρας, &c.] *Valeſ.*

[k] Theſe words [τῆς κρίσεως, *of judging*, or, *of judgment*,] are wanting in *the Kings*, in the *Tellerian*, and in the *Florentine Manuſcripts*; and they are put into the *Geneva Edition*, from *Chriſtophorſon's* books. They occur indeed in *the Acts* of the *Chalcedon-Council*; but to me they ſeem not very neceſſary. *Valeſ.* In *Rob. Stephens's Edition*, they are wanting.

* Or, *ſecond.*

† See chap. 18. note (x.)

* Or, *hath eſtranged him.*

[l] In the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Council*, the reading is ὑφίστηται, *will Decree.* Which in my judgment is right. For the *future* tenſe is in this place put for the *Imperative mood.* For, whereas the Legates of the Apoſtolick See do here ſpeak to the Synod, they would not uſe the *Imperative*; becauſe it ſeems more arrogant. They made uſe therefore of the *future tenſe*, as being the ſofter and more modeſt mode of expreſſion. Notwithſtanding, *The old Tranſlatour of the Chalcedon Council* has rendred it in the *Imperative mood.* In *Nicephorus*, book 15. chap. 30. the reading is ὑφίστηται, *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and in the *Greek* Text here, the reading is ὑφίζεται, *doth Decree*; which perhaps is the truer reading.

Theſe things having been confirmed by the Synod, and ſome other buſineſs done, thoſe [Prelates] who had been depoſed with *Dioſcorus*; by the entreaty of the Synod and the Emperours aſſent, obtained their Reſtoration. And ſome other things having been added to what was done before, they promulged a definition of the Faith, contained in theſe expreſs words.

[m] This definition of the Faith is contained in the *Fifth Action of the Chalcedon-Synod.* 'Tis extant alſo in *Nicephorus*, book 15. chap. 6. *Valeſ.*

* Jo. 14. 27.

† Or, *opinions.*

* That is, *the Conſtantinopolitane Creed*, at the drawing up whereof there were 150 Fathers. See *Socrat.* book 5. c. 9.

[m] *Our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, when he confirmed the knowledge of the Faith to his diſciples, ſaid*; * my peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you: *to the end that no perſon ſhould differ from his neighbour in the* † Dogmata *of Pietty, but that the Preaching of the Truth might be equally demonſtrated to all.* After theſe words, when they had recited the *Nicene Creed*, and alſo [that * Creed] of the hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, they have added theſe words. *That wiſe and ſalutary Creed of the divine Grace, was indeed ſufficient for the knowledge and confirmation of piety. For, it delivers a perfect and entire Doctrine, concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*; *and it expreſſes and confirms the Incarnation of our Lord to thoſe who receive it with faith. But, in regard the* [n] *enemies of Truth attempt to reject and abrogate the Preaching [thereof] by their own Hereſies; and have * coyned vain and new Terms; (ſome daring to corrupt the Myſtery of our Lords Diſpenſation which [was made] upon our account, and denying the Term* Theotocos [*which is attributed*] *to the* Virgin: *and others introducing a confuſion and mixture, fooliſhly imagining the nature of the fleſh and of the Deity to be one, and monſtrouſly feigning the Divine Nature of the* only begotten *to be by confuſion paſſible:) therefore, this preſent, Holy, Great, and* Oecumenicall *Synod, being deſirous to* * *preclude all their [ways of] fraud invented againſt the Truth, and to vindicate that* † *Doctrine which from the beginning [has continued] unſhaken; hath determined, that in the firſt place, the* ‖ *Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers ought to remain and be preſerved unattempted and inviolate: and upon their account who* * *impugne the Holy Spirit, [this Synod] confirms that Doctrine concerning the ſubſtance of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards delivered by the hundred and fifty Fathers convened in the Imperiall City [* Conſtantinople: *] which Doctrine they promulged to all perſons, not as if they added any thing which had been wanting before, but that they might declare their own Sentiment concerning the Holy Spirit, againſt thoſe who attempted to abrogate and aboliſh his dominion and power: but, upon their account who dare corrupt the myſterie of the* Oeconomy, *and* [o] *do rave [ſo] impudently [as to aſſert] him who was born of the Holy Virgin* Mary *to be a meer man; [this Synod] has admitted and approved of the* Synodicall Letters *of the Bleſſed* Cyrillus *who was Paſtour of the Church of the* Alexandrians; *[which Letters* Cyrillus *ſent] to* Neſtorius, *and to the Eaſtern [Biſhops,] and they are ſufficient, both to confute* Neſtorius's *madneſs, and alſo to explain the ſalutary Creed, in favour to ſuch perſons as out of a pious zeal are deſirous of attaining a true notion thereof. To which Letters, in confirmation of ſuch Sentiments as are right and true, [this Synod] has deſervedly annext the Epiſtle of the moſt Bleſſed and moſt Holy Arch-Biſhop* Leo, *Preſident of the Great and* Elder Rome, *which he wrote to Arch-Biſhop* Flavianus *of Holy Memory, in order to the ſubverſion of* Eutyches's *madneſs;* [p] *which Letter agrees with the Confeſſion of Great* Peter, *and is a certain common pillar againſt thoſe who embrace ill Sentiments. For, it makes a reſiſtance againſt them, who attempt to divide the Myſtery of the* Oe-

[n] The word [ἐχθροῖς, *enemies*] is wanting in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*: and the reading of this whole place is thus: οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀθετεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες τὸ κήρυγμα, &c. *Thoſe who attempt to reject and abrogate the Preaching of the Truth by their*, &c. Which reading ſeems to me far better. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *bred*, or, *brought forth.*

* Or, *ſtop up.*

† Or, *Preaching.*

‖ That is, *the Nicene Creed.*

* Or, *fight againſt.*

[o] Inſtead of [ἀναισθῶς λοιδορήσαντας, *do reproach [ſo] impudently*] it muſt doubtleſs be [ἀναισθῶς λῃρωδήσαντας, *do rave [ſo] impudently*] agreeable to the reading in the *Florentine* M.S. and in the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Synod.* Valeſ.

[p] The reading here, and in *Nicephorus* is, ἥνπερ τῇ τοῦ μεσάλου πέτρου, &c. *Which Letter agrees with the confeſſion of the Great Peter*, &c. But, the contexture of the words does neceſſarily require, that we ſhould read thus, ἅτε δὴ τῇ τοῦ μεσάλου, &c. *in regard it agrees*, &c. and ſo 'tis written in the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon-Synod.* Valeſ.

conomy *into two Sons*; *and it likewiſe expells thoſe from the convention of ſacred perſons, who audaciouſly aſſert the Deity of the* Only Begotten *to be paſſible: it* * *confutes them alſo who maintain a Mixture or Confuſion in the two Natures of Chriſt: and it expells thoſe who fooliſhly aſſert, that the* form of a ſervant, *which* Chriſt *took from us* [*men,*] *is of a Celeſtial, or of ſome other ſubſtance: Laſtly, it* Anathematizes *ſuch perſons, as fabulouſly prate of two Natures of* [*our*] *Lord before the Union, but after the union feign* [*them to have been*] *one. Following therefore* [*the ſteps of*] *the Holy Fathers,*

* Or, reſiſts.

q *We confeſs our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt [*to be*] *one and the ſame Son, and with one conſent We do all teach and declare, that the ſame perſon is perfect in the Deity, and that the ſame perſon is perfect in the Humanity, truly God, and truly man, that the ſame perſon* [*ſubſiſts*] *of a rational ſoul and body, that he is Conſubſtantial to the Father as touching his Deity, and that he is of the ſame ſubſtance with us according to his Humanity, in all things like unto us, ſin only excepted; that, according to his Deity he was begotten of the Father before Ages; but that, in the laſt days, the ſame perſon, on our account and for our ſalvation, according to his Humanity, was born of* Mary *the Virgin and* Theotocos: *that, one and the ſame* Jeſus Chriſt, *the Son, the Lord, the* Only Begotten, *is inconfuſedly, immutably, indiviſibly, and inſeparably* * *manifeſted in two Natures: that the difference of the Natures is in no wiſe extinguiſhed by the Union: but rather, that the propriety of each Nature is preſerved, and* † *meets in one perſon, and in one* Hypoſtaſis: *not as if* [*he*] *were parted and divided into two perſons: but* [*he is*] *one and the ſame Only Begotten Son, God the Word, the Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *according as the Prophets of old, and Chriſt himſelf hath taught us concerning himſelf, and* [*according as*] *the Creed of the Fathers hath delivered* [*it*] *to us. Theſe things therefore having with all imaginable accuracy and concinnity been conſtituted by us, the Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod has determined, that it ſhall not be lawfull for any perſon, to produce, or write, or compoſe, or think, or teach others, another Faith. But, whoever ſhall dare, either to compoſe, or to produce, or to teach any other Faith, or to deliver another Creed, to thoſe who have a mind to turn from* Gentiliſm, *or* Judaiſm, *or from any other Hereſie whatever, to the knowledge of the Truth; thoſe perſons, if they be Biſhops, ſhall be* * *diveſted of the Epiſcopall Dignity; if Clergymen, they ſhall be* † *degraded. But if they be* Monks, *or* Laicks, *they ſhall be* Anathematized. When therefore this determination had been read, the Emperour *Marcianus* alſo [came to] *Chalcedon*, and was preſent at the Synod; and having made a ſpeech [to the Biſhops,] he returned. *Juvenalis* alſo and *Maximus* on certain conditions || determined thoſe [differences] which were between them about [ſome] Provinces; and *Theodoret* and *Ibas* were * reſtored; and ſome other matters were agitated, which, as I have ſaid, [the Reader] will find recorded at the end of *this Book*. [Laſtly,] it was decreed, that the Chair of † *New Rome*, || *in regard it was the next* See to the *Elder Rome*, ſhould have precedency before all other [Sees.]

q Ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογῶμεν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν. In the *Acts of the Chalcedon Synod*, this place is worded otherwiſe, to wit, in this manner: ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, *To confeſs our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* [to be] *one and the ſame Son, with one conſent we do all teach and declare.* Which reading ſeems to me to be far the truer. *Valeſ.*

* Or, known.

† Or, runs together in. to one, &c.

* Or, eſtranged from.

† Or, alienated from the Clergy.

|| *Removed*, or, *put to flight.*

* Or, *recalled.*

† *Conſtantinople.*

|| Or, *in regard it was the ſecond after the elder Rome.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sedition which hapned at Alexandria, *on account of* Proterius's *Ordination; likewiſe,* [*concerning what hapned*] *at* Jeruſalem.

AFter theſe things, *Dioſcorus* * was baniſhed to *Gangra* [a City] in *Paphlagonia*; and by the common Vote of the Synod, *Proterius* obtaines the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*. After he had taken poſſeſſion of his own See, a great and moſt inſufferable Tumult aroſe, the populace fluctuating [and being divided] into different opinions. For ſome demanded *Dioſcorus*, as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes; Others adhered pertinaciouſly to *Proterius*. So that, thence aroſe many and thoſe deplorable calamities. 'Tis certain, *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician* does relate [in his Hiſtory,] that at that time he came [a] out of the Province of *Thebaïs* to *Alexandria*, and ſaw the people making an Attack againſt the Magiſtrates. And, that when the Souldiers would have put a ſtop to the Tumult, the people threw ſtones at them, and made them run; that after this the Souldiers took refuge in that which heretofore had been [b] *Serapis's Temple*, where the people beſieged them, and burnt them alive. That, the Emperour having notice hereof, ſent two thouſand new raiſed Souldiers thither: who having the opportunity of a fair wind, made ſo proſperous a Voyage, that they arrived at the great City *Alexandria* on the ſixth day [after they had been ſhip't.] That after this, when the Souldiers moſt filthily abuſed the wives and daughters of the *Alexandrians*, facts far more horrid and nefarious than the former, were perpetrated. And at laſt, that the people meeting together in the *Circus*, entreated [c] *Florus*, who was then Commander of the Milice [throughout *Egypt*,] *came at that time to* Alexandria. But, the Province of *Thebaïs* was not governed by a *Præfect*; but by a *Preſident*, as we are informed from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Beſides, *Priſcus Rhetor* ſays not, that the Governour of the Province of *Thebaïs*, but that he himſelf came then to *Alexandria*. *Priſcus* had indeed been long converſant in the Province *Thebaïs*, with *Maximinus* the Commander, whoſe Councellour and Aſſeſſour he was, when he waged war againſt the *Nubæ* and *Blemmyæ*, as himſelf informs us in *his Excerpt. Legationum.* In the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, I found this place written thus: φθάνει δ' ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τῆς θηβαίων ἐπαρχίας, *came by* Alexandria *from the Province of* Thebais. But I ſhould rather write it thus, φθάνει ἐς τὸν ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκ τῆς, &c. *came to* Alexandria *out of the Province of* Thebais. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading here is, φθάνει τὸν αὐτικαῦτα τὸν ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῆς θηβαίων ἐπαρχίαν.

* Or, *was condemned to dwell at*, &c.

[a] I have reſtored this place from the *Florentine Manuſcript*; to which agrees *Nicephorus*, book 15. chap. 8. *Chriſtophorſon* had mended it very ill, thus; φθάνει τὴν νικαῶτα τῶν ἀλεξανδρέων τὴν τῆς θηβαίων ἐπαρχίαν, *that the Præfect of* Thebais

[b] *Nicephorus* has added ſome paſſages here concerning *Serapis's* Temple, which are ſufficiently profound, and which I remember not to have read any where elſe. Therefore I conjecture, that *Nicephorus* wrote theſe paſſages out of *Priſcus Rhetor's Hiſtory*, which then was extant entire. *Valeſ.* See *Nicephorus's Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 15. chap. 8.

[c] Of this *Florus* (who was *Præfectus Auguſtalis* and alſo *Dux* of *Egypt*,) *Jordanes* has made mention in *his book De Succeſſione Regnorum*, where he writes thus concerning the Emperour *Marcianus*: *Nobades Blemmyeſque Æthiopia prolapſos*, &c. *He appeaſed the* Nobades *and the* Blemmyes, *(who had fallen down from* Æthiopia,) *by* Florus Procurator *of the City* Alexandria, *and drove them from the Territories of the* Romans. This *Florus* had ſucceeded *Theodorus* the *Auguſtalis*, as we are informed from *Liberatus's Breviarium*, chap. 14. Under whom *Proterius* is ordained Biſhop, and that Sedition (which *Evagrius* deſcribes here,) was raiſed at *Alexandria*, in the year of Chriſt 452. On account of which Sedition, whenas the publick [allowance of] bread-corn, (which was wont to be delivered out to the *Alexandrians*,) the *Baths* alſo, and *Shows*, by the Emperour's order had been taken from the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; the multitude met together in the *Circle*, and entreated *Florus* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, who was come to *Alexandria* a little before this, that theſe things might be reſtored to them. Therefore, this hapned on the year of *Chriſt* 453. *Valeſ.*

and

and also *Præfect* of *Alexandria*, that he would restore to them the [d] allowance of Bread-corn (which he had taken from them,) and the Baths and the Shows, and whatever else they were deprived of on account of the Sedition which had been raised amongst them. And that *Florus*, by [e] his perswasion, went into the Assembly of the people, and promised to perform all this, and so the Sedition was appeased and vanished by little and little. Nor, were affairs at the Solitude near *Jerusalem*, in a sedate posture. For some of the Monks, who had been present at the Synod, and had imbibed Sentiments contrary to those Constitutions there established, came into *Palestine*: and complaining that the Faith was betrayed, made it their business to inflame and disturb * all the Monks. And in regard *Juvenalis* had recovered his own See, and, being by the Seditious compelled to retract and *Anathematize* his own opinion, had made a journey to the Imperial City; those who embraced Sentiments contrary to the *Chalcedon Synod*, (as I have said above,) met together, [f] and in the [Church of the] *Holy Resurrection* ordained *Theodosius* Bishop, the same person who had raised great disturbances in the Synod at *Chalcedon*, and who had given them the first account of that Synod. Concerning which *Theodosius*, the *Monks* in *Palestine*, when they afterwads wrote to [g] *Alcison*, gave this account: *viz.* that having [h] by his own Bishop been detected of [the commission of] impious Facts, he had been expelled out of his own Monastery; that going afterwards to *Alexandria*, [i] he had made an attempt upon *Dioscorus*, and that, after he had been lacerated with many stripes as a Seditious person, he was set upon a Camell, in such manner as Malefactours [are usually served,] and carried all over the City. [k] To this person came [the Inhabitants of] many Cities in the *Palestines*, and procured Bishops to be ordained over themselves by him. Amongst which number was one *Petrus*, by birth an *Hiberian*, who was entrusted with the government of the Bishoprick of that Town called *Majuma*, which is hard by the City of the *Gazites*. When *Marcianus* had received information of these things, in the first place he commands *Theodosius* to be brought to Court to him. Then he sends *Juvenalis*, to rectifie what had been done; whom he ordered to turn out all those who had been ordained by *Theodosius*. After the arrival of *Juvenalis* therefore, many wicked and horrid Facts were perpetrated; as well the one Faction as the other proceeding to the commission of whatever their fury suggested to them. For the envious Devil, hated by God, had so mischievously contrived and misinterpreted the [l] change of one Letter, that notwithstanding the [m] pronouncing of the one of these [Letters] doth therewithall wholly infer the other, yet 'tis thought by most persons, that there is a vast difference between them, that the meanings of both are diametrically opposite each to the other, and that they do mutually destroy one another. For, he that confesses Christ IN TWO *Natures*, does plainly affirm him [to subsist] OF TWO *Natures*; because, whilest he confesses Christ both in the Deity and in the Humanity, he asserts him to consist [n] of the Deity and of the Humanity.

[a] Τῷ τῆς σιτηρεσίου χορηγίαν. To the Citizens of *Alexandria*, as well as to those of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, Loaves of bread were every day delivered out; as we are informed from the *fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code, Tit. De Frumento Alexandrino.* But who had been the Beginner of this thing, 'tis uncertain. *Diocletian* was the first [Emperour] who bestowed the *Panis Castrensis* [*the Camp-bread*] upon the *Alexandrians*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* relates at *Constantius Cæsar's and Maximianus Jovius Cæsar's fourth Consulate*; τῷ τῷ πῷ ἔτει (says he) ὁ χαρείσιος ἀρίθ ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ διοκλητιανοῦ ἐδωρήθη, *on this year the* Panis Castrensis *was given at* Alexandria *by* Diocletian. Which passage occurs in the very same words in the *Chronologicall Excerptions set forth by* Scaliger *at the end of* Eusebius's *Chronicon*. *Procopius* (in his *Anecdot.* pag. 119.) says this Bread-corn was allowed by *Diocletian* to the poor only of the City *Alexandria*. Which when the Citizens of that City had in after times divided amongst themselves, they then transmitted it to their posterity. *Procopius*'s words are these: Διοκλητιανὸς ῥωμαίων γενόμενος αὐτοκράτωρ οἵτε μέγα πρᾶγμα διέδοξε παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς σκευμένοις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώσειν. ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος τυνικάδε διαδικασάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐς ἀπογόνους τοὺ μέχρι δεῦρο παρέπεμψαν; Diocletian *having been made Emperour of the* Romans, *Decreed, that a vast quantity of Bread-corn should every year be given by the people to the indigent* Alexandrians. *The people having at that time quarrelled amongst their own selves about this* [*Bread-corn,*] *transmitted it to their descendants even to this day.* In which words of *Procopius*'s there is a very great fault, which *Nicolaus Alemannus* (a person otherwise of incomparable Learning) perceived not. For instead of these words [παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ, *by the people,*] it must undoubtedly be [παρὰ τῆς δημοσίας, *out of the publick stock of Corn laid up for the Emperours use.*] And, a little after, instead of these words, ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος τυνικάδε διαδικασάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, *the people having at that time quarrelled amongst themselves about this Bread-corn*;] it must be thus [ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος τυνικάδε ἰδίᾳ δωσάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, *the people having at that time privately given this* [*Bread-corn*] *amongst their own selves.*] Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. Further, long before *Diocletian*, to wit, in the times of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, the *Omogerontes* of the City *Alexandria* received Bread-corn out of the publick stock, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus* informs us in his Epistle to *Hierax* the Bishop; which Letter *Eusebius* records, *Eccles. Hist. book 7. chap. 21*; where see note *(e.)* Therefore *Diocletianus* augmented, rather than began, this distribution of Bread-corn at *Alexandria*. Vales.

[e] Translatours understood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Versions. For they thought that the word [αὐτῷ, *his*] was to be referred to *Florus*; when as it ought to be referred to *Priscus Rhetor*, out of whose History *Evagrius* has transcribed all these passages. For, *Priscus Rhetor*, in regard he was then conversant at *Alexandria*, gave *Florus* this advice, that he should go to the *Cirque*; in which place the *Alexandrian* populace were gathered together, and with great out-cries required *Florus* to come thither. *Vales.*

[f] *Christophorson* has rendred this place ill, after this manner: *in sancto die festo Resurrectionis, Theodosium designant Episcopum, on the Holy Festival day of the Resurrection, they choose* Theodosius *Bishop. Musculus* renders it righter, thus, *ordinarunt in Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Resurrectionis, Theodosium illum, &c. in the Church of the Holy Resurrection, they ordained that* Theodosius, *&c.* Concerning this Church of the *Holy Resurrection* I have made several remarks in my *Notes on* Eusebius's *Life of* Constantine. [See Valesius's *Letter to a friend, De Anastasi & Martyrio Hierosolymitano, which Letter* he has published at pag. 304. *of his notes on* Eusebius.] But, concerning this *Theodosius*, who invaded the See of *Jerusalem*, consult *Baronius* at the year of Christ 452. *Vales.*

* Τὸ μοναδικόν, *the whole society of Monks.*

[g] Instead of *Acliſon*, it must without doubt be *Alcison*; as the reading is in *Nicephorus.* These Letters of the *Monks of Palestine* to *Alcison*, are recorded by *Evagrius*, book 3. chap. 31. At which place we will say more concerning *Alcison.* Vales.

[h] Ὡς κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον ὅσιον κέκρικε. Sr *Henry Savil* had made this remark at the side of *his Copy*, *forte* παρὰ, *perhaps it should be* παρὰ, that is, *by.* So, 'tis certain, *Christophorson* and *Musculus* read; and so we have rendred it. I am very confident also, that *Evagrius* wrote it thus. But, *Transcribers of books* are wont frequently to mistake in *these two præpositions*, as 'tis known to those persons who have read over Manuscript copies. *Vales.*

[i] Ἀπελάβετο τῷ διοσκόρῳ, *he had received* Dioscorus. Sr *Henry Savil* had made a remark at the margin of *his Copy*, that perhaps the reading should be [ἐπελάβετο, *he had laid hands upon,*] which reading displeases me not. Nevertheless, I had rather write it thus, ἐπεβάλετο τῷ διοσκόρῳ. Which reading I have followed in my Version. Nor does *Nicephorus* (book 15. chap. 9.) seem to have read otherwise, who has expresst this passage in *Evagrius* thus, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλεξάνδρου διάφορον διοσκόρῳ κατέστη, *and had been an enemy to* Dioscorus *at* Alexandria. But *Musculus* and *Christophorson* saw nothing in the rendition of this place. *Vales.*

[k] Πρὸς ὃν πολλὰς ἦλθ ἐν παλαιστίνῃ πόλεων ἀφικνούμενον. I have corrected this place by the *Florentine Manuscript*, in which Copy 'tis read thus: πρὸς ὃν πολλαὶ ἦλθ ἐν παλαισίναις πόλεων ἀφικνούμεναι, *To this person came* [*the Inhabitants of*] *many Cities in the* Palestines. It had been so agreed between the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* in the *Synod of Chalcedon*, that the *Three Palestines* should be under the disposition of the Bishop of *Jerusalem.* Vales.

[l] *Evagrius* means the *Præpositions* ἐν and ἐκ, [that is, *in* and *of.*] which differ one from the other in *one Letter.* The Catholicks confest Christ *in two Natures.* The Hereticks asserted, that he consisted *of two Natures, but, which had grown together and were become one Nature.* For, after the Union of the Word, they affirmed, that the Nature of Christ was one. *Vales.*

[m] I am of the same opinion with the Learned, who instead of [ἐκφωνήσεως,] have mended it thus, ἐκφωνήσεως, *the pronouncing*; which is the same with the reading in *Nicephorus.* And so *Christophorson* read; who notwithstanding, in the rendition of this place, has in no wise expresst *Evagrius*'s meaning. In the *Tellerian Manuscript*, I found it written, ἐκφωνήσεως, *the pronouncing.* Vales.

[n] Ὁμολοῦντα ἐκ θεότητος. The term ὁμολοῦντα, [*confessing*] is to be expunged, in regard 'tis superfluous. It occurs nor in *Nicephorus*, and Sr *Henry Savil*, in his Copy, had drawn a line under it. *Vales.*

Again, he that affirms [Chriſt to ſubſiſt] *of two Natures*, the ſame perſon by a neceſſary conſequence does confeſs [him] *in two Natures*; becauſe, by his affirming Chriſt [to ſubſiſt] *of* the Deity and *of* the Humanity, he acknowledges him to conſiſt *in* the Deity and *in* the Humanity: the fleſh being neither converted into the Deity, nor the Deity *changed into the fleſh, of which [two Natures there is] an ineffable Union. So that, by this expreſſion OF TWO, may at the ſame time commodiouſly be underſtood this alſo IN TWO, and by this expreſſion IN TWO [may alſo be meant] OF TWO, the one [expreſſion] being †not different from the other. For as much as, ‖according to a copious uſe of ſpeaking, the Whole is known not only [to conſiſt] *of*, but *in* its parts. Yet nevertheleſs, men think theſe [expreſſions] to be in ſuch a manner ſeparated and disjoyned the one from the other, ([which Sentiments they are induced to give entertainment too] either from a certain uſage *about their thinking concerning God, or elſe from their being prepoſſeſſed [with a perſwaſion of mind] to have it ſo;) that they contemn [the undergoing of] all ſorts of death, rather than they will give their aſſent to the truth. And from hence aroſe thoſe [miſchiefs] which I have mentioned. In this poſture were theſe matters.

* Or, *paſſing into.*

† Or, *not relinquiſh't by the other.*

‖ Κατὰ τὸ πρέπον; which may alſo be rendred, *according to a peculiar mode of expreſſion:* but 'tis an uncouth phraſe, not often to be met with, eſpecially in ſuch a ſenſe as 'tis here uſed.

* Or, *about their opinion of God.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Drought which hapned, and the Famine and the Peſtilence: and how in ſome places the Earth in a wonderfull manner brought forth fruits of its own accord.

ABout the ſame times, there hapned *a great Drought in *both the Phrygia's*, in *both the Galatia's*, *in Cappadocia*, and in *Cilicia*; in ſo much that a ſcarcity of neceſſaries [followed,] and men made uſe of unwholeſome and deſtructive food. Whence hapned a Peſtilence alſo. For, becauſe of their change of dyet, they fell ſick, and their bodies ſwelling by reaſon of the exceſſive inflammation, they loſt their eyes: they were troubled with a Cough at the ſame time alſo, and [uſually] dyed on the third day. For the Peſtilence, no cure could then be found out. But divine providence, the preſerver of all things, beſtowed on them that were left alive, a remedy againſt the Famine. For in that barren year, food was ſhowered down out of the air, which they termed *Manna*, in the ſame manner as ['twas heretofore ſhowered down] on the *Iſraelites*. But, on the year following, the good-natured [Earth] brought forth ripe fruits on its own accord. Moreover, [this calamity] deſtroyed the Country of the *Paleſtinians*, and innumerable other Provinces; [theſe *two] miſchiefs ſpreading themſelves over the whole earth.

* Or, *a ſcarcity of ſhowers of rain.*

* *The Famine and the Peſtilence.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Murder of Valentinianus, *and the taking of* Rome; *and concerning thoſe other Emperours who governed* Rome [*after* Valentinianus's *death.*]

WHileſt theſe things *were tranſacted in the *Eaſtern* parts, *Aëtius* †is in a miſerable manner murdered at the *Elder Rome*. *Valentinianus* alſo Emperour of the *Weſtern* parts, and together with him *Heraclius*, [is ſlain] by ſome of *Aëtius*'s Guards; the Plot againſt them being framed by *Maximus* (who afterwards poſſeſt himſelf of the Empire,) becauſe *Valentinianus* had abuſed *Maximus*'s wife, having by force debauch't her. Further, this *Maximus*, by making uſe of all manner of violence, compelled *Eudoxia* (who had been *Valentinianus*'s wife,) to be married to himſelf. She, deſervedly accounting this fact to be contumelious, and the higheſt indignity, took a reſolution *to caſt every Dye* (as the ſaying is,) [to the end ſhe might be revenged] both for what had been done in relation to [the aſſaſſination of] her husband, and alſo for the reproach which had been brought upon her own Liberty. For, a woman is fierce, and of an anger *implacable, if (when ſhe uſes her utmoſt endeavour to preſerve it inviolate,) her chaſtity be forcibly taken from her, and eſpecially by him who hath been her husband's *Aſſaſſine*. She ſends therefore into †*Africa*, to *Gizerichus*, and having forthwith preſented him with many Gifts, and by her Declaration put him into a good hope of what was behind, ſhe prevails with him to make a ſudden and unexpected Invaſion upon the *Roman* Empire, promiſing ſhe would betray all to him. Which having in this manner been performed, *Rome* is taken. But *Gizerichus*, in regard he was a *Barbarian* and of a diſpoſition inconſtant and mutable, kept not *his promiſe even with her: but having burnt the City, and made plunder of all [its riches,] he took *Eudoxia* together with her two daughters, marched back, went away, and returned into *Africa*. The elder of *Eudoxia*'s daughters, by name *Eudocia*, he married to his own ſon †*Hunericus*. But the younger, (her name was *Placidia*,) together with her mother *Eudoxia*, he ſent ſome time after to *Byzantium*, attended with an Imperial Train and a Guard, to the end he might pacifie *Marcianus*. For he had highly incenſed him, both becauſe *Rome* had been burnt, and alſo in regard the Imperial Princeſſes had been ſo contumeliouſly uſed. Moreover, *Placidia* is match't by *Marcianus*'s order, *Olybrius* having married her; who was look't upon to be the eminenteſt perſonage amongſt the [*Roman*] Senatours, and after the taking of *Rome* had betaken himſelf to *Conſtantinople*. Further, after *Maximus*, [a] *Avitus* reigned over the *Romans* eight months.

* Or, *proceeded on.*

† Or, *in a miſerable manner removes from amongſt men.*

* Or, *inexorable.*

† Or, *Libya.*

* Or, *his faith.*

† Or, *Onrichus.*

* *Conſtantinople.*

[a] After *Valentinianus Placidus*'s death, and after the murder of *Maximus*, *Avitus* was proclaimed Emperour, firſt at *Tolouſe*, and then at *Orleance*, in *Valentinianus*'s *eighth Conſulate* [which he bore] with *Anthemius*, in the year of Chriſt 455, on the ſixth of the *Ides* of *July*; as 'tis recorded in the *Old Chronicon*, which *Cuſpinianus* firſt publiſhed in *his Faſti*. On the year following, the ſame *Avitus* was Conſul, as 'tis related in the *Faſti* which *Jacobus Sirmondus* has publiſh't under the name of *Idatius*: and on the ſame year he was depoſed at *Placentia*, as *Marius* and *Caſſiodorus* inform us in their *Faſti*, as likewiſe that *Old Chronographer* put forth by *Cuſpinianus*. But, on what day, and in what month *Avitus* reſigned the Empire, I do not find declared

by

by the Ancients. Indeed, *Sigonius* (in *his fourteenth book de Occidentali Imperio,*) writes, that *Avitus* resigned the Empire on the *sixteenth* of the *Calends* of *June*. But *Sigonius* quotes no Author of this thing. The words of *Cuspinianus's Old Chronographer* are these: *Joanne & Varane Coss. captus est Imp. Avitus*, &c. *In the Consulate of* Joannes *and Varanes, the Emperour Avitus is taken at* Placentia *by* Ricimeres *master of the Milice. And his* Patritius Messianus *is slain, on the sixteenth of the* Calends *of* June. From this place therefore *Sigonius*, induced thereto by conjectures, thought that *Avitus* had put off his purple, and that *Messianus* had been slain, on one and the same day; although the *Old Chronographer* affirms not that. For, *that sixteenth of the Calends of June* is referred to the murder of *Messianus*, not to *Avitus's* deposition. 'Tis certain, if what *Evagrius* relates here be true, (*viz.* that *Avitus* reigned eight months,) his deposition must necessarily fall on the month of *March* in the year 456. *Idatius*, in *his Chronicon*, seems to attribute three years Reign to *Avitus*. For, his words are these: *Avitus tertio anno posteaquam à Gallis & à Gothis factus fuerat Imperator, caret Imperio, Gothorum promisso destitutus auxilio, caret & vitâ*, Avitus *on the third year after he had been made Emperour by the* Galli *and the* Gotthi, *wants his Empire, being disappointed of the promised assistance of the* Gotthi, *is deprived of his life also*. But, in the *Manuscript Copy*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* made use of, this place is read thus: *Tertio anno, Avitus septimo mense posteaquam à Gallis & à Gothis factus fuerat Imperator*, &c. *On the third year*, Avitus *on the seventh month after he had been made Emperour by the* Galli *and* Gotthi, &c. *Jacobus Sirmondus*, perceiving that these two were inconsistent, omitted these two words [*septimo mense, on the seventh month*] in *his Edition*; but he had done better, if he had expunged these two [*tertio anno, on the third year.*] For *Avitus* did not reign three years, but seven or eight months only, which months were part of two Consulates. For which reason 'tis affirmed by some Writers, that he reigned two years. *Cedrenus*, 'tis certain, writes thus in *his Chronicon*. Vales.

[b] *Musculus* and *Christophorson* read λιμῷ, *by the Pestilence.*

He having ended his life by the [b] Pestilence, [c] *Majorianus* held the Empire two years. After *Majorianus* had been traecherously slain by *Ricimeres, Master of the Milice, Severus* possest the Empire three years.

Which reading is in my judgment truer than the other, to wit, λιμῷ, *by Famine*. For, 'tis not probable, that *Avitus* (who after he had resigned the Empire, was made Bishop of *Placentia*, as *Victor Turonensis*, and *Marius in his Chronicon*, do relate;) should have dyed by Famine. Notwithstanding, *Nicephorus* has retained the Vulgar reading. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is [λιμῷ, *Famine,*]

[c] *Majorianus* [or *Majourinus*] governed the *Roman* Empire four years and as many months, as the *Old Chronographer* publisht by *Cuspinianus* informs us; to whom agree *Idatius* and *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon*. *Severus*, who succeeded him, reigned almost the same space of years, as the same writers relate. But these things hapned after the death of the Emperour *Marcianus*, during *Leo Augustus's* government of the *Eastern Empire*. Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the death of Marcianus, *and the Empire of* Leo. *And how, the Hereticks of* Alexandria *slew* Proterius, *and gave that Arch-Bishoprick to* Timotheus Ælurus.

[a] *Evagrius is out.* *Marcianus Augustus* dyed in the Consulate

MOreover, [a] during *Severus's* Governing the *Romans*, *Marcianus* changed his Kingdom, and departed to a better Inheritance, when he had Governed the Empire [b] seven years only, of *Constantinus* and *Rufus*, on the year of Christ 457, in the month *February*. *Majorianus* was proclaimed Emperour at *Ravenna* in the same year, on the *Calends* of *April*, that is, almost two months after *Marcianus's* death. To whom succeeded *Severus*, on the year of Christ 461, in the Consulate of *Severinus* and *Dagalaïfus*, almost five years after the Emperour *Marcianus's* death. Further, this *Severus* was by another name termed *Serpentius*, as *Theophanes* informs us in *his Chronicon*, pag. 97, in these words, καὶ ἐπίρρη σεβῆρος ὁ καὶ σερπέντιος. *And Severus, called also* Serpentius, *was Proclaimed*. For so it must be read, as the most Learned *Franciscus Combefisius* has rightly conjectured. 'Tis certain, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle* he is so termed. For, on the *fifteenth Indiction*, *Leo Augustus* is put Consul the second time with *Serpentinus*. Now, 'tis manifestly known, that on this year *Severus Augustus* was Consul with *Leo*. For so *Cassiodorus* relates in *his Fasti*, and also the *Old Author* publish't by *Cuspinianus*. Vales.

[b] *Marcianus* reigned six years and as many months, as *Marcellinus* relates, and *Victor Tunonensis* in *his Chronicon*. He began his Reign in the year of Christ 450, on the eighth of the *Calends* of *September*, on the *fifth Feria*, as 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. And he dyed on the year of Christ 457. about the close of the month *January*, as *Theodorus Lector* informs us, with whom agrees the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*. For this Authour says, that *Leo*, who succeeded *Marcianus*, was proclaimed in the month *Peritius*, on the seventh of the *Ides* of *February*. So *Marcianus* reigned six years five months and some few days. *Vales.*

having left amongst all men a [c] truely royall Monument. The *Alexandrians*, informed of his death, with much more animosity and a greater heat of mind, renewed their rage against *Proterius*. For, the multitude is a thing with the greatest ease imaginable blown up into a rage, and which snatches hold of the most triviall occasions as fuell for Tumults. But above all others, the [populace] of *Alexandria* [are of this humour, which City] abounds with a numerous multitude made up mostly of an obscure and [d] promiscuous company of Foreigners, which by an unexpected and unaccountable boldness and precipitancy, [e] breaks out into violence and rage. 'Tis therefore for certain reported, that any one there who [makes complaint] [f] of the breaking any thing of small value [which he carries,] may incite the City to a popular Tumult, and may lead and carry [the multitude] whither, and against whom he pleases. For the most part also they are delighted with jests and sports, as § *Herodotus* relates concerning *Amasis*. And this is the humour of the *Alexandrians*. Nevertheless, as to other things, they are not such a sort of persons, as that any one may despise them.

[c] *Nicephorus* has interlined this place after this manner: καὶ μνημεῖον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῷ βασιλείαν καταλελοιπῶς, *and having left his Empire a monument to all men.* *Christophorson* followed the same sense, as 'tis apparent from his rendition. For he translates it thus: *Exemplari verè Regio omnibus ad intuendum relicto, A truly Royall Exemplar being left* [by him] *to the view of all persons.* *Musculus* has rendred it in this manner; *Et memoriam sui verè Imperia'em apud cunctos mortales reliquisset, And had left a truly Imperial memory of his own self amongst all mortalls.* But *Evagrius* does not say this, but, that *a monument manifestly Royall* was left by *Marcianus* amongst all men. Now, *that monument* can be nothing else, than either his own life religiously spent, or rather the *Chalcedon Synod*, which he had ordered to be convened, to take away the dissentions of the Church, and whereat he himself, agreeable to the Example of *Constantine the Great*, would be present. In regard therefore, that Synod had been convened and perfected by his labour and diligence, it may deservedly be stiled *the Work and Monument of the Emperour* Marcianus. *Vales.*

[d] Συσκιάσας. In the *Florentine* M. S. the reading is, συσκιάσω. Notwithstanding, the Rules of Grammar require that we should write σύσκιασι, as Sr *Henry Savil* had remarked at the margin of *his Copy*. *Suidas* in *his Lexicon* explains συσκιάσων ἀνθρώπων by these terms, συμμίκλων, ἐπιλύδων, παρεισάκλων, *promiscuous, extraneous persons, such as are brought in unawares.*——*Nicephorus* has explained this word elegantly thus: μυείῳ πλήθει καὶ ὅθεν δήποτε ἥκουσι, *a numerous multitude, and which comes from any place whatever.* Vales.

[e] Τὰς ὁρμὰς γαυρώμενον. Something seems to be wanting here, which may perhaps be supplyed, by adding a *Præposition*, thus, κατὰ τὰς ὁρμὰς γαυρώμενον, *breaks out into violence and rage.* Vales.

[f] In the incomparable *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. this place is written thus: τὸ φορτικὸν καταῤῥήξαντι. *Nicephorus* has explained this place excellently well, in this manner: καὶ φασὶν ἔξον τῷ βουλομένῳ παντὶ τὸ φορτικὸν αἰτίαν πομπαμένῳ ῥᾴδιον εἰς πᾶσαν ἀναθαλεύειν τὸν δῆμον, *And they say, that every one who will make use of an obvious* [light, or triviall] *occasion, may quickly enrage the people* [and incite them] *to a Sedition.* *Christophorson* read καταῤῥήξαντι. For he renders it thus: *Aiunt plebeium quemque modò ipse voluerit principium dare, &c. They say that every ordinary fellow, provided he be willing to give the Onset, may inflame that City* [and excite it] *to a popular and civil Sedition.* But I approve not of this emendation. For, what shall become of these words, τὸ φορτικόν? I embrace therefore the reading in the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* M. SS. *viz.* τὸ φορτικὸν καταῤῥήξαντι; and render the whole passage thus: *'Tis therefore for certain reported, that any one there who* [makes complaint] *of the breaking any thing of small value* [to wit, a glass vessel, pot, or any such like thing, which he carries,] *may incite the City to a popular Tumult. Pollio* (in *Emilianus*) confirms the same, where he speaks thus concerning the *Egyptians* in general: *Et hoc familiare est populo Ægyptiorum*, &c. *And this is usual with the* Egyptians, *that, like furious and madmen, upon any triviall occasions they may be induced* [to involve] *the Publick in the greatest dangers. On account of their being past by unsaluted, by reason of their not having a place allowed them in the Baths, because their flesh and pot-herbs may have been taken from them, on account of their servile shooes, and other such like occasions as these, they have by Sedition often arrived at the highest peril of the Republick.* Vales. § The passage in *Herodotus*, which *Evagrius* points at here, occurs in B. 2. of *his History*, pag. 157, *Edit. Paul. Stephens*, 1618. Vales.

The *Alexandrians* therefore obſerving the time, when *Dionyſius* Commander of the Milice made his Reſidence in the *Upper Egypt*, make choice of one *Timotheus*, ſurnamed *Ælurus*, to aſcend the Archi-Epiſcopal-Chair; a perſon who heretofore had followed a Monaſtick Life, but afterwards was enrolled amongſt the number of the Presbyters of the *Alexandrian* Church. When they had led this perſon to the *Great Church*, called [h] *Cæſar's*, they ordain him their Biſhop, whileſt *Proterius* was as yet living, and perſonally officiating in his Epiſcopal Function. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Peluſium*, and *Peter* of *Iberia* [Biſhop] of the little Town *Majuma*, were preſent at the Ordination; as *he who wrote Peter's Life*, has told us, in his account of theſe tranſactions. Which writer affirms that *Proterius* was not murdered by the people, but by one of the Souldiers. Further, after *Dionyſius* had made his return to the City [*Alexandria*] with the greateſt celerity imaginable, (to which he had been urged by the nefarious facts there perpetrated,) and was uſing his endeavours to extinguiſh the kindled fire of the Sedition; ſome of the *Alexandrians*, incited thereto by *Timotheus*, (as the Contents of the Letter written to *Leo* [the Emperour] do declare,) murder *Proterius* by running their ſwords through his bowells, when he attempted to get away, and had fled as far as the moſt Holy *Baptiſtery*. And after they had tied a rope about him, [they hung him up] at that place termed *The Tetrapylum*, and ſhewed him to all perſons, jeering and crying out aloud, that that was *Proterius* who had been killed. After this, they drag'd the body all over the City, and then burnt it. Nor did they abhor taſting of his very bowells, according to the uſage of Savage-beaſts; as the *Supplicatory Libell* (wherein all theſe paſſages are contained,) ſent by all the Biſhops of *Egypt*, and by the whole Clergy of *Alexandria*, to *Leo*, who after *Marcianus's* death, as hath been ſaid, was inveſted with the Empire of the *Romans*, [doth evidence;] the Contents whereof are conceived in theſe expreſs words.

[h] The *Great Church* of the City *Alexandria*, was termed *Cæſaria*, as *Epiphanius* informs us, in *Hæreſ. Arian*, and *Liberatus*, in *his Breviarium*, cap. 18. But *Socrates* (Book 7. chap. 15.) ſays the name of that Church was *Cæſarium*. *Athanaſius* declares the reaſon of this Appellation (in *his Epiſt. ad Solitar.*) to wit. becauſe that Church had been built in a place which heretofore was called the *Cæſarium*, that is, *the Temple of the Cæſars*. There had been a School in the ſame place alſo, and a pallace of the Emperour *Adrian's*, which in ſucceeding times was termed *Licinius's Pallace*, as *Epiphanius* atteſts. *Valeſ.*

To the Pious, Chriſt-Lover, and by-God-deſigned *Leo*, *Victor*, *Triumphator*, and *Auguſtus*; The humble Addreſs preſented by all the Biſhops of Your *Ægyptick* Dioceſis, and by the Eccleſiaſticks in Your Greateſt and Moſt Holy Church of the *Alexandrians*.

Whereas by Celeſtiall Grace You have been beſtowed as a moſt Eximious Gift upon the World, 'tis no wonder if You ceaſe not (Moſt Sacred Emperour!) daily, after God, from making Proviſion for the Publick. And after ſome other words. *And whileſt there was an uninterrupted peace amongſt the* Orthodox *Laity, both with us, and alſo at the City* Alexandria, [*diſturbances were raiſed*] *again by* Timotheus, *who made a ſeparation of himſelf from the Catholick Church and Faith, and cut himſelf off* [*therefrom,*] *ſoon after the holy Synod at* Chalcedon, *(at which time he was but a Presbyter,) together with four or five perſons only, heretofore Biſhops, and ſome few* Monks, *who together with him, were diſtempered with the Hereticall errour of* Apollinaris *and* * *that perſon. On which account having then been canonically depoſed by* Proterius *of divine memory, and by a Synod of* [*the Biſhops of*] *all* Egypt, *they deſervedly experienced the Imperial diſpleaſure* † *by Exile.* And after ſome words interpoſed. *And* || *having taken his advantage of that opportunity, when the Emperour* Marcianus *of Sacred* * *Memory made his departure hence to God; with impious Expreſſions (as if he had been ſubject to no Laws,) he in a moſt ſhameleſs manner raged againſt* [*and reproach't*] *the ſaid Emperour: and impudently* Anathematizing *the Holy and* Oecumenicall Synod *at* Chalcedon, *he draws after him a multitude of* || *Mercenary and diſorderly fellows, with whom he has made war, contrary to the Divine Canons, and to the Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitution,* [*in oppoſition*] *to the Republick, and to the Laws; and* † *has violently thruſt himſelf into the Holy Church of God, which at that time had its Paſtour and Teacher, Our moſt Holy Father and Arch-Biſhop* Proterius, *who then Celebrated the uſuall Religious and ſolemn Aſſemblies, and poured forth his prayers to* Chriſt *the Saviour of us all, for Your Religious Empire, and for Your* Chriſt-loving *Palace.* And, after the interpoſition of a few words. *Then, after the ſpace of one day, when (as 'twas cuſtomary) the moſt pious* Proterius *continued in the* Biſhops Pallace, Timotheus *taking with him two Biſhops who had been legally depoſed, and* [*ſome*] *Eccleſiaſticks, who, as we have ſaid, had in like manner been condemned to dwell in Exile;* ([i] *as if he could have received Ordination from two* [*Biſhops;*] *not ſo much as one of the* Orthodox *Biſhops throughout the* Egyptick-Dioceſis *being there, who are always wont to be preſent at ſuch Ordinations of the Biſhop of the* Alexandrians:) *takes poſſeſſion; as he ſuppoſed, of the* Archi-epiſcopal Chair; *audaciouſly attempting manifeſtly to commit adultery upon that Church, which had its own* Bridegroome, *who performed the divine* [*offices*] *therein, and canonically adminiſtred his own See.* And after ſome other words. *That Bleſſed perſon* [Proterius] *could do nothing elſe, than (as 'tis written,)* * Give place unto wrath, *and make his eſcape to the adorable* Baptiſtery, *that he might avoid their incurſion, who ran in upon him to murder him: in which* † *place moſt eſpecially, a dread and terrour is uſually infuſed into the minds even of* Barbarians, *and all other Savage and cruell perſons, who are ignorant of the adorableneſs of that place, and of the Grace flowing therefrom. Nevertheleſs, theſe* [*Ruffians,*] *who uſed their utmoſt endeavour to bring that deſigne to effect, which from the beginning* [*they had laid with*] Timotheus; [*theſe Butchers*] *who would not ſuffer* Proterius *to be preſerved even within thoſe immaculate* * *Rails; who revered neither the* † *ſanctity of the place, nor the time it ſelf; (for* [k] *it was the* Feſtival-*day of the* Salutary Eaſter;) *who dreaded not* [*the dignity of*] *the Sacerdotall Function, to which*

* Τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν· they mean *Eutyches*; and ſo *Valeſius* renders it.

† Σὺν ὕβρει, *with exile.*

|| Or, *having obſerved the time.*

* Or, *reſt.*

|| Or, *follows that may be bought.*

† Ἐπεφώρησεν ἑαυτὸν; the true import of which words is (if our *Engliſh tongue* would bear ſuch an expreſſion,) *has ſwell'd himſelf into.*

[i] I have mended this place from the *Florentine* M.S. in which Copy (inſtead of καὶ δὴ χειροτονίαν παρὰ μὴ δυὸ δεξάμενος, *and moreover, receiving ordination from two;*) the reading is, ὡς δὴ χειροτονίαν, &c. *as if he could have received ordination from two* [*Biſhops.*] In the *fourth Canon of the Nicene Councill*, 'tis in expreſs words eſtabliſhed, that a Biſhop is to be ordained by at leaſt three Biſhops of his own Province. *The old Tranſlatour* of this Letter read as we do; whoſe verſion is extant in *the third part of the* Chalcedon *Synod*. Where his Rendition is this, *tanquam manus impoſitionem ſuſcepturus a duobus, as if about to receive impoſition of hands from two.* Valeſ.

* Rom. 12. 19.

† *Viz.* the *Baptiſtery.*

* Wherewith the *Baptiſtery* was encompaſſed.

† Or, *reverence.*

[k] *Liberatus* (in *his Breviarium*, chap. 15.) relates, that *Pro-*

terius was not murdered on the Festival of *Easter*, but three days before. For these are his words: *Et ante triduum Paschæ*, &c. *And on the third day before Easter, whereon the Lords Supper is celebrated, Proterius of holy memory is by the multitudes themselves shut up in the Church, whither out of fear he had betaken himself. And there on the same day in the Baptistery, he is slain, torn in pieces, cast out, and his Corps is burnt, and his ashes are strewed into the winds.* All which *Liberatus* has almost word for word written out of *the Gesta de nomine Acacii*, which we owe to *Jacobus Sirmondus*. Valef.

[1] Instead of [διαλομών τε καταμέλει] it must undoubtedly be written thus: διατεμόντες κατὰ μέλη, *cutting it in pieces*, or, *limb from limb*. Instead of μέλη, the reading in the *Florent.* M. S. is μέλθ; which is a very small difference. *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation, at book 15. chap. 17; who has it expressly written as I had conjectured. Further, this *Supplicatory-Libell of the Bishops of the* Egyptick *Diœcesis to the Emperour* Leo, if any one has a mind to read it entire, occurs *in Latine*, in the *third part of the* Chalcedon *Synod*, chap. 11. *Valef.*

Moreover, *Zacharias* giving a Narrative of these matters [in *his History*,] is of opinion, that most of these things were done [in such a manner as I have related them;] but says they were occasioned by *Proterius*'s fault, who had raised most grievous Seditions at *Alexandria*: [he affirms likewise,] that these Facts were audaciously perpetrated (not by the people, but) by some of the Souldiers; which affirmation he grounds on the Letter written by *Timotheus* to [the Emperour] *Leo*. Further, in order to the punishing these enormities, *Stilas* is sent by the Emperour *Leo*.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Emperour Leo's Circular Letters.

ALso, *Leo* wrote *Circular Letters* to the Bishops throughout the whole *Roman* Empire, and to those persons eminent for their leading a Monastick life; asking their opinion, both concerning the *Synod* at *Chalcedon*, and also about *Timotheus* surnamed *Ælurus*'s Ordination: he sent to them likewise Copies of the *Supplicatory-Libells* presented to him, as well by *Proterius*'s Party, as by that of *Timotheus Ælurus*. The Contents of the *Circular Letters* [of *Leo*] are these.

A Copy of the most Pious Emperour *Leo*'s Sacred Letter, sent to *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and to the *Metropolitanes*, and other Bishops over the whole world.

Emperour Cæsar, Leo, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, *always* Augustus; *to* Anatolius *the Bishop*. *It was the desire and Prayer of Our Piety, that the most Holy* Orthodox *Churches, and also* [all] *the Cities* * *of the* Roman *Empire, should enjoy the greatest Peace imaginable, nor that any thing should happen, which might disturb their Constitution and Tranquillity. But, what* [disturbances] *have lately hapned at* Alexandria, *are (we are fully perswaded,) already made known to* Your Sanctity. *Nevertheless, that you may have a more perfect account concerning all things, what the Causes were of so great a Tumult and Confusion; We have transmitted to* Your Piety *the Copies of the* Supplicatory-Libells, *which the most Pious Bishops and* Ecclesiasticks, *coming from the foresaid City* [Alexandria] *and from the* Ægyptick Diœceses, *to the Imperial City* Constantinople, *have brought to* Our Piety *against* Timotheus: *and moreover, the Copies of the* Supplicatory-Libells, *which* [*some persons,*] *coming from* Alexandria *to Our Divine Court on* Timotheus's *account, have presented to* Our Serenity: *so that,* Your Sanctity *may apparently know what hath been done by the foresaid* Timotheus, *whom the populacy of* Alexandria, *the* [a] Honorati, *the* Decuriones, *and the* Navicularii, *desire to have for their Bishop;* [and *that you may have an account*] *concerning other matters* [b] *contained in* The Text *of the* Supplicatory-Libells; *and moreover, concerning the* Chalcedon Synod, *to which* [*the forementioned persons*] *do in no wise agree, as their* Supplicatory-Libells, *here underplaced, do demonstrate. Let therefore* Your Piety *cause all the* Orthodox *and Holy Bishops, who at present are resident in this Imperial City, as likewise the most Pious Ecclesiasticks, forthwith to come together unto You. And having with great care* * *treated of, and enquired into all things; (for as much as the City* Alexandria *hath already been disturbed, the State and repose whereof is our greatest care;) acquaint us with Your Sentiment concerning the foresaid* Timotheus, *and concerning the* Chalcedon Synod, *without any humane fear, and without affection or hatred, placing before your eyes the only fear of the Omnipotent God, in regard you well know, that you shall give an account concerning this affair to the incorrupt Deity. That so, We having been perfectly informed of all things by Your Letters, may be enabled to* * *promulge an accommodate Edict.*

* Or, *under the Government of the* Romans.

[a] Ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ ναυκληροι. Who these ἀξιωματικοὶ, and who were termed πολιτευόμενοι, I have already shown in my *Notes* on *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 14. and pag. 225. [the ἀξιωματικοὶ, whom we render *the Honorati*, were those persons who bore the Civill dignities as well in the Cities, as in the Provinces; the πολιτευόμενοι were the Decuriones.] *Gregorius Nazianzenus* joyns them both together, in *his* 49th *Epistle to Olympius*, where his words are these: πάντας πολίτας τε καὶ πολιτευτὰς καὶ ἀξιωματικούς. That is, *all the Citizens, the Decuriones, and the Honorati.* The same *Gregorius*, in *his* 22d *Epistle to the Casarienses*, joyns the same persons both together, in these words; τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀξιωματικῷ καὶ βουλευτικῷ πλήθει; that is, *all those who are of the Order of the Honorati, and of the Decuriones. The old Translator* therefore of this Letter, renders this passage truly, thus, *Honorati & Curiales & Naucleri, the Honorati, the Curiales, and the Naucleri.* The *Naucleri* were the Masters of the Vessells in the River *Nyle*, who conveyed the Corn and publick Provisions from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*. *Aurelianus* seems to have instituted *their Body*, as he himself shews in *his Epistle to Arabianus*, which is cited by *Vopiscus*. These *Naucleri*, or *Navicularii* were a Society of Sea-faring men, ordained for Transportation of Corn and publick Provisions in severall quarters of the Empire; (for there was a Body of them in the *East*, another in *Africk*, and a third at *Alexandria*;) they were a set number, and transported the said provisions at their own expence, succeeding by turns in the charge and burthen; to which their sons and heirs were lyable, as were also those who possest their estates after them, according to that proportion which they possessed. To this Function they were always obnoxious, so that scarcely could they be excused by any great honour obtained. They were forced to build Ships and Vessells of certain burthens; but the materialls for them were supplied by the Country. Their charge was great, and so were their priviledges, as may be seen by Various laws extant concerning them in the *Theodosian Code*. Valef.

[b] I am of the same opinion with Sr *Henry Savill*, who at the margin of *his Copy* had remarkt, that in his judgment the reading should be περιεχομένων, *contained*: so *Christophorson* read; and 'tis so in *Nicephorus*,

phorus, book 15. chap. 18. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is παρεχομένων, *given*, or, *exhibited.*

This was the Letter ſent to *Anatolius*. [The Emperour] wrote Letters like this, to other Biſhops alſo, and to thoſe eminent perſons, who (as I have ſaid, at that time * lead a life void of the furniture [of living] and remote from matter. Of which number was *Symeones*, the firſt Inventer of the Station † in a pillar, whom we have mentioned in the *Firſt* [*Book of our*] *Hiſtory:* amongſt whom alſo were *Baradatus* and [c] *Jacobus* the *Syrians*.

* Or, *lead an unfurniſh't and immaterial life:* he means the *Monks*.

† Or, *upon.*

[c] *Nicephorus Calliſtus* terms this *Jacobus*, *Niſibenus*, and adds, that mention is made, as well of him, as of *Varadatus* [or, *Baradatus*,] by *Theodoret* in *his Hiſtoria Religioſa*. Notwithſtanding, *Theodoret*, in chap. 21. of *his Hiſtoria Religioſa* does not ſay, that *Jacobus* was a *Niſibene*; which thing *Theodoret* would not in any wiſe have omitted, if *Jacobus* had indeed been a *Niſibene*. For, whereas he notes, that this *Latter Jacobus* was like the *former Jacobus Niſibenus*, not only in name, but in manners, and dignity, (for both of them were Prieſts;) if he had been a *Niſibene* alſo, *Theodoret* would in no wiſe have omitted that at that place. Neither, does *Theodorus Lector* (*Collectan. book* 1.) make this *Latter Jacobus*, who anſwered *Leo Auguſtus's Circular Letters*, a *Niſibene*; nor yet *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 96. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle of *Theodoret's*, written to this *Jacobus*, in which he terms him *a Presbyter* and *a Monk*. Inſtead of *Baradatus*, *Theophanes* ſtiles him *Bardas*, corruptly as I think. In the *Third part of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 375. amongſt the Monks, to whom the Emperour *Leo* wrote Letters, the firſt named is the *Monk Jacobus Niſibenus*, then *Symeones* and *Baradatus*. *Ephremius* Biſhop of *Antioch* makes mention of them alſo, in *his Epiſtle ad Monachos* Σπουδαίους, that is, *Severianos*; and in *his third Oration*, which he wrote to the *Monks Domnus and Johannes*, as it occurs in *Photius*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning thoſe things which the Biſhops and Symeones *the* Stylite *wrote in anſwer* [*to the Emperour* Leo's Circular Letters.]

IN the firſt place therefore, *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome* wrote in defence of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and diſallowed of *Timotheus*'s Ordination, [a] as having been illegally performed. Which Letter of *Leo*'s, the Emperour *Leo* ſent to *Timotheus* Prelate of the *Alexandrian* Church, and by [b] *Diomedes* the [c] *Silentiarius*, who was imployed in carrying the Imperiall Mandates. Sr *Henry Savil*; who inſtead of [ᾧ ἀθέσμως, *and having been illegally*] have mended it thus [ὡς ἀθέσμως γενομένην, *as having been illegally performed.*] 'Tis certain, in theſe books of *Evagrius*, ᾧ was moſt frequently put inſtead of ὡς; which we, following the authority of the M. S. Copies, have mended. But at this place, in regard the Manuſcript Copies differed not from the printed ones, we ſcrupled the altering of any thing. *Valeſ.*

[a] I am of the ſame mind with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savil*

[b] The name of this *Silentiarius* was wanting in the ordinary Editions, and in *Nicephorus*. We have put it in, from the incomparable *Florentine Manuſcript*; wherein 'tis plainly and expreſsly written thus; διομήδους σιλεντιαείου, *by Diomedes the Silentiarius.* Concerning the *Silentiarii* I have heretofore obſerved ſomething in *my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*. Valeſ.

[c] *Nicolaus Alemannus* (in *his Hiſtoricall Notes on* Procopius's *Hiſtoria Arcana*, pag. 103, Edit. Lugd. 1623,) tells us, that the *Silentiarii*, whom *Procopius* (as he remarks,) ſometimes terms *Domeſtici* and *Protectores*, *were Officers of the greateſt honour about the Emperour, in regard they were of the Emperour's inmoſt Chamber*; on which account they were alſo termed *Cubicularii*. He ſays further, that the *outward Chamber* (out of which there was an immediate paſſage into the very Chamber of the Emperour, by reaſon of the ſilence there kept in Reverence to the Emperour,) was termed *Silentium, the Silence*; which the Greeks by a corrupt name called σιλεντιείκιον: whence theſe *Cubicularii* had the name of *Silentiarii*. *Meurſius* (in the word σιλεντιάριος) makes *two Orders* of theſe Officers: the firſt was a meaner ſort of Office, *their buſineſs was to command the people to be ſilent and quiet.* The other Order of the *Silentiarii* was far more honourable; *they were*, ſays Meurſius, *over the Secrets of the Emperour, and are reckoned amongſt the Clariſſimi.* See Dr *Howell*'s account of theſe Officers, *Part* II. *of his Hiſt.* chap. 1. pag. 51.

To whom *Timotheus* returned anſwer, wherein he blamed the *Chalcedon Synod*, and [found fault with] *Leo*'s Letter. The Copies of theſe Epiſtles are extant [d] in *that Collection of Letters termed the Encyclicæ*. But I have deſignedly omitted the inſerting them, becauſe I * would not have this preſent Work ſwell to a Greatneſs of bulk. The Biſhops of other Cities likewiſe ſtedfaſtly adhered to the Sanctions [of the Synod] at *Chalcedon*, and † unanimouſly condemned *Timotheus*'s Ordination. Excepting only [e] *Amphilochius* [Biſhop] of *Side*; who wrote a Letter to the Emperour, wherein he cryed out indeed againſt *Timotheus*'s Ordination; but admitted not of the Synod at *Chalcedon*. *Zacharias* the *Rhetorician* has written concerning theſe very affairs, and has inſerted this very Letter of *Amphilochius*'s into *his Hiſtory*. Moreover, *Symeones* of Holy Memory, wrote two Letters concerning theſe matters, one to the Emperour *Leo*, another to *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. Of which two Letters, I will inſert into this my Hiſtory that which he wrote to *Baſilius*, in regard 'tis very ſhort; the Contents whereof are theſe.

* Or, *I would not bring a greatneſs upon this preſent work.*

† Or, *with all ſuffrages.*

[d] Ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἐγκυκλίοις. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood this place very ill, as it appears from his Verſion: for he renders it thus: *iſtarum Epiſtolarum Exemplaria extant in litteris Leonis Imperatoris generatim ad omnes ſcriptis*, &c. *The Copies of theſe Epiſtles are extant in the Emperour* Leo's *Letters, which he wrote in general to all perſons*, &c. But *Liberatus Diaconus*, in *his Breviarium*, chap. 15. does incomparably well declare, what theſe *Encyclicæ* [that is, *Circular Letters*] were, in theſe words. *Imperator ſcripſit ſingularum civitatum Epiſcopis de utroque negotio*, &c. *The Emperour wrote to the Biſhops of every City, concerning each affair, conſulting what ought to be done*, &c. *Who return anſwer, that the* Chalcedon *Synod is to be vindicated even unto bloud: but, that* Timotheus *was not only not to be reckoned amongſt the Biſhops, but to be deprived even of the Chriſtian Appellation. And theſe Epiſtles or Relations of all the Biſhops, in one body of a book, are termed Encyclicæ.* Further, *theſe Encyclicæ*, tranſlated almoſt all into *Latine*, are extant in the *third part of the* Chalcedon *Synod, pag.* 372, *&c. of the* Cologne *Edition*; an *eximious piece of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity*, which I heartily wiſh were extant *in Greek*. There is mention made of theſe *Encyclicæ* in *Victor Tunonenſis*'s *Chronicon*. Valeſ.

[e] There is mention of this *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Side*, in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*, chap. 52. Where the Letters of *Atticus* and *Siſinnius* Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, written to him, are recorded. The ſame *Amphilochius* was preſent at the *Epheſine* and *Chalcedon Synods*, as 'tis apparent from the *Synodick Acts*. Further, *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, book 9, does atteſt, that this *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Side*, although at the beginning he had affirmed in his Letters to the Emperour *Leo*, that he could in no wiſe give his aſſent to the *Chalcedon Synod*, yet ſome little time after conſented and ſubſcribed to that ſame Synod. *Eulogius*'s words are related by *Photius* in *his Bibliotheca*, pag. 879; *Edit. David. Hoeſchel.* 1611. Valeſ.

To my moſt Pious and moſt Holy Lord, the Religious *Baſilius* Arch-Biſhop; the Sinner and mean *Symeones* [wiſheth] health in the Lord.

It is now, My Lord, opportune to ſay, Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away our Prayer, nor [*removed*] *his mercy from us ſinners. For, on receipt of the Letters of* Your Dignity, *I admired the Zeal and Piety of our Emperour moſt dear to God, which he hath ſhown, and* [*now*] *does demonſtrate towards the Holy Fathers, and their moſt firm Faith. Nor is this Gift from us, according as the Holy Apoſtle ſaith; but from God, who through our Prayers hath given* * *Him this propenſity and ſingular earneſtneſs of mind.* And, after ſome few words. *Wherefore, I my ſelf, a mean perſon and of ſlender account,* † *the* untimely birth of the Monks, † Ἔκτρωμα μοναχῶν; See 1 Cor. 15. 8. *have made known my Sentiment to* his Imperial Majeſty *concerning the Faith of the* ſix hundred and thirty Holy Fathers *convened at* Chalcedon; *who do perſiſt in, and am grounded upon*

* *The Emperour.*

upon that Faith which has been revealed by the Holy Spirit. For, if our Saviour is present amongst two or three who are gathered together in his Name, * how could it possibly be amongst so many, so great, and such Holy Fathers, that the Holy Spirit should not have been with them from the beginning? And, after the interposition of some words. Wherefore be strong, and behave your self valiantly in the defence of true piety; in such manner as Jesus the Son of Nave, the Servant of the Lord, [behaved himself] in defence of the Israelitish people. Give, I beseech you, my Salutes to all the Pious Clergy under Your Sanctity, and to the blessed and most faithfull † Laity.

* Or, how could he [our Saviour] have had a place amongst so many, so great, and such Holy Fathers, unless the Holy Spirit had been with them from the beginning?

† Or, people.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Banishment of Timotheus Ælurus, *and the Ordination of* Timotheus Salophaciolus; *and concerning* Gennadius *and* Acacius [*Bishops*] *of* Constantinople.

After these things, *Timotheus* is condemned to be banished, he also [as well as * *Dioscorus*] being ordered to dwell at *Gangra*. The *Alexandrians* therefore † elect another *Timotheus* to succeed *Proterius* in that Bishoprick: this [*Timotheus*] some persons termed [a] *Basilicus*, others [called him] *Salophaciolus*. *Anatolius* dying [in this interim,] *Gennadius* succeeds in the Chair of the Imperial [City *Constantinople*.] And after him *Acacius*, who had presided over *The Orphans Hospital* at the Imperial City.

* See chap. 5.

† Or, elect Timotheus another Bishop successour to Proterius.

[a] Οἱ μὲν βασιλικὸν. So also *Nicephorus* writes it. But in *Liberatus's Breviarium*, chap. 16, this surname of *Timotheus* is written far otherwise. For *Liberatus*'s words are these: *Et exilio relegatur* Timotheus Ælurus *Chersonam arctâ custodiâ, & sit pro* Proterio Timotheus *cognomento* Salophaciolus *sive* Asbus, *And* Timotheus Ælurus *is conveyed into banishment to* Chersona *under a close guard, and in* Proterius's *stead* Timotheus, *surnamed* Salophaciolus, *or* Asbus, *is made* [*Bishop*.] But in *Liberatus* it must be written *Albus*; as *Theophanes* informs us in these words (See *his Chronicon*, pag. 56,) πμδ'Θ· δὲ ἄλλος δόκλαν λδκδς, ὁ καὶ σαλοφακιόλιος ἐχειροτονήθη, *But another* Timothy *surnamed* Albus, *called also* Salophaciolus, *was ordained*. *Cedrenus* relates the same. What must we say therefore? Shall we affirm that in *Evagrius* it must be written *Albus*, instead of *Basilius*? Or, does *Salophaciolus* import something that is royall? Indeed, φασιολὸν *in Greek* signifies *fascia*, which may be taken for *a royall Diadem*. But, nothing of certainty can be gotten out of this *Surname*, in regard 'tis variously written in ancient writers. *Vales.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Earthquake which hapned at Antioch, *Three hundred fourty and seven years after that* [*which had hapned*] *in the times of* Trajane.

[F]Urther, on the second year of *Leo*'s Empire, there hapned a great and vehement motion and shaking of the earth at *Antioch*; some [Facts] perpetrated with the utmost rage and fury imaginable, and which far exceeded the most superlative Ferity of Beasts, having before-hand been committed by the populacy of that City; which [facts] were the prelude as 'twere to such mischiefs as these. Now, this most calamitous accident hapned on the five hundredth and sixth year [a] of *Antioch*'s being entitled to all the priviledges and immunities of a free City, about the fourth hour of the night that * preceded the fourteenth day of the month *Gorpiæus*, (which month the *Romans* term *September*,) the *Lords day* approaching, [b] on the eleventh ‖ partition of the Cycle; this is related to have been the sixth [Earthquake which shaked *Antioch*,] three hundred [c] fourty and seven years having passed, from the time that that [Earthquake] had hapned [which came to pass] in *Trajan*'s Empire. For that [Earthquake in *Trajan*'s time] hapned on the hundredth [d] fifty ninth year of *Antioch*'s being entitled to the priviledges and Immunities of a free City.

* Or, led to.

‖ Or, indiction.

[a] Χρηματίζοντος τῆς πόλεως. When Provinces submitted themselves to the *Roman* Empire, 'twas usual for the Emperour to cause an Edict to be drawn up, and proclaimed openly upon the place. The Tenour whereof was, first to entitle the Emperour himself to all respects of dominion and supremacy over that people, and then secondly to abate from this by a popular insinuation of all possible sacredness and Liberty of the *Provincialls*. A particular instance hereof, as it relates to this very City *Antioch*, is produced by M[r] *Jo. Gregory of Oxford* (see *his works* pag. 156, *Edit. London*, 1665,) from *Johannes Antiochenus's M. S. Geograph.* book 9; in these words: καὶ προεξέθη ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ ἡ ἐλευθερία αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἐχρίσθη ὑπὸ ῥωμαίων, &c. *And when the City* Antioch *had yielded it self up to the subjection of the* Roman *Empire, an Edict of the Liberties thereof was sent by* Julius Cæsar, *and publickly proclaimed at* Antioch *upon the twentieth of* May: *the Contents whereof were these,* AT ANTIOCH THE HOLY, SACRED AND FREE CITY, THE METROPOLITAN QUEEN, AND PRESIDENT OF THE EAST, CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, &c. The Provinces usually returned the honour of these priviledges back upon the Emperour, by this way of acknowledgement. That they might keep the Emperour's Grace in perpetuall memory, they reckoned all their publick affairs ever after from that time; χρηματίζη ἔν (continues the same *Johannes Antiochenus*) ἡ μεγάλη ἀντιόχεια, &c. *Therefore* Antioch *the Great, in honour of the Emperour, fixed its* Æra *in* Caius Julius Cæsar, *and made this year of Grace the first.* On which account, this *Æra* of theirs, which precedes *that of our Lords Nativity* fourty eight years, was peculiarly called χρηματισμὸς τῆς ἀντιοχέων, because at the fixing hereof, the Emperour did χρηματίσαι ἑαυτὸν, *publickly name himself to all the title of dominion*; and also χρηματίσαι αὐτοὺς, *publickly entitle them to all priviledges and immunities*.

[b] Ἀνὰ τὸν ἐνδεκάτον ὀπηνέμησιν τῶ κύκλω ἑκτὸς πυχάνειν ἱστορέμενον, &c. *Musculus* has rendred this place very ill. But *Christophorson*, in regard he could not understand the meaning of these words, omitted them in his version. Indeed, this place tortured me a long while and very much. Notwithstanding, at length I found the meaning of it to be this. After *Evagrius* has set forth the time wherein the Earthquake hapned at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Leo Augustus*, by certain Notes, to wit, of the year, month, week, day, and *Indiction*: in the last place he adds these words, τῶ κύκλω ἕκτ]Θ·. That is, that that Earthquake had hapned without any turning of the *Cycles*, three hundred fourty seven years compleat after that Earthquake which had hapned in *Trajan*'s times. For this note of time hath no *Cycle*. But the former notes of time assigned by *Evagrius*, are [notes] of the *Cycles* or *Periods*. For, an *Indiction* is a *Cycle* of fifteen years, and a week, a month, and a year, are *Circles* and *Periods* always recurring. This therefore is my Sentiment concerning the explication of this place: Nevertheless, if any one shall produce a more certain account of this passage, I will not refuse to alter my opinion. See *Evagrius*, book 3. chap. 33; and note *(b)* there. This place may also be taken otherwise, by changing only the accent, in this manner, ἕκτ]Θ· πυχάνειν ἱστορέμενον. That so the sense may be this. *This is said to be the sixth Earthquake which shaked Antioch.* Nor, do I now doubt, but this is the true interpretation of this place. In the *Tellerian Manuscript*, I found it plainly written [ἕκτ]Θ·, *the sixth*] with an *asperate*, and the accent in the first syllable. *Vales.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* is the same with that set at the beginning of this note. In the Greek Text of *Valesius*'s Edition, this place is pointed and accented thus: ἀνὰ τὸν ἐνδεκάτον ὀπηνέμησιν τῶ κύκλω, ἕκτ]Θ· πυχάνειν ἱστορέμενον, &c. which reading and punctation we have followed in our version.

[c] I have restored this place from the incomparable *Florentine* M.S. wherein 'tis plainly written thus: ζ' καὶ μ'; that is, *fourty and seaven*. The reading in *Nicephorus*, at book 15. chap. 20. is altogether the same, *Vales.* And so 'tis in *Robert Stephens's Edition* also; notwithstanding *Valesius*'s saying that he restored this place.

[d] *Baronius* in *his Ecclesiastick Annals*, at the year of Christ 111, says that *Evagrius* is mistaken, in affirming, that that Earthquake which came to pass at *Antioch* in *Trajan*'s Reign, hapned on the year (according to the *Antiochians* account) 159. For, that Earthquake hapned in the Consulate of *Messala* and *Pedo*, as 'tis manifest from *Dion*,

Dion, who aſſerts that the Conſul *Pedo* periſhed in that Earthquake. Further, the Conſulate of *Meſſala* and *Pedo* fell on the year of Chriſt 115, as 'tis agreed amongſt all Chronologers. It was then, according to the *Antiochians* account, *the hundredth ſixty third year*, not *the hundredth fifty ninth year*, as *Evagrius* ſays. For, the years of the *Antiochians* precede *Chriſt's Nativity fourty eight years*. Moreover, concerning theſe years of the *Antiochians*, amongſt the Ancients the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* has ſpoken beſt of all, *in the affairs of Julius Cæſar*: but, amongſt the Moderns, *Dionyſius Petavius* [gives us the beſt account hereof] in *his books de Doctrina Temporum*, and in the *ſecond part of his Rationarium, chap.* 14. To *which Author* nevertheleſs I can't give my aſſent in this which he affirms, *viz.* that the beginning of theſe years is deduced from the month *October*, which was the popular [or, ordinary] beginning of the year amongſt the *Antiochians*. In *my Annotations on Euſebius* [See *Euſeb. book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, chap. 1. note (*e.*)] I have, in my judgment, ſufficiently demonſtrated, that the *Antiochians* began their year from the month *Dius*, or *November*. Nor, is that true which *Petavius* writes at the ſame place, *viz.* that the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* ſeems to deduce the beginning of theſe years from the month *May*. For the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* does not ſay that; he affirms only, that the *Decree of the Senate*, whereby *Antioch* was pronounced a free City, was received by the *Antiochians* on the month *May*, and then alſo publickly propoſed. *Valeſ.*

But this [Earthquake] in the times of *Leo* [hapned] on the five hundredth and ſixth year, as 'tis declared by the moſt accurate and diligent Writers. Further, this Earthquake ruined almoſt all the houſes of the *New City*, the Inhabitants whereof were very numerous, nor was there any part of it empty, or wholly neglected; but 'twas extraordinary beautified and adorned by the [preceding] Emperours magnificence, who ſtrove to out-doe one another [in that thing.] Likewiſe, the firſt and ſecond fabrick of the Pallace fell down; but the other buildings continued ſtanding, together with the adjoyning Bath; which having been uſeleſs before, at ſuch time as this calamitous accident hapned, was of neceſſity [made uſe of] for the bathing of * the Citizens, the other Baths having been ruined. Moreover, the *Porticus*'s before the Pallace fell down, and the *Tetrapylum* [which ſtood] behind them. Beſides, the Towers of the *Hippodrome* which [were] near the Gates, and [c] ſome of the *Porticus*'s which led to theſe [Towers fell.] In the old City the *Porticus*'s and houſes were wholly untouch't by the Ruine: but ſome ſmall part of *Trajan*'s, *Severus*'s, and *Adrianus*'s Baths, was ſhaken, and overturned. This Earthquake alſo ruined ſome [parts] of the *Geitonia* of [that Region] termed the [f] *Oſtracine*, together with the *Porticus*'s, as likewiſe that termed the [g] *Nymphæum*. Every of which particulars *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* has related with a ſingular accuracy.

* Or, *the City.*

[c] In the incomparable *Florentine Manuſcript* this whole place is written thus: καὶ τὸ ἱππο-δρόμιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὰς δύσεις πυρσὲς, καὶ πύλας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ στοᾶν, *Beſides, the Towers of the* Hippodrome [*or* Cirque] *which* [*were*] *near the gates, and ſome of the* Porticus's *which lead to thoſe* [*Towers, fell.*] Which doubtleſs is the better reading. The Gates of the *Cirque* were fortified with two Towers on each ſide. There were alſo ſome *Porticus*'s, which led to thoſe Towers, from the gates of the *Cirque*, as I ſuppoſe. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found it written, πυλὰς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὰς στοῶν, *ſome of the* Porticus's [*which led*] *to thoſe* [*Gates.*] Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens*, this whole clauſe is worded thus: καὶ τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰς δύσεις πύρσες, καί τινας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ στοᾶν, *and the Towers of the* Hippodrome *from the Gate, and ſome of the* Porticus's [*leading*] *from them.*

[f] Inſtead of [Oſtracinia,] the reading in the *Florentine and Tellerian* M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*, is truer; which is thus, *Oſtracine*. Our *Evagrius* mentions this place again, at chap. 8. book 6. But what the *Oſtracine* was, 'tis hard to ſay.—*Geitonia* is a *continuation of houſes which received* [*or ſtood behind*] *the publick Porticus*'s. Which *Libanius* alſo confirms in *his Antiochicus*, pag. 372. Edit. *Paris* 1627. It was termed *Oſtracine*, becauſe the *Potters-workhouſes* were there. The *Old Gloſſes* render ὀστρακινον, *fictile, a thing made of Potters-earth.* Valeſ.

[g] So the *Greeks* termed the *Temple of the Nymphs*; which *Libanius* deſcribes in *his Antiochicus*, pag. 372. *Edit. ut prius.* Valeſ.

This Writer therefore affirms, that a thouſand Talents of Gold were by the Emperour remitted to the City out of the *Tributary Function*; and that, to the Citizens [were abated] the [h] yearly Tolls paid to the publick Treaſury for thoſe houſes which had been deſtroyed by that calamity: and moreover, that the [i] ſame [Emperour] took care of the publick [works and] buildings.

[h] In the verſion of this place, both Tranſlatours have erred. For *Muſculus* renders it thus: *Dicit etiam mille auri Talenta Civitati illi ab Imperatore de tributis eſſe remiſſa; & ex Tributis quoque conſtitutum eſſe, ut civibus illis qui eâ calamitate adfecti erant, ædes ipſorum ſimulque publica ædificia reſtaurarentur*; *He ſays alſo, that a thouſand Talents of Gold were by the Emperour remitted to that City of the Tributes*; *and that 'twas conſtituted out of the Tributes alſo, that to thoſe Citizens who had been affected with that calamity, their houſes together with the publick Edifices ſhould be repaired.* But *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner: *Ait porro, tum Civitati de Tributis mille auri Talenta ab Imperatore eſſe condonata, tum Civibus etiam Vectigalia qui eâ clade afflicti erant*; *he ſays further, that both to the City a thouſand Talents of Gold of the Tributes were remitted by the Emperour, and alſo the Taxes* [*or, Cuſtoms*] *to thoſe Citizens, who had been afflicted with that calamity.* Where you ſee, that both Tranſlatours referred theſe words [τῆς ἠφανισμένων] *to the Citizens*; which is in no wiſe to be born with. For *Evagrius* would not have ſaid τοῖς πολίταις τῆς ἠφανισμένων, but rather τοῖς ἠφανισμένοις. *Nicephorus* therefore underſtood theſe words righter, to wit, concerning the houſes of private men, the Taxes whereof the Emperour remitted to the Citizens of *Antioch*. Nevertheleſs, *Nicephorus* has not fully apprehended *Evagrius*'s meaning. For thus he expreſſes this place of *Evagrius*: καί γε διὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τοῦτον χίλια χρυσᾶ τάλαντα βασιλέα φασὶν ἀφεῖναι τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐπισίων φόρων τὰ τέλη, τῆς ἠφανισμένων οἰκιῶν κτισμάτων. That is, as *Langus* renders it; *Terræ motus iſtius gratiâ*, &c. *And becauſe of this Earthquake, and on account of the houſes ruined, the Emperour, 'tis reported, forgave the City a thouſand Talents of Gold, the Tributes of the Annuall payments.* But *Evagrius*, or rather *Johannes* the *Rhetorician*, ſays more. For he affirms, that the Emperour remitted to the *Antiochians* a thouſand Talents of Gold of the Tributary Function; but forgave to each Citizen the Tributes of thoſe houſes which had been ruined by the Earthquake. Now *theſe Tributes* may be underſtood in a twofold ſence; Either (1.) concerning the annuall Penſion which by Hirers was paid to the Owners [or Lords,] of the houſes; Or (2.) concerning the money which was paid to the *Fiſcus* [Exchequer,] becauſe thoſe houſes had been built upon the publick Soyle. In ſuch manner as amongſt us, an annuall rent is wont to be paid by poſſeſſours of houſes, as well in the City as Country, to the Lords of the Soyle. And in this latter ſenſe I had rather take τὰ τέλη [*the Tributes*] here. For this word is more frequently uſed to ſignifie Tributes, Tolls, or Cuſtomes, which are paid to the publick. But if this term ſhould be ſo taken here, as to ſignifie the price of houſes which is uſually paid by the Hirer, there would have been no liberality of the Emperour's in that. For he would have given nothing of his own to the Citizens, but that which was another's. *Valeſ.*

[i] Inſtead of [ὁπωσοῦν δὲ τούτων] the reading undoubtedly muſt be τοῦτον, *the ſame*; adde the words ὁ βασιλεὺς, *Emperour.* And thus *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read. Further, concerning this Earthquake, *Iſaac Syrus* had written *an Elegie*, as *Marcellinus* attells in *his Chronicon*, in theſe words: *Patricio & Ricimere Coſſ.* &c. *In the Conſulate of* Patricius *and* Ricimeres, Iſaac *a Presbyter of the* Antiochian *Church wrote many things in the* Syrian *Language, and eſpecially againſt the* Neſtorians *and* Eutychians. *He likewiſe bewailed the ruine of Antioch in an Elegie, in ſuch manner as* Ephren Diaconus *did the fall of* Nicomedia. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Fire which [*hapned*] *at* Conſtantinople.

[a] THere hapned together with theſe [miſchiefs] a like, or rather a far more grievous [calamity] at *Conſtantinople*; this miſchievous accident

[a] 'Tis not amongſt Authours agreed concerning the year whereon this fire hapned at *Conſtantinople*. For *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* place it on the fifth year of *Leo*, in the *fifteenth Indiction*, *Leo Auguſtus* being the *ſecond time* Conſul with *Severus*, which was the year of Chriſt 462. But *Marcellinus Comes* and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* place this fire of *Conſtantinople* in the Conſulate of *Baſiliſcus* and *Hermenericus*, that is on the year of Chriſt 465. Our *Evagrius* ſeems to have followed the former opinion. For the verb [συνηνέχθη, *hapned together,*] which he uſes at this place, gives an indication of what I have ſaid; to wit, that that Conflagration of *Conſtantinople* hapned no long time after the *Antiochian* Earthquake. Further, concerning that fire wherewith the City *Conſtantinople* was conſumed in the times of *Leo Auguſtus*, *Candidus Iſaurus* does alſo write, in the *firſt book of his Hiſtory*, and relates that many things were uſefully ordered therein by *Aſpar* the *Patritius*. Valeſ.

cident

cident began in that part of the City that lay towards the Sea, which they term the [b] *Ox-Street*. 'Tis reported, that about such time as Candles are usually lighted, a certain mischievous and execrable Devill having clothed himself in the shape of a woman, or rather in reality a poor woman instigated by the Devill, (for 'tis reported both ways;) carried a Candle into the Market, being about to buy some * Salt-fish; and that the woman set down the Candle there, and went away. And, that the fire having taken hold of some Flax, raised a vast flame, and in a moment burnt † the Market-house. After which, that it easily consumed the adjoyning buildings, the fire preying all about, not only upon such [houses] as might with ease be fired, but upon Stone-buildings also; and that it continued till the fourth day; and that, having exceeded all possibility of being extinguished, all the middle of the City, from the Northern to the Southern Quarter, five furlongs in length, and fourteen in breadth, was in such a manner consumed; that nothing, either of the publick or private buildings, was left [standing] within this compass, not the Pillars, nor Arches of Stone: but, that all the most hardned matter was burnt, as if it [had been straw, or] any such combustible stuff. Further, this calamitous mischief raged in the Northern part,* wherein is the Haven of the City, from that termed the † *Bosporos*, unto the *Old Temple* of *Apollo*. In the Southern part, from *Julianus*'s Haven to those houses which stand not far off from that Oratory termed the Church of [c] *Concordia*. And in the middle part of the City, from that termed *Constantine*'s Forum, to that called *Taurus*'s *Forum*, [it left] a miserable and most deformed spectacle to [the view of] all men. For, whatever Edifices] had stood stately to behold in the City, or had been brought to a Magnificence and incomparableness of Beauty, or * accommodated to publick or private uses, were every one on a sudden transformed into mountains and hills, inaccessible and impassible, made up with all manner of Rubbish, which deformed the Pristine Beauty and sight [of the City.] In so much that even the possessours themselves of the places could not discern, what any one of those former [Edifices] had been, and in what place [it had stood.]

[b] He means the *Portus Phosphorianus*, which was in the *fifth Region* of the City, as the *old description* of *Constantinople* informs us. The *Greeks* termed it φωσφόριον and βοσπόριον; as *Constantinus Porphyrogennetus* tells us in *his second book de Thematibus* about the end, and *Georgius Codinus* in *his book de Originibus Constantinopolitan.* 57. Vales.

* Or, *Salt-meat.*

† Or, *the houses.*

* Or, *wherein are the Havens of the City.*

† Or, *Ox-street.*

[c] The Church of *Homonœa* [or *Concord*, [was in *the ninth Region* of the City *Constantinople*, as the *Old description* of that City informs us. Why this Church had this name, we are told by *Theodorus Lector* in book 4. *of his Eccles. History*; whose words are cited by *Johannes Damascenus* in *his* 3[d] *book de Imaginibus*. For, it was called ὁμόνοια [*Concord*,] because the hundred and fifty Fathers of the *Constantinopolitane Synod* in the Reign of *Theodosius the Great* [See *Socrates's Eccles. Hist.* book 5. chap. 8.] meeting therein, agreed in one opinion concerning the *Consubstantiall Trinity*. Vales.

* Or, *called.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the universall Calamities.

[a] About the same times, when the [b] *Scythian* War was raised against the *Eastern-Romans*, the Country of *Thracia*, and the *Helespont*

[a] Instead of [ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις,] it would be better written thus, ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, *about the same times.* Vales.

[b] *Evagrius* means the War which the *Hunni* waged against the *Eastern Romans*, under the command of *Dengizich* Son of *Attilas*, in the Consulate of *Zeno* and *Marcianus*, on the year of Christ 469; as *Marcellinus Comes* relates in *his Chronicon*. Nevertheless the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* places that War on the foregoing year, whereon *Anthemius Augustus* was Consul. ἐπὶ τότε τοῦ ὑπατείας γιζίεριχος ὁ ἀτίλα ἐτράφη ὑπὸ ἀναστάσε τὸ σπαθαλάτε θράκης, &c. *under the same Consul* Ginzirichus *Son to* Attilas *was slain by* Anagastus Magister Militum [*Master of the Milice*] *of* Thracia: I reade *Dengizichus*, from *Priscus Rhetor*, who describes this War, pag. 44, 45, *of the King's Edition*. Further, this *Anagastius Magister Militum* throughout the *Thracia's*, who slew *Dengizichus* King of the *Hunni* in Battle, had succeeded *Arnegiscl us Magister Militum*. Vales.

were shaken with an Earthquake; as was *Ionia*, and likewise those Islands called the *Cyclades*: in so much that in the Islands *Cnidus* and *Coos* very many [buildings] were overturned. Further, *Priscus* relates, that at *Constantinople* and in the Country of the *Bithynians*, there hapned most violent storms of rain, the waters descending from heaven in the manner of Rivers, for the space of three or four days. And, that mountains were levelled into Plains, and Villages, overwhelmed with waters, perished. Moreover, that Islands arose in the Lake *Boäne*, (which is not far distant from *Nicomedia*,) from the vast quantity of dirt and filth conveyed into it. But these things came to pass sometime afterwards.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Marriage of Zeno *and* Ariadne.

[Moreover,] *Leo* takes *Zeno* to be his Son in Law, by [giving him] his daughter *Ariadne* in Marriage. This person having from his Cradle been called [a] *Aricmesius*, after his Marriage assumed the name of *Zeno* from a certain [b] person so named, who had arrived at great glory amongst the *Isauri*. But, by what means this *Zeno* arrived at this heighth of Honour, and on what account he was by *Leo* preferred before all persons, *Eustathius* the *Syrian* has declared.

[a] In the most excellent *Florentine Manuscripts*, and in *Nicephorus*, instead of [ἀεικμῆσον, *Aricmesius*,] 'tis ἀεικμήσιον, *Aricmesius*. Further, *Ariadne* married *Zeno* on the third year of *Leo Augustus*'s Reign, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon*. Vales.

[b] He means *Flavius Zeno*, who was Consul in the Reign of *Theodosius Augustus*, on the year of Christ 448, and *Magister Militum* throughout the East. Concerning whose singular power, see what I have written in *my Annotations at Priscus Rhetor's Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 207, *of the Kings Edition*. Vales.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Anthemius *Emperour of* Rome, *and those Emperours who succeeded him.*

BY reason of an Embassie of the *Western Romans* [to Leo,] *Anthemius* [by him] is sent [and created] Emperour of *Rome*, to whom *Marcianus* the preceding Emperour had married his own daughter. [Not long after,] *Basiliscus* brother of *Verina* the wife of *Leo* [*Augustus*,] is sent *Master of the Milice* against [a] *Gizerichus*, with a choice Army of Souldiers.

[a] Concerning that vast Army, which the Emperour *Leo* sent against the *Vandals* into *Africk*, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and *Idatius* in *his Chronicon*, are to be consulted. Concerning the preparations of the same war *Candidus Isaurus* writes also, in the *first book of his History*; the passage whereof, because 'tis not yet extant, I will annex here: Κανδίδος ἱστοριογράφος φησὶν ὅτι ὁ λέων ὁ μακέλλης, ὁ μὴ μαρκιανὸν βασιλεύσας, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπιτροπείαν τῷ τῆ Ζανδίλων ἀπειρία χρήματα δεδαπάνηκε. ἡδὲ γε ὡς οἱ πάντα ἐφανέρωσε κεχειροτόνητες, διὰ μὴν τὴν ὑπάρχων χρυσίου λίτρας πεντεκαιμυρίας ἐπτακαιχιλίας. διὰ δὲ τὸ πομπ[illegible]

τῆς θεσώμιχῶν, ἐπακισχίλιαι φερὲς μυείαις, καὶ ἀργυρίᾳ λίτρᾳ ἑπτακόσιαι χιλιάδες. ὅτε τῆς ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ δημοσίμων καὶ ἐν τῷ βασιλέως ἀνδρείᾳ; that is, Candidus *the* Hiſtoriographer *ſays, that* Leo, *termed alſo* Macelles, *who reigned after* Marcianus, *ſpent an innumerable ſum of money in an Expedition againſt the* Vandalls. *For, as thoſe have atteſted who furniſhed that money, fourty ſeven thouſand pounds of Gold were diſburſed by the Præfecti Prætorio: by the Comes Largitionum were ſpent ſeventeen thouſand pounds of Gold, and of Silver ſeven hundred thouſand pounds: in regard this charge was abundantly ſupplyed, partly by the Goods of perſons proſcribed, and partly by the Emperour* Anthemius. This eminent paſſage is extant in *Suidas*, in the word χειρίζω; but the Authours name is corrupted. In the ſame place of *Suidas*, inſtead of [τῆς ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων,] it muſt be made [τῆς ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχιατίων, &c.] Further, this *Vandalick Expedition* hapned on the year of Chriſt 468, as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved; which is confirmed by *Cedrenus*, *Idatius* and *Marcellinus*. Two years after this, another Expedition againſt the *Vandalls* was undertaken by the Commander (*dux*) *Heraclius*, and *Marſus*, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon*, who is the only perſon that I know of, who has made mention of this Expedition. For *Procopius*, in *his Vandalicks*, has confounded this ſecond Expedition with the former. Further, this ſecond Expedition had an event fortunate enough. For *Gizerichus* being put into a fear, was compelled to make a Peace with the *Oriental Romans*. Valeſ.

All which have with great accuracy been recorded by [b] *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician:* as likewiſe in what manner the ſame [Emperour] *Leo* killed *Aſpar* (who had inveſted him with the Empire, whom he circumvented by Treachery, rendring him this reward, as 'twere, of his own promotion;) and his Sons *Ardaburius* and *Patricius*, whom ſome time before he had created *Cæſar*, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of *Aſpar*'s [c] favour and benevolence. But, after the murder of *Anthemius*, who had Reigned five years at *Rome*, *Olybrius* is proclaimed Emperour by *Recimeres*; and after him *Glycerius* is made Emperour. Whom [d] *Nepos* having expelled, during the ſpace of five years holds the Empire, and ordains *Glycerius* [e] Biſhop of the *Romans* at *Salonæ* a City of *Dalmatia*. Afterwards *Nepos* is driven from the Empire by *Oreſtes*, and after him his Son *Romulus*, ſurnamed *Auguſtulus*, is made the laſt Emperour of *Rome*, [f] one thouſand three hundred and three years after the Reign of *Romulus*. After this [*Auguſtulus*,] *Odoacer*, rejecting the name of Emperour, and ſtyling himſelf King, [g] adminiſtred the affairs of the *Romans*.

[b] *Priſcus* had at large deſcribed this *Vandalick War* in the *laſt book of his Hiſtories*, as (beſides *Evagrius*) *Theophanes* informs us in *his Chronicon* pag. 100. But the place is corrupted, which I will annex here: ὕστερον δὲ δώρεαις τισὶ μιζείχε καὶ πλείσοις χρήμασι δελεασθείς, ἐνέδωκεν, καὶ ἡττήθη ἑκών, ὡς περσικὸς ἱστόρησεν ὁ θρᾷξ, *But having at laſt been wheadled and allured by gifts and many riches, by* Gizerichus, *he yielded, and was voluntarily vanquiſhed, as* Perſicus *the* Thracian *has related.* It muſt undoubtedly be written thus, ὡς πείσθη ἱστόρησεν ὁ θρᾷξ, *as* Priſcus *the* Thracian *has related.* For *Priſcus* the *Hiſtorian* has deſcribed that war, as *Evagrius* atteſts. Now, *Priſcus* was a *Thracian*, born at *Panium* a Town of *Thrace*, which Town is mentioned by *Hicrocles*. *Provincia Europa ſub Conſulari urbes quatuordecim. Eudoxia, Heraclia, Arcadiopolis, Biſue, Panion, Orni, &c. The Province Europa under a Conſularis* [*contains*] *fourteen Cities. Eudoxia, Heraclia, Arcadiopolis, Biſue, Panium, Orni, &c.* Beſides, *Suidas* does alſo affirm, that *Priſcus* the *Writer of the Hiſtories* was a *Panite*. Valeſ.

[c] As to my ſelf it ſeemeth, I have reſtored this place not unhappily, after this manner: ἵνα πρὸ ἄσπαρ ἔυνοιαν κλήσηται, *that he might poſſeſs himſelf of* Aſpars *favour and benevolence.* *Cedrenus* confirms our emendation, at the twelfth year of *Leo Auguſtus*, in theſe words: τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ ὁ ἄσπαρ υἱὸς παλαικὸ καίσαρ ὑπὸ τὸ λέοντος γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πέμπεται διὰ τὸ ἐλκύσαι τ' ἄσπαρ ἐκ τῆς αἱρεσιακῆς δόξης, καὶ ἔυνοεῖν ποῖησαι τῷ βασιλεῖ; *on the ſame year alſo* Patricius, Aſpars *ſon, is created Cæſar by* Leo, *and is ſent to* Alexandria *to draw off* Aſpar *from the* Arian *opinion, and to make him faithfull and kind to the Emperour.* And *Theophanes* expreſſes it thus: τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει, &c. *On the ſame year* Patricius *the ſon of* Aſpar, *whom the Emperour* Leo *had made Cæſar, went to* Alexandria, *with a deſign to draw off* Aſpar *from* Arianiſme, *and to render him faithfull and friendly to the Emperour.* Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is, ἵνα πρὸ ἄσπαρ ἄνοιαν κτήσηται, *that he might poſſeſs himſelf of* Aſpars *madneſs.*

[d] The prepoſition μὴ is to be expunged, which led Tranſlatours into a miſtake. For *Nepos* was not made Emperour on the fifth year after *Glycerius*'s depoſition, but on the ſame year whereon *Glycerius* had been rejected. (as 'tis related in the *Old Faſti* which *Cuſpinianus* ſet forth;) that is, on the year of Chriſt 474. After this, *Nepos* held the Empire five years. For he was ſlain when *Baſilius* was Conſul alone, on the year of Chriſt 480; as *Marcellinus* atteſts in *his Chronicon*, and as 'tis affirmed by the *Old Authour* of the *Faſti*, whom *Cuſpinianus* publiſhed. From which Authour we are informed, that *Julius Nepos* retained the name of Emperour untill his death. *Valeſ.*

[e] 'Tis falſe, that *Glycerius* from being Emperour was made Biſhop of *Rome*. Nor is it true, that he was conſtituted Biſhop of *Portue*, which ſome have affirmed, following *Marcellinus* as their Authour. Notwithſtanding, *Marcellinus* does not ſay ſo. For his words are theſe: *Leone ſolo Coſ. Glycerius Cæſar Romæ Imperium tenens*, &c. Leo *being Conſul alone*, Glycerius *Cæſar holding the Empire of* Rome, *is driven from the Empire by* Nepos, *ſon of the ſiſter of* Marcellinus *heretofore* Patricius; *and of a Cæſar is ordained a Biſhop in the Port of the City* Rome. But in *Marcellinus* the punctation is to be altered thus: *Imperio expulſus Portu Urbis Romæ, ex Cæſare Epiſcopus ordinatus eſt, being driven from the Empire in the Port of the City Rome, of a Cæſar is ordained a Biſhop.* Our emendation is confirmed by the *Old Authour* of the Faſti, whom I have quoted above; [whoſe words are theſe;] *Domino Leone Juniore Auguſt Coſ. dejectus de Imperio Glycerius in Portu Urbis Romæ, dominus* Leo *Junior* Auguſtus *being Conſul*, Glycerius *is caſt from his Empire in the Port of the City* Rome. 'Tis certain, *Jordanes*, in *his book de Succeſſione Regnorum*, affirms that *Glycerius* was made Biſhop at *Salona*. *Jordanes*'s words are theſe: *Occiſoque Romæ* Anthemio Nepotem *filium* Nepotiani, *&c. And having killed* Anthemius *at* Rome, *he created* Nepos *ſon of* Nepotianus (*to whom he married his Neece,*) *Cæſar at* Ravenna, *by* Domitianus *his Client. Which* Nepos *having legally obtained the Empire, expelled* Glycerius, (*who had given the Kingdom to himſelf in a Tyrannick manner,*) *from the Empire, and made him Biſhop in* Salona *of* Dalmatia. At this place therefore in the Greek Text, the word [ῥωμαίων, *of the Romans*] muſt be expunged, or rather tranſpoſed after this manner; τῆς ἀρχῆς ῥωμαίων κρατεῖ, ἐπίσκοπόν τε τ' γλυκέλεον, &c. *holds the Empire of the* Romanes, *and ordains* Glycerius, *Biſhop, &c.* Valeſ.

[f] *Marcellinus Comes*'s computation is truer, who in *his Chronicon* writes thus concerning this *Romulus*: *Baſiliſco & Armato Coſſ.* &c. *In the Conſulate of* Baſiliſcus *and* Armatus, *the Weſtern Empire of the* Roman *Nation* (*which* Octavianus Auguſtus *the firſt of the* Auguſti *began to hold on the ſeven hundreth and ninth year from the building of the City,*) *periſhed with this* Auguſtulus, *on the year of the Reign of the Emperours his predeceſſours* DXXII. *Jordanes* has the ſame words in *his book de Succeſſione Regnorum*. Now, this ſum makes one thouſand two hundred thirty and one years. Therefore *Cedrenus* muſt be corrected, who from *Romulus* the Builder of the City, to this *Romulus Auguſtulus*, reckons but one thouſand and eighty years. *Valeſ.*

[g] The reading in *Robert Stephens* is [ὀπιχειρίζεται, *attempts*;] without doubt it ſhould be [ἐγχειρίζεται, *takes in hand*,] as *Nicephorus* words it, book 15. chap. 11. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found it written [μεταχειρήζεται, *adminiſtred*,] which reading pleaſes me beſt. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Death of Leo, *and the Empire of* Leo Junior, *and alſo concerning* Zeno *his Father.*

AT the ſame time the Emperour *Leo* ended his Reign at *Byzantium*, after he had Governed the Empire ſeventeen years, having declared *Leo* (the ſon of his own daughter *Ariadne* and *Zeno*) a very young child, Emperour. After * his death, his Father *Zeno* † aſſumes the Purple, *Verina* the wife of *Leo* giving him her aſſiſtance, as being her ſon in Law. The child [*Leo Junior*] dying not long after, *Zeno* continued ſole poſſeſſour of the Empire. But, what was tranſacted by him or againſt him, and whatever elſe hapned [in his times,] the following Book, by God's aſſiſtance, ſhall declare.

* To wit, the death of *Leo the Elder*.

† Or, *Inveſts himſelf with the Purple-Robe.*

[a] *The End of the Second Book,*

[a] Before the following (to wit, the eighteenth) chapter, in the incomparable *Florentine Manuſcript* theſe words were written, τέλος τῆς ς' λόγε, *The end of the Second Book*. Then, after the [ſeventeenth] chapter, theſe words occur: εἰσὶν ὡς ἐν ὀπτομῇ τὰ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν χαλκηδόνι συλλεγείσῃ κεκινημένα ἐν τούτοις, *The matters agitated at the Synod convened at* Chalcedon, *being reduced into an Epitome, are theſe.* Valeſ.

The matters agitated at the Synod convened at *Chalcedon*, being reduced into an Epitome, are theſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Epitome of the *Acts* at the *Synod* of *Chalcedon*, set at the end of the Second Book.

PAschasinus *and* Lucentius, *Bishops, and* Boniphatius, *a Presbyter, filled the place of* Leo Pontif *of the* Elder Rome. Anatolius *being Prelate of* Constantinople, *and* Dioscorus *Bishop of the* Alexandrians; Maximus *also of* Antioch, *and* Juvenalis *of* Jerusalem, *and those Bishops about them* [*were there.*] *Together with whom were present those personages who held the principall places in the eximious Senate* [*of* Constantinople.] *To whom they who filled the place of* Leo *said, that* Dioscorus *ought not to sit together with them in the Councill. For this* [*they said*] *was given them in charge by* Leo. *And, unless it were done, that they would go* [*forthwith*] *out of the Church. And when* [*those*] *of the Senate asked, what were the matters objected against* Dioscorus; *they made answer, that* Dioscorus *ought to give an account of his own judgment, who, contrary to what was fitting and just, had accepted the person of the Judge,* [a] *without the permission of him who governeth the Bishoprick of* Rome. *After which words, when* Dioscorus, *by the Senate's decree, was standing in a place in the midst;* Eusebius *Bishop of* Dorylæum *made a request, that the* Supplicatory Libell, *which had by him been presented to the Emperour might be recited; which request he made in these expres words: I have been injured by* Dioscorus; *the Faith hath been injured:* Flavianus *the Bishop has been murdered; and together with me unjustly deposed by him. Do you give order, that my* Supplicatory Libell *may be read. Which thing therefore having been debated, the* Libell *was permitted to be read, the Contents whereof were these.*

[a] In the fourth chapter of this book (where we have this same passage) these words [τῆς ὀπῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ποιμανόντι χωρὶς] *without the permission of him who governeth the Bishoprick of* Rome,] occur not, neither in the *Greek Text* of *Valesius's Edition*, nor in that of *Robert Stephens's*; though *Valesius* takes notice of them in his version there. At this place they are inserted into both the now mentioned *Greek Editions*; and therefore we have rendred them here, but (with good reason) have omitted them at the said fourth chapter. This latter answer of the *Roman Legates* to the Senatours, seems obscure and unintelligible.

From Eusebius *the meanest Bishop of* Dorylæum, *who speakes in defence of himself, of the Orthodox Faith, and of* Flavianus *of Blessed memory who was Bishop of* Constantinople. [*It is*] *the designe of your power, to make provision for all your Subjects, and to stretch forth an hand to all those who are injured: especially to them who are recounted amongst the* Ecclesiasticks. *And hereby you worship the Deity, by whom a power hath been given you to Rule and Govern* * *the world. In regard therefore the Faith of Christ and we have suffered many and grievous things, contrary to all reason and equity, from* Dioscorus *the most reverend Bishop of the great City* Alexandria; *we addresse to Your piety, entreating we may have Right done Us. Now, the businesse is this. At the Synod lately held in the* Metropolis *of the* Ephesians, (*would to God that Synod had never been held, that it might not have filled the world with mischiefs and disturbance!*) *that* † *Good man* Dioscorus, *disregarding the consideration of what is just, and* [*not respecting*] *the fear of God, (for he was of the same opinion, and entertained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded and Heretical* Eutyches; *but concealed it from many persons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evidenced by his own declaration:*) † *took an occasion from that accusation which I had brought against* Eutyches *a person of the same opinion with himself, and from that sentence pronounc't against the same* Eutyches *by Bishop* Flavianus *of Holy memory;* [*whereby*] *he assembled a multitude of disorderly and tumultuous persons: and having possest himself of power by money, as much as in him lay he hath weakened the pious Religion of the* Orthodox, *and has confirmed the ill opinion of the Monk* Eutyches, *which long since, even from the beginning, hath been condemned by the Holy Fathers. Whereas therefore, the matters are not small and triviall, which he has audaciously attempted, both against the Faith of Christ, and against Us, We fall at the feet of Your* [*Imperial*] *Majesty, and humbly beseech You, to order the said most Religious Bishop* Dioscorus, *to give in his answer to what is objected against him by us: to wit, by having the* Monuments *of the* Acts, *which he has made against us, read before the Holy Synod. From which* [Acts] *we are able to demonstrate, that even he himself is estranged from the* Orthodox *Faith, hath confirmed an Heresie full of impiety, has unjustly deposed us, and in a most grievous and injurious manner oppressed us: You sending your divine and adorable* Mandates *to the Holy and* Oecumenicall *Synod of Bishops most dear to God,* [b] *to the end that it may hear both us and the forementioned* Dioscorus, *and bring to the knowledge of* Your Piety *all that is transacted, according to that which shall please* Your Immortall height. *And if we shall obtain this, we will pour forth incessant prayers for your eternall Empire, most divine Emperours!*

* Or, the things under the Sun.

† Spoken by way of Irony.

† Or, found.

[b] In the incomparable *Florentine* M. S. this place is read thus: ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἠμᾶς καὶ τὸν θεοσεβέστατον Διοσκόρον διακοῦσαι, *to the end that it may hear both us,* &c. The reading in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill* is the same. *Christophorson*, and Sr *Henry Savill* at the margin of *his copy*, have mended it thus, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ, &c. *to the end that it may hear our cause, and that of the forementioned* Dioscorus. But I had rather write it ἐφ' ᾧ ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν, &c. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is ἐφ' ὧν τε ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν, &c. where also the word [διακοῦσαι] is wanting.

By the joynt request therefore of Dioscorus *and* Eusebius, *the* Acts *of the Second* Ephesine Synod *were publickly recited: by which 'twas manifestly demonstrated, that* Leo's *Letter had not been read, and that, notwithstanding there had been an* Interlocution *once and twice concerning that matter. Wherefore, when* Dioscorus *was asked to declare the Cause hereof, his answer was, that he himself by an* Interlocution [*had given order*] *once and twice that that should be done; and he requested, that* Juvenalis *Bishop of* Jerusalem, *and* Thalassius [*Bishop*] *of the* First Cæsarea *in* Cappadocia, *might give a more manifest declaration of this matter. For* [*he said*] *that they had received an Authority* [*of presiding in the Synod*] *together with him.* Juvenalis *did indeed affirm, that when the* [*Emperours*] *Divine Letter* * *had been read in the first place, he made an* Interlocution, [*ordering*] *that* [c] *that* [*Letter*] *should be recited; but, that*

* Or, *had lead the way.*

[c] Instead of [ἐκεῖνο, *to him*] doubtless the reading must be [ἐκεῖνο, *that,*] understand [τὸ θεῖον γράμμα, *the divine Letter.*] Which emendation is confirmed by the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*, pag. 52, and 53. *Edit. Big.* where these words occur. *Gloriosissimi Judices & Amplissimus Senatus dixerunt,* &c. *The most Glorious Judges and the most noble Senate said: Let the most Blessed Bishop* Juvenalis *declare, why when the most Reverend Bishop* Dioscorus *made an* Interlocution *for the reciting of the Letter of the most holy* Romish *Arch-Bishop, that Letter was not read.* Juvenalis *the most Reverend Bishop of* Jerusalem *said:* Johannes *the Presbyter and* Primicerius [*chief*] *of the Notaries said, that he had in his hands the sacred Letters of the most Religious and most pious Emperours, and I answered that the Imperial*

Letters muſt be read. Further, the very words which *Juvenalis* had made uſe of in that *ſecond Epheſine Synod*, occur in the aboveſaid 52. pag. where the *Acts of the ſecond Epheſine Synod* are recorded. Moreover, *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation, in the laſt chapter of *his* 15th *book*, where he gives us a ſummary of the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, moſtly tranſcribed from *Evagrius*. I have been larger in my remarks upon theſe things, becauſe *Chriſtophorſon*, in the Rendition of this place, hath wandred far from the truth. By the way, you may obſerve the fraud committed in *that ſecond Epheſine Synod*. For, when *Hilarius* the Deacon, the Legate of the Apoſtolick See, had openly declared to the Biſhops who were preſent, that he had Pope *Leo*'s Letter, and had required that it might be read in the Council: *Johannes* the Presbyter and *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, aroſe and ſaid, that he had in his hands other Letters written from the Emperour to *Dioſcorus*. Then *Juvenalis* commanded, that thoſe Letters of the Emperour ſhould be read, no mention being made of *Leo*'s Letter. You ſee therefore, that the reading of *Leo*'s Letter was deſignedly impeded, by the fraud of *Dioſcorus*, who, inſtead of *Leo*'s Epiſtle, cauſed the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s Letter to be read in the Synod. Further, the *Tellerian* M. S. does confirm our Emendation; in which copy I found it written as I had conjectured. *Valeſ.*

* That is, of the Letter of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*.

† *Liberty*, or, *freedome*.

‖ Or, *come to a reading*.

* That is, would not permit *Stephanus*'s *Notaries* to take the *Acts* in writing.

† Or, *atteſted*.

‖ Or, *Inſtruments*.

[d] This place, which *Evagrius* points at here, is extant in the *Firſt Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 58. *Valeſ.*

[e] Inſtead of [πόθεν ἔν εἴπε, *he ſaid, from whence therefore?*] the reading in the Acts of the *Chalcedon Council* is better, (ſee pag. 583) in the *Imperative-mood*, to wit, thus, πόθεν ἔν εἰπὲ, *declare therefore, from whence?* Valeſ.

* In *Binius*, pag. 58, the reading is, ἢ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ μονογενῆ, τὸν θεὸν λόγον, *the only begotten Son of God, God the Word.*

afterwards no mention was made of that * *Epiſtle. But* Thalaſſius *ſaid, that he hindred not the reading of that Letter; and that he had not ſo much* † *Authority, as that he alone could Decree, that it ſhould* ‖ *be read. When therefore a further progreſs was made in the reading of the* Acts, *and ſome of the Biſhops found fault with ſome words as being falſe and forged*; Stephanus *Biſhop of the* Epheſians *was asked, what* Notaries *of his at that time had taken* [*thoſe words*] *in writing*; *his anſwer was, that* Julianus (*afterwards made Biſhop of* Lebedus,) *and* Criſpinus *were his* Notaries: *but, that* Dioſcorus's Notaries *would not permit* * *that to be done, but took hold of their fingers whilſt they were writing*; *in ſo much that they were in danger of undergoing moſt foul abuſes. Further, the ſame* Stephanus † *depoſed, that* [*himſelf and the other Biſhops*] *had ſubſcribed to* Flavianus's *depoſition in one and the ſame day. Hereto added* Acacius *Biſhop of* Ariarathia, *that all* [*of them*] *had ſubſcribed in a paper not written on,* [*and that they were compelled to it*] *by force and neceſſity, having been ſurrounded with innumerable miſchiefs, in regard Souldiers* [*Armed*] *with murdering* ‖ *weapons had encompaſſed them. Further, when another ſentence was read,* Theodorus *Biſhop of* Claudiopolis *ſaid, that no body uttered thoſe words. Moreover, upon a procedure in reading* [*the* Acts, *in this manner,*] *when* [*they came*] *to a certain* [d] *place wherein* Eutyches *had ſaid,* [*that he* Anathematized] *thoſe who ſhould affirm that the Fleſh of God and our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *had deſcended from Heaven: the* Acts *declared, that againſt theſe words* Euſebius *had ſaid, that thoſe were indeed condemned by* Eutyches *who ſhould ſay that* Chriſt's *fleſh had deſcended from Heaven, but that it was not added by him, whence the fleſh was. The ſame* Acts *added alſo, that* Diogenes *Biſhop of* Cyzicum *ſubjoyned* [*theſe words:*] [e] *declare therefore, from whence? and, that notwithſtanding they were not permitted to make any further inquiry into theſe things. Further, the ſame Acts do manifeſt, that* Baſilius *Biſhop of* Seleucia *in* Iſauria, *ſpake* [*theſe words:*] *I adore our one Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, * *the Son of God, the only God the Word, who after the Incarnation and Union, is known in two natures. And, that againſt theſe words the* Egyptians *cryed out: Let no man divide Him who is not to be parted, he ought not to call one Son two. But, that the* Eaſterns *exclaimed,* Anathema *to him who parts,* Anathema *to him who divides. 'Tis contained in the ſame* Acts, *that* Eutyches *was asked, whether he would affirm two Natures in* Chriſt. *And, that he anſwered, that he aſſerted* Chriſt [*to conſiſt*] *of two Natures before the Union: but after the Union,* [*he acknowledged but*] *one* [*Nature in him.*] *And, that* Baſilius *ſaid* [*theſe words;*] *unleſs you affirm two undivided and inconfuſed Natures after the Union, you aſſert a confuſion and a commixture. But if you add* Incarnate *and* Inhumanate, *and do underſtand* Incarnation *and* Inhumanation *in ſuch manner as* Cyrillus *doth, you affirm the ſame that we do. For, the divinity which* [*is*] *from* [*his*] *Father, is one thing*; *the humanity which is from* [*his*] *Mother, is another. When* [f] *they were interrogated, upon what account they had ſubſcribed to* Flavianus's *depoſition*; *the Acts declare that the* Eaſterns *cryed out, we have all ſinned, we do all crave pardon. Again further, the ſame* Acts *being read on, do manifeſt, that the Biſhops were queſtioned, for what reaſon they would not permit* Euſebius *to come in, when he deſired it. To which* Dioſcorus *made anſwer, that* Elpidius *brought the* Commonitory; *and, that he affirmed, that the Emperour* Theodoſius *had given order, that* Euſebius *ſhould not be ſuffered to come in. The* Acts *do manifeſt, that* Juvenalis *alſo ſaid the ſame words. But* Thalaſſius *ſaid, that he himſelf* [g] *had not authority. Which anſwers were diſallowed of by the Judges. For* [*they ſaid,*] *that this Apology was invalid* [*where a matter*] *of Faith is the ſubject of the Conference. After theſe things, the ſame* Acts *do declare, that* Dioſcorus [h] *made a complaint in theſe words: what Canons are now obſerved, whenas* Theodoret *is* [*ſuffered to*] *come in*; *And, that the Senatours made anſwer, that* Theodoret *was come in as an Accuſer. And when* Dioſcorus *ſubjoyned, that* Theodoret *ſate amongſt the Biſhops*; *the Senatours ſaid again, that* Euſebius *and* Theodoret *ſhould take the place of the Accuſers, in like manner as* Dioſcorus *had the place of the Accuſed allotted to him. When therefore all* [*the* Acts] *of the* ſecond Epheſine Synod *had been read, and the ſentence* [*of depoſition pronounc't*] *againſt* Flavianus *and* Euſebius, *had been likewiſe recited, as far as that* * *place, where* [i] Hilarius *the Deacon had ſaid, 'Tis contradicted: the Biſhops of the Eaſt and thoſe with them*

* Or, *expreſſion*.

[f] In the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, only *Baſilius* is ſaid to have been queſtioned by the Judges and Senatours; and what anſwer he returned to their queſtion, is added there alſo, Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* confirms the vulgar reading, which is [ὧν ἐπυθόμεθα, *when they were interrogated:*] which if we will retain, it muſt be ſaid, that *Baſilius and thoſe who were with him*, were interrogated by the Judges. *Valeſ.*

[g] In the Rendition of this place, both Tranſlatours have erred. For *Muſculus* renders it thus: *Thalaſſius verò dixit, non habere autoritatem ea quæ à principibus in hujuſmodi cauſis judicantur.* But Thalaſſius *ſaid, that thoſe things which are judged* [*or, determined*] *by the Princes in ſuch cauſes as theſe, have not authority. Chriſtophorſon* has followed the ſame ſenſe alſo. Likewiſe *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlatour, hath fallen into the ſame miſtake. But, from the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, it is eaſie to confute this Rendition. For *Thalaſſius* being queſtioned by the Judges, makes this anſwer only, ἐξὸν ἔκ ἡμην δυσέντης, that is, *all power and authority was not in me.* For, although *Juvenalis* and *Thalaſſius* were ordered by the Emperour *Theodoſius* to preſide at the *ſecond Epheſine Synod* together with *Dioſcorus*, notwithſtanding in reality all the power was in *Dioſcorus*'s hands. Further, the Judges condemned the Anſwer of *Dioſcorus*, *Juvenalis*, and *Thalaſſius* in theſe words, *In a matter of faith this defence is not to be admitted.* Valeſ.

[h] I agree with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savill*; who inſtead of [πέμψαντος, *was ſent for,*] mended it thus [μέμψασθαι, *made a complaint.*] Which fault I found to have been frequently committed in the *Manuſcript copies.* Valeſ.

[i] This place muſt be corrected from the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 142. Where, after the Sentence of condemnation pronounc't by *Dioſcorus* againſt *Flavianus* and *Euſebius*, when *Flavianus* had ſaid, παρειτοῦμαί σε, that is, *I refuſe you*: *Hilarius* Deacon of the Church of *Rome* ſaid, κανὲ γέγραπται, *'tis contradicted.* Which words are written out from the *Acts of the ſecond Epheſine Synod.* Valeſ.

exclaimed,

exclaimed, Anathema *to* Dioscorus: *in this very hour* [k] *Christ hath deposed* Dioscorus: Flavianus *hath been deposed by* Dioscorus: Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour, do you revenge Him! Many years to *Leo*: many years to the [l] Patriarch. *Then, when the following words were read, which manifested, that all the then convened Bishops had agreed to the deposition of* Flavianus *and* Eusebius; *the most Glorious Judges made an* Interlocution *in these express words.*

[k] Διόσκορος ὁ χριστὸς καθεῖλε. So 'tis also written in *Nicephorus*. But in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Synod* 'tis written far otherwise, to wit, after this manner: ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καθεῖλε. ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καθαιρείσθω. That is, *in this very hour* [Dioscorus] *hath deposed*: *in this very hour let him be deposed*. Which reading I approve of as being the better. But, as this place of *Evagrius* is to be corrected from the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Council*, so on the other hand, the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Council* are to be amended from our *Evagrius*. For, instead of these words which follow, ἄγε κύριε σὺ αὐτὸν ἐκδίκησον, *Holy Lord do Thou revenge him*; it must [in the *Chalcedon-Acts*] be written thus: Φλαβιανὸς παρὰ Διοσκόρου καθῃρέθη. ἄγε κύριε, &c. Flavianus *hath been deposed by* Dioscorus: *Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour*, &c. as it is in *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus*: and so the *old Translatour* of the *Chalcedon-Councill* seems to have read: for he renders it thus: *Sancte domine, tu illum vindica: Catholice Imperator, Tu illum vindica, Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him: Catholick Emperour, do you revenge him.* From which Version we conclude, that these words [*Flavianus hath been deposed by* Dioscorus] ought necessarily to precede. Otherwise, whither should these words [*do Thou revenge him*] be referred? *Vales.*

[l] Some body may make a query here, what Patriarch is to be understood at this place: My affirmation is that *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* is meant. Further, two things are remarkable here. The first is, that the orientall Bishops wish many years not to their own Patriarch, but to another. Secondly, that they term the Bishop of *Constantinople* simply and absolutely, *the Patriarch*, to wit, giving him this honour on account of the prerogative of his See. For, in the *Constantinopolitane Synod*, the second place was assigned to the See of *Constantinople*. *Vales.*

We perceive, that a more exact scrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard Flavianus *of Pious Memory, and* Eusebius *the most Religious Bishop of* Dorylæum *(from a search made into the* Acts *and* Decrees, *and also from their testimony by word of mouth who presided in the Synod then convened; who have confessed that they have erred, and have deposed them without cause, when they had in no wise erred in relation to the Faith:) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjustly deposed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just, (provided it shall please our most Divine and most Pious Lord,) that* Dioscorus *the most Religious Bishop of* Alexandria, Juvenalis *the most Religious Bishop of* Jerusalem, Thalassius *the most Religious Bishop of* Cæsarea, Eusebius *the most Religious Bishop of* [m] Ancyra, Eustathius *the most Religious Bishop of* Berytus, *and* Basilius *the most Religious Bishop of* Seleucia *in* Isauria, *which* [*Prelates*] *had power, and presided over the then Synod, should* [n] *lye under the very same punishment, being by* [*the sentence of*] *this sacred Synod according to the Canons estranged from the Episcopall dignity: all things which have been consequently done being made known to his most sacred Imperial Majesty.*

[m] From the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Councill*, pag. 152. (where this *Interlocution* of the Judges is recorded,) Instead of *Armenia*, it must be made *Ancyra*. Vales.

[n] Instead of [ἐμπεσεῖν, *fall from*,] in the *First Action of the Chalcedon-Councill*, pag. 152, it is truer written thus ὑποπεσεῖν, *lie under*.] For 'tis referred to what went before, to wit, τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιτιμίῳ, *the very same punishment*; and the same herewith is the reading in the *fourth chapter* of *this book*, where this *Interlocution* of the Judges occurs entire. In the *fourth Action* of the *Chalcedon-Synod*, pag. 217, the reading indeed is ἐμπεσεῖν: but there is a word added in the foregoing [clause,] in this manner, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποκεῖναι ἐπιτιμίῳ, *subjected to the same punishment*. If we should retain the word ἐμπεσεῖν, then these words [ἀλλοτρίους γνωσθέντας, *being estranged from*] which follow, would be superfluous. Indeed, these two last mentioned words are wanting in the *Tellerian* and *Florentine* M.SS. and in *Nicephorus*. *Vales.*

After these words, the Easterns *cryed out this* [*is*] *a just judgment: but the Bishops of* Illyricum *exclaimed, we have all sinned, let us all be vouchsafed pardon. And again, when the* Easterns *acclaimed, this is a just sentence:* Christ *hath deposed a Murderer*, Christ *hath revenged the Martyrs: the Senators made an* Interlocution, *that every one of the Bishops convened, should by himself* * *declare his own Faith; knowing for certain, that the most Divine Emperour did believe, according to that Exposition of the Faith of the three hundred and eighteen* [*Fathers, assembled*] *at* Nice, *and of the hundred and fifty Fathers* [*convened*] ° *at* Constantinople; *also according to the Epistles of the Holy Fathers*, Gregorius, Basilius, Hilarius Athanasius, Ambrosius; *and according to* Cyrill's *two Letters, which were recited at the* First Synod *at* Ephesus: *for, that the most Pious* Leo *Bishop of the* Elder Rome, *had deposed* Eutyches *according to the same Faith.*

* Or, *set forth.*

° In the excellent *Florent.* M. S. these words [*at Constantinople*] are wanting; nor do they occur in the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Councill*, as may be seen at pag. 152; *Edit. Bin.* Vales.

The First Session *therefore having after this manner been ended, when the most Holy Bishops had come together* [p] *alone in order to another* [Action,] Eusebius *Bishop of* Dorylæum *presented* Libells *in defence of himself and* Flavianus; *wherein he accused* Dioscorus *as entertaining the same Sentiments with* Eutyches, *and because he had divested them of the Sacerdotall Function. He added also, that* Dioscorus *had inserted some words, which had not been spoken at the then convened Synod, into the* Acts *thereof; and moreover, that* Dioscorus *had procured that they should subscribe in blank papers. He requested further, that all the* Acts of the second Ephesine Synod *might be made null by the vote of* [*the Prelates who*] *were convened, that themselves might be restored to the Sacerdotall dignity, and that that nefarious opinion might be* Anathematized. *He requested also after the reading* [*of his Libell,*] *that his Adversary might be present. When this was by an* Interlocution *ordered to be done;* Aëtius Arch-Deacon *and* Primicerius *of the* Notaries *said, that he had gone to* Dioscorus, *as also to the others; and that* Dioscorus *had answered, that he was not permitted by his keepers to come to the Councill. By making another* Interlocution *it was ordered, that* Dioscorus *should be sought for before* [*the doors of*] *the Councill. And when he was not found,* Anatolius *Bishop of* Constantinople *made an* Interlocution, *that he ought to be sent for, and to be present in the Synod. Which having been done, the messengers sent to* Dioscorus *returned and said that he told them, I am under custody: let* [*my keepers*] *say, whether or no they will permit me to go* [*to the Councill.*] *And upon the messengers saying to him, that they had been sent to him, not to the* Magistriani; *they brought word, that*

[p] In the *third Action of the Chalcedon-Synod*, only the Bishops met, nor were there any of the *Secular Judges*, or *Senators*, present in the Councill. For, in *that Session* the Faith was to be treated of: which that they should declare and set forth, the Bishops had before been invited by the most glorious Judges. But the Bishops for a long while refused to do that, saying that the Draught of the *Nicene* Creed was sufficient, which had been confirmed by the *Constantinopolitane*, and *first Ephesine Synod*. Nevertheless, at length they had yielded to the Judges request, and promised they would do it. Further, where the Faith is treated of, the *Secular Judges* have nothing to do. In the *Third Action* therefore, wherein the Faith was to be treated of, no *Secular Judges* were present. It is further to be remarked, that at this place *Evagrius* hath omitted the transactions of the *Second Action*. *Evagrius* therefore seems to have taken the *Third Action* for the *Second*. Which is confirmed by the *Acts* of *this very Synod*, pag. 177; where that seems to be the *Second Meeting*, or *Action*, which now is the Third. *Vales.*

that Dioſcorus *had ſaid, I am ready to come to the Holy and* Oecumenicall *Synod; but I am hindred. Whereto* Himerius *added, that in their return from* Dioſcorus, *the* [q] Aſſiſtant *to the* Maſter of the ſacred Offices *met them, and that in company with him the Biſhops had gone again to* Dioſcorus, *and that he had ſome things concerning theſe matters which he had taken in* [r] *Notes. Which having been read, 'twas manifeſted that* Dioſcorus *had ſpoken theſe expreſs words. Having recollected my ſelf, and conſidered what is expedient* [*for me,*] *I anſwer thus.*

[q] Βοηδὸς τῶ μαγίστρ. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred it *Boethus*, as if that were a proper name. But Βοηδὸς is the name of *an Office*. For the *Princeps officii magiſtri officiorum* was ſo termed, who was of the *Schole* [or, *Body*] of *the Agentes in Rebus*; as we are informed from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Farther, this *Aſſiſtant* of the *Maſter of the Offices*, was by his proper name called *Eleuſinius*, as 'tis recorded in the *third Action of the Chalcedon Synod*. Valeſ.

[r] Ἐν σημείοις. In the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*, inſtead of theſe words, 'tis written, ἐν ἐκλήψει; which the *old Tranſlatour* hath rendred thus: *Et certa locuti ſunt, quæ in exceptis habeo, And they have ſpoken ſome words, which I have in my Excepta* [that is, *in my account taken thereof in writing.*] 'Tis certain, *Himerius* was a *Notary* and a *Reader*, ſent by the Councill (together with the Biſhops) to *Dioſcorus*, that he might take thoſe things in writing, which ſhould be ſaid on both ſides; for that was the Office of *Notaries*. The Biſhops, as often as they went to a Synod, were wont to carry each his *Notary* along with them, who were to take the matters tranſacted in the Synod in writing: to the end that, after the ending of the Synod, each Biſhop might carry a copy of the *Acts* into his own Country. Further, I approve highly of the *old Tranſlatour*'s rendring σημεῖα *excepta*. Whence I am of opinion, that *Origen*'s σημειώσεις ought in *Latine* to be termed *Excepta*. I know indeed, that *Origen*'s σημειώσεις are by *Ruſinus* and *Jerome* commonly termed *Excerpta, Excerptions*; but my Sentiment is, that 'tis corruptly written, in regard they ought rather to be termed *Excepta*. Valeſ.

In regard the moſt magnificent Judges who ſate in the Seſſion before this, have Decreed ſeverall things after many Interlocutions *made by every one; and I am now cited to a* Second Seſſion, *to the end that the foreſaid* [*Decrees*] *may be voided and made null; 'tis my requeſt, that the moſt magnificent Judges and Sacred Senate, who were at the* Former Seſſion, *may be preſent now alſo, in order to a re-examination of the ſame matters. To whom* Acacius, *as 'tis manifeſtly related in the ſaid* Acts, *gave anſwer in theſe very words. The Holy and Great Synod have not commanded* Your Sanctity *therefore to be preſent, that thoſe things which have been tranſacted before the moſt Magnificent Judges and the Sacred Senate might be voided and made null: but* [*the Synod*] *hath ſent us,* [*with a command*] *that You ſhould come to the Seſſion, and that* Your Sanctity *ſhould not be abſent therefrom. To whom* Dioſcorus *returned this anſwer, (as the* Acts *declare;) You have told me even now, that* Euſebius *hath preſented* Libells: *I make a requeſt again, that my Cauſe may be examined before the Judges and Senate. Then, after other things of this nature, which are put into the* Acts; *thoſe were again ſent, who might perſwade* Dioſcorus *to be preſent at what was tranſacted. Which having been done, thoſe who had been ſent returned, and ſaid, that they had taken* Dioſcorus's *anſwer in Notes, which* [*Notes*] *do manifeſt, that he ſaid theſe words. I have already ſignified to Your piety, that I am afflicted with a diſtemper, and that 'tis my requeſt, that the moſt Magnificent Judges alſo and the Sacred Senate may now likewiſe be preſent at the Judgment of thoſe things which ſhall be inquired into: but in regard my diſtemper hath increaſed, upon that account I have made a delay. And the* Acts *do manifeſt that* Cecropius *ſaid unto* Dioſcorus; *that a little before he had not made the leaſt mention concerning his ſickneſs; and that therefore he ought to ſatisfie the Canons. To whom* Dioſcorus *made this return, I have ſaid once, that the Judges ought to be preſent. Then, that* Ruffinus *Biſhop of* Samoſata *ſaid unto* Dioſcorus, *that the* * *Agitations and Debates* [*in the Councill*] *were Canonicall, and that* Dioſcorus, *if he were preſent, might freely ſpeak what he ſhould have a mind to. And when* Dioſcorus *enquired, whether* Juvenalis *and* Thalaſſius *and* Euſtathius *were come* [*to the Synod,*] [t] *he anſwered, that that was nothing pertinent to the buſineſs. To which words the* Acts *due ſet forth, that* Dioſcorus *ſubjoyned theſe, that he had requeſted the Chriſt-loving Emperour,* [*that he would give order*] *that the Judges alſo might be preſent* [*in the Councill,*] *as likewiſe thoſe* [*Prelates*] *who together with him* * *had been Judges. And, that hereto the* [*Synod's*] *Meſſengers ſaid, that* Euſebius *had accuſed him only, and that all the reſt ought not to be preſent. And, that to theſe words* Dioſcorus *replied, that thoſe other perſons ought alſo to be preſent who had been judged together with him: for, that* Euſebius *had no private* † *Cauſe againſt him, but* [*a common one, to wit,*] *concerning thoſe things on account of which all of them had been judged. And again, when the* [*Synod's*] *Meſſengers perſiſted* || *in the ſame things,* Dioſcorus *made anſwer, what I have ſaid, I have ſaid once; nor have I any thing further to ſay. To which words* [*when declared to the Synod,*] Euſebius [*Biſhop*] *of* Dorylæum *ſaid, that he had* [*matter of accuſation*] *againſt* Dioſcorus *only, and againſt no perſon elſe: and he deſired that* Dioſcorus *might be cited in by a third Summons.* [*After this*] Aëtius *gave information, that ſome perſons who ſtiled themſelves* Eccleſiaſticks, *together with ſome others who were* Laïcks, *coming from the City* Alexandria, *had lately preſented* Libells *againſt* Dioſcorus, *and that theſe men were now ſtanding before* [*the doors of*] *the Councill, and* * *crying out. When therefore* Theodorus, *a Deacon of the Holy Church of* Alexandria, *had in the firſt place preſented* [*Libells;*] *and then* Iſchyrio, *who was a Deacon likewiſe; and after him* Athanaſius *a Presbyter and* Cyrillus's *ſiſters ſon; and laſtly* Sophronius; *in which* [*Libells*] *they accuſed* Dioſcorus *partly for Blaſphemies, and partly on account of bodily* [*damages*] *and* [t] *violent exaction of moneys: a third Citation is iſſued out, wherein* Dioſcorus *is admoniſhed to come* [*to the Synod.*] *The Meſſengers therefore appointed for this buſineſs, being returned, made report that* Dioſcorus *had ſaid* [*theſe words:*] *I have ſufficiently informed Your Piety; nor can I add any thing elſe thereto. Again, when the perſons ſent upon this account had continued to be very urgent in their perſwaſives to* Dioſcorus [*that he would come,*] *and he having always given the ſame anſwer;* Paſchaſinus *the Biſhop ſaid* [*theſe words.*] Dioſcorus *having now been thrice Summoned, hath not appeared, being prick't in*

* Κανονικὸ τὸ κινήσθαι καθεσθαι. *Valeſius* renders it thus; *Canonicum conſtitutum eſſe judicium, that a Canonicall Judicatory was conſtituted.*

[s] Ἀπεκρίνατο, *He anſwered*: in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, the reading is, *Euſtathius anſwered*: In *Valeſius's Verſion* 'tis, *reſpondit Pergamius, Pergamius anſwered.*

* Or, had judged.

† Or, buſineſs.

|| Or, concerning the ſame matter.

* Or, made uſe of outcries.

[t] I am of the ſame opinion with Learned men, who inſtead of [βίας ἀφαιρέσεως] had mended it thus, βιαίας ἀφαιρέσεως, *violent exaction*; by conjecture, as I think. For our Copies have no alteration here. Yet the *Tellerian Manuſcript* (which I procured opportunely, whileſt *our Edition* was in the preſs,) has it plainly written, βιαίας ἀφαιρέσεως. *Valeſ.*

in Conſcience: and he [u] *asked what* [*puniſhment*] *he deſerved. Whereto when the Biſhops had returned anſwer, that he had* * *offended againſt the Canons, and when* Proterius *Biſhop of* Smyrna *had ſaid, at ſuch time as the Holy* Flaviamus *was murdered, nothing had been agreeably and orderly done againſt him: they who ſupplied the place of* Leo *Biſhop of the* Elder Rome, † *made this Declaration in theſe expreſs words.*

[u] *Nicephorus has inſerted ſome words here, thus,* ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπυθόμην ἀνετωιάζετο, *And he asked the Biſhops.* Valeſ.

* *Or,* made himſelf obnoxious to. † *Or,* pronounced Sentence.

What Dioſcorus *who hath been Biſhop of the Great City* Alexandria *has audaciouſly attempted againſt the Order of the Canons, and the Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitution; hath been made manifeſt, both by thoſe things which have already been enquired into at the* Firſt Seſſion, *and alſo from what hath been done this day. For this perſon, (to omit many other things,) making uſe of his own authority, uncanonically admitted to communion* Eutyches, *(a man that embraces the ſame Sentiments with himſelf, who had been depoſed canonically by his own Biſhop of Holy Memory, we mean our Father and Arch-Biſhop* Flavianus;) *before* * *his ſitting* [*in the Synod*] *at* Epheſus *together with the Biſhops beloved by God. But the Apoſtolick See has granted a pardon to thoſe* [*Prelates,*] *for what hath been involuntarily done there by them. Who alſo to this preſent continue of the ſame opinion with the moſt Holy Arch-Biſhop* Leo, *and with all the Holy and* Oecumenicall Synod. *On which account, he hath received them to his own communion, as being aſſerters of the ſame faith with himſelf. But* † *this man till this very time hath not deſiſted from boaſting of theſe things, on account whereof he ought rather to mourn, and lay himſelf proſtrate on the earth. Beſides, he permitted not the Letter of the moſt Bleſſed Pope* Leo, *to be read, (which had been written by him to* Flavianus *of Holy Memory;) and this* [*he did,*] *notwithſtanding he was ſeverall times entreated by thoſe perſons who brought the Letter, to ſuffer it to be read; and notwithſtanding he had promiſed with an Oath that it ſhould be read. The not reading of which Letter has filled the moſt Holy Churches over the whole world with ſcandalls and detriment. Nevertheleſs, although ſuch things as theſe have been audaciouſly attempted by him,* [vv] *yet we had ſome thoughts concerning the vouchſafing to him ſomething of compaſſion in relation to his former impious Fact, as alſo to the reſt of the Biſhops beloved by God, although they had not the ſame authority of judging that he was inveſted with.*

* Dioſcorus's.

† Dioſcorus.

[vv] Ἐπισκοπῶμεν καὶ τῆς. The ſame is the reading alſo in Nicephorus.

But, in the *Chalcedon-Acts*, and in the *fourth chapter of this book*, (where this ſentence of condemnation occurs,) it is more truly written ἐπισκοπῶμεν, *it was our deſign.* But, by tranſpoſing the *prepoſitions*, I had rather write it thus, ἐπεσκοπῶμεν ἐπὶ τῆς, &c. *we had conſidered in relation to*, &c. which writing is far more elegant. *Valeſ.*

But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his * *latter facts, (for he has audaciouſly pronounced an Excommunication againſt the moſt Holy and moſt Pious* Leo *Arch-Biſhop of* Rome the Great; *and moreover, (when* Libells *ſtuft with Crimes were preferred to the Holy and Great Synod againſt him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Biſhops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prick't by his own conſcience;* [*Laſtly,*] *he has illegally received* [*to Communion*] *thoſe, who have been juſtly depoſed by ſeverall Synods:* [*on theſe various accounts we ſay*]) *he himſelf hath pronounced ſentence againſt himſelf, having many ways trampled under foot the Eccleſiaſtick Rules. Wherefore, the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed* Leo *Arch-Biſhop of the Greateſt and the Elder* Rome, *by Us and the preſent Synod, together with the thrice Bleſſed and moſt eminent Apoſtle* Peter, *who is the* * *Rock and Baſis of the Catholick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath diveſted him of the Epiſcopall dignity, and hath* * *removed him from* [*the performance of*] *every Sacerdotall Office. Therefore, the Holy and Great Synod it ſelf will Decree thoſe things concerning the forementioned* Dioſcorus, *which ſhall ſeem agreeable to the Canons.*

* *Or,* ſecond.

* These *Legates of the Romiſh See* (I ſuppoſe) point at that expreſſion uſed by our Saviour to *Peter*, recorded *Matth.* 16. 18. As a Comment on which Text take theſe words of Saint *Cyprian*, in *his book de Unitate Eccleſiæ*, termed alſo *Tractatus de Simplicitate Prælatorum*, pag. 113. Edit. *Baſil.* 1558. *Loquitur dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & Super iſtam Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, &c. The Lord ſpeaketh to Peter, I ſay unto thee, ſays he, that Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. ——And after his Reſurrection he ſays to the ſame perſon,* Feed my ſheep. *And although he gives an equall power to all the Apoſtles after his Reſurrection, and ſays,* As the Father hath ſent me, ſo alſo I ſend you, &c. —— *Yet that he might manifeſt the Unity, by his own authority he hath diſpoſed the originall of the ſame Unity as beginning from One. For the reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame alſo, that* Peter *was, endowed with an equall fellowſhip, both of honour and power; but the originall proceeds from Unity, that the Church may be ſhown to be one.*

* *Or,* eſtranged.

When therefore theſe things had been confirmed by Anatolius, Maximus, *and the reſt of the Biſhops, excepting thoſe* [*Prelates*] *who together with* Dioſcorus *had been depoſed by the Councill; a Relation concerning theſe* [*Tranſactions*] *was by the Synod written to* [*the Emperour*] Marcianus, *and by the ſame Synod a depoſition was ſent to* Dioſcorus, *the Contents whereof were theſe.*

Know, that by reaſon of Your contemning the Divine Canons, and on account of Your contumacy [*Shown*] *towards this Holy and* Oecumenicall *Synod, becauſe (beſides other Crimes whereof You have been convicted,) having been the third time called by this Holy and great Synod, according to the Divine Canons to anſwer to thoſe Accuſations brought againſt You, You have not appeared; on the thirteenth day of this inſtant month* October, *You are depoſed from your Biſhoprick by this Holy and* Oecumenicall *Synod, and are* * *eſtranged from every Eccleſiaſtick* [y] *duty.*

* *Or,* removed.

[y] Παντὸς ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ τάγματος. This word [τάγμα] is variouſly rendred by Tranſlatours. For *Langus* renders it *Conſuetudinem, Cuſtome. Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have tranſlated it thus; *& ab omni Eccleſiaſtico Jure eſſe abalienatum, and are alienated from all Eccleſiaſtick Right.* The *Old Tranſlatour of the Chalcedon-Councill*, pag. 214. renders it *Functionem, Function*; which, in my judgment, is the truer Verſion. In the *Libell of Depoſition* of the ſame *Dioſcorus*, which the *Chalcedon-Synod* ſent, almoſt in the very ſame words, to the Clergy-men of the *Alexandrian* Church who were then at *Chalcedon*, inſtead of τάγμα, it is βαθμὸν, *Degree.* In the ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſame *Dioſcorus* by the Legates of the *Romiſh See*, inſtead of this word, ἐνέργεια, *Office*, is made uſe of. Now, theſe words are therefore added by the Synod, that they might ſhew, that *Dioſcorus* was reduced to a *Lack-communion.* For he is not only ſaid to be diveſted of the Epiſcopall dignity, but is alſo removed from every Eccleſiaſtick Office: leaſt any one ſhould think him to be removed from the *Epiſcopall Act*: [or, acting as a Biſhop,] and thruſt down into the degree of the *Presbyterate.* For to do that, is ſacriledge, as 'tis ſaid in the *fourth Action of the Chalcedon-Synod*, pag. 247. *Valeſ.*

Then, having written concerning theſe things to the pious [z] *Biſhops of the moſt Holy Church at* Alexandria, *and when the* [a] *Edict againſt* Dioſcorus *had been propoſed,* this Seſſions *was ended.*

[z] Ἐπισκόπους τὸς ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας. It ſhould (as it ſeems,) be written κληρικὸς, *Clergy of the moſt Holy,* &c. For *Dioſcorus's Libell of Depoſition* was ſent to the Clergy-men of the *Alexandrian* Church, who were then at *Chalcedon,* as may be ſeen in the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Councill,* pag. 214. Due order did require indeed, that *Dioſcorus's* Depoſition ſhould be declared by the Synod to the Biſhops of *Egypt* alſo. But the Biſhops of the *Chalcedon-Councill* were to perform that afterwards, in their *Synodick Letter.* At that time they had done ſufficient, in declaring *Dioſcorus's* Depoſition to the *Alexandrian Eccleſiaſticks* who were then at *Chalcedon,* to wit, to *Eleemoſynus* the Presbyter and *Oeconomus* [or, *Steward,*] and to *Euthalius Arch-Deacon,* and to the reſt of the Clergy. 'Tis certain, *Evagrius's* words do ſufficiently declare, that there is no mention here concerning the Biſhops of *Egypt.* For he calls them Biſhops of the *Alexandrian* Church: which appellation agrees not with the Biſhops of *Egypt.* Valeſ.

[a] In *Nicephorus* 'tis μεδέσμα. But in the Acts of the *Chalcedon-Council,* the reading is μεδέσμα. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found it written μεδέσμα. *Valeſ.* And ſo 'tis in *Robert Stephens's Edition.*

* Or, convention.

† Τὰ τὴς ὀρθῆς θρησκείας, *the true Religion.*

The foregoing * *Seſſion having been thus ended, after this* [*the Biſhops*] *being again convened, returned anſwer to the Interrogation of the Judges (who had requeſted that the* † *true Faith might be expounded,)* [*in this manner,*] [b] *that nothing further ought to be eſtabliſhed, the matters againſt* Eutyches *having been fully finiſhed, and determined by the Biſhop of* Rome, *to which* [*determinations*] *they had all given their aſſent. Again, when all the Biſhops cried out, that they all ſaid the ſame things, and when the Judges by making an* Interlocution *had pronounced, that each Patriarch, having choſen one or two perſons of his own* Diœceſis, *ſhould come forth into the midſt, to the end that the opinion of every one might be made manifeſt:* Florentius *Biſhop of* Sardis *required a* * *Truce, to the end that with conſideration they might arrive at the Truth. And* Cecropius *Biſhop of* Sebaſtopolis *ſpoke theſe words. The Faith hath been well expounded by the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, and hath been confirmed by the Holy Fathers,* Athanaſius, Cyrillus, Celeſtinus, Hilarius, Baſilius, Gregorius, *and now again by the moſt Holy* Leo. *And our requeſt is, that the* [*words*] *of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, as alſo thoſe of the moſt Holy* Leo, *may be recited. Which having been read, the whole Synod cried out, in theſe words; this is the Faith of the* Orthodox: *Thus we all believe, Pope* Leo *believes thus,* Cyrillus *believed thus, the Pope hath expounded it thus. And when there had been another* Interlocution, *that the Expoſition of the Faith* [*ſet forth*] *by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers might be recited alſo, that was likewiſe read. To which the Synod again cried out, and ſaid: This is the Faith of* [*us*] *all: This is the Faith of the* Orthodox: *Thus we all believe.* [d] *After whom* Aetius *the* Arch-Deacon *ſaid, that he had at hand the Epiſtle of the Divine* Cyrillus *to* Neſtorius, *which all* [*the Fathers*] *convened at* Epheſus *had confirmed by their own Subſcriptions; and that he had likewiſe another Letter of the ſame* Cyrillus's, *which had been written to* Johannes [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch, *and which had likewiſe been confirmed: and his requeſt was, that both theſe Letters might be read. And after an* Interlocution *had been made concerning theſe* [*Letters,*] *they were both recited. Part of the Contents of the former Epiſtle run word for word thus.*

[b] Καὶ ὡς ὑ Νοι. Doubtleſs the particle ᾧ muſt be expunged; in regard 'tis altogether ſuperfluous at this place. Further, the place here meant by *Evagrius,* is extant in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Councill,* pag. 159, *Edit. Bin.* But 'tis to be remarked, of which I have given an Advertiſement before, that the Copies of the *Chalcedon-Synod* which *Evagrius* made uſe of, were different from thoſe we now have. For that which is to us the *Third Action,* to *Evagrius* is *the Second,* as we have ſeen already. But, that which in our copies is inſcribed the *Second Action,* is *the Third* to *Evagrius*; as it will be made manifeſt from this place, and thoſe following. *Valeſ.*

[c] The place which *Evagrius* means here, occurs in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Councill,* pag. 159. Alſo, the words of *Cecropius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtopolis* occur in the *ſame page.* Valeſ.

* Ἐνδόσιμον, *a Prelude,* or, *Ceſſation.*

[d] This place is alſo extant in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Synod,* pag. 160. *Valeſ.*

Cyrillus, to the moſt Pious *Neſtorius,* [my] Fellow-Miniſter.

Some perſons, as I underſtand, * *reproach my Reputation in the preſence of Your Piety, and that frequently, taking an occaſion* [*to do thus*] *moſt eſpecially, at ſuch time as thoſe of the Magiſtracy are met together; and peradventure they ſuppoſe, that Your ears are even delighted* [*with ſuch diſcourſes as theſe.*] And after ſome words. *The Holy and Great Synod therefore hath ſaid,* † *that He the only begotten Son hath been begotten of God and the Father according to Nature, very God of very God, the Light of the Light; that He, by whom the Father hath made all things, deſcended, was Incarnate, made man, ſuffered, roſe again the third day, aſcended into the Heavens. Theſe Expreſſions and Forms we alſo ought to follow, conſidering with our ſelves, what is meant by this* [*propoſition,*] God the Word was incarnate and was made man. *For we do not affirm, that the Nature of The Word having been changed, was made Fleſh: nor that it was converted into whole man, who* [*conſiſts*] *of Soul and Body. But* [*We ſay*] *that rather, that when The Word had perſonally united to himſelf the Fleſh enlivened with a rationall ſoul, he was ineffably and incomprehenſibly made man, and he hath been ſtiled the Son of man, not according to will only, or good pleaſure; nor yet as it were in the Aſſumption of the perſon only. And, that the Natures* [*are*] *diverſe,* [c] *which have come together into a true Unity: but, that of both* [*Natures there is*] *one Chriſt and* [*one*] *Son; not as if the diverſity of the Natures were deſtroyed by the Union: but rather,* * *that the Divinity and Humanity have perfected to us one Lord, and Chriſt, and Son, by an ineffable myſticall and ſecret concourſe to an Unity.* And after ſome few words. *But, in regard having perſonally united the humanity to himſelf on our account and for our ſalvation, he proceeded from a woman, for this reaſon he is ſaid to have been born according to the Fleſh. For he was not at firſt born a common* [*and ordinary*] *man of the Holy Virgin, and after that The Word* * *deſcended upon him: but having been* † *united from the very womb, he is ſaid to have undergone a Carnall Nativity, that he might procure* [*to himſelf*] *the Nativity of his own Fleſh. After the ſame manner we ſay he ſuffered, and roſe again; not as if God The Word, as to his own Nature, ſuffered either the Stripes, or the*

* Or, prate againſt.

† Or, that he hath been begotten the only begotten Son of God, &c.

[c] For the divine and humane Nature being joyned together, have conſtituted to us one Chriſt and Lord. And ſo that is true which *Cyrillus* ſays, *viz.* that two Natures diverſe amongſt themſelves, have come together into a true unity: which, nevertheleſs, *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not. Not that of two Natures one is made, in ſuch manner as *Eutyches* aſſerted: But, that of two Natures one Chriſt hath exiſted. And thus *Cyrillus* has explained his own opinion a little after theſe words; whereas he ſaith, διὰ τὴς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀπορρήτου πρὸς ἕνωσιν συνόδου, *by an inefſable myſticall and ſecret concourſe to an unity.* From hence it appears, that *Johannes Langus,* otherwiſe the Learned Tranſlatour of *Nicephorus,* hath miſtook here, who has rendred ἕνωσιν (not *unity,* but) *Union.* Valeſ.

* Or, *that by the divinity and humanity they* [*the Natures*] *have perfected,* &c.

* Or, came.

† Or, made one.

the

* Or, piercings.

the * *Transfixions of the Nails, or any other of the wounds: for the Deity is Impassible, because 'tis also Incorporeall. But, in regard that which had been made his own Body suffered, on this account he is again said to have suffered for us. For there was the Impassible* [*Deity*] *in a passible Body.*

† Chap. 6.

Most part of [Cyrillus's] *other Letter hath been recorded in our foregoing* † *Book. But there is a passage in it, which* Johannes [*Bishop*] *of the* Antiochians *had written* [*in his Letter, to which passage*] Cyrillus *hath* || *fully agreed: this passage runs thus. We confess the Holy Virgin to be* Theotocos, *because God The Word took Flesh from Her and was made man, and from that very Conception united to himself a Temple taken from Her. But we know, that those divine men do take the Evangelick and Apostolick Expressions* [*uttered*] *concerning the Lord,* * *sometimes in a common sense, as* [*spoken*] *of one person:* † *at other whiles* [*they*] *divide them, as* [*uttered*] *concerning two Natures. And,* [*that they have*] *delivered these* [*Expressions as*] *becoming God, according to the divinity of Christ: but those other* [*as*] *humble and mean, agreeable to the same persons humanity. To which words* [Cyrillus] *has subjoyned these. Having read these your Sacred Expressions, We find that We our selves embrace the same Sentiments. For,* there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. *We have therefore glorified God the Saviour of all* [*men,*] *rejoycing mutually, that as well the Churches amongst us, as those with you, do profess a Faith that is agreeable, both to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and also to the Tradition of our Holy Fathers.*

|| Or, with all suffrages.

* Or, partly.

† Or, partly.

After the Reading hereof, those of this Synod cried out in these words: We do all believe thus; Pope Leo *believes thus.* Anathema *to him that divides, and to him who confounds. This is the Faith of* Leo *the Arch-Bishop.* Leo *believes thus;* Leo *and* Anatolius *believe thus. We all believe thus. As* Cyrillus, *so we believe. The eternall memory of* Cyrillus. *As* Cyrillus's *Letters* [f] *are, so are our Sentiments. Thus we have believed, thus we do believe: Leo the Arch-Bishop thinks thus, thus he believes, thus he hath written. Then, an* Interlocution *having been made, that* Leo's *Letter might also be read; being rendred* [*into Greek,*] *it was recited: which* [*Letter*] *is extant in the* Acts [*of the Council.*] *After therefore the reading thereof, the Bishops exclaimed, This is the Faith of the Fathers, This is the Faith of the Apostles. We all believe thus,* [g] *we that are* Orthodox *do believe thus.* Anathema *to him who believes not thus.* Peter *by* Leo *hath uttered these words: The Apostles have taught thus:* Leo *hath taught piously and truly,* Cyrillus *has taught thus,* Leo *and* Cyrillus *have taught alike:* Anathema *to him who believes not thus: This is the true Faith, the* Orthodox *think thus, this is the Faith of the Fathers. Why were not these* [*words*] *read at* Ephesus? Dioscorus *hath concealed these* [*Expressions.*] *It is recorded in the same Acts, that when part of the* [*fore-mentioned*] *Letter of* Leo *was read, the Contents whereof were these, And in order to the* * *paying that due debt of our Nature, the divine Nature was united to a Nature passible, to the end that (for this was agreeable to our Remedies,) He being one and the same Mediatour of God and Men, the Man* Christ Jesus, *might be able to die by one, and might not be able to die by the other:* the Illyrician *and* Palestine *Bishops being in doubt as to this Expression,* Aetius *Arch-deacon of the most Holy Church of* Constantinople, *produced a passage of* Cyrillus's, *the Contents whereof are these: Again, in regard his own Body* * by the grace of God, *according as the Apostle* Paul *saith,* hath tasted death [h] for every man, *he himself is* [*therefore*] *said to have suffered death for us: not as if he had experienced death, as to what belongs to his own Nature;* (*For 'tis stupidity and extream madness, either to affirm, or think this:*) *but because* (*as I have even now said,*) *his Flesh tasted death. And again, as to an expression of* Leo's *Letter, which runs thus: For each Form acts with a communion of the other, that which is proper: to wit, The Word operates that which is* The Word's; *and the* * *Flesh performs that which is of the* † *Flesh: and the one of these shines with Miracles; but the other hath lain under injuries:* the Illyrician *and* Palestine *Bishops being in doubt, the same* Aetius *read a* || *Chapter of* Cyrillus, *the Contents whereof were these. Of the expressions* [*used concerning Christ,*] *some are most especially agreeable to God; again, others are agreeable to man. But a third sort possess a certain middle place, evidencing the Son of God, to be God and also at the same time Man. After this, when the foresaid Bishops doubted at another place of* Leo's *Epistle, which runs thus: For, although in our Lord* Jesus Christ, [*there is*] *one person of God and of man, nevertheless that is one thing whence there is in both a Community of Contumely, and that is another whence there is a Community of Glory. For from us he* [*has*] *humanity, which is less than the Father. But from the Father he has the divinity which is equall with his Father.* Theodoret, *after he had well considered this matter, said, that the Blessed* Cyrillus *had expresly spoken thus, in these words: And being made man, and loosing nothing that was his own,* [i] *he continued what he was, and the one dwelt in the other, that is, the divine Nature* * *in man. After this, when the Illustrious Judges enquired whether there were any person who as yet doubted, all answered, that no person made any further doubt. After whom,* Atticus *Bishop of* Nicopolis *requested, that a* * *Truce of some few days might be allowed them, to the end that with a sedate mind and undisturbed understanding such things might be decreed as were pleasing to God, and to the Holy Fathers. He desired also, that* Cyrillus's *Letter, written to* Nestorius, *might be delivered* [*to them,*] *in which* Cyrillus *intreats* Nestorius, *that he would give his assent to his twelve Heads,* [k] *whereto all agreed. And when the Judges by making an* Interlocution

[f] In the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, pag. 161; instead of [εἰσὶν, *are*] it is written [ἔχουσι, *contain.*] Valesius.

[g] Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι ἅπας πιστεύομεν, *We that are Orthodox do believe thus.* In the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, p. 169, it is πιστεύουσι, *The Orthodox do believe thus*; which reading I like better, although *Nicephorus* confirms the common reading. *Valesius.*

[h] I agree with Learned men, who (instead of ὑπὲρ παντὸς, *by all*) have mended it thus, ὑπὲρ παντὸς, for, or, *instead of every man*; so the reading is in *Nicephorus*, and in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, pag. 170. *Valesius.*

* See Heb. 2. 9.

* The body.

† Or, body.

|| Or, Head.

[i] In the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, this place of *Cyrillus* is written otherwise, thus: μεμάθηκε γὰρ ὅπερ ἦν. νοεῖται δὲ παντὸς ἕτερον ἐν ἑτέρῳ καλοκἀγαθὸν, τοῦτέστιν ἡ θεία φύσις ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. *For he continued what he was: but 'tis altogether to be understood, that the one dwells in the other, that is the divine Nature in the humane.* Valesius.

* Or, with men.

* Or, an Intervall.

[k] There is an ambiguity in these words. For they may as well be referred to *Cyrillus*'s twelve heads, of which he speaks just before, as to the requests of *Atticus* Bishop of *Nicopolis*; to which all the rest of the Bishops agreed, as we are informed in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, about the end of it. *Johannes Langus* has followed the former sense. But the latter explication pleases me best. *Valesius.*

* Or, laying down.

terlocution

terlocution [*had given order,*] *that an interval of five days might be allowed them, wherein they might have a meeting* [*and confer*] [1] *with* Anatolius *Prelate of* Conſtantinople: *all the Biſhops cryed out, and ſaid; We do believe thus: We all believe thus: as* Leo, *ſo we believe: no one of us doubts: We have all ſubſcribed. To which* [*exclamations the Judges*] *made an* Interlocution *in theſe expreſs words. There is no neceſſity that you ſhould all meet. But, in regard 'tis agreeable, that thoſe who doubt ſhould be confirmed, let the moſt pious Biſhop* Anatolius *chooſe out of their number who have ſubſcribed, ſuch perſons as he ſhall think fit to teach and inform thoſe that doubt. Whereto thoſe of the Synod ſubjoyned theſe Acclamations: We entreat* [m] *for the Fathers:* [*Let*] *the Fathers, who are of the ſame Sentiment with* Leo, [*be reſtored*] *to the Synod; The Fathers to the Synod: Theſe words to the Emperour: Theſe Supplications to* The Orthodox, *Theſe Supplications to* Auguſta: *We have all ſinned: Let us all be pardoned. But the Clergy of the* Conſtantinopolitane *Church exclaimed* [*in theſe words,*] *They are but few who cry out: The Synod ſays not this. After whom, the* Eaſtern Biſhops *cried out, The* Egyptian *to Baniſhment. But the* Illyricians *exclaimed: We entreat* [*you,*] *have mercy upon all. After whom the* Eaſtern Biſhops *cried out, The* Egyptian *to Baniſhment. And when the* Illyricians *had made the ſame requeſt which they had made before, the Clergy of* Conſtantinople *cried out:* Dioſcorus *to Baniſhment: The* Egyptian *to Exile: The Heretick to Baniſhment.* Chriſt *hath depoſed* Dioſcorus. *After whom, the* Illyricians *and thoſe Biſhops of their partie* [*exclaimed,*] *We have all ſinned; pardon all:* Dioſcorus *to the Synod,* Dioſcorus *to the Churches. And when ſuch like words as theſe had preceded, this* Seſſion *was ended. At the* Seſſion *after this, when the Senate had made an* Interlocution, *that the Decrees which had already been* [n] *given forth ſhould be recited,* Conſtantinus *the* Secretary *read theſe expreſs words out of a* * Schedule.

[1] I aſſent to the Learned, who (inſtead of περὶ ἀνατολίου *about Anatolius,*) before us had mended it thus, παρὰ ἀνατολίου, with *Anatolius.* In *Nicephorus* the *preposition* is wanting, which nevertheleſs ſeems to me altogether neceſſary. *Valeſ.*

[m] In the excellent *Florentine* M. S. the reading is περὶ τῶν πατέρων, *for,* or, *concerning the Fathers;* which is better than παρὰ τῶν, &c. *from the,* &c. And the ſame with that firſt mentioned, is the reading in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Councill.* Further, who theſe Fathers ſhould be, for whom the Biſhops entreat, that they may be reſtored to the Synod, 'tis not difficult to gueſs. For they are theſe, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem, Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia, Euſebius, Euſtathius,* and *Baſilius;* who had been depoſed in the *Firſt Action* together with *Dioſcorus,* by an *Interlocution* of the Judges and Senatours. On account therefore of this depoſition which the Biſhops had approved of by their ſuffrages, theſe five Biſhops, were preſent neither at the *Second* nor *Third Action,* as 'tis apparent from the Catalogue of the Biſhops which is prefixt before thoſe *Actions.* Beſides, in the *Third Action,* when the Legates of the Apoſtolick See had pronounced a ſentence of depoſition againſt *Dioſcorus,* the reſt of the Biſhops confirmed it by their own ſubſcriptions: excepting theſe five, as *Evagrius* has truly obſerved above. In the *Common Editions* of the *Chalcedon-Synod,* pag. 212, the names even of theſe five Biſhops occur written alſo: but, out of order, and after all the other Biſhops. Whence it appears, that they had not ſubſcribed at ſuch time as the ſentence was pronounc't, but a long while after, when they had been reſtored, and had recovered their former dignity. Moreover, it may be manifeſtly concluded from what is ſaid above, that that is moſt true which I have already remark't, *viz.* that the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Synod* is by *Evagrius* taken for *The Third,* and *The Third* for *The Second.* But, which Copies are worthieſt to be believed, whether thoſe which *Evagrius* made uſe of, or them which we have now extant, 'tis not eaſie to pronounce. To me, the Copies made uſe of by *Evagrius* ſeem more certain. Firſt, on account of their Antiquity; for doubtleſs they were older than thoſe we now uſe. Secondly, by reaſon of their legitimate and true order of matters tranſacted. For, after an accurate Examination of *Dioſcorus*'s Cauſe, and after the *Interlocution* of the Judges, who had pronounced him to have offended againſt the Canons, and that he was to be depoſed; all which was done in the *Firſt Action:* it remained, that *Dioſcorus* by a Canonicall Judgment of the Biſhops ſhould be condemned. Wherefore, that *Action,* wherein *Dioſcorus* was depoſed by the Biſhops by a *Synodick Sentence,* ought immediately to follow *The Firſt Action.* Therefore *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* have rightly placed it in the ſecond place. A third reaſon is drawn from the *Third Action* it ſelf, pag. 177. where *Dioſcorus* is ſaid to have anſwered the Legates ſent to him from the Holy Synod, in this manner: *Quoniam ante hæc in congregatione,* &c. *In regard before this the moſt magnificent Judges ſitting in the Convention, have determined ſome things, after a large* Interlocution *of every one of them, but now a ſecond meeting calls me out, in order to the nulling of what has been ſaid before.* Nevertheleſs, that is in the way, which occurs at the cloſe of the *Second Action, viz.* that the Biſhops of *Illyricum* cried out thus, *Dioſcorus to the Synod, Dioſcorus to the Churches.* Which doubtleſs they would not have dared to ſay after *Dioſcorus*'s depoſition to which themſelves had ſubſcribed. Therefore, the *Second Action,* where this Acclamation occurs, ought neceſſarily to precede The *Third Action;* in which *Dioſcorus* was Canonically depoſed. And this I think to be truer. *Valeſ.*

[n] Inſtead of [παρὰ δεδομένους τύπους, *the due Decrees;*] it muſt undoubtedly be παρὰ δεδομένους τύπους, *the Decrees which had been given forth;* which is the reading in *Nicephorus.* And this reading is confirmed by the *fourth Action* of the *Chalcedon-Synod,* pag. 218, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Paper.*

We perceive, that a more exact ſcrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard Flavianus *of Pious Memory, and the moſt Religious Biſhop* Euſebius *(from a ſearch made into the* Acts *and* Decrees, *and alſo from their teſtimony by word of mouth who preſided in the Synod then convened; who have confeſſed that they have erred, and have depoſed them without cauſe, when they had in no wiſe erred in the Faith:) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjuſtly depoſed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be juſt, (provided it ſhall pleaſe our moſt Divine and moſt Pious Lord,) that* Dioſcorus *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Alexandria, Juvenalis *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, Thalaſſius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia, Euſebius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Ancyra, Euſtathius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Berytus, *and* Baſilius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Seleucia *in* Iſauria, *which* [*Prelates*] *had power, and preſided over the then Synod, ſhould lye under the very ſame puniſhment,* [*and*] *according to the Canons* * *be removed from the Epiſcopall dignity: all things which have been conſequently done being made known* † *to his moſt ſacred Imperial Majeſty.*

* Or, made ſtrangers to.

† Or, to the Divine heighth.

Then, after the reading of ſome other things, the Biſhops aſſembled were asked, whether Leo's *Letter agreed with the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at* Nice, *and with that of the Hundred and fifty* [*Holy Fathers aſſembled*] *in the Imperiall City* [Conſtantinople;] *whereto* Anatolius *Prelate of* Conſtantinople *and all the Biſhops preſent returned anſwer, that* Leo's *Letter agreed with the foreſaid Holy Fathers: and* ° *he ſubſcribed to the forementioned Letter of* Leo. *Theſe things having proceeded thus, thoſe of the Synod cried out, We all conſent, We do all approve, We all believe a like, We all think the ſame things, We all believe thus.* [*Let*] *the Fathers* [*be reſtored*] *to the Synod,* [*Let*] *thoſe who have ſubſcribed* [*be reſtored*] *to the Synod: Many years* * *to the Emperour: Many years* † *to* Auguſta. *The Fathers to the Synod, thoſe of the ſame Faith to the Synod: many years to the Emperour: thoſe of the ſame Sentiments to the Synod: many years to the Emperour. We have all ſubſcribed to the Faith:*

° *Chriſtophorſon* read it in the *plurall number* κεχωρηκόσιν, *they ſubſcribed;* and ſo the reading is in *Nicephorus:* which is confirmed by the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Synod,* pag. 218, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, of the Emperour.
† Or, of Auguſta; that is, Pulcheria; *ſee chap.* 1.

Faith: as Leo, *ſo we think. After this an* Interlocution *was made* [*by the Judges,*] *in theſe expreſs words: We have given a Relation concerning theſe things to our moſt divine and moſt pious Lord, and we expect the anſwer of his piety. But your Reverence ſhall render an account to God, as well concerning* Dioſcorus *who hath been depoſed by You, (his Imperiall Majeſty and we being ignorant thereof,) as* [p] *concerning thoſe* [*other*] *five perſons for whom you have entreated, and concerning all other matters which have been tranſacted in the Synod.* [*Hereupon they all*] *cried out, ſaying, God hath depoſed* Dioſcorus: Dioſcorus *hath been juſtly depoſed, Chriſt hath depoſed* Dioſcorus. *Then after theſe things, an anſwer being brought from* Marcianus, *which gave the Biſhops permiſſion to determine according to their own diſcretion concerning the perſons who had been depoſed, in ſuch manner as the Judges have declared by an* Interlocution; [*the Biſhops*] *made their requeſt, ſaying theſe expreſs words: We entreat that they may come in.* [*Let*] *thoſe of the ſame opinion* [*be reſtored*] *to the Synod: thoſe of the ſame Sentiments, to the Synod: thoſe who have ſubſcribed to* Leo's *Letter, to the Synod. Which perſons, after an* Interlocution, *were admitted into the number of the Synod. And after this, the* Supplicatory Libells, *which had been preſented by the Biſhops of the* Ægyptick Diœceſis *to the Emperour* Marcianus, *were read; wherein, beſides other matters theſe things were contained: Our Sentiments are the ſame with thoſe expoſitions which the Three hundred and eighteen* [*Holy Fathers*] *ſet forth at* Nicæa, *and* [*with thoſe embraced by*] *the bleſſed* Athanaſius, *and* Cyrillus *of Holy Memory: We* Anathematize *every Hereſie, that of* Arius, *that of* Eunomius, *of* Manes, *of* Neſtorius, *and that of thoſe who aſſert, that the Fleſh of our Lord is from heaven, and not from the Holy* Theotocos, *and Ever-Virgin* Mary; * *whom* [*we affirm*] *to be like to us all,* [*but*] *without ſin. Then, all* [*the Biſhops*] *preſent in the Synod cried out, ſaying: Why do they not* Anathematize Eutyches's *opinion? Let them ſubſcribe to* Leo's *Letter, and* Anathematize Eutyches *and his Opinions: Let them give their aſſent to* Leo's *Letter: they are deſirous to impoſe upon us and be gone. Hereto the Biſhops of* Egypt *returned anſwer, that there were many Biſhops in* Egypt, *and that 'twas impoſſible* [*for them*] *to repreſent the* † *perſons of thoſe who were abſent: and they requeſted, that the Synod would expect their Arch-Biſhop, to the end that (according as Cuſtome required,) they might follow his Opinion. For* [*they ſaid,*] *that if they ſhould do any thing before the* || *Election of their Arch-Biſhop, all perſons of the whole* Egyptick Diœceſis *would fall upon them. And when they had made many entreaties concerning theſe things, and thoſe of the Synod had vigorouſly reſiſted them; by an* Interlocution *'twas ordered, that an* * *intervall ſhould be granted to the Biſhops of* Egypt, *till ſuch time as an Arch-Biſhop could be ordained over them. And after this, were preſented* Supplicatory Libells *of ſome Monks, the ſum of which was this, that they might in no wiſe be forced to ſubſcribe* † *to certain Papers,* [q] *till ſuch time as the Synod (which the Emperour had ordained to be convened,) ſhould meet, and take cognizance of thoſe things which had been Decreed. After the recitall of theſe* [*Libells,*] Diogenes *Biſhop of* Cyzicus *declared that* Barſumas, *one of thoſe perſons who were come into the Councill, had murdered* Flavianus: *for, that he had cried out kill him. And that, although he was not named in the Libells, yet (contrary to what was right and fitting,) he had gotten entrance* [*into the Councill.*] *Whereat all the Biſhops exclaimed,* Barſumas *hath ruined all* Syria, *he hath brought a thouſand Monks againſt us. And when an* Interlocution *had been made, that the* [*Monks*] *who were come together ſhould expect the Synod's determination; the Monks requeſted, that the Libells compoſed by them might be read: part whereof was this, that* Dioſcorus *and thoſe Biſhops with him might be preſent at the Synod. At the hearing whereof, all the Biſhops exclaimed,* Anathema *to* Dioſcorus: *Chriſt hath depoſed* Dioſcorus: *thruſt theſe perſons out of doors: take away the injury of the Synod: remove the Force of the Synod:* [*Relate*] *theſe words to the Emperour: remove the Injury of the Synod: take away the diſgrace of the Synod. In oppoſition to whom the Monks cried out, remove the injury of the Monaſteries. And when the ſame exclamations had been made again by the Synod, 'twas ordered by an* Interlocution, *that the reſt of the Libells ſhould be recited. In which 'twas affirmed, that* Dioſcorus's *depoſition had not been duely and orderly made, and that, the Faith being propoſed,* * *he ought to be admitted to the Seſſion of the Synod. And unleſs this were done, they would ſhake their garments,* [*and recede*] *from the Communion of thoſe Biſhops who were convened. After the Recitall of theſe words,* Aetius *the Arch-Deacon read the Canon concerning thoſe who ſeparated themſelves* [*from Communion.*] *And again, when the Monks were divided at the queſtions* [*put to them*] *by the moſt Holy Biſhops, and afterwards, at the interrogatory of* Aetius *the Arch-Deacon made as from the Synod; and when ſome of them* Anathematized Neſtorius *and* Eutyches, *and others refuſed to do that: an* Interlocution *was made by the Judges* [*who declared,*] *that the* Supplicatory Libells *of* Fauſtus *and the other Monks ſhould be read; wherein they requeſted of the Emperour, that thoſe Monks ſhould not have any further Countenance ſhown them, who had lately appeared in oppoſition to Orthodox Sentiments: amongſt whom, one* Dorotheus *a Monk, had termed* Eutyches *Orthodox. Againſt him diverſe queſtions concerning* Eutyches's *Doctrine were propoſed by the Judges. After this, when the* Fifth Seſſion *was begun, the Judges by an* Interlocution *declared, that what had been determined concerning the Faith, ſhould be promulged. Then* Aſclepiades *a Deacon of* Conſtantinople, *read the Determination, which they were pleaſed not to have inſerted into the* Acts. *Againſt which* [*Determination*] *ſome made oppoſition; but more conſented to it. And when Exclamations had been made on the one ſide*

p Inſtead of [περὶ ἄλλων πάντων. *concerning all thoſe other things,*] the reading in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. is truer, thus, περὶ ἄλλων πέντε, *concerning thoſe* [*other*] *five perſons*; in the *Fourth Action of the Chalcedon-Synod*, pag. 232. the reading is the ſame with this laſt mentioned; as likewiſe that in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

q There is extant a *Supplicatory Libell*, preſented to the Emperour *Marcianus* by the Monks, in the *Fourth Action* of the *Chalcedon-Synod*, pag. 237. In this Libell the Monks requeſt of the Emperour, that an *Oecumenicall* Synod might be convened, (which the Emperour had before given order to be aſſembled;) which might conſult the ſafety of all perſons, and that the Monks might not be compelled by violence to ſubſcribe. Thoſe Monks, belike, did not believe that Synod to be *Oecumenicall*, at which *Dioſcorus* and the other Biſhops of *Egypt* were not preſent. They requeſted therefore, that *Dioſcorus* might be wholly reſtored, as may be ſeen in another Libell which is recited afterwards. *Valeſ.*

* That is, *Chriſt.*

† Or, perſon.

|| Or, nomination.

* Or, delay.

† Or, in certain papers.

* Or, he ought to partake of the Synod.

ſide and on the other, the Judges ſaid, that Dioſcorus *affirmed he had therefore depoſed* Flavianus, *becauſe he aſſerted there were two Natures: but, that the Determination ran thus,* of two Natures. *To which* Anatolius *made anſwer, that* Dioſcorus *had not been depoſed on account of the Faith; but becauſe he had* * *excommunicated* Leo, *and having been thrice ſummoned, had not appeared. Then* [r] *the Judges deſired, that the words in* Leo's *Letter might be inſerted into the definition* [*of the Faith:*] *which having been denied by the Biſhops* (*who ſaid that another definition* [*of the Faith*] *could not be made; for that was compleat and perfect;*) *theſe things were related to the Emperour. And he ordered ſix of the Eaſtern Biſhops, and three of the* Pontick [Diœceſis,] *and three of* Aſia, *and three of* Thracia, *and three of* Illyricum, (*Anatolius and the Deputies of the* Romiſh *See being alſo preſent,*) *to meet in the Church* [*of* Euphemia,] *and there rightly to determine matters in relation to the Faith; or at leaſt, that every one of them ſhould ſet forth his own Faith; which if they did not, they were to know, that a Synod ſhould be convened in the* Weſt. *And being asked to declare, whether they would follow* Dioſcorus *who aſſerted* [*Chriſt to conſiſt*] OF TWO [*Natures,*] *or* Leo [*who affirmed*] TWO [*Natures*] IN *Chriſt, they cried out that they* [t] *believed* [*agreeable to*] Leo: *but, that thoſe who made oppoſition were* Eutychianiſts. *And when the Judges had ſaid, that* [u] *according to* Leo's *Opinion* [*there ought*] *to be added* [*in the definition of the Faith, theſe words*] two natures united, [u] inconvertible, and undivided, and inconfuſed in Chriſt: [*the Biſhops entreated them to go into the* Oratory *of the Holy* Euphemia's *Church.*] [vv] *And when the Judges had entred into the foreſaid* Oratory, *together with* Anatolius *and the Deputies of* Leo, *with* Maximus *alſo of* Antioch, *and* Juvenalis *of* Jeruſalem, *and* Thalaſſius *of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia, *and with the other* [*Biſhops;*] *and when* [*ſome little time after*] *they had gone out from thence, the definition* [*of the Faith*] *was read, the Contents whereof were theſe:* Our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo forth, *which we have inſerted* * *above into our Hiſtory. And when they had all cried out; This is the Faith of the Fathers, Let the* Metropolitans *now ſubſcribe; This is the Faith of the Apoſtles; We all follow this Faith; We all think thus: the Judges made an* Interlocution *in theſe words: Thoſe matters which have been defined by the Fathers, and which pleaſe all perſons, ſhall be Related* † *to his Imperial Majeſty. But, at the* Sixth Seſſion, *the Emperour* [Marcianus] *came* [*to the Council,*] *and made a Speech to the Biſhops concerning Concord. And* || *after an* Interlocution *of the Emperour's, the definition* [*of the Faith*] *was read by* Aetius *Arch-Deacon of* Conſtantinople, *and all ſubſcribed to the definition. Then the Emperour asked, whether the definition were compoſed by the unanimous conſent of them all: and they all confirmed it with joyfull acclamations. Again, the Emperour made two Speeches* [*to the Biſhops,*] *which were followed with the joyfull acclamations of them all. After this by the Emperour's perſwaſion the Canons were* * *written, and* x *to* [*the City of*] *the* Chalcedonenſians *were given* Metropoliticall Rights and Priviledges.

* Or, *brought an Excommunication upon* Leo.

[r] *As to my ſelf it ſeemeth, I have reſtored this place very happily. For, of theſe three words* [ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν, *from this inſtant*] I have made one, in this manner, ἀπήτησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, &c. *the Judges deſired,* &c. But *Nicephorus*, perceiving this place to be corrupted, by adding a word made it good in this manner; ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκέλευσαν, &c. *From this inſtant the Judges ordered,* &c. Which emendation is contradicted by the Authority *of the Acts*, and contrary to *Evagrius*'s mind. For the *Secular Judges*, who by the Emperour's order were preſent at the Synod, never *Commanded* that *Leo*'s Letter ſhould be inſerted into the definition of the Faith; but only *deſired* that of the Biſhops: which nevertheleſs was denied them by the Biſhops, as 'tis apparent from the *Fifth Action*, pag. 250. *Valeſ.*

[t] Λέοντι πιστεύειν. The word [ἀκολουθοῦντας, *agreeable to*] muſt be underſtood. For the Biſhops did not make anſwer that they believed *Leo*, according as *Chriſtophorſon* renders it; but, that they *believed with Leo* [or, *as* Leo *did believe,*] as *Langus* and *Muſculus* have rightly rendred it. For thus they had acclaimed, *as* Leo *does, ſo we believe*; as it occurs in the *fifth Action*. Valeſ.

[u] In the *Fifth Action of the Chalcedon-Councill*, 'tis written *adverbially, thus*, ἀτρέπτως, καὶ ἀμερίστως, καὶ ἀσυγχύτως, *inconvertibly, and indiviſibly, and inconfuſedly*. Valeſ.

[vv] Before theſe, ſome words ſeem to be wanting in the Greek-Text, which from the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon-Councill* may be ſupplied after this manner: παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἁγιώτατοι ἐστελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον, *the Biſhops intreated them to go into the* Oratory [*of the Holy* Euphemia's *Church.*] Further, the miſtake of *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* is to be taken notice of here; who have rendred μαρτύριον, *the Church of the Holy Martyr* Euphemia. *The Synod of Chalcedon* was indeed aſſembled in the Temple, or *Church* of Saint *Euphemia*. But, the Treaty, or Conference, concerning the Faith was held in the *Oratory* of the ſaid Church, according as the Emperour had given order in the *Allocution* which is recited in the *Council*, pag. 250. συνελθεῖν ἐν τῷ εὐκλινείῳ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων μαρτυρίων, *to meet in the* Oratory [*or* Quire] *of the moſt Holy Church.* For μαρτύριον [*Martyrium*] is taken for the Church, as it appears from the *Third Action* of the *Chalcedon-Synod*, where the Biſhops are ſaid to have met in the *Martyrium of the moſt Holy and Victorious Martyr* Euphemia, And in the *other Actions of that Council, the ſame* Biſhops are ſaid to have come together into the moſt holy church of the ſame Martyr. In regard therefore 'tis manifeſt, that the *Oratory* (wherein ſome few of the Biſhops met only, to treat concerning the Faith, together with *Anatolius* and the Deputies of the *Romiſh See*,) was part of Saint *Euphemia*'s Church, it remains to be inquired, what part of the Church *that* was. Saint *Euphemia*'s Church conſiſted of three ſpacious Edifices; the firſt whereof was an *Atrium*, or, *Court*. The ſecond, the *Baſilica*, [or, *the Church it ſelf*;] the third, the Altar built in form of a *Cuppolo*, as *Evagrius* tells us in the *third chapter* of *this book*. The *Oratory* therefore is the ſame with the *Altar*, which now a days we term the *Choire*, or, *Quire*. Nor has our *Evagrius* done right, in making uſe of μαρτύριον to ſignifie *the Oratory*; for the Emperour had not ordered the Biſhops to meet in the *Martyrium*, but in the *Oratory* of the Martyr, as we have now ſaid. *Valeſ.*

* See chap. 4.

† Or, to the Divine heighth.

|| Or, by the Emperour's order.

* Ordained, or, Conſtituted.

x Not a *Metropoliticall Right or Priviledge*, but the *name* of a *Metropolis* only, was given to the City of *Chalcedon*: for theſe are the words of the Emperour *Marcianus*'s *Law*; Τὴν χαλκηδονέων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως σύνοδος διεκρίθη μητροπόλεως ἔχειν πρεσβεῖα ἐθεσπίσαμεν, ὀνόματι μόνῳ ταύτην πιστεύοντες, σωζομένης δηλαδὴ τῇ νικομηδέων μητροπόλει τῆς ἰδίας ἀξιώματος; that is, *We have Decreed, that the City of the Chalcedonenſians, wherein the Synod of the moſt Holy Faith was convened, ſhould have the priviledges of a Metropolis, honouring it with the name only, to wit, its proper dignity being preſerved to the Metropolis of the* Nicomedians. But although the Emperour in theſe words ſeems to adorn only the City it ſelf of the *Chalcedonenſians*, with the Title of a *Metropolis*, yet that priviledge belongs even to the Church of the *Chalcedonenſians* alſo. From that time therefore the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* had the *honour* of a *Metropolitane*: but, had no *Metropoliticall Right or Priviledge*, becauſe the Emperour by this Law would have nothing diminiſhed from the dignity of the Biſhop of *Nicomedia*. The Biſhops of this very Councill have determined [or judged] the ſame thing in the Cauſe of the Biſhops of *Nicomedia* and *Nicæa*. For, whereas *Nicæa* by the Emperour's Reſcript had obtained the honour of a *Metropolis*, the Judges and Biſhops who were in the Councill made anſwer, that this honour had been given only to the City by the Emperours; nor could the Biſhop of *Nicæa* by this Law arrogate to himſelf a *Metropoliticall Right or Priviledge*; but was only preferred before the other Biſhops of the Province *Bythinia*: ſo that, he was accounted in the ſecond place after the *Metropolitane*, as may be ſeen in the *Thirteenth Action*. Further, what the *Metropoliticall Rights and Priviledges* were, we are informed from the *Canons of the* Nicene *Councill*; to wit, that the Ordinations of *Provinciall Biſhops* ſhould not be made without the *Metropolitan*'s conſent: and that the *Metropolitane Biſhop* ſhould have a power of calling out the *Provinciall Biſhops* to a Councill of his own. Moreover, in the *Florentine Manuſcript* I found it written χαλκηδονέων, although in the *Chalcedon-Councill* it is always written χαλκηδονίων. Regularly it ſhould be written χαλκηδονιέων. But the Ancients ſeem to have ſaid χαλκηδονείων, as 'tis apparent from many places in the *Chalcedon-Councill*. Valeſ.

And

And the Emperour commanded the Biſhops to ſtay three or four days, and that every one ſhould propoſe [*queſtions*] *concerning what he had a mind to, in the preſence of the Judges; and* * *that all things ſhould be ended by a convenient and fit determination. Thus this Convention was finiſhed. There was* [y] *another* [*Seſſion*] *alſo, wherein other Canons were made. And again, at another Seſſion,* Juvenalis *and* Maximus *made an agreement, and it ſeemed good, that the* [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch *ſhould have the* two Phœnicia's, *and* Arabia; *and the* [*Biſhop*] *of* Jeruſalem *the* three Paleſtines [*Subject to his See.*] *And after an* Interlocution *of the Judges and Biſhops, they confirmed* [*this agreement.*] *And at the* [z] *ninth Seſſion* Theodoret's *Cauſe was diſcuſſed. Who had* Anathematized Neſtorius, *in theſe words;* Anathema *to* Neſtorius, *and to him who denies the Holy Virgin* Mary *to be* Theotocos, *and to him who divides the one Only-begotten Son into two Sons: moreover, I have ſubſcribed to the definition of the Faith, and to* Leo's *Epiſtle. After an* Interlocution *therefore made by them all, he recovered his own See. In another Seſſion,* Ibas's *Cauſe was examined, and thoſe things were read which had been tranſacted and pronounced againſt him; the Judges whereof were* Photius *Biſhop of* Tyre, *and* Euſtathius *Biſhop of* Berytus. *And Sentence was deferred to the following* [*Seſſion.*] *At the* Eleventh Convention, *when many of the Biſhops had voted* [a] Ibas *to* [a] *be reſtored to his Biſhoprick, ſome Biſhops oppoſed it, and ſaid, that his Accuſers were without, and they requeſted that they might be ordered to come in. Thoſe things therefore were read which had been tranſacted againſt* Ibas. *And when the Judges by an* Interlocution *had given order, that the* Acts *at* Epheſus *againſt* Ibas *ſhould be read; the Biſhops ſaid, that all things which had been done, at the* Second Epheſine Synod, *were void and null; except only the ordination of* Maximus [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch. *And they made a requeſt to the Emperour concerning this matter, that by a Law he would decree, that nothing of thoſe things* [*which had been done*] *at* Epheſus *after the* Firſt Synod (*over which* Cyrillus *of Bleſſed memory, Prelate of* Alexandria, *had preſided;*) *ſhould be valid. And* Ibas *had his Biſhoprick adjudged to him. At another* Action, *the Cauſe of* Baſſianus *Biſhop of* Epheſus *was diſcuſſed; and 'twas Decreed,* [b] *that as well he, as* Stephanus, *ſhould be depoſed, and another Subſtituted in their room. And at another Seſſion, the ſame thing was put to the Vote and confirmed. In the* Thirteenth Action, *the Cauſe between* Eunomius [*Biſhop*] *of* Nicomedia, *and* Anaſtaſius *Biſhop of* Nicæa *was inquired into, who were at ſtrife amongſt themſelves concerning their own Cities. Moreover, there was a* Fourteenth Action, *wherein the Cauſe of* [c] Sabinianus [*the Biſhop*] *was examined. And in fine, it was determined, that the* Conſtantinopolitane-*See ſhould have* * *precedency immediately after that of* Rome.

* Or, what was fitting ſhould be done.

[y] In *Nicephorus*, inſtead of [ἕτερα, *other things,*] it is righter thus, ἑτέρᾳ, with the accent in the laſt ſyllable ſave one; underſtand, συνόδῳ, *Seſſion*, or *Convention*. I wonder, that neither *Muſculus* nor *Chriſtophorſon* perceived this. *Valeſ.*

[z] Yes, in the *Ninth Action*, the Cauſe of *Theodoret* the Biſhop was judged, as *Our Copies* ſhow us. But the Copies of the *Chalcedon Synod*, which *Evagrius* made uſe of, ſeem to have been different from ours. For, as we have ſeen a little before, *Evagrius* reckons a *Seventh Action*, wherein other Canons were promulged. *Which Action* is at this day wanting in *our Copies*. Valeſ.

[a] Εἰς ἱερᾶς ἐῤῥ. In the *Tenth Action* of the *Chalcedon-Councill*, and in *Nicephorus*, the *Præpoſition* is wanting. But in the *Florentine Manuſcript*, I found it written ἐς ἱερέας; which is the ſame as if he ſhould have ſaid ἐν ἱερεῦσιν, *among*, or, *of the number of the Biſhops*. Valeſ. The reading in *Robert Stephens* is εἰς ἱερέα ἐῤῥ.

[b] The Biſhops Decreed, that as well *Baſſianus*, as *Stephanus*, ſhould be removed from the Biſhoprick of *Epheſus*, and that in their place another Biſhop ſhould be made; as may be ſeen in the *Eleventh* and *Twelfth Action*. This place of *Evagrius* therefore is to be made good thus: ἔδοξε χθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ στέφανον, ἕτερον δὲ ἀντιχθῆναι, *that as well he as* Stephanus *ſhould be ejected, or, depoſed, and another Subſtituted in their room. Valeſ.*

* *Or,* ſhould be placed.

[c] Inſtead of *Baſianus*, it muſt be made *Sabinianus*, from the *Acts of the Chalcedon-Councill*. Of this *Sabinianus* Biſhop of the *Perrenſes* (which is a City in the *Euphratenſian Province*) *Liberatus* makes mention, in the *twelfth Chapter* of *his Breviarium*. Alſo, there is an Epiſtle of *Theodoret*'s extant, written to this *Sabinianus*, which is reckoned the 126th amongſt *his Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

The End.

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Zeno's *Empire, and concerning his Life.*

BUT *Zeno*, after the death of his own * Son, was inveſted with the ſole Adminiſtration of the Empire; ſuppoſing as it were that he could not be poſſeſt of the Dominion of the whole world, unleſs with [an uncontroulable] Liberty he might proſecute all manner of pleaſures which occurred: at his firſt entrance he yielded himſelf ſo wholly up to the attempts and allurements of Luſts, [a] that no filthy or flagitious Fact could put a reſtraint upon him: but in ſuch a manner he * wallowed in the commiſſion thereof, that he thought it vile and mean to commit theſe things in darkneſs and obſcurity: but [to perpetrate them] openly and in the ſight of all [was in his judgment] Royall and becoming only an Emperour. But, his Sentiments [in this matter] were ill and * abſolutely ſervile. [b] For an Emperour is not taken notice of for this, becauſe he Rules over others, but on this account, in regard in the firſt place he governeth and moderateth himſelf, permitting nothing that is extravagant or ill [c] to creep into himſelf: But continues [d] ſo impregnable againſt intemperance, that [he may ſeem to be] a living Image of Virtues, inſtructing his Subjects to an imitation [of Himſelf.] But he who has proſtituted himſelf to Pleaſures, by degrees is imprudently made the vileſt of Servants, and becomes a Captive not redeemable, * frequently changing his Maſters, like the unuſefulleſt ſort of Slaves. For innumerable pleaſures are made his Miſtreſſes, which can never have an end of their Train and Coherence, and of their ſucceeding one another: the pleaſure which is at hand never ſtopping, but becomes the Incentive and Preface of another; till ſuch time as any perſon, [e] really and truly made an Emperour [over himſelf,] can expell that turbulent and tumultuous Government of pleaſures, reigning in future, and not oppreſt with Tyranny: otherwiſe, continuing a Slave to his laſt breath, he muſt poſſeſs the infernall pit.

* Viz. *Leo the Second*; See book 2. chap. 17.

[a] In the moſt excellent *Florentine* M. S. at this place ſome Learned *Scholiaſt* had ſet theſe words; παπαὶ τῆς νυνὶ ὁμοιώτητος, *Oh, the likeneſs to what it is now!* Valeſ.

* Or, *was converſant.*

* Or, *like thoſe of ſlaves.*

[b] Ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὧν. In the *Kings*, *Tellerian*, and *Florentine* M. SS. and in *Stephens*'s *Edit.* the adverb ὅτι is wanting, which Learned men had put in by conjecture, unhappily enough. But, I doubt not but it ſhould be written, ἃ χὸ ἐξ ὧν, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[c] Inſtead of [παρεισδῦναι, *entrance,*] in my judgment it ought to be made παρεισδύνειν *to creep into*: and this reading is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, book 16. chap. 1. *Valeſ.*

[d] Οὕτως δὲ ἀνάλωτος; I aſſent to the Learned, who have long ſince mended it thus, ὅπως δὲ ἀνάλωτος, &c. *But continues ſo impregnable*, &c. although the *Manuſcript* Copies vary not here. But *Nicephorus*, when he perceived this place to be corrupted, *interpolated* it after this manner: κἀντεῦθεν ἀνάλωτος, &c; *whence he continues ſo impregnable*, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *changing his frequent ſlaveries.*

[e] Ἀυτοκράτωρ τις ὅπως γενόμενος, *any perſon thus made an Emperour*: doubtleſs it ſhould be ὄντως γενόμενος, *really and truly made*, &c; and ſo the reading is in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Incurſions of the Barbarians, *both in the* Eaſt, *and in the* Weſt.

SUch a perſon was *Zeno* at the beginning [of his Government,] [a] a man of an intemperate and diſſolute life. But thoſe who were his Subjects,

[a] Ἐνδιαίτημα τὸν βίον. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this phraſe, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For he has rendred it thus: *Ad hunc modum* Zeno *in initio imperii ſui vitam inſtituit, After this manner* Zeno *at the beginning of his Empire ordered his life. Græcians* take ἐνδιαίτημα βίου for *a diſſolute and intemperate life.* Which word does frequently occur in this ſenſe in *Dion Coccetanus* and others. Hence ἐνδιαίτησις is taken for *Luxury* and *Delights*, as *Suidas* atteſts. Further, the *Greeks* do term Diſſolute and Luxurious perſons thus, becauſe they are wont to obſerve no rule of living. So *Dionyſius Halicarnaccenſis*, in *his fifth book*, ſpeaking of a juſt King, ſays theſe words, μηδὲν ἐνδιαιτώμενον τῆς παλαίας, *not at all receding from the Inſtitutions of his Anceſtours. Nicephorus* therefore has rightly expounded this place of *Evagrius* thus, ἀῤῥυθμός τις καὶ ἀνάγωγος, καὶ τὸν βίον μᾶλλον ἐνδιαίτημενος, *an incompoſed and diſorderly perſon, and moſt extravagantly diſſolute in his life.* Valeſ.

jects,

jects, as * well in the *Eaſtern* as *Weſtern* parts, underwent moſt ſevere miſchiefs and afflictions: on this ſide the † *Saracens* ruined all things: on that, a multitude of the *Hunni*, heretofore termed the *Maſſagetæ*, made incurſions into *Thracia*, and paſſed the *Danube*; no body making a reſiſtance againſt them; *Zeno* himſelf alſo in a Barbarick manner [b] by force took away [from the Provincialls] what [the *Barbarians*] had left.

* Or, *as well at the riſing as ſetting Sun.*

† Or, *the Barbarians inhabiting Tents.*

[b] 'Tis ſtrange that neither Tranſlatour hath hit the ſence of this place. For *Muſculus* renders it thus: *Zenone deinceps ad Barbaricum morem violenter abrepto*, Zeno *being from thenceforth violently hurried away to a* Barbarick *diſpoſition.* But *Chriſtophorſon* Tranſlates it in this manner; *Zeno vero reliquis etiam Imperii partibus per vim barbaro quodam more ac modo ſpoliatus eſt*, But Zeno *in the other parts of the Empire alſo by force committed ſpoils in a certain barbarous faſhion and manner.* But had they conſulted *Nicephorus*, they might have had a right underſtanding of this place from him. For *Nicephorus* has explained theſe words of *Evagrius* thus: ὅσα δὲ τύλοις καλαμπάνελο, ζηνώνι φερὸς βίαν ἀφῃρέλο, ἀλλ' ἧττον ἢ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόνουν, that is, *But whatever had been left by them* [*the* Barbarians,] *was forcibly taken away by* Zeno, *who infeſted* [*the Provinces*] *at no leſs rate than the* Barbarians. Further, in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. inſtead of φερὸς βίαν, the reading is φερὸς βίας, in the *Plurall* number, which ſeems to me more elegant. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning Baſiliſcus's *Tyranny, and* Zeno's *Flight.*

BUT When *Baſiliſcus Verina*'s Brother made an Inſurrection againſt him, (For even his own Relations were enemies to *Zeno*, all perſons equally abominating his debauch't life;) he had not ſo much as a thought in him that was manly and couragious: (For wickedneſs is a cowardly thing, which breeds deſperation and deſpondency, and gives a ſufficient indication of an unmanlineſs of mind, from its being vanquiſhed by pleaſures:) but flies with all the haſt imaginable, and without a Battell yields ſo great an Empire to *Baſiliſcus*. He endured alſo a tedious [a] Siege [b] in the Country of the *Iſaurians* where he himſelf had been born, having his wife *Ariadne* with him, (who after [her huſbands flight] had left her mother,) and as many of his friends as had continued faithfull to him. *Baſiliſcus* therefore having thus encircled himſelf with the Crown of the *Romans*, and proclaimed his Son *Marcus Cæſar*, took a contrary courſe, both *to Zeno*, and to thoſe who had been Emperours before [*Zeno.*]

[a] *Zeno* having heard of *Baſiliſcus*'s defection, ſtruck with fear, fled with his wife *Ariadne* into *Iſauria*, and betook himſelf to a moſt ſtrong Caſtle, the name whereof was *Ubara*: but afterwards, when *Baſiliſcus* had ſent *Hillus* and *Trocondus* with vaſt forces againſt him, he went to *Teſſædes*, or rather as *Nicephorus* ſays, to the City *Seleucia*, which was the Head City of all *Iſauria*. There he was a long while Beſieged by *Hillus* and *Trocondus*, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon* pag. 104. *Cedrenus* alſo and *Nicephorus* do affirm the ſame. But in *Theophanes*, the name *Trocondus* is corrupted. For the *common Editions* have it, Ἴλλυς καὶ σικόνδος, *Hillus and Secundus*, whereas it ſhould be Ἴλλυς καὶ Τροκόνδος, *Trocondus*, as it is rightly written in *Nicephorus*. Indeed the ſame *Theophanes*, pag. 106, terms him *Procundus*; which comes nearer to the true reading. This perſon was Brother to *Hillus*, and bore the Conſulate in the year of Chriſt 482, as it occurs in *Marcellinus's Chronicon*: but at length, when *Hillus* had ſet up for a Tyrant, *Trocondus*, who had been ſent by his Brother to get Forces, was taken by *Johannes* a *Maſter of the Milice*, and beheaded; as *Theophanes*, informs us pag. 112. Notwithſtanding, at that place of *Theophanes* the name *Trocondus* is likewiſe corrupted. *Valeſ.*

[b] Κατὰ τὴν ἄνω τῆς ἰσαύρων. The words are tranſpoſed; and are to be reſtored to their Priſtine order in this manner: κατὰ τὴν ἄνω ἰσαύρων χώραν, *in the Country of the* Iſaurians *where he himſelf had been born*: which words of *Evagrius*, *Nicephorus* has expreſt thus: τραλὸν δὲ ἀξιόμαχον ἐνῳκοδόμησε, εἰς πολιορκίαν ζηνῶνος ἔπεμπεν ἀνὰ τὴν ἰσαυείας σελεύκειαν· ἥπερ ἐτέτειχο εἰς φῶς ἀγαγῶσα τῶν, καὶ φυσάδα κατέκειτεν, *And having gathered an Army fit for an Engagement, he ſent it to beſiege* Zeno *at* Seleucia *in* Iſauria, *Which Country had given* Zeno *Birth, and at that time hid the Fugitive.* Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

That Baſiliſcus *recalled* Timotheus Ælurus, *and, induced thereto by him, ſent* his Circular Letters *to all places, in order to the* * *abrogating of the* Chalcedon-Synod.

* *Rejecting*, or, *aboliſhing.*

[INduced thereto] * by an Embaſſy therefore of ſome perſons [ſent to him] from *Alexandria*, he recalls *Timotheus* from Exile, (who had been baniſhed eighteen years;) *Acacius* [at that time] adminiſtring the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*. When therefore *Timotheus* was arrived at the Imperiall City, he perſwades *Baſiliſcus* || to ſend his *Circular Letters* to the Prelates in all places, and to *Anathematize* what had been done at *Chalcedon*, and *Leo*'s Book. The † Contents of the *Circular Letters* run thus.

[a] 'Ἐκ πρεσβείας δὲ. Without doubt it muſt be written thus, ἐκ πρεσβείας, δή, *by an Embaſſy therefore.* Which though it may ſeem a ſmall and triviall emendation, is yet altogether neceſſary. In *Nicephorus*, 'tis δήθεν, *to wit*, or, *therefore.* Valeſ.

|| Or, *To make uſe of his circular Syllables.*

† Or, *Compoſure of which Letters ſay theſe words.*

BASILISCUS'S CIRCULAR LETTER.

Emperour Cæſar Baſiliſcus, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, *always Adorable*, Auguſtus; *and* Marcus *the moſt Noble* Cæſar, *to* Timotheus *the moſt Reverend and* * *moſt Pious Arch-Biſhop of the Great City* Alexandria.

* Or, God-loving.

Whatever Laws the moſt Pious Emperours our Predeceſſours have made in defence of the true and Orthodox *Faith, whoſoever* [*of them*] *have perſiſted truly to worſhip the Bleſſed, Immortall, and Vivifick Trinity*; *Our Will is, that thoſe Laws, in regard they have always been Salutary to the whole world, ſhould at no time be abrogated and made void: but rather, We promulge thoſe Laws as our own. But We, who give Piety and a Zeal for God and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *who hath made Us and advanced Us to Glory, a preference before* [*all care and ſollicitude*] *about Humane affairs*; *and moreover, who believe, that the* * *Concord of Chriſt's Flocks is the* † *ſafety of the Flocks themſelves, and of every Subject, and is the firm and ſolid Foundation, and immovable Wall of our Empire*; *being* || *on this account deſervedly moved with a divine zeal of mind, and offering to God and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *the uniting together of the Holy Church as the Firſtfruits of our Empire, do Enact, that the* * Baſis *and Foundation of Humane felicity, that is the Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers heretofore convened at* Nicea † *by the inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt (unto which* [*Creed*] *We and all our Anceſtours, after our belief thereof, have been baptized,) ſhall only be made uſe of, and* || *obtain in all God's moſt Holy Churches* [*and in the Aſſemblies of*] *the* Orthodox *people*; *in regard that only is the definition of the true and ſincere Faith, and is ſufficient both for the deſtruction of any Hereſie of what ſort ſoever, and alſo for the compleat and perfect uniting of God's Holy Churches. Yet ſo, that thoſe things alſo ſhall retain*

* Or, Conjunction, or, binding together.

† Or, Salvation.

|| Or, From hence.

* Or, Ground and Firmament.

† Or, Together with the Holy Spirit.

|| Or, Hold [obliege, bind,] the Orthodox people in all God's moſt Holy Churches.

their own Strength and Validity, which have been done in this Imperial City by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, in confirmation of the ſame divine Creed, againſt them who have uttered Blaſphemies againſt the Holy Ghoſt: and moreover, all thoſe things which have been done in the Metropolis *of the* Epheſians, *againſt the Impious* Neſtorius, *and thoſe who* * *ſince that have embraced his Sentiments. But We Decree, that thoſe things which have broke the Concord and good order of God's Holy Churches, and the Peace of the whole world, to wit, that termed* Leo's Tome, *and all things which in the definition of the Faith at* Chalcedon, *or in the Expoſition of the Creeds, have been ſpoken or done, on account either of Interpretation, or Doctrine, or Diſputation, in order to the Innovation of the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, ſhall be* Anathematized *both here, and every where elſe, throughout every Church, by the moſt Holy Biſhops in all places, and ſhall be committed to the flames by whomſoever they ſhall be found. For thus the Emperours of Pious and Bleſſed Memory* [*who lived*] *before Us, to wit,* [b] Conſtantine *and* Theodoſius Junior, *have Decreed concerning all Hereticall Opinions. Betaking therefore after this manner abrogated, let them be wholly caſt out of the one and only Catholick and Apoſtolick Orthodox Church; in regard they alter the eternall and ſalutary* * *Terms of the* 318 *Holy Fathers, and thoſe of the* [150] *Bleſſed Fathers who* † *have publiſhed expreſs Declarations* [*concerning*] *the Holy Ghoſt,* [c] *as likewiſe the* [*Terms*] *of thoſe at* Epheſus. *It ſhall therefore be lawfull for no perſon whatever, whether Prieſt or Laick, in any wiſe to tranſgreſs that moſt Divine Conſtitution of the Holy Creed.* [*Further,*] *together with all thoſe Innovations made at* Chalcedon, *againſt the Divine Creed,* [*We Decree*] *that their Hereſie ſhall be* Anathematized, *who deny that the only-begotten Son of God was really and truly incarnate and made man by the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Holy and ever-Virgin* Mary *the* Theotocos, *but in a falſe and monſtrous manner aſſert* [*that he took fleſh*] *either* **from Heaven, or imaginarily and in ſhew only and appearance; in fine, every Hereſie, and if there hath been any other Innovation made, at what time ſoever, in whatever manner, or place of the whole world, either in ſenſe and meaning, or in words,* [*framed*] *in order to a tranſgreſſing the ſaid Divine Creed. But in regard 'tis the property of an Imperial providence, by a foreſeeing conſideration and inſpection liberally to diſtribute ſecurity to its Subjects, not only at the preſent, but for the future alſo; We Decree that the moſt Holy Biſhops in all places ſhall ſubſcribe to this Our Divine* Circular Letter *when* * *exhibited to them, and ſhall plainly declare, that they adhere ſolely to the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers have ſince confirmed; in ſuch manner as thoſe moſt Holy Fathers afterwards convened at the* Metropolis *of the* Epheſians *have definitively Decreed, to wit,* [d] *that we ought only to follow the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, in regard it is the Boundary and Limit of the Faith:* Anathematizing *what ever hath at* Chalcedon *been made the ſtumbling-block of the* Orthodox *Laity, and wholly ejecting it out of the Churches, as being become the impediment of the* [e] *univerſall and our own* [*private*] *felicity. But whoſoever after theſe our Divine Syllables (which, we believe, are promulged agreeable to* [*the mind of*] *God, in regard they procure an Union to God's Holy Churches, wiſht-for and deſired by all men;) ſhall at any time attempt to produce, or ſo much as to name, either by way of diſpute, or in their teaching, or writings, at what time, in what manner or place ſoever, the Innovation which hath been made at* Chalcedon *againſt the Faith; our command is, that ſuch perſons as theſe (in regard they are the Occaſioners of Diſquietude and Tumult to all God's Holy Churches and to every one of our Subjects, and are enemies to God and to our ſafety, according to thoſe Laws promulged long before our time by* Theodoſius *of Bleſſed and Divine Memory, againſt this manner of* * *improbity, which* [*Laws*] *we have ſubjoyned to this Our Divine* Circular Letter;) *if they be Biſhops or Clergymen, ſhall be depoſed: but if Monks, or Laicks they* † *ſhall be lyable to Baniſhment, to a Confiſcation of all their Goods, and to the exſtreameſt puniſhments. For thus the Holy and Conſubſtantiall Trinity (at all times adored by Our Piety,) the Framer and Enlivener of all things, being by Us now alſo worſhipped, by an abolition of the forementioned* || Darnell, *and a confirmation of the true and Apoſtolick Traditions of the Holy Creed, and rendred propitious and candid, both to Our Souls, and to every of Our Subjects; will ever in future together with Us Govern Humane Affairs, and render them compoſed and peaceable.*

[b] There is indeed extant a Conſtitution of the Emperour *Conſtantine's*, wherein the *Dogmaticall Books* of *Arius* are ordered to be burnt; which Conſtitution occurs at pag. 221. of *our Socrates*. Nevertheleſs, the Emperour *Baſiliſcus* ſeems here to mean another Law, which had been promulged by *Conſtantine* againſt all Hereticks in generall. But that Law hath periſhed by the injury of time. Yet part of it is ſtill remaining in *Euſebius*, in the *Third Book of his Life of Conſtantine*, Chap. 64, and 66. But, there are two Conſtitutions extant of *Theodoſius Junior's*, concerning the burning of *Neſtorius's* books. The former of which makes mention of the Law of *Conſtantine* of Bleſſed Memory againſt *Arius's* impious books. Further, theſe Conſtitutions of *Theodoſius* occur in the *third part* of the *Epheſine Councill*. *Baſiliſcus* had ſubjoyned theſe Laws of *Theodoſius* to *his own Circular Edict*, as 'tis hereafter atteſted. *Valeſ.*

[c] Κατὰ τῶν ἐφεσίων. At this place *Nicephorus* has rightly added two words, in this manner; κὴ ἅγ κτ τῶν ἐφεσίων. But I affirm that a third word is to be added, thus; κὴ τὰ ἅγ κτ τῶν ἐφεσίων. For the word [ὅεια, terms] is underſtood; which occurs in the foregoing Clauſes. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ὅτι δὺ μόνω, &c In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written thus, ὅτι δεῖ μόνω, &c. *that we ought only to follow, &c.* which reading *Chriſtopherſon* and Sr *Henry Savil* have embraced. A little after this, where the reading before was, ὡς ὅεσν πίςεως, *as the Boundary and Limit of the Faith*; from the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* M. SS. I have made it, εἰς ὅεσν πίςεως, *in regard it is*, &c. as 'tis in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[e] Τῇ ὁικυμδύμ κὴ ὠυεῤῥρᾳ εὐπραξίᾳ. In the *Tellerian* M. S. and in *Nicephorus*, I found it written, τῇ ὁικυμδυικῇ, *of the univerſall*, &c. Valeſ.

* *Or*, Shown, *or* declared.

* *Or*, Mallevolence.

† *Or*, Shall fall under Baniſhment, *&c.*

|| *Or*, Tarei.

CHAP. V.

Concerning thoſe perſons who conſented to Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters, *and rejected the Synod* [*of* Chalcedon.]

AS therefore 'tis related by *Zacharias* the *Rhetorician*, *Timotheus*, newly returned from Exile (as I have ſaid,) gave his conſent to theſe *Circular Letters:* as did likewiſe *Peter* Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſurnamed **Fullo*, who together with *Timotheus* was preſent at the Imperial [City *Conſtantinople.*] Theſe things having been performed in this manner, † they Vote that *Paulus* alſo ſhould recover the Archiepiſcopall Chair of *Epheſus*. Further, [the ſame *Zacharias*] affirms, that *Anaſtaſius*, who had ſucceeded

* *Or*, The Fuller.

† See chap. 6. note (4.)

ceeded *Juvenalis* [in the See] of *Jeruſalem*, ſubſcribed the ſame *Circular Letters*, as likewiſe very many others: inſomuch that they were in number about Five hundred, who condemned *Leo's* * *Letter*, and the *Chalcedon Synod*. [The ſame Authour] [a] does alſo ſome where record the *Supplicatory Libell* preſented by the Biſhops of *Aſia* [b] convened at *Epheſus*, to *Baſiliſcus*; part of the Contents of which [Libell] run thus.

* Or, *Tome.*

[a] Καὶ πε ἡ δέησιν ἐγγεγρῶ. Doubtleſs it muſt be made ἐγγεγράφει, *does record*; which I admire Tranſlatours perceived not. *Zacharias* is underſtood, who in *his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory* had recorded this *Libell* entire, which the Biſhops of *Aſia*, convened at *Epheſus*, had ſent to the Emperour *Baſiliſcus*. Valeſ.

[b] Concerning this *Epheſine Councill*, which was held in the times of the Emperour *Baſiliſcus*, *Baronius* in *his Annalls*, at the year of Chriſt 476, writes very ſlightly and negligently: remarking this only, that it was celebrated by the *Eutychians*. But he mentions neither upon what account it was aſſembled, nor what was tranſacted therein: it is our office therefore, by our care and diligence to ſupply what he has omitted. After the *Circular Letters* ſent forth by the Emperour *Baſiliſcus* againſt the *Chalcedon-Councill*, *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the only perſon of the *Patriarchs* ſubject to the *Eaſtern Empire*, refuſed ſubſcribing to theſe Letters, nor would ever endure to expunge the *Chalcedon Synod* out of the *Eccleſiaſticall Tables*. Moreover, the Monks of *Conſtantinople* reſolutely oppoſed *Baſiliſcus*. Laſtly, the *Conſtantinopolitane* populacy began to be moſt grievouſly tumultuous, threatning to fire the City and the Pallace, if the Emperour ſhould perſiſt to put a force upon *Acacius* and the Catholicks. *Baſiliſcus*, terrified hereat, flies from the Imperial City; took from the *Conſtantinopolitane* Church their Rights and Priviledges, and forbad the Senators to ſpeak to [or ſalute] *Acacius*. But afterwards, when he heard that *Zeno* was on his return out of *Iſauria*; being ſtricken with fear, he came into the Church together with his wife and children; and excuſing himſelf to *Acacius* and the Clergy of the Imperiall City, reſtored their Rights to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church, and ſet forth *his Anti-Circular* [that is, *Letters contrary to his Circular*] *Letters*: thus *Theodorus Lector* informs us, *Book* 1. The *Eutychians* therefore, (when they ſaw *Acacius* contend with ſo much fierceneſs for the confirmation of the *Chalcedon-Synod*; and that not only the Monaſteries, but the people alſo of the Imperial City, and other Prieſts every where, were excited by *Acacius* againſt *Baſiliſcus*;) convened a Councill of Biſhops of their own party in the City *Epheſus*: in which Councill they condemned and depoſed both *Acacius*, and ſome other Biſhops who embraced the ſame Sentiments with him: and then they entreated the Emperour *Baſiliſcus*, that he would perſiſt in his former opinion, and would not promulge a Conſtitution Contrary to his own *Circular Letters*. In the ſame Synod, *Paulus* is ordained Biſhop of *Epheſus* by the Biſhops of the ſame Province, and the *Patriarchicall priviledge* is reſtored to the *Epheſine See*, as our *Evagrius* relates in the *ſixth chapter of this book*. Further, this *Epheſine Councill* was held on the year of Chriſt 477, after the Conſulate of *Baſiliſcus* and *Armatus*. Which I gather from hence, becauſe this Synod was aſſembled a little before *Baſiliſcus* promulged *his Anti-Circular Letters*. Now *Baſiliſcus* publiſhed thoſe Letters on that year I have mentioned; when he underſtood that *Zeno* was returning out of *Iſauria* with an Army; as I have obſerved above out of *Theodorus Lector*. Indeed, the *Aſian Biſhops* ſeem to intimate this in their Letter to *Baſiliſcus*, in theſe words: μήδεν ἧν ἕτερον πρὸς τὰ θεῖα ὑμῶν ἐγκύκλια προσλαβόντες θελήσητε, *Be pleaſed therefore to publiſh nothing contrary to your Divine Circular Letters*. Moreover, *Timotheus Ælurus* ſeems to have preſided at this Councill. For he came to *Epheſus* in the Reign of *Baſiliſcus*, and ſeated *Paulus* in his Epiſcopal Chair, as *Evagrius* relates from *Zacharias*. Nor is it likely, that *Acacius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* ſhould have been depoſed by any other perſon than the *Alexandrian* Biſhop, who held the dignity of a Patriarch equall to *Acacius*. For who can believe that the *Conſtantinopolitan* Biſhop was depoſed by the Biſhops of *Aſia*, who long before this, from the times of *John Chryſoſtome*, were ſubject to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*? Valeſ.

To the moſt Pious in all things, and the Lovers of Chriſt, our Lords Baſiliſcus *and* Marcus, *perpetual* Victors, [c] Auguſti. And after ſome words, *You have always ſeemed (Moſt pious and Chriſt-Loving Emperours!) to be divers ways aſſaulted, together with the Faith which is hated and oppoſed.* And after other words.

[c] *Marcus* was firſt created *Ceſar* by his Father *Baſiliſcus*, as *Marcellinus* relates in *his Chronicon*, *Theophanes*, and others. 'Tis certain, in *Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters* he is only termed *the moſt noble Ceſar*. But afterwards he was ſtyled *Auguſtus* by his Father, as this Letter of the Biſhops of the *Epheſine* Councill doth inform us. Alſo, in the *Anti-Circular Letter* of *Baſiliſcus*, the ſame *Marcus* is named Emperour with his Father. The *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* is miſtaken therefore, who relates that *Baſiliſcus*, as ſoon as he was proclaimed Emperour, crowned his Son *Marcus* Emperour. *Candidus* ſays truer, in the *ſecond book of his Hiſtory*, in *Photius*. Valeſ.

A certain terrible expectation of Judgment, and an * *Ardour of Divine Fire, and the juſt* † *Reſentment of Your Serenity, will in a ſhort time* ‖ *Seize the Adverſaries, who* [d] *with a certain arrogant folly, as it were with Darts, attempt to make an attack againſt the powerfull God and your Empire fortified by the* [*true*] *Faith; nor do they in any manner ſpare our Tenuity: but continually aſſault us with reproaches and lies, as if by a neceſſity and a force we had ſubſcribed to your Divine and Apoſtolick Circular Letters; whereas we have ſet our hands thereto with all imaginable joy and alacrity of mind.* And after ſome other words. *Be pleaſed therefore to publiſh nothing contrary to your Divine* Circular Letters; *knowing for certain what we have already ſaid, that the whole world will be overturned again, and that the miſchiefs done by the* Synod *at* Chalcedon *will be found ſmall and triviall, which* [*yet*] *have effected theſe innumerable murders, and have unjuſtly and illegally poured forth the bloud of the* Orthodox. And after other words. *We proteſt before our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, [e] *We entreat Your piety to be free from that juſt Canonicall and Eccleſiaſtick* * *condemnation and depoſition inflicted on them, and eſpecially* [*from that inflicted*] *on him, who by many* [*evidences*] *has been detected not to have governed the Biſhoprick of the Imperial* [*City*] *holily.*

* Ζῆλος, *a fervency*, or, *a parching heat.*

† *Incitation*, or, *commotion.*

‖ *Or*, engage.

[d] Ἀλαζονικῇ πομπείᾳ, *with a proud revenge*: the reading in *Nicephorus* is the ſame. Where *Johannes Langus* renders πομπείαν, *revenge*. But I am of opinion, that by a ſmall change this place is thus to be reſtored; ἀλαζονικῇ τινὶ μωρίᾳ, *with a certain arrogant folly*. Valeſ.

[e] Ἐλαθέρεν πῶ ὑμετέρεν εὐσέβειαν, &c. *Chriſtophorſon* read ἡμετέρων, *our piety*; contrary to the Faith and Authority of all Copies, and without any ſenſe. Beſides, he has rendred the following words very badly. Whence it hapned, that *Baronius*, who every where follows *Chriſtophorſon's* Verſion, could in no wiſe underſtand the tranſactions of *this Epheſine Councill*. So great a hindrance is an ill Rendition. Nor has *Johannes Langus* tranſlated this Clauſe more happily. For he hath rendred it thus: *Atteſtamur coram Salvatore Noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, &c. We atteſt before our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that Your piety is free and innocent. From which we requeſt, that a Juſt and Canonical and Eccleſiaſtick Sentence of Condemnation and Depoſition may be pronounc'd againſt them, and eſpecially againſt him who hath been many ways found out to have adminiſtred the Biſhoprick in the Imperial City impiouſly.* But the Biſhops of *Aſia* do not ſay this: but requeſt of the Emperours *Baſiliſcus* and *Marcus*, that they would not communicate any more with *Acacius* and the other Biſhops whom they themſelves had condemned and depoſed by an Eccleſiaſtick Sentence: For this is the import of theſe words, ἐλαθέραν πῶ ὑμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἐξ) δεόμεθα τῆς ἐπενεχθείσης, &c; which are to be written in one entire Clauſe, without any diſtinction. But Tranſlatours, following *Nicephorus*, and the Edition of *Robert Stephens*, have placed a diſtinction after the word ἐξ), which led them into a miſtake. *Valeſ.*

* In this Edition of *Valeſius's*, 'tis κολάζεώς, *abuſe*: it is, I ſuppoſe, an errour of the Preſs; put inſtead of κολακείας, *condemnation*; which is the reading in *Stephens's Edition*.

[Further,] the ſame *Zacharias* writes word for word thus. *As ſoon as the* Circular *and* Imperial Letters *were publiſhed, thoſe perſons in the* Imperial [*City*] [f] *who were diſtempered with* Eutyches's *Opinion and followed a Monaſtick life,*

[f] Οἱ πῶ ϑυλυχᾶς φανλασίαν νοσῶνλες. Tranſlatours underſtood not theſe words of *Zacharias Rhetor*. Nor does *Nicephorus* ſeem to have underſtood them. For, inſtead of them, he has ſubſtituted theſe; οἱ τὰ ϑυλυχᾶς φανλαζόμενοι, *thoſe who imagine* [or, *conceive*] *Eutyches Tenets*.] By φανλασίαν [*Phantaſie*,] or, [*Imagination*,] *Zacharias* means the opinion of *Eutyches*, who aſſerted, that the fleſh of Chriſt was not true nor conſubſtantiall with us, but *Phantaſticall* or *imaginary*; as may be ſeen in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*. Hence the *Epiſtles* of Avitus *Biſhop* of Vienna, wherein he confutes *Eutyches's* Errour, have this Title, *Contra phantaſma, againſt the Phantaſme*; as *Sirmondus* atteſts. Further, from this place it may be gathered, that *Zacharias Rhetor* was not an *Eutychian*, as *Baronius* thought at the year of *Chriſt* 476. For he would never have expreſt himſelf thus, had he been a follower of *Eutyches's* Sect. It muſt therefore either be ſaid, that theſe are not the words of *Zacharias Rhetor*, (which notwithſtanding *Evagrius* affirms;) or elſe, that he was not an *Eutychianiſt*. See *chap.* 14. Valeſ.

ſuppoſing they had met with Timotheus *as with ſome unexpected gain, and hoping to reap a great advantage to themſelves from the* Circular Letters; *in great haſt betook themſelves to* Timotheus. *And when they had been convinced by him, that the Word of God was of the ſame ſubſtance with us according to the fleſh, but* Conſubſtantiall *to the Father in relation to the Deity, they went back* [*to their own homes.*]

CHAP. VI.

That Timotheus Ælurus *recovered the* [*Biſhoprick*] *of* Alexandria, *and having reſtored the priviledge of a* Patriarchate *to the* [*Church*] *of* Epheſus, Anathematized *the* Chalcedon-Synod.

THE ſame [*Zacharias*] ſays, that *Timotheus* leaving the Imperial [City *Conſtantinople*,] arrived at *Epheſus*, and [there] * placed [a] *Paulus* in the *Archi-Epiſcopall See* of the *Epheſians*. This [*Paulus*] had long before this been ordained by the Biſhops of that Province, [b] agreeable to the more ancient uſage: but had been ejected out of his See. *Timotheus* alſo reſtored to the *Epheſine* Church the [c] *Patriarchicall* priviledge, which the Synod of *Chalcedon* had deprived it of, as I have ſaid. Removing from thence, he comes to *Alexandria*, and perſiſted to requeſt thoſe who came to him, to *Anathematize* the Synod of *Chalcedon*. Nevertheleſs, many others of his own Faction receded from him (as 'tis related by the ſame *Zacharias*,) as did likewiſe *Theodotus* one of thoſe that had been ordained at *Joppa* by * *Theodoſius*, who was made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by ſome perſons, at ſuch time as *Juvenalis* went to *Conſtantinople*.

[a] Or, *Seated Arch-Biſhop Paulus in the* [*Chair*] *of the Epheſians.*

[a] *Timotheus Ælurus* and *Petrus Fullo*, together with other Biſhops, being a little before this aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*, had Decreed that this *Paulus* ſhould be reſtored to the See of *Epheſus*, out of which he had been ejected. For theſe are *Evagrius*'s words at the *fifth chapter of this book*, ψηφίζονται καὶ παῦλον τὸν τῆς ἐφεσίων ἀρχιερατικὸν ὑπελθεῖν θρόνον, *they Vote that* Paulus *alſo ſhould recover the Archiepiſcopall Chair of* Epheſus. Which place *Chriſtophorſon* has not rendred truly, in this manner; *His rebus ita conſtitutis* Paulus *ad ſedem Archiepiſcopatûs* Epheſiani *capeſſendam deligitur, Theſe things having been thus conſtituted,* Paulus *is choſen to take the Archiepiſcopall See of* Epheſus. For *Paulus* was not elected by *Ælurus* and *Petrus Fullo* at *Conſtantinople*, that he ſhould take the *Epheſine-See*: but having been expelled out of the See of *Epheſus*, he came to *Conſtantinople*: where a Councill of *Eutychianiſts* being convened, it was Decreed that he ſhould recover the *Archiepiſcopate* of the City *Epheſus*. In the *fifth chapter of this book*, the reading in the vulgar Editions was, ἐπελθεῖν θρόνου, *Come into the Chair*. But from the *Florentine and Tellerian* M. SS. I have mended it, ὑπελθεῖν, *enter upon*. Yet I had rather add a preposition, and write it thus, ἐπαγελθεῖν *return to, recover*, or, *re-enter upon*. Valeſ.

[b] Ἀνὰ τὸ ἀρχαιοτέρου συνήθειαν. I had rather make it κατὰ τὸ, &c. *agreeable to*, &c. Further, what *Zacharias* ſays here is moſt true, to wit, that it was the ancienter uſage, that the Biſhop of *Epheſus* ſhould be ordained by the Biſhops of his own Province. For, from S[t] *Timothy* who was the firſt Biſhop of the *Epheſians*, untill *Caſtinus*, and *Heraclides*, whom *John Chryſoſtome* ordained, all the Biſhops of the *Epheſians* were ordained in the ſame City by the Biſhops of that Province, as 'tis apparent from *the Eleventh Action of the Chalcedon-Councill*. Valeſ.

[c] *Zacharias* does here call *the Patriarchicall priviledge* the *Right of Primacy*, or *the priviledge of Ordaining Metropolitanes*. For in this the Patriarchicall priviledge did properly conſiſt, as I have obſerved in *my Little Book concerning the interpretation of the Sixth Canon of the* Nicene *Councill*, which is publiſhed at the cloſe of *Our Socrates*. Now whereas *Zacharias*, or rather *Evagrius*, adds, that this priviledge had been taken away from the See of *Epheſus* by the *Chalcedon* Synod; he means the *Sixteenth Action of the Chalcedon-Synod*; wherein it was Decreed, that the *Conſtantinopolitane* Biſhops ſhould Ordain *Metropolitanes* in the *Aſian Diœceſis*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VII.

That the Monks having raiſed a Sedition by the perſwaſion of Acacius, Baſiliſcus *was put into a fear, and wrote and promulged* Circular Letters *contrary to thoſe he had publiſhed before.*

[THE ſame *Zacharias*] relates likewiſe, that *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* [a] was extreamly troubled at theſe things, and that he incited the Monks and Populacy of the Imperial [City] againſt *Baſiliſcus*, as being an Heretick. And, that *Baſiliſcus*, at length * renounced his *Circular Letters*, and wrote a Conſtitution, that what had been ſurreptitiouſly [and raſhly] done, ſhould be wholly vacated and made null; and, that he ſent abroad Letters contrary to his former *Circular Letters*, wherein he confirmed the Synod at *Chalcedon*. And theſe *Anti-Circular-Letters* (as he terms them,) *Zacharias* has omitted, who hath written *his whole Hiſtory* with partiality and in favour to his own party. But the Contents of them run word for word thus.

[a] Πεεπαθήσασα. I had conjectured long ſince, that it ſhould be περιαθήσασα, *was extreamly troubled*. The *Tellerian* M. S. has at length confirmed this my conjecture; wherein I found it written περιαθήσασα. Valeſ.

* Or, *Denyed*; that is, *repealed*, or *revoak'd*.

Baſiliſcus's Anti-Circular-Letter.

Emperours Cæſars, Baſiliſcus and Marcus. *We Decree, that the Apoſtolick and Orthodox Faith (which originally and from the beginning hath flouriſhed in the Catholick Churches, which hath obtained even untill our Empire, which doth now obtain under our Empire, and which ought forever to obtain, into which we have been baptized, and which we believe;) ſhall only continue inviolate and unſhaken, and ſhall for ever be prevalent in all the Catholick and Apoſtolick Churches of the Orthodox; and, that nothing elſe ſhall be required. For this reaſon therefore We command, that all things which have been done on account of the Faith or Eccleſiaſtick* * *Diſcipline under our Empire, whether they be* Circular Letters, *or other* [*Letters,*] *or what ever elſe, ſhall be void and null:* Neſtorius *and* Eutyches, *and every other Hereſie, and all thoſe who embrace the ſame Sentiments with them, being* Anathematized. *And* [*'tis our will,*] *that concerning this Subject, neither any Synod ſhould be convened, nor any other queſtion* [*ſtarted:*] *but, that theſe things ſhould continue firm and unſhaken. Moreover,* [*We command,*] [b] *that thoſe Provinces (the Ordination whereof the Chair of this Imperiall and Glorious City hath had,) ſhall be reſtored to the moſt pious and moſt Holy Patriarch and Arch-Biſhop* Acacius: *to wit, the moſt pious Biſhops that now are, continuing in their own Sees;* [*yet ſo*] *that after their deaths no prejudice from this buſineſs may ariſe to the Right of Ordination* [*belonging to*] *the Holy Chair of this Imperial and famous City. Now,* * *it is dubious to no perſon, that this our Divine Decree has the force of a Divine Conſtitution.* And theſe things proceeded in this manner.

* Or, Conſtitution,

* Or, It has been dubious.

[b] When by the Emperour *Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters*, the *Chalcedon-Synod* had been wholly abrogated, the priviledges of the *Conſtantinopolitan See* which had been eſtabliſhed in *that Councill*, ſeemed to have been taken away by that ſame Sanction. By which thing *Acacius* was chiefly moved, and uſed his utmoſt endeavour, that the Emperour *Baſiliſcus* ſhould revoak his own Conſtitution. Beſides, in the *Epheſine Synod*, the Patriarchicall priviledge had been reſtored to the See of *Epheſus* by *Timotheus Ælurus*, as we have ſeen

seen before. Which having been done, the *Asian Diœceſis*, the ordinations whereof had been given to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* by the Decree of the *Chalcedon-Synod*, was taken away from that See. There was therefore need of a new Conſtitution, whereby its Rights and Priviledges might be reſtored to the *Conſtantinopolitane See*. This therefore the Emperour *Baſiliſcus* now performs, by the publication of theſe *his Anti-Circular-Letters*. *Theodorus Lector* does likewiſe atteſt the ſame, in *his firſt Book Collectan.* about the cloſe thereof. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Zeno's *Return.*

BUT *Zeno* having (as 'tis reported) [ſeen in his ſleep] the Holy [a] *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, famous for her many Conflicts, who incited him, and made him a promiſe that his Empire ſhould be reſtored to him; marched his Army towards *Byzantium*. And having with gifts, corrupted thoſe who beſieged him, he drives out *Baſiliſcus* who had held the Empire two years; and delivers him to the enemy after he had made his eſcape to the Holy Rails [of the Altar.] On this account *Zeno* dedicated a ſpatious Church, eminent for its * ſplendidneſs and beauty, to the *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, at *Seleucia* ſcituate in the Country of *Iſauria*, and beautified it with many and Imperial Sacred gifts, which are preſerved till theſe our times. Further, *Baſiliſcus* is ſent into the Region of the *Cappadocians*, † in order to his being put to death: but he is [b] ſlain in that *Station* named [c] *Acuſus*, together with his wife and children. And *Zeno* makes a Law, which abrogates what had been conſtituted by the Tyrant *Baſiliſcus* in *his Circular Letters*. Then alſo *Petrus* ſurnamed *Fullo* is driven from the Church of the *Antiochians*; and *Paulus* from that of the *Epheſians*.

[a] The *Greeks* who delight much in *Epithets*, are wont to grace each Saint with proper and peculiar Titles. Thus they commonly term *Thecla the Apoſtle* and *Proto-Martyr*. They call her an Apoſtle, becauſe, like an Apoſtle, ſhe had preacht the Faith of Chriſt in many places: and they ſtyle her *Proto-Martyr*, in regard as *Stephen* was the firſt Martyr of *Chriſt* amongſt men, ſo was ſhe the firſt amongſt women; as *Baſilius Seleucienſis* does atteſt in *his firſt book concerning the Life and Miracles of the bleſſed Thecla*. She is called *Thecla* by way of contraction, inſtead of *Theoclia*. For thus the ſame *Baſilius* does frequently term her. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Excellency.*

† Or, *being about to die.*

[b] Ἀποσφάττεται. With *Evagrius* agrees *Malchus* in the *firſt book of his* Byzantine *Hiſtory*, and *Candidus Iſaurus* in the *ſecond book of his Hiſtories*; both which Authours relate, that *Baſiliſcus* was killed by the ſword. But the other *Hiſtorians* tell us, that he dyed by hunger and cold, together with his wife and children. This diſagreement of Writers in reference to *Baſiliſcus*'s death, is taken notice of by *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 107. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἐν ἀκυσῷ. So alſo the name of this *Station* is written in *Nicephorus*. But *Cedrenus* and *Theophanes* term it *Cucuſus*. *Marcellinus* and the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* call it *Leminis and Limnæ*, a *Caſtrum* [or, *Caſtle*] of *Cappadocia*, into which *Baſiliſcus* was thruſt together with his wife and children; and the gate of one of the Towers, wherein he was incloſed, being ſtop't up, he periſhed there by hunger and cold. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

That after Baſiliſcus's *death, the Biſhops of* Aſia, *that they might appeaſe* Acacius, *ſent him a* Penitentiary-Libell, [*craving pardon*] *for their offence in rejecting the* Synod *of* Chalcedon.

[IN the Interim,] the Biſhops of *Aſia*, in order to their appeaſing *Acacius*, excuſed themſelves, and craved pardon, ſending a *Penitentiary-Libell* [to him,] wherein they affirmed, that they had ſubſcribed to the *Circular-Letters* by force and conſtraint, not voluntarily; and they ſwore, that the thing was ſo, and that they had not believed, nor did believe otherwiſe than agreeable to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The * purport of their Letters is this. *The Epiſtle, or Petition, ſent to* Acacius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *from the Biſhops of* Aſia. *To* Acacius *the moſt Holy and moſt Pious Patriarch of the moſt Holy Church at the Imperial* [*City*] Conſtantinople New Rome. And after other words. [a] *He hath arrived amongſt us and does what is right and fitting; who alſo ſhall fill your place.* And after a few words. *By theſe Libells we ſignifie to you, that we have ſubſcribed, not according to the intent of our minds, but by force and conſtraint, giving our conſent thereto in words and Letters, but not in heart. For by* [*the aſſiſtance of*] [b] *your acceptable interceſſions, together with the aſſent of the Deity, we believe in ſuch manner as we have received from thoſe* Three hundred and eighteen Luminaries *of the world, and from the* Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers. *Beſides,* [*we believe*] *thoſe matters alſo, which have been pioufly and rightly determined at* Chalcedon *by the Holy Fathers convened there.* Further, whether *Zacharias the Rhetorician* has calumniated theſe [Biſhops of *Aſia*,] or whether they themſelves have lyed, in averring that they ſubſcribed involuntarily, I cannot affirm.

* Or, *ſorte.*

[a] ἐρχεται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savil* have mended it thus ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, *amongſt you*, without any thing of ſenſe. *Nicephorus*, 'tis certain, confirms, the vulgar reading, viz. *amongſt us*. But in the next words which follow, it ought to be made ὑμέτερον τόπον, *your place*, inſtead of ἡμέτερον τόπον, *our place*. *Johannes Langus* perceived this before us, who has rendred this paſſage tranſcribed out of *Evagrius* thus, *Reſtè ſanè ad nos venit, qui locum etiam veſtrum obtinebit. He hath indeed come rightly unto us, who ſhall alſo poſſeſs your place.* By which words the Biſhops of *Aſia* mean the Legate, which *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had ſent to them, to wit a *Presbyter* or a *Deacon* of the *Conſtantinopolitane* Church. But if any one had rather, with *Chriſtophorſon*, read ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, *amongſt you*; we muſt underſtand it of the Legate which the Biſhops of *Aſia* had ſent to *Acacius*, that he might preſent the *Libell of ſatisfaction* to him. And this I think is truer. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [ἡμῶν, *our*] doubtleſs it muſt be [ὑμῶν, *your*,] as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. From whom an amendment muſt be made a little after this, thus, σῳ δόγματι, by dividing the words, which were erroneouſly made one word. Each emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuſcript*. Valeſ.

CHAP. X.

Concerning thoſe who governed the Biſhoprick of Antioch.

[a] AFter therefore *Peter* [was ejected,] *Stephanus* aſſumes the Chair of *Antioch*: whom the children of the *Antiochians* ſlew with reeds, which were made ſharp like to Darts, as *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* has related. But after *Stephanus*, the Government of that ſame See was committed to *Calendion*, who excited thoſe that came to him to *Anathematize Timotheus*, together with *Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters*.

[a] After *Petrus Fullo*, *Johannes Apamenus* was Biſhop of *Antioch*. He being ejected after 3 months, *Stephanus* was put into his place, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Cronicon, page* 107: to which Writer agrees *Gelaſius in Geſtis de nomine Acacii*, and *Liberatus* in *his Breviary*, chap. 18. *Pope Felix* has mentioned the ſame *Johannes*, in the *Sentence of Condemnation which he dictated againſt* Acacius, and in *the Epiſtle which in the name of the* Roman *Synod he wrote to all the Presbyters and* Archimandrites *in* Conſtantinople *and* Bithynia. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

That the Emperour Zeno *took a reſolution of perſecuting* Ælurus: *but by reaſon of his age he had compaſſion on him and let him alone. And how after* Ælurus's *death,* Petrus Mongus *was ordained by the* Alexandrians. *But* Timotheus, Proterius's *ſucceſſour, by the order of the Emperour, obtained the Chair of the* Alexandrians.

MOreover, *Zeno* was reſolved to have expelled *Timotheus* out of *Alexandria:* but underſtanding from ſome perſons that he was now very aged, and would ſoon * go the way of all men, he † altered his reſolution. And not long after [*Timotheus*] paid the common debt [of Nature:] whereupon [a] thoſe of *Alexandria* by their own authority elect *Petrus*, ſurnamed *Mongus*, Biſhop. Which, when it came to *Zeno*'s hearing, diſturbed him extreamly. Wherefore *Zeno* [b] puniſhed *Petrus* with death: but he recalled *Timotheus* [*Salophaciolus,*] *Proterius*'s ſucceſſour, who then lived at *Canopus* on account of a Sedition raiſed by the people. *Timotheus* therefore by the Emperour's order recovered his own See.

* Or, *enter the Inn*, or, *houſe of all men.*

† Or, *forbad.*

[a] Οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι, &c. *the Biſhops of Alexandria elect*, &c. I had rather write ἐπίσκοπον, and ſo reade the whole clauſe thus, ᾧ πέλεν ἀυθεντίᾳ προχειρίζονται σφῶν οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπον; *whereupon thoſe of* Alexandria *by their own authority elect* Petrus *ſurnamed* Mongus *Biſhop:* and I am of opinion that *Evagrius* wrote thus. 'Tis certain, theſe words οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι cannot be ſpoken of the *ſuffragan Biſhops*. Beſides, *Petrus Mongus* was ordained but by one Biſhop, as 'tis related *in Geſtis de nomine Acacii*, and *in* Acacius's *Epiſtle to Pope* Simplicius. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ζημίαν προξέλιμησε. I doubt not but it ſhould be written προσέλιμησε, *puniſhed*. For προσιμᾶν ſignifies *mulctare, to puniſh*. Whence προσιμον imports *Puniſhment*, as *Suidas* atteſts. But προξιμᾶν (which is the reading in *Robert Stephens's Edition*) ſignifies quite another thing. *Nicephorus* having found this fault in his Copy, expunged the *Preposition*, and worded this place of *Evagrius* thus, τὸν μὲν ψηφισαμένης θανάτῳ ζημίᾳ ἐτίμα, that is, *He puniſhed thoſe who had elected* [Petrus Mongus *Biſhop*] *with a capitall puniſhment*. And yet *Evagrius* does not ſay ſo. For he relates, that *Mongus* himſelf was condemned by *Zeno*, not the Biſhops who had choſen *Mongus*. 'Tis apparent therefore that *Nicephorus* had read thus in our *Evagrius*; ᾧ τὸν μὲν ὁ ζήνων θανάτῳ ζημίαν προσετίμησε, *wherefore* Zeno *puniſhed thoſe with death*; and that he underſtood it as ſpoken of the Hereticall Biſhops who had elected *Mongus*. Doubtleſs, the Biſhops who had choſen *Mongus* deſerved a ſorer puniſhment than *Mongus* himſelf, who was elected by them. For they had done that on their own authority, without the Emperours advice and direction: whenas it had been cuſtomary, by reaſon of the largneſs of the City *Alexandria*, that the Biſhop thereof ſhould not be elected, unleſs the Emperour's mind were firſt known. Beſides, they had preſumed to elect another Biſhop when the See was not void, but whilſt *Timotheus Salophaciolus* as yet ſurvived. Whereupon the Seditions and Diviſions, which ſeemed to have been extinguiſhed by the death of *Timotheus Ælurus*, were rekindled. For theſe reaſons, thoſe Biſhops were to be puniſhed with a capitall puniſhment, rather than *Mongus*. Nevertheleſs, in my judgment neither is true. For *Mongus* was puniſhed only with baniſhment. But the Biſhops who had ordained him, are ordered to be puniſhed by *Anthemius* the *Auguſtalis*; as *Liberatus* affirms in *his Breviary, chap.* 16. Valeſ.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Johannes *who obtained the Preſidency over the* Alexandrian *Church after* Timotheus, *and how* Zeno *outed him in regard he had forſworn himſelf, and reſtored the Chair of* Alexandria *to* Petrus Mongus.

[a] I am of the ſame mind with *Chriſtopherſon and* Sr *Henry Savil*, who inſtead of [ἐκ βολῆς δὲ ἐνίων] have mended it thus, ἐκ βυλῆς δὲ ἐνίων, *but by the advice of ſome perſons:* which amendment is confirmed by *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian Manuſcript*. Moreover, *Liberatus* in *his Breviarium chap.* 16, affirms that *Johannes* the *Oeconomus* [or, *Steward*] was ſent to *Conſtantinople* on a far different account. For he ſays, that *Timotheus Salophaciolus*, after he had recovered his Epiſcopall Chair by the Decree of *Zeno Auguſtus*, ſent ſome Eccleſiaſticks to *Conſtantinople*, amongſt whom was *Johannes* the *Oeconomus*, who might give the Emperour thanks for his own reſtitution. They alſo made a requeſt to the Emperour at the ſame time, that if any thing ſhould happen to *Timotheus* otherwiſe than well, no other perſon but a Catholick might be put into his See by the Clergy and people of *Alexandria*; as we are informed *in Geſtis de nomine Acacii*. Which thing *Zeno* in his anſwer to *Salophaciolus*'s advices, ordered to be done by a Letter written to the *Alexandrian* Clergy; as *Felix* atteſteth in *his firſt Epiſtle to Acacius*, and *Gelaſius in Geſtis de nomine Acacii*. Further, in the *Florentine Manuſcript*, at the Margin here, theſe words occur, περὶ ἰωάννυ τῦ ταβεννησιώτυ, *concerning Johannes Tabenneſiota*. 'Tis certain, this *Johannes* is termed *Tabenneſiota* by *Theophanes* alſo in *his Chronicon*, becauſe he had been a Monk in the *Monaſtery of the Tabennenſes* at *Canopus*, where *Timotheus Salophaciolus* had likewiſe formerly followed a Monaſtick life and diſcipline; as *Theophanes* relates. *Valeſ.*

[a] BUT by the advice of ſome perſons, *Johannes* a Presbyter, [b] appointed to be the *Steward* of the venerable Church of the *Holy Forerunner and Baptiſt John*, makes a journey to the Imperial City [*Conſtantinople,*] being ſent on an Embaſſage [to make an addreſs to the Emperour,] that if it ſhould happen that their Biſhop ſhould die, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* might have a [c] liberty of Electing one to preſide over their Church whom they ſhould have a mind to. This perſon, as *Zacharias* affirms, was by the Emperour diſcovered to have a deſign of procuring the Biſhoprick for himſelf. And when he had oblieged himſelf by oaths, that he would never ſeek to get the *Alexandrian* Chair, he returned into his own Country. But the Emperour promulged a Law, that after *Timotheus*'s death, that perſon ſhould be Biſhop whom the Clergy and * people [of *Alexandria*] ſhould Elect. *Timotheus* having ended his life not long after, this *Johannes* (as

[b] Οἰκονόμειν τέλασμόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἰωάννυ. *Victor Thunonenſis in his Chronicon*, and *Liberatus in his Breviary* term this *Johannes* barely and ſimply *Oeconomus*. But in the *Geſta de nomine Acacii* he is ſtyled the *Oeconomus* of *Timotheus Catholicus*. Why therefore does *Evagrius* (or rather *Zacharias*, out of whom *Evagrius* took it,) ſay here, that *Johannes* was *Oeconomus* of *Saint John*'s *Church*? For he was not *Steward* of this Church only; but he lookt after the revenues and money of all the Churches which were under the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as *Liberatus* informs us in *his ſixteenth chapter*, in theſe words: *Porro Johannes ex Oeconomo amicus factus eſt Hillo Magiſtro; qui cum reliquis deſcendit Alexandriam. Factuſque eſt iterum Oeconomus, habens cauſas omnium Eccleſiarum.* Further Johannes *of an* Oeconomus *is made a friend to* Hillus *the* Magiſter; *who together with the reſt went down to* Alexandria. *And he is made Steward again* [or, *the ſecond time,*] *having all the Cauſes of the Churches.* Inſtead of [*habens cauſas omnium Eccleſiarum,*] I think it ſhould be *habens gazas omnium Eccleſiarum, having the treaſure or riches of all the Churches*. This emendation, *Liberatus*'s following words do confirm, which run thus: *Qui multa & pretioſa xenia direxit Hillo Magiſtro*, &c. *Who directed* [or *ſent*] *many and thoſe pretious preſents to* Hillus *the* Magiſter, &c. Or muſt it be ſaid that the Church of *Saint John Baptiſt* was then the Greateſt Church of *Alexandria*? Indeed, heretofore the Greater Church of *Alexandria* was termed the *Cæſarea*, as I have obſerved at *Socrates*. But 'tis poſſible, that the Church of *Saint John*, which had been built there by *Theodoſius* after the demoliſhment of the *Serapium*, might become the Greater Church, the Epiſcopall Chair being removed thither. Concerning this Church of *Saint John Baptiſt*, *Ruſinus* ſpeaks in *chap.* 27. *of his ſecond Book Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* And in the following chapter he adds concerning the Reliques of *Saint John Baptiſt*, *that in the time of* Athanaſius *they were brought to* Alexandria. To which afterwards, the *Serapium* [or, *Serapis's Temple*] being demoliſhed, *Golden houſes* (that I may uſe *Ruſinus*'s words, which are *Aureæ Tectæ,*) were erected in the reign of *Theodoſius*. 'Tis certain in this Church of *Saint John*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* performed the Religious aſſembles, as *Theophanes* informs us concerning *Dioſcorus*, pag. 139. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Comonality.*

[c] The power therefore of Electing their Biſhops had been taken from the Clergy and people of the City *Alexandria*, and the Emperour had removed the priviledge of nominating the Biſhop of *Alexandria* to himſelf, as 'tis apparent from this place. Which, we deny not, was done by force and againſt the Eccleſiaſtick Laws. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Emperours not without reaſon challenged that power to themſelves after the murder of *Proterius* the *Alexandrian* Biſhop, in regard the City of *Alexandria*, by its own inclination prone to Seditions, had ſeverall times raiſed vehement diſturbances in the Election of Biſhops. *Valeſ.*

the

the ſame *Zacharias* has related,) gave money [d] and diſregarding the oathes wherein [he had bound himſelf] to the Emperour, is conſtituted Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Which when the Emperour underſtood, he ordered him to be Ejected. And by the perſwaſion of ſome perſons, the Emperour wrote an *Exhortatory Edict* to the *Alexandrians*, which he termed *his* * *Henoticon*; and ordered, that the Chair of *Alexandria* ſhould be reſtored to *Petrus*, provided he would ſubſcribe to *His Henoticon*, and receive thoſe of *Proterius*'s party to communion.

[d] Καὶ ὃς τὰ ὠμοσμένα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλοήσας. In the excellent *Florentine* M. S. I found it written thus; ὃς τὰ ὠμοσμένα, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly.

* Or, *Uniting Reſcript.*

Further, concerning this oath, wherein *Johannes Tabenneſiota* had formerly bound himſelf in the Emperours preſence, that he would never climb up into the *Alexandrian* See, *Pope Simplicius* ſpeaks in *his* 17th *Epiſtle to Acacius*. *Liberatus* alſo atteſts the ſame, in *his Breviary*, chap. 17. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

That Petrus Mongus *embraced* Zeno's Henoticon, *and joyned himſelf to the* * Proterians.

* Or, Thoſe *of* Proterius's *party.*

[a] Τοῦτο τῷ ὁικονομίαν. To wit, *Zeno's uniting Edict*, which a little before *Evagrius* has termed a συγκρώνησις. And 'tis therefore called a συγκρώνησις here and hereafter by *Evagrius*, becauſe the Emperour in *that Edict* ſpeaks to all the Clergy and Laity, and by Preaching as it were, exhorts them, like a Prieſt, to embrace unity. But, 'tis termed an ὁικονομία for this reaſon, becauſe by a wholeſome Diſpenſation (as at the firſt bluſh it appears,) it invites all Catholicks to one and the ſame Communion, the mention of the *Chalcedon Synod* being ſuppreſſed. Further, this Edict of *Zeno* bore date on the year of Chriſt 482; *Trocondus* and *Severinus* being Conſuls, as *Baronius* writes. Which is evidently confirmed by *Victor Tunonenſis in his Chronicon*. Valeſ.

THis *Diſpoſition*, which had been made by the advice of *Acacius* Biſhop of the Imperial City, [b] *Pergamius*, who was conſtituted *Præfect* of *Egypt* carries along with him. He being arrived at *Alexandria*, and finding *Johannes* fled, held a conference with *Petrus*, and perſwades him to admit of *Zeno's Exhortatory Edict*, and moreover [to receive] thoſe who had diſſented from him. He admits therefore of the forementioned *Exhortatory Edict*, and ſubſcribes to it. He promiſes alſo that he would receive thoſe who were of the contrary party. Wherefore not long after this when a publick Feſtivity was celebrated at *Alexandria*, and all perſons by a generall conſent agreed to that termed *Zeno's Henoticon*, *Petrus* likewiſe admitted [to communion] thoſe of *Proterius*'s party. And having made an *Exhortatory Oration* to the people in the Church, he recited *Zeno's Exhortatory Edict* alſo, the Contents whereof were theſe.

[b] *Liberatus* in *his Breviary*, chap. 17, relates that *Pergamius* was not *Præfect of Egypt*, but *Dux* [*or Commander of the Milice:*] his words are theſe; *Acacius perſuaſit Zenoni*, &c. Acacius *perſwaded* Zeno, *that he ſhould write to* Apollonius *the* Auguſtalis, *and to* Pergamius *the* Dux, *that they ſhould drive* Johannes *out of the* Alexandrian *See, as having ſeized it contrary to his own oath which he had given in the Imperial City; and that they ſhould give their aſſiſtance to* Petrus Mongus, *that he might continue in that See*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIV.

Zeno's Henoticon.

EMperour Cæſar Zeno, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, *always* Adorable, Auguſtus; *to the* [a] *moſt Reverend Biſhops, Clergy, Monks, and Laicks, in* Alexandria, *and throughout* Egypt, Libya, *and* Pentapolis.

[a] *Facundus Hermianenſis* citing this Edict of Zeno's in *his twelfth book*, reads θεοσεβέσι, *to the Orthodox Biſhops*. For the words are theſe: *Flavius Zeno Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, always Auguſtus, to the Orthodox Biſhops, &c.* Then *Facundus* finds fault with that term *Orthodox*, and expreſſes his anger againſt it in many words; that the Emperour ſhould not be afraid of giving the title of *Orthodox* to a company of Hereticks who had no head. Further, this Edict of *Zeno* was promulged in the year of Chriſt 482, as *Baronius* has recorded. *Valeſ.*

Knowing the only right and true Faith (which the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at Nicæa *by a Divine influence have ſet forth, and which the Hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers in like manner aſſembled at* Conſtantinople *have confirmed;) to be the Beginning and* * *Conſiſtency, and the power and inexpugnable* † *Defence of Our* || *made it Our buſineſs night and day,* [b] *by all imaginable Attention and Diligence, and by Our Laws, that God's Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, which is the incorruptible and immortall Mother of Our Scepters, ſhould every where be multiplied and enlarged by that* [*Faith:*] *and that the Pious people continuing in Peace and that Concord* [*which bears a relation*] *to God, together with the Biſhops moſt dear to God, and with the moſt Religious Clergy,* Archimandrites, *and Monks, might offer up their acceptable prayers for Our Empire. For whileſt the Great God and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *who was incarnate and born of the Holy Virgin and* Theotocos Mary, *approves of and readily accepts our Concordant Glorification and Worſhip, all ſorts of enemies ſhall be conſumed and extinguiſhed: and all Nations will ſubmit their necks to Our Power which is* * *according to God:* [*in fine,*] *Peace, and thoſe Goods that are the Product thereof, temperateneſs of the air, plenty of fruits, and all other things which are uſefull and advantageous, ſhall be conferred upon men. Whereas therefore the irreprehenſible Faith doth in this manner* † *preſerve Us and the* Roman *Affairs, Addreſſes have been preſented to us by the moſt Religious* Archimandrites, Hermits, *and other Reverend perſons, who with tears made ſupplication, that an Unity might be made in the moſt Holy Churches, and that the Members might be joyned to the Members, which that Enemy of Good hath long ſince been very ſolicitous to diſjoyn: aſſuredly knowing, that* [c] *ſhould he make war againſt the entire Body of the Church, he might with eaſe be vanquiſhed. For from hence it happens, that there are innumerable* * *multitudes of men, which Time hath taken out of this life in the ſpace of ſo many years,* [d] *part whereof have departed hence deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, and part have gone the inevitable way of mankind without a participation of the Divine Communion: and, that innumerable murders have been audaciouſly committed, and that not only the Earth, but the Air it ſelf alſo hath been defiled by an abundant effuſion of bloud. What man is he, who will not pray, that theſe things may be changed into a better State and*

* Or, Confirmation.

† Or, Armour.

|| Or, Have night and day made uſe of all imaginable &c.

[b] Πάσῃ συγκυχῇ καὶ σπουδῇ, *by all imaginable prayer and diligence.* The ſame likewiſe is the reading in *Nicephorus*. Nor had the *old Tranſlatour* of this Edict read otherwiſe, in *Liberatus chap.* 18: for he renders it thus: *noctibus ac diebus, oratione, & ſtudio & Legibus, &c. night and day, by prayer and diligence, and by our Laws, We endeavour, that the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church may be multiplyed by that Faith.* Notwithſtanding in my judgment, it ought rather to be written thus, πάσῃ συγκυχῇ, *by all imaginable attention.* What the import of συγκυχῇ is, we are informed from *Suidas*, who produces a paſſage of an old Writer. Indeed, this emendation pleaſes me mightily. *Valeſ.*

* Or, Next to God.

† Or, Begirt.

[c] Σάμαξι πολεμῇ, *waging war againſt the* [*entire*] *Body.* Doubtleſs it muſt be πολεμῶν, *ſhould he make war*, &c. as it is in *Nicephorus*, and in the *Tellerian* M. S. Sr *Henry Savil* alſo, at the Margin of *his Copy*, had remarked, *fortè* πολεμοῖν, *perhaps it ſhould be* πολεμοῖν. Valeſ.

* Or, Generations.

[d] To this place of *Zeno's Edict Pope Felix* alludes, in *his Epiſtle to Zeno Auguſtus*; where his words are theſe: *Dolet certè pietas Tua, quòd per diuturnos partis alternæ graveſque conflictus, multi ex hoc ſæculo videantur ablati, aut Baptiſmatis aut Communionis expertes; Your piety doubtleſs is grieved, that by reaſon of the long and ſore conflicts of each party, many may ſeem to have been taken out of this world, without being partakers of Baptiſm or the Communion.* Valeſ.

and Condition? On this account therefore, We have made it Our buſineſs to certifie You, that neither We, nor the Churches in all places, either have had, or have, or in future will have, nor do We know any perſons that have, any other Symbol, *or Creed, or definition of the Faith, or Faith, ſave the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the foreſaid Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers confirmed. Moreover, if any one has* [*any other Creed,*] *we account him a perſon eſtranged* [*from the Church.*] *For by this Creed only (as we have ſaid,) we are confident our Empire is* * *preſerved. And all perſons vouchſaft the Salutary* † *Illumination, receiving this only* [*Creed*] *are Baptized. The ſame* [*Creed*] *hath been followed by all the Holy Fathers convened at* Epheſus; *who likewiſe depoſed the impious* Neſtorius, *and alſo thoſe that afterwards embraced his Sentiments. Which* Neſtorius *together with* Eutyches, *in regard they held opinions contrary to the foreſaid* [*Fathers,*] *we do* Anathematize, *and do alſo admit of the Twelve* * *Heads which were dictated by* Cyrillus *of holy Memory, who was heretofore* Arch-Biſhop *of the holy Catholick Church of the* Alexandrians. *But we confeſs the only Begotten Son of God and God, (who was truly and really made man, our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *Conſubſtantiall to the Father according to the Deity, and of the ſame ſubſtance with us as to his humanity, who deſcended and was incarnate by the holy Ghoſt, of* Mary *the Virgin and* Theotocos, *) to be one, and not two. For we affirm, that the Miracles, and ſufferings which he voluntarily underwent in the fleſh, are of one. But we in no wiſe admit of thoſe who divide, or confound, or introduce a* † Phantaſie. *In regard the* * *impeccable and true Incarnation from the* Theotocos *hath not made an acceſſion of* [*another*] *Son. For the Trinity hath ever continued the Trinity, although one of the Trinity,* [*to wit,*] *God the Word, hath been incarnate. Aſſuredly knowing therefore, that neither the holy* Orthodox *Churches of God in all places, nor the Prelates moſt beloved by God who preſide over them, nor yet our Empire, hath received, or doth admit of any other Creed, or definition of the Faith, ſave the foreſaid holy Creed; without making doubts or delays,* [e] *We have united our ſelves. Now, we have written theſe things* [*to you,*] *not that we might innovate the Faith, but in order to the giving you full ſatisfaction. But we* Anathematize *every perſon, who has thought, or thinks otherwiſe, either now, or at any other time, whether at* Chalcedon, *or in any other Synod whatever: but more eſpecially the foreſaid perſons* Neſtorius *and* Eutyches, *and ſuch as embrace their Sentiments. Be yee joyned therefore to* [*Your*] *Spirituall Mother the Church, and together with Us enjoy that ſame divine Communion therein, according to the forementioned one and only definition of the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers. For your moſt Holy Mother the Church expects to embrace You* [f] *as Her genuine Sons, and after a long time earneſtly deſires to hear Your ſweet Voice. Make all imaginable haſte therefore. For by doing hereof, you will procure to your ſelves both the Benevolence of our Maſter and Saviour and God* Jeſus Chriſt, *and ſhall alſo be praiſed by our Imperial Majeſty.* After the reading hereof, all the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* were united to the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church.

* Or, Begirt.

† Or, Baptiſm.

* Or, Chapters.

† See Chap. 5. note (f.)

* Unſinning, or, without ſin.

[e] Ἡνώσαμεν ἑαυτούς. So 'tis alſo written in *Nicephorus*. But *Facundus* and *Liberatus* ſeem to have read otherwiſe. For *Facundus* (pag. 551.) renders this place thus: *adunate ergo vos in nullo dubitantes*, &c. *Unite your ſelves therefore, being doubtfull in nothing. For we have written theſe things to you, not to innovate the Faith, but that we might ſatisfie you.* &c. And *Liberatus* tranſlates it in this manner: *Unite voſmetipſos, nihil dubitantes*, &c. *Unite your ſelves, doubting nothing*, &c. Whence it appears, that they read Ἑνώσατε ἡμῖν ἑαυτούς, &c. But the reading in our Copies is better; For ſoon after it follows, ἀναθεματίζομεν, *we Anathematize*. Valeſ.

[f] Καὶ γνησίους ὑμᾶς υἱοὺς. That which ſe-quently happens in theſe books of *Evagrius*, occurs here alſo, to wit, that ᾧ is put in ſtead of ὡς. 'Tis certain *Liberatus* reads ὡς here, as 'tis apparent from *his Verſion*. For thus he renders it: *Sanctiſſima namque Mater Noſtra Eccleſia*, &c. *For our moſt Holy Mother the Church, as being the perſon who hath begotten you, from a long time expects to embrace Her Sons, and earneſtly deſires to hear your ſweet voice.* Nor did *Facundus* read otherwiſe, in *his twelfth book*. For thus his Verſion runs: *Sancta enim Mater Noſtra Eccleſia*, &c. *For our Holy Mother the Church receives you as Her own Sons. Embrace her. For She deſires after a long time to hear Your ſweet Voice.* Moreover, *Nicephorus* has it written, ᾧ ὡς γνησίους. Further, from the forecited paſſages 'tis apparent, that *Facundus* and *Liberatus* in *Zeno's Edict* had read μήτηρ ἡμῶν, *Our Mother*; which reading I am moſt pleaſed with. Beſides, *Facundus* read ἀσπάζεσθε, *Embrace Ye Her*; not as 'tis commonly read, ἀσπάζεσθαι, *to embrace*. Which reading nevertheleſs is intolerable. Laſtly, *Liberatus* ſeems to have read ἐκ τῆς χρονίας, *from a long time*; not ᾧ τῆς χρονίας, *and after a long time*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

That Johannes [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria *coming to* Rome, *perſwades* Simplicius *to write to* Zeno *concerning what had hapned*; [*and what*] Zeno [*wrote back in anſwer to him.*]

BUT *Johannes*, of whom we have made mention * before, after he had fled from *Alexandria*, [a] arrives at the *Senior Rome*: and there raiſed diſturbances, affirming that he had been ejected out of his own Chair, on account of his defending Leo's * *Dogmata*, and the *Chalcedon* Synod: and, that another was ſubſtituted in his Room, who was an enemy to thoſe *Dogmata*. Hereat *Simplicius* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome* was troubled, and wrote to *Zeno*; whereto *Zeno* returned anſwer, accuſing *Johannes* of Perjury, and [affirming] that on that account, and for no other reaſon, he had been Ejected out of his Biſhoprick.

* Chap. 11.

[a] *Liberatus* in *his Breviary*, chap. 18, ſays, that *Johannes* being driven from the See of *Alexandria*, came firſt to *Antioch*: and after he had gotten *Letters of Interceſſion* from *Calendion* Patriarch of *Antioch*, came to *Rome*, and appealed to *Simplicius* Biſhop of *Rome*, as the Bleſſed *Athanaſius* had alſo done before. But in the *Geſta de Nomine Acacii*, which in my judgment were written by Pope *Gelaſius*, he is ſaid *to have requeſted the Refuge only of the* Roman *Church*, in ſuch manner as his predeceſſours had done. Which I think is truer. For *Johannes* appealed not from any Eccleſiaſtick Judicature to *Simplicius*, in regard he had not been expelled out of his own See by the ſentence of a Synod, but by force: nor did he preſent a *Libell* to Pope *Simplicius*, but to *Felix* his Succeſſour, as we ſhall ſee afterwards. *Valeſ.*

* *Opinions*, or, *Decrees*.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Calendion [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch, *and that he was condemned to be baniſhed on account of the friendſhip he was ſuſpected* [*to have held*] *with* Illus *and* Leontius; *alſo, that* Petrus Fullo *entred into an Union with* Mongus, *and with the* [*Biſhops*] *of* Conſtantinople *and* Jeruſalem.

MOreover, *Calendion* Biſhop of *Antioch* wrote [Letters] to the Emperour *Zeno*, and to *Acacius* Prelate of *Conſtantinople*, wherein he termed *Petrus an* [a] *Adulterer*; affirming that when he was at *Alexandria*, he had *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod.*

[a] So alſo Pope *Simplicius*, in *his Epiſtle* to *Acacius*, terms *Petrus Moggus*; as *Liberatus* atteſts in *his Breviary*, chap. 18. To wit, becauſe he had invaded the *Alexandrian* Church, whileſt *Timotheus Salophaciolus*, who had been legally ordained, was alive. *Valeſ.*

Some

Some time afterwards, *Calendion* is condemned to be baniſhed into *Oaſis*, being ſuppoſed to have [b] favoured [c] *Illus*, *Leontius*, and *Pamprepius*, in relation to a Tyranny raiſed by them againſt *Zeno*. But *Petrus Fullo*, who [had been Biſhop of *Antioch*,] before [d] *Calendion* and *Stephanus*, as I have ſaid, recovered his own [Chair.] Who both ſubſcribed to *Zeno*'s *Henoticon*, [e] and alſo ſent *Synodicall Letters* to *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*.

[b] That this was the pretext of condemning *Calendion*, is atteſted by *Liberatus* in *his Breviary*, chap. 18. But the true cauſe of his being condemned and depoſed, was this, becauſe he would defend the *Chalcedon Synod*, nor would acquieſce in *Zeno*'s *Edict*. *Liberatus*'s words are theſe: *Interea* Calendion *Archiepiſcopus* Antiochenus *deponitur*, &c. *In the interim* Calendion *Arch-Biſhop of* Antioch *is depoſed. Being accuſed in publick as having been undutifull* [*indevotus, without devotion*] *to his Prince, drawing in the people into a Rebellion with* Illus: *but ſecretly, becauſe he would not keep himſelf from the Communion both of Pope* Felix *and* Johannes. *Gelaſius* alſo in *his thirteenth Epiſtle to the Dardani*, ſays, that *Calendion* was therefore Ejected by *Zeno*, becauſe he had razed His name out of the *Dypticks*, and inſtead thereof put in *Leontius*'s. Valeſ.

[c] Ἰλλᾶ. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. I found it written ἴλλω. This is the *Illus*, by Country an *Iſaurian*, in dignity *Magiſter Officiorum* [*Maſter of the Offices*,] as *Marcellinus* tells us in *his Chronicon*: who after he had been in great favour with the Emperour, at length was incenſed againſt him, for what reaſon I know not, and together with *Leontius* ingaged himſelf in a Tyranny in the Eaſt, on the year of Chriſt 484, as *Marcellinus* records; or rather 483. as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved. Further, this *Illus* is by *Candidus Iſaurus* and by *Damaſcius in the Life of Iſidorus the Philoſopher*, always called ἴλλος, with the accent in the laſt Syllable. So 'tis alſo written in *Suidas*: ἴλλῳ, ſays he, ὄνομα κύριον ὃς ἦν μάγιστρος ζήνωνος. ὁ δὲ ἴλλος. εὑρὸν δὲ ἴλλος τὴ φθορέα ἐπρέμασεν ἐπὶ διδύμε ξύλε. So that place of *Suidas* is to be read. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Petrus Fullo* was Ejected out of the See of *Antioch* a little after the return of *Zeno Auguſtus*, on the year after the Conſulate of *Baſiliſcus* and *Armatus*. One *Johannes*, whom *Petrus* had ordained [Biſhop] of *Apamia*, invaded his See, as I obſerved before at *chap.* 10, *note (a.)* He having been Ejected, an *Oriental Synod* ordained *Stephanus*, as *Theophanes* tells us in *his Chronicon*. This *Stephanus*, when he had governed the See of *Antioch* about 2 years ſpace, was moſt barbarouſly murdered by Hereticks in the Church, on the year of Chriſt 479, after the Conſulate of the *moſt famous Illus*; as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved from *Pope Simplicius's Epiſtles*. *Zeno* being highly incenſed on account of this murther, ſent ſome perſons to *Antioch*, who might revenge this Fact and puniſh the Authours of the Sedition. Moreover, to avoid Tumults, he commanded *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, to ordain a Biſhop of *Antioch* in the Imperial City. And this thing, done on account of preſerving the Eccleſiaſtick Peace, as well the Emperour as *Acacius* excuſed to Pope *Simplicius*, promiſing that in future the ordination of the Prelate of *Antioch* ſhould be made by the *Comprovinciall Biſhops*, according to the Preſcripts of the Canons. *Stephanus Junior* therefore is ordained by *Acacius*, and after he had ſate three years, *Calendion* is created Biſhop in his ſtead by an *Oriental Synod*, in the Conſulate of *Trocundus* and *Severinus*, on the year of *Chriſt* 482; as *Baronius* has learnedly obſerved from *Pope Simplicius's Epiſtle*. *Theophanes* does indeed affirm, that *Calendion* was ordained by *Acacius* at *Conſtantinople*, by the Emperour *Zeno*'s order. *Theophanes*'s opinion ſeems to be confirmed by *Candidus* in the *third book of his Hiſtory*; whoſe words are theſe: ὡς πέτρε τὸ δυσεβὲς τὰς τῆς ἀναβολῆς παρέσυρ[illegible] ἐκκλησίας καλενδίωνα ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερᾶς ἀντιοχείας ἀπέσαλκε, *in like manner as the Emperour* Zeno, *when the impious* Petrus *diſturbed the Churches of the Eaſt, ſent* Calendion *to be conſecrated* [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch. Beſides, *in the Geſta de nomine Acacii*, 'tis in expreſs words written, that *Calendion* was ordained by *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. *Simplicius* alſo affirms the ſame in the *cited Epiſtle*, if we weigh his words more attentively. For, what elſe is the meaning of theſe words: *Antiocheni exordium Sacerdotis quâ ratione ſcrius fuerit. Indicatum, quamvis minimè nos latere potuerit, tamen & ipſe vel Synodus ejus indicavit. Quod ſicut non optavimus fieri, ita faciles excuſationi quam neceſſitas fecit extitimus; quia quod voluntarium non eſt, non poteſt vocari in reatum.* &c. For what guilt, what neceſſity was to be excuſed before *Simplicius*, unleſs *Acacius* had ordained *Calendion* at *Conſtantinople* contrary to the Eccleſiaſtick Laws? But now, what the ſame *Theophanes* adds concerning *Johannes Codonatus*, who was ordained Biſhop by the *Antiochians* knowing nothing of the Ordination made at *Conſtantinople*, and whom *Calendion* afterwards removed to the See of *Tyre*: I fear *Theophanes* is miſtaken herein. For, not *Calendion*, but *Acacius* removed *Johannes* to the See of *Tyre*; as 'tis atteſted by Pope *Felix* in the *Libell of Condemnation of Acacius*, and by *Gelaſius*, and *Liberatus*. Valeſ.

[e] Καὶ συνοδικοὶς δὲ πρὸς τερον. Doubtleſs it muſt be written, καὶ συνοδικοὶς δὲ πρὸς πέτρον τὸν τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας, *and alſo ſent Synodical Letters to* Petrus [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria. Thus *Nicephorus* read, and yet *Chriſtophorſon*, and Sr *Henry Savil* at the Margin of his Copy, mend it very ſimply, thus, πρὸς πρεσβύτερον, *to* Proterius. For *Proterius* was dead long before this. 'Tis manifeſt from *Pope Gelaſius's Epiſtles*, that *Petrus Fullo* held communion with *Petrus Mongus*. Valeſ.

Acacius alſo Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* entred into a Communion with the [f] ſame [*Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*:] as did likewiſe *Martyrius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who ſent his *Synodicall Letters* to the ſame *Petrus*. After this, [g] ſome perſons ſeparated themſelves from *Petrus*'s communion: ſo that from that time *Petrus Anathematized* the Synod of *Chalcedon* publickly. Which news coming to the hearing of *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, troubled him [not a little.] *Acacius* therefore cauſed ſome perſons to be ſent, who might enquire into the truth hereof. Whom *Petrus* being deſirous fully to ſatisfie, that no ſuch thing had been done by him, * framed *Acts*, wherein ſome perſons affirmed, that to their knowledge no ſuch thing [h] had been done by *Petrus*.

[f] To wit, with *Petrus Mongus*. For with him, after the Ejection of *Johannes Tabennenſiota*, *Acacius* held communion, and received from, and ſent to him *Synodicall Letters*, as *Liberatus* informs us. But *Acacius* never held communion with *Petrus Fullo*: yea, he was wont to boaſt, that he had never been joyned in communion with him: whereas yet, by this that he communicated with *Petrus Mongus* who maintained a communion with *Petrus Fullo*, *Acacius* himſelf alſo might hold communion with *Fullo*; as *Pope Gelaſius* ſays in *his Epiſtle to the Orientalls*, which was firſt publiſhed by *Jacobus Syrmondus*. Valeſ.

[g] *Evagrius* gives no reaſon, why theſe men ſeparated themſelves from the communion of *Petrus Mongus*. Beſides, *Liberatus in his Breviary chap.* 18, does relate this matter very obſcurely, in theſe words: *Igitur Petrus Mongus ab Abbate Ammone & Johanne Epiſcopo Magileos, &c. Therefore* Petrus Mongus *having undergone Wars from the Abbot* Ammon *and* Johannes *the Biſhop of* Magilis, *and from the Abbots of the Monks of the Lower Egypt, and a Sedition having been raiſed againſt him in the Cathedral Caſarea as 'tis called,* [or, *as 'tis reported*;] *anathematized the* Chalcedon *Synod, and Pope* Leo's *Tome. And theſe things he did, after he had written to* Acacius *and* Simplicius *that he held communion with them and with the Holy Synod. And theſe matters having been in this manner performed, ſome perſons departed from* Petrus's *communion, and declared* [*them*] *to the* Roman *Biſhop at* Rome. Which words, in themſelves obſcure enough, are in my judgment to be explained thus. *Petrus Mongus*, after he had been reſtored to the *Alexandrian See* upon *Johannes*'s Ejection, at firſt uſed diſſimulation, and ſent *Synodicall Letters* to *Acacius* and *Simplicius*, wherein he affirmed that he held communion with the *Synod of Chalcedon*. He alſo admitted thoſe to communion who were of *Timotheus Salophaciolus*'s party, as *Liberatus* atteſts. But afterwards, when he had been vexed by the *Eutychian Monks* on acccount of this diſſimulation, he *anathematized* the *Chalcedon-Synod* publickly in the Church. *Valeſ.*

[h] Τεθεφθαι, *had been written*: in my judgment it ſhould be πεπραχθαι *had been done*. And ſo *Nicephorus* read, book 16. chap. 13. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning thoſe things written by Petrus *to* Acacius *who had embraced the* Chalcedon-Synod.

[FOR] This *Petrus*, [a] in regard he was a perſon that could cloath himſelf in any dreſs, of a mind mutable and crafty, and one that could conform to the times; perſiſted not in the leaſt in one and the ſame opinion. But ſometimes he *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon-Synod*; at others retracted, and embraced that Counſill *with all Suffrages*. He wrote a Letter therefore to *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Contents whereof run word for word thus:

[a] Πέτρος ὁ σκύθρωπος. I have mended this place thus [ὡς κόθορνος, *in regard he was a perſon that could cloath himſelf in any dreſs*,] partly from *Nicephorus*, and partly by the authority of the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. Further, concerning this wavering and fraudulent humour of *Petrus*'s, we have the atteſtation of *Liberatus* in theſe words: *Sed permanſit Petrus in Epiſcopatu*, &c. *But* Peter *continued in his Biſhoprick, and wrote to* Acacius, *that he was a* Communicator *of* [or, held Communion with] *the Synod, and deceived the* Alexandrians, *becauſe he would not communicate with the Synod: ſo that ſome Eccleſiaſticks who were his* Communicators, *ſome Monks and Laicks, perceiving his Fallaciouſneſs, ſeparated themſelves from his communion. And holding ſeparate aſſemblies, would not endure to communicate with his name.* Valeſ.

The

The moſt high God will reward your Holineſs, [b] *for thoſe great Labours and Troubles, which for ſo many years ſpace you* [*have undergone,*] *conſerving and defending the Faith of the Holy Fathers, which by uninterrupted Preaching you have confirmed. In which Faith we have found the Creed alſo of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers rightly and orderly placed, in which Creed we were heretofore Baptized, and which we have and do believe: which Creed the Hundred and fifty holy Fathers aſſembled at* Conſtantinople *have confirmed. You therefore without intermiſſion leading all men the way, have united the holy Church of God, and by the weightieſt and moſt convincing inſtances and arguments have perſwaded us, that nothing contrary hereto hath been done in the moſt holy and* Oecumenicall Synod *convened at* Chalcedon, *which agrees with, and hath confirmed the determinations of the holy Fathers at* Nicæa. *For, having found nothing of any Innovation therein, we have given our abſolute and perfect aſſent thereto, and believed it. But we underſtand, that certain Monks, envying* our Fraternity, *have conveyed ſome Calumnies to your holy ears; which could not readily induce your Holineſs to be incenſed* [*againſt us.*] *And in the firſt place* [*they affirm,*] [c] *that we have removed the Reliques of our Father of holy Memory the bleſſed Arch-Biſhop* Timotheus, *to ſome other place. Which Fact is neither acceptable to God, nor agreeable to the Laws. Then they paſs to another* [*crime,*] *which is inconſiſtent with it ſelf, and much worſe than the former. For, how could we* Anathematize *the holy Synod held at* Chalcedon, *which we have believed and confirmed? But you are not ignorant, nor is it concealed from Your piety, how great the Heat and Levity of the people amongſt us is, as alſo* [*that*] *of the* Monks *who are deſirous of change and Innovation. Who having entred into a Conſult together with ſome malevolent perſons that have ſevered themſelves from the Church, attempt to draw the people after them. But, by the aſſiſtance of Your prayers,* [d] *we have found a way how to cure* [*this miſchief,*] *without doing any prejudice to the holy Synod of* Chalcedon; *for we have been certainly informed, that nothing new hath been done there. And in order to the perſwaſion and* * *ſatisfaction of the more ſimple, we have taken care that the ſame thing ſhould be ſaid by* [e] *thoſe who hold Aſſemblies together with us. And to* [f] *this buſineſs, after I had been wholly intent upon it, I ſoon put a ſtop. Further, I do ſignifie to your Sanctity, that even at this very inſtant the* Monks *ceaſe not, who ſow* * *Tares, intermixing ſome perſons amongſt themſelves, who never dwelt in* [g] *Monaſteries,* [*as*] *inſtruments* [*of Sedition;*] *and run up and down ſcattering various Rumours againſt Us, and* † *againſt the Peace of Chriſt's Church, and permitting us to perform nothing Canonically and in a manner befitting God's Holy Catholick Church: making it their buſineſs, that the people committed to our care ſhould rule over, rather than obey us;* [*in fine,*] * *they attempt the doing of whatever* [*actions*] *are unſeemly* [*in the ſight*] *of God. But we are confident, that* Your Sanctity *will give the* Moſt divine Lord of the world *an account of all things, and will take care, that* [*ſuch an*] *Order ſhall be iſſued forth to them from* His Serenity, *as may be neceſſary in relation to the Eccleſiaſtick Peace, and befitting God and the Emperour: ſo that all perſons may acquieſce in what* [*ſhall be eſtabliſhed.*].

[b] Τῆς τε πόνων. It muſt doubtleſs be ὑπὲρ τε πόνων, *for thoſe great Labours.* Inſtead of ἀμείψητον, it muſt be ἀμείψεσθ', as it is in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[c] *Mongus* ſays, this Crime was objected againſt him, that he had removed the Reliques of *Timotheus Salophaciolus* into another place. But he neither excuſes that Fact, nor denies it: reſting ſatisfied only in ſaying this, that that Fact was impious in the preſence of God and men. For humane Laws do ſeverely puniſh the diſturbers of Sepulchers. 'Tis certain, *Victor Tunonenſis* in *his Chronicon* writes thus concerning *Mongus*: *Poſt Conſulatum Zenonis tertium*, &c. *After* Zeno's *third Conſulate,* ——*He condemns the* Chalcedon *Synod out of the Pulpit before the people. He takes the names of* Proterius *and* Timotheus Salophaciolus *out of the Eccleſiaſtick* Dypticks, *and writes therein thoſe of* Dioſcorus *and* Ælurus, *who had murdered* Proterius: *and having caſt* Timotheus Salophaciolus's *body out of the Church, he threw it into a deſert place without the City. Liberatus* alſo atteſts the ſame in *his Breviary*, chap. 18, in theſe words: ——*Sed & Petrum Alexandrinum*, &c.——*Moreover* Petrus Alexandrinus *anathematizing the* Chalcedon *Synod and Pope* Leo's *Tome, who having expunged the names of* Proterius *and* Timotheus Catholicus *out of the* Dypticks, *inſerted thoſe of* Dioſcorus *and* Ælurus: *who took the body of the ſame* Timotheus Catholicus *out of the earth, and caſt it forth, who had been buried amongſt the Catholick Biſhops,* Acacius *has in a ſtrange manner praiſed him, concerning whom he had remembred before, that himſelf had related ſo great crimes.* Laſtly, *Pope Felix* in the *Sentence of condemnation againſt* Acacius, does expreſly confirm this very thing. So that now there can be no further doubt of the truth of this fact. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἔσχεθήμεθα λόγου. Tranſlatours have rendred this place variouſly. For *Muſculus* tranſlates it thus; *Libellum conſideratè concinnavimus, we have with conſideration compoſed a Libell. Chriſtophorſon*, in this manner; *Literas haſce excogitavimus, quæ huic malo remedio ſint, We have found out theſe Letters, which may be a remedy for this miſchief.* But *Johannes Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlatour, has rendred it thus: *Re deliberatâ, rationem quæ mederi malo imminenti poſſet, invenimus; having conſidered the buſineſs, we found out a way, which might cure the imminent evill.* Of theſe three Renditions, the ſecond is wholly to be rejected; but the firſt and third are tolerable. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems to me more fit, to render λόγον the *Oration*, or, *Speech to the people*, which *Petrus* made in the Church at ſuch time as he ordered the *Eccleſiaſtick Acts* to be made up before *Acacius*'s *Legates*; concerning which *Acts Evagrius* has ſpoken before, at the cloſe of the foregoing chapter. *Valeſ.*

* Or, Defence.

[e] Τὰς ὁπαδωλόγους ἡμῖν. *Johannes Langus* renders this place thus: *Fecimus ut ab iis qui nobiſcum conventus agunt, iſta dicerentur, We have cauſed, that theſe things ſhould be ſaid by thoſe, who hold Aſſemblies with us. Muſculus* interprets it in this manner: *Eos qui ad nos venerunt, hoc ipſum dicere fecimus; We have made thoſe, who have come to us, ſay the ſame thing. Chriſtophorſon*'s Tranſlation runs thus: *Tumultus illi qui nobiſcum unà accerſebantur, pro defenſione idem ipſum dicerent, effecimus, And alſo we have procured, that they who were ſent for together with us, ſhould for a defence ſay the very ſame thing.* They thought therefore, that the word ὁπαδωλόγους ſignified no other thing, than συνελθόντας. But by the term ὁπαδωλόγους, 'tis my judgment that the *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laicks* of *Timotheus Salophaciolus*'s party are underſtood, who by the order of *Zeno Auguſtus* were aſſociated and joyned to *Petrus Mongus*. For the Emperour *Zeno*, by the perſwaſion and advice of *Acacius*, had written to *Apollonius* the *Auguſtalis*, and *Pergamius* the *Dux*, that they ſhould Eject *Johannes Talaia*, and inſtall *Petrus*, Provided he would admit of the *Henoticon*, and receive [to Communion] the Clergy of *Timotheus Catholicus*; as *Liberatus* relates in *his Breviarie*, chap. 18. *Zeno* had likewiſe written Letters to *Petrus Mongus*, wherein he ordered him, that he ſhould give reception to the Clergy of *Timotheus*'s party, who were of the ſame opinion with himſelf; as the ſame *Liberatus* affirms in theſe words: *Et quidem Petrus intronizatur ab omnibus*, &c, *And* Petrus *is Inſtalled by all perſons. 'Tis written from the Emperour, that he ſhould receive thoſe that agreed with him who had been of* Timotheus Catholicus's *party.* That is, as well the Clergy, as Laity, who were willing to agree to *Zeno*'s Edict. When therefore *Petrus Mongus* made up *his Eccleſiaſtick Acts*, wherewith he would prove to *Acacius* that he had never condemned the *Chalcedon-Synod*; he made uſe of theſe perſons as witneſſes, and cauſed them to confirm this with their own Teſtimony, that the *Chalcedon-Synod* had never been condemned by *Petrus*. Further, their Teſtimony ſeemed worthy to be credited, becauſe they had been of *Timotheus Catholicus*'s party, who had always defended the *Chalcedon-Synod*. See the cloſe of the *ſixteenth Chapter*. *Pope Felix* ſpeaks concerning theſe very perſons in the *Sentence of Condemnation againſt* Acacius; where his words are theſe: *Quid enim ſunt aliud, qui poſt obitum ſanctæ memoriæ Timothei, ad Eccleſiam ſub Petro redeunt*, &c. *For what are they elſe, who after the death of* Timotheus *of holy memory, return to the Church under* Petrus, &c. *Valeſ.*

[f] That is, that Crime which by ſome ill-minded perſons was objected againſt me: to wit, that the *Chalcedon-Synod* is rejected and condemned by me. *Valeſ.*

[g] Τινῶν μοναστηρίων. The Learned have long ſince made it μοναστήρια; which is the reading in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

† Or, Againſt the Eccleſiaſtick Peace of Chriſt.

* Or, Darnell.

* Or, They deſire to do.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what manner Johannes [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria *perſwades* Felix *Pope of* Rome, *to ſend a Depoſition to* Acacius [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople.

[IN the interim] *Johannes* having fled to *Rome*, [deſiſted not from] troubling *Felix*, who had ſucceeded *Simplicius* in the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, about thoſe things done by *Petrus*; and [at length] prevails [ſo far,] as *Zacharias* affirms, that a Depoſition was ſent from *Felix* himſelf to *Acacius*, on account of his holding a Communion with *Petrus*. Which Depoſition, in regard it was a thing done [a] contrary to the Preſcript of the Canons, as the ſame *Zacharias* has related; (for ſome of thoſe perſons who lead a Monaſtick life in that termed *the Monaſtery of the* * *Acœmeti*, delivered it;) *Acacius* would not admit of, nor acknowledge. And theſe things have indeed [in this manner] been written by *Zacharias*: but he ſeems to me, to have had no exact knowledge of the matters at that time tranſacted; but, to have given us a very lame, maimed, and imperfect account; to wit, thoſe things only which he had from report and *Hear-ſay*. I my ſelf therefore will give an accurate Narrative of that whole Tranſaction. [b] Libells having been preſented to *Felix* by *Johannes* againſt *Acacius*, becauſe he illegally held Communion with *Petrus*, and on account of other things done by him contrary to the Canons; the Biſhops *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* are ſent [c] from *Felix* to [the Emperour] *Zeno*, [with theſe requeſts,] that the Synod at *Chalcedon* might be confirmed, that *Petrus* might be expelled [from his See] as being an Heretick, and that *Acacius* ſhould be ſent to *Felix*, to give an account of thoſe matters, whereof *Johannes* (of whom we have made frequent mention) might accuſe him.

[a] In the Condemnation and Depoſition of *Acacius*, *the Greeks* found fault chiefly with two things. Firſt, becauſe he had not been condemned and depoſed in a Synod; but only Pope *Felix* had prefixt his own name before the ſentence of Depoſition. The other thing was, becauſe *Acacius* having been neither convicted nor examined according to the Eccleſiaſtick Canons, had received a Sentence of Condemnation. To the former Objection thoſe of the Church of *Rome* returned this anſwer: that there was no need of a new Synod for the condemning of *Acacius*. For all Followers and *Communicators* [that is, *thoſe that held Communion*] with Hereticks, who had heretofore been condemned by a ſpecial ſentence, are to be underſtood as condemned together with the ſame Hereticks. So ſays Pope *Gelaſius* in *his Epiſtle to the Orientalls* (which was firſt publiſhed by *Jacobus Syrmondus*,) in the *Geſta de nomine Acacii*. I know what anſwer is given by *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt 484, chap. 21: to wit, that *Gelaſius* ſpeaks concerning an *Oecumenicall Synod*. But by *Baronius*'s favour, this anſwer is not ſatisfactory. For *the Greeks* in this affair made no difference between a Generall and a particular Councill. But in generall they affirmed, that *Acacius* had been condemned in no Synod particularly convened upon his account. For thus Pope *Gelaſius* writes in the forementioned Epiſtle, ſpeaking to the *Orientalls* in theſe words: *An de uno dolet Acacio, quod ſpeciali Synodo non fuerit confutatus*, &c. *Are you troubled about one* Acacius, *becauſe he has not been confuted in a ſpeciall Synod; whenas he himſelf in his own Letters hath detected his own Crime; nor having already voluntarily confeſſed, ought he to be heard; and are you not troubled about ſo great Catholick Prelates without any examination ſecluded?* Pope *Gelaſius* confeſſes ingenuouſly, that *Acacius* had been convicted and heard in no ſpeciall Synod. 'Tis certain, neither of thoſe two *Roman* Synods, wherein *Acacius* was condemned, were convened upon his account. For the former was Aſſembled on the account of *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* the Legates of the Apoſtolick See: wherein *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* were indeed condemned: but *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* and *Acacius*, were only reprehended and by the by reproved, as *Evagrius* tells us a little after this. But the Latter Synod was aſſembled on the account of the *Antiochian* Church, on the ſame year, as Pope *Felix* informs us in *his Synodick Letter to all the Presbyters and Archimandrites at* Conſtantinople *and throughout* Bithynia. In which Synod *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch* was indeed chiefly and moſt eſpecially condemned; who having Ejected *Calendion*, had invaded the *Antiochian* See. But *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* and *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, were only condemned as the Aſſociates and *Communicators* of the ſame *Petrus*; as the ſubſcription annext to the *ſame Letter* doth declare [in theſe words:] *Candidus Tiburtinæ Civitatis Epiſcopus*, &c. *I* Candidus *Biſhop of the* Tiburtine *City, following the authority of the Apoſtolick See, Set forth by the Catholick deliberation of us all, according to the State of the Church; pronouncing an Anathema to* Petrus *the Invader of the* Alexandrian *Church, and to* Acacius *ſometime of the* Conſtantinopolitane *Church, alſo to* Petrus [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch, *who have heretofore been rightly and deſervedly ſeparated from the Epiſcopall* [*dignity*] *and number of Chriſtians, and to all their followers, have ſubſcribed*, &c. But whereas *the Greeks* complained that Pope *Felix* had prefixt his own name only before that ſentence; *Felix*, in the forecited Letter, anſwers this Objection thus, in theſe words: *Unde nunc cauſâ Antiochenæ Eccleſiæ apud B. Petrum Apoſtolum collecti*, &c. *Whence being at this preſent convened before the Bleſſed Apoſtle* Peter *on account of the* Antiochian *Church, we have again haſtned to ſhew your love the uſage which has always obtained amongſt us. As often as the Lords the Prelates are convened within* Italy *on account of Eccleſiaſtick Cauſes, eſpecially of Faith, an uſage is retained, that the Succeſſour of the Prelates of the Apoſtolick See, in the name* [*or, perſon*] *of all the Prelates of all* Italy, *agreeable to the Care of all the Churches appertaining to them, ſhould conſtitute all things. Pope Julius* had ſaid the ſame long before *Felix*, in *his Letter to the Orientalls*, which *Athanaſius* records in *his Apologetick*. But now, as to the Second Objection of the *Eaſterns*, concerning *Acacius*'s being condemned without any examination; that is ſufficiently anſwered by Pope *Gelaſius* in *his Epiſtle to the Orientalls*, the words whereof we have produced above. *Valeſ.*

* That is, *the Monks who did not ſleep.*

[b] Some time before this, *Johannes Tabennenſiota* (after he had been Ejected out of his See,) had come to *Rome*, and had made his caſe known to *Pope Simplicius*. But he had not preſented a Libell to him; but had only perſwaded him, that he would write to *Acacius* in defence of his Cauſe. Which thing *Pope Simplicius* performed with a ready and willing mind. But *Acacius*, having received *Simplicius*'s Letters, returned anſwer, that he in no wiſe acknow edged *Johannes* Biſhop of *Alexandria*: but, had received *Petrus Mongus* to communion by order of the Emperour *Zeno*. At which Letters *Simplicius* being highly incenſed, wrote back, that *Acacius* had not done what was regular and orderly, in that he had received *Petrus* to Communion, who ſtood condemned by the common ſentence of them both. And when *Johannes* was preparing to offer a Libell to the Pope, containing various Crimes againſt *Acacius*; in the interim *Simplicius* was prevented by death, before *Acacius* had given anſwer to his laſt Letters. as *Liberatus* tells us in *his Breviarium*. But after *Felix* had been put into *Simplicius*'s place, *Johannes* preſented that Libell to Pope *Felix*, which he had before made ready to offer to *Simplicius*. Who forthwith ſent a *Libell of Citation* to *Acacius* by the Biſhops *Vitalis* and *Miſenus*, ordering him to come to *Rome* immediately, and give in his anſwer before the Apoſtolick See, to the Libell of *Johannes* the Biſhop; as 'tis recorded in *the Geſta de nomine Acacii*, and in *the Libell of Citation* tranſmitted to *Acacius*. ——— Valeſ.

[c] Πρὸς τὸν φίλικα ἐπὶ τὸν ζήνωνα. The words are tranſpoſed, which I reſtore thus; τέλλονται ἐπὶ τὸν φίλικα πρὸς τὸν ζήνωνα; *are ſent from* Felix *to* [*the Emperour*] Zeno. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Cyrillus *Governour of the* Monaſtery *of the* Acœmeti, *how he ſent ſome perſons to* Felix *at* Rome, *inciting him to revenge what had been committed againſt the Faith.*

[a] BUT before their arrivall at the Imperial City, *Cyrillus* Governour of thoſe [Monks] termed the [b] *Acœmeti*, ſends [ſome perſons] to *Felix*, complaining of his ſlackneſs, in regard ſo great offences were committed againſt the true Faith. *Felix* therefore writes to *Miſenus* and thoſe who accompanied him, [ordering them] to do nothing before they ſhould have had a conference with *Cyrillus*, and might be informed from him what was to be done.

[a] Πρὶν ἢ δὲ τούτοις φθάσαι τὴν βασιλείαν. *Nicephorus* has excellently well explained this place of *Evagrius*, in theſe words:

πρὶν δὲ βιτάλιον καὶ μισηνὸν τοὺς ἐκ ῥώμης ἥκοντας φθάσαι τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, &c. *But before* Vitalis *and* Miſenus, *coming from* Rome, *had arrived at the Imperial City*, &c. In *Evagrius* therefore it muſt be written thus; πρὶν δὲ τούτοις φθάναι τὴν βασίλειον. For ſo *Evagrius* does uſually call *Conſtantinople*; as hereafter, at chap. 25. *Valeſ.*

[b] There were two Monaſteries at *Conſtantinople* which were termed [the Monaſteries] of the *Acœmeti*, to wit, [the Monaſtery] of *Baſſianus*, and that of *Dius*. They had taken the name of *Baſſianus* and of *Dius* from their Founders. But they had the appellation of *Acœmeti* [or, *Acœmitæ*,] given them, becauſe they celebrated

the Divine praiſes night and day, ſucceeding one another by turns: in ſo much that they ſeemed not to ſleep. So heretofore in the *Gallia*'s, a continuall praiſing of God is ſaid to have been kept up in ſome Monaſteries. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

Concerning what Felix *wrote to* Zeno, *and* Zeno *to* Felix.

THere were diſpatcht to them other [a] *Commonitories* alſo from *Felix*; who likewiſe wrote Letters to *Zeno*, both concerning the *Chalcedon Synod*, and alſo about the Perſecution in *Africa* [which had been raiſed] by *Onorichus*. Beſides, he wrote to *Acacius*. The Emperour *Zeno* returned an anſwer to *Felix*, [wherein he told him] that *Johannes* had given him trouble in vain, becauſe * he had ſworn that he would in no wiſe at any time ſue for Admiſſion to the See of *Alexandria*; but, that afterwards he had diſregarded his oath, and committed all manner of ſacriledge: and, that *Petrus* had not been ordained raſhly and without an exquiſite tryall and examination, but with his own hand had ſubſcribed, that he embraced the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers heretofore convened at *Nicæa*; which Faith the Holy Synod at *Chalcedon* alſo had [approved of, and] followed. The expreſs words [of *Zeno*'s Letter] are theſe: *You ought to be moſt undoubtedly aſſured, that both* Our Piety, *and the forementioned moſt Holy* Petrus, *and all the moſt Holy Churches, do Embrace and Revere the moſt Holy Synod of the* [b] Chalcedonians, *which hath fully agreed with the Faith in the Synod of the* Nicæans.

[a] Ὑπομνηστικά. *Nicephorus* ſuppoſed that theſe *Commonitoria* (for ſo the *Latines* term them, which the *Grecks* call ὑπομνηστικά,) were written to the Emperour *Zeno*. But *Evagrius* ſays they were written to *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* the Legates of the Apoſtolick See. 'Tis certain, *Commonitories* were wont to be ſent to Embaſſadours and ſuch like perſons, but not to the *Roman* Emperour. For they were as it were *Orders and Inſtructions which publick Miniſters ought ſtudiouſly to obſerve.* Valeſ.

* That is, *Johannes.*

[b] Καλχηδονέων. In the excellent *Florent.* M.S. I found it written καλχηδυνέων: and ſo alſo the ſame *Manuſcript Copy* has it written in other places, as I have remarked before. Indeed, the ancient Coyns do confirm this writing of this word, as does likewiſe the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the word καλχηδών. *Valeſ.*

[c] There are alſo extant in the ſame *Acts* the Letters, both from the forementioned *Cyrillus*, and from other *Archimandrites* of the Imperiall City; and alſo [thoſe] from the Biſhops and Clergy of the *Egyptick Diœceſis*, [written] to *Felix*, againſt *Petrus* as being an Heretick, and againſt thoſe who communicated with him. Further, when the [Monks] belonging to the Monaſtery of the *Acœmeti* were come to *Felix*, [d] they accuſed *Miſenus* and thoſe that accompanied him, becauſe till their arrivall at *Byzantium*, [the name of] *Petrus* had in ſecret been recited in the *Sacred Diptycks*; but, that ſtom that time till now it was recited publickly; and therefore, that *Miſenus* and thoſe who accompanied him had held communion [with *Petrus.*]

[c] Ἐμφέρεσθαι τοῖς τε πεπερασμένοις. I agree with Sr *Henry Savil*, who in *his Copy* hath mended it thus, ἐμφέρεσθαι τοῖς τε τοῖς πεπερασμένοις, *There are alſo extant in the ſame Acts.* But I can in no wiſe approve of *Chriſtophorſon*'s *Verſion*, who has rendred this place thus: *Extant Præterea in Actis ejuſdem Concilii*, &c. *There are moreover extant in the Acts of the ſame Councill*, &c. For *Evagrius* makes no mention here of any Councill, only takes a view of *the Collection of Letters, which belonged to* Acacius's *Cauſe. Chriſtophorſon* thought, (becauſe he ſaw mention was made of *Acts* by *Evagrius*,) that it followed immediately, that theſe things were tranſacted in a Councill. But the matter is not always ſo. For whatever things were done in any affair, may ſimply be called *Acts*, although no Councill or judiciary proceedings intervened. *Valeſ.*

[d] Οἱ καὶ διήλεγξαν. The *Article* οἱ is to be expunged; which is not acknowledged by *Nicephorus*. *Valeſ.*

The Letter likewiſe of the *Egyptians* affirmed the ſame things [with what I have related] concerning *Petrus*; and further alſo, that *Johannes* being a perſon *Orthodox*, had been legally Ordained; but, that *Petrus* was Ordained only by [e] two Biſhops, who maintained the ſame ill opinion with himſelf: and, that immediately after *Johannes*'s flight, all manner of puniſhments had been inflicted on the *Orthodox*. And, that *Acacius* had had information of all theſe things by ſome perſons who had made a journey to him [from *Alexandria*] to the Imperiall City; and [laſtly,] that *Acacius* was found to be *Petrus*'s favourer and Aſſiſtant in all things.

[e] All other Authours relate, that *Mongus* was ordained by one Biſhop, and he an Heretick. So ſays *Acacius* in *his Letter to Pope Simplicius*, and *Felix* in *his Synodick Epiſtle to all the Monks and Archimandrites at Conſtantinople and in Bythinia.* The ſame is likewiſe atteſted by *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 107; and by *Gelaſius* in *the Geſta de nomine Acacii.* Yet *Liberatus* affirms *Petrus* was ordained by more Biſhops than one, although he expreſſes not their number. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

That Symeones *a Monk belonging to the* Monaſtery *of the* Acœmeti *went to* Rome, *and accuſed thoſe Biſhops ſent from the* Romans *to* Conſtantinople *as having held Communion with Hereticks; and, that theſe* Legates, *and thoſe perſons who held Communion with* Petrus, *were depoſed by the* Romans.

THeſe [accuſations] were much increaſed by *Symeones* one of thoſe Monks termed the *Acœmeti*, who was ſent [to *Rome*] from *Cyrillus*. For this perſon accuſed *Miſenus* and *Vitalis* for having communicated with Hereticks; [he averred] that the name of *Petrus* was publickly recited in the Sacred *Diptycks*, and that by this means many of the ſimpler ſort were impoſed upon by Hereticks, who affirmed that *Petrus* was received [to communion] even by the See of *Rome*. *Symeones* added likwiſe, that when ſeverall queſtions [were propoſed,] *Miſenus* and his companions would not allow of a conference with any perſon that was *Orthodox*, or make a delivery of Letters to them, or take an exact ſcrutiny of any thing that was audaciouſly attempted againſt the true Faith. *Silvanus* a Preſbyter (one that had converſed with *Miſenus* and *Vitalis* at *Conſtantinople*,) was likewiſe brought in, who confirmed what had been ſaid by the Monks. Moreover, *Acacius*'s [a] Letter to *Simplicius* was read, [wherein *Acacius*] affirmed, that *Petrus* had been long ſince Depoſed, and that he was *a Son of Night*. And on theſe accounts *Miſenus* and *Vitalis* were removed from the Sacerdotall Function, and ſeparated from the undefiled Communion; the whole Synod having given their Vote in theſe expreſs words. *The Church of the Romans doth not receive* [*to Communion*] *the Heretick* Petrus, *who hath long ſince been both condemned by the Vote of the Sacred Chair, and alſo Excommunicated and* Anathematized. *Againſt whom (though nothing elſe were objected, yet) even this would be ſufficient, that having been ordained by Hereticks, he could not preſide over the* Orthodox. This alſo was contained [in the ſaid Sentence:] [b] *But, that* Acacius [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople *deſerves a ſevere reproof, the thing it ſelf has demonſtrated; becauſe in his Letter to* Simplicius *he has termed* Petrus *an Heretick, but at this preſent hath not detected*

[a] This Letter of *Acacius*'s is extant, ſet forth *in Latine* amongſt the Epiſtles of Pope *Simplicius*. The ſame Letter is mentioned in Pope *Felix*'s Epiſtle, which contains *Acacius*'s Sentence of Depoſition. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἀγαχίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς. We have added the particle δὲ *But*, from the

detected it to the Emperour: for he ought, if he had loved Zeno, to have done this: but he loves the Emperour with a greater ardency of affection, [c] than he has for the Faith. But let us reduce our Relation to the [d] following Series of affairs. There is extant an Epistle of *Acacius*'s, [written] to the Bishops in *Egypt*, and to the Ecclesiasticks and Monks, and to the whole body of the Laity; wherein he has attempted to repair and make up the Schism which had hapned. Concerning which affair he wrote also to *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Florentine Manuscript; which particle casts a great light upon this place.

In the same *Florentine Manuscript* at the side of these words, this *Scholion* was written: ὃ λέγει ἀτὸ ἐνταῦθα τέως τεθνῶς τὸν Ἀκάκιον ὑπὸ τῆ ῥώμη κατεψηφίσθαι. Θεόδωρος δὲ μάλιστα ἡ ὁ πάλιξ Βασίλειος τεθνῶς αὐτὸ φασί. That is, *This Author does not say here expresly, that* Acacius *was deposed by the* [*Bishop*] *of* Rome: *but* Theodorus *and* Basilius Cilix *do manifestly affirm this.* *Nicephorus* (book 16. chap. 17.) attests the same concerning *Basilius Cilix*. Further, Our *Evagrius* is undeservedly reproved by *that Scholiast*, because at this place he speaks nothing of *Acacius*'s deposition. *Evagrius* does here relate all things that were transacted in the *Roman Synod*, which was convened in the year of Christ 484 against *Vitalis* and *Misenus* Legates of the Apostolick See. In that Synod *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were indeed deprived of the honour of the Priesthood. But *Acacius* was only reprehended and rebuked, as 'tis apparent from the Decree of the Synod, here recorded by *Evagrius*. After this, *Felix* sent his *Synodick Letters* to *Acacius*; wherein these words occurred: *Peccasti, ne adjicias, & de prioribus supplica, You have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for* [*your*] *former* [*failings.*] After receipt of which Letters, when *Acacius* still stood out, and committed Facts worse than the former; Pope *Felix* (the Bishops being a second time convened,) promulged a sentence of deposition against *Acacius*, and directed it to *Acacius*, by *Tutus Defensor* of the *Roman* Church; which [sentence] begins thus: *Multarum transgressionum reperiris obnoxius, You are found guilty of many transgressions.* That these things were transacted in this manner, Pope *Felix* informs us in *his Synodick Letter to the Presbyters and* Archimandrites *at* Constantinople *and throughout* Bythinia. For, after he had written concerning *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, and concerning *Acacius*, who were condemned in the *Roman* Synod; he adds these words: *Post illam sententiam quæ in Acacium perturbatorem totius Orientis Ecclesiæ dicta est, &c. After that sentence which hath been pronounced against* Acacius *the disturber of the whole Eastern Church, being now also convened, we have added to these Letters, &c.* And a little after: *Unde nunc causâ Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ, &c. Wherefore being at this present convened in the presence of the blessed Apostle* Peter *on account of the* Antiochian *Church, we do again hasten to declare to Your love the Custom which hath always obtained amongst us.* From which words it appears, that this Letter was written by *Felix*, in the name of the third *Roman* Synod, which had been assembled on account of the *Antiochian* Church; which, after *Calendion* was ejected, *Petrus Fullo* had invaded. In this Synod therefore *Felix* had dictated the sentence against *Acacius*, (which begins thus; *Multarum transgressionum reperiris obnoxius, You are found guilty of many Transgressions;*) and had transmitted it to *Acacius*, by *Tutus* the *Defensor*. Nor can any one say, that that sentence was pronounc't before in the *Second Roman Synod*, at such time as *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were condemned; but was sent a little afterwards by *Felix*, by the Order of the *Third Roman Synod*. For *Evagrius* refutes this, who does not say, that the sentence of deposition was pronounc't against *Acacius* in that *Roman Synod* wherein *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were condemned. Besides, *Liberatus* in *his Breviarium* (chap. 18.) does manifestly declare, that that Sentence of Deposition against *Acacius* was pronounced long after the Condemnation of *Vitalis* and *Misenus*. For hear what *Liberatus* says: *Redeunt aliquando Legati. Sed præcesserant Monachi, &c. At length the Legates return. But the Monks had gone before, who in a grievous manner accused them of Treachery. Having been forthwith heard and convicted from those Letters which they had brought, they are removed from their own places.* And after some few words: *Ubi ergo ad plenum detectus est Acacius Hæreticus, &c. When therefore the Heretick* Acacius *was fully detected,* Pope Felix *put these words in his Synodick Letters: you have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for* [*your*] *former* [*failings.*] Acacius *having received these Letters, persists in the same mind, neither receding from* Petrus's *Communion, nor yet perswading him openly to embrace the* Chalcedon *Synod and the Tome of* Pope Leo. *Pope* Felix *understanding this, sent a writing of Condemnation to* Acacius *by* Tutus *the* Defensor; *the beginning whereof is this. You are found guilty of many Transgressions.* Valesius.

[c] Καὶ πῶ πίστιν ἀσαπῶ. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M.SS. and in *Nicephorus*, the reading is, ὃ πῶ πίστιν ἀσαπᾶ, *Loves not the Faith.* But it would be better written thus; ἢ πῶ πίστιν ἀσαπῶ. Thus *Christophorson* seems to have read, and so we have rendred it. At the Clause immediately foregoing, instead of [Δεον εἴπερ ἠσάπα τὸν ξήνωνα τῦτο πρᾶξαι. *For he ought, if he had loved* Zeno, *to have done this*;] I would rather read thus: εἴπερ ἠσάπα πῶ πίστιν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ζήνωνα, &c. *Whereas, if he had loved the Faith rather than* Zeno, *he ought to have done this.* Valesius.

[d] After the *Roman* Synod which was convened on the account of *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, and wherein *Vitalis* and *Misenus* had been condemned; but *Petrus* and *Acacius* were only reproved and rebuked; it was consequent that *Evagrius* should have spoken concerning the Sentence of Deposition pronounced against *Acacius* and sent to *Constantinople* by *Tutus* the *Defensor*. And yet *Evagrius* has not done this here. Whereof two reasons may be assigned. For, either this was done by *Evagrius* in reverence to the *Constantinopolitan See*: or else, because *Evagrius* had related *that* before from *Zacharias Rhetor*; as may be seen in the *eighteenth Chapter*. What therefore he had declared there, he look't upon as superfluous to repeat at this place. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the disturbances at Alexandria, *and in several* [*other*] *places, on account of the Synod at* Chalcedon.

THE Schism therefore increasing at *Alexandria*, *Petrus* (after he had [a] again *Anathematized* Leo's *Epistle*, and the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and those persons who would not embrace the writings of *Dioscorus* and *Timotheus*;) perswaded some of the Bishops and *Archimandrites* to communicate with himself. And because he could not induce others [to do the same,] he drove most of them from their own Monasteries. For which reasons [b] *Nephalius* made a journey to the Imperial City, and gave *Zeno* an account of these matters. Whereat *Zeno* was sorely troubled, and sends *Cosmas*, one of his own *Protectors*, [to *Alexandria*;] who gave forth many and great Menaces against *Petrus* on account of [procuring an] Unity, in regard by his own roughness he had raised a great dissention. But *Cosmas*, when nothing succeeded according to his wish and design, returned to the Imperial City, having only restored the Ejected Monks to their own Monasteries. Again therefore the Emperour sends *Arsenius*, whom he had preferred to be *Prefect* of *Egypt* and *Dux of the Companies of the Militia*. He being arrived at *Alexandria* in company with *Nephalius*, made a speech concerning Unity. But when he could not perswade [them to it,] he sent some of them to the Imperial City. Moreover, many disputes were held before *Zeno* concerning the Synod at *Chalcedon*: but nothing was brought to effect, because *Zeno* did not * wholly assent to the Synod at *Chalcedon*.

[a] I have made good this place from the *Florentine* M.S. in this manner, λεοντ& αὖθις ἀναθεματίσας, *after he had again Anathematized*, &c. For *Petrus Mongus* condemned not the *Chalcedon Synod* together with *Leo's Epistle*, once, but oftner. *Valesius.*

[b] *Liberatus* makes mention of this *Abbot Nephalius*, *in his Breviarium*, chap. 18. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Fully.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Fravita *and* Euphemius [*Bishops*] *of* Constantinople; *and concerning* Athanasius *and* Johannes [*Bishops*] *of* Alexandria: *also concerning* Palladius *and* Flavianus [*Prelates*] *of* Antioch; *and concerning some other persons.*

BUT *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Constantinople* having [a] in this interim gone the common way [of mankind,] *Fravita* succeeded him in his Bi-

[a] Ἐν τῶτῳ. I had rather make it, ἐν τάτῳ, *in this interim*. Further, 'tis to be observed, that *Evagrius* does in the first place relate *Acacius*'s death. For, of those three Schismaticks who rent in sunder the *Oriental* Church, (to wit, *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Petrus* of *Alexandria*, and *Petrus* of *Antioch*;) the first that departed out of this life (says *Evagrius*,) was *Acacius*; then *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, who was termed *Mongus*; and last

laſt of all died *Petrus Fullo*. But *Victor Thunonenſis* in *his Chronicon* relates, that the firſt that died of thoſe three I have mentioned, was *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Antioch*. For his words are theſe: *Poſt Conſulatum ſecundum Longini*, &c. *After Longinus's ſecond Conſulate*, Petrus [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch *dies under condemnation, and in his place* Calendion *is ordained. But the Eaſtern Biſhops, as perſons ignorant, conſecrate* Johannes *ſurnamed* Codonatus *Biſhop over the ſaid* Antiochian *Church, to whom ſucceeded* Petrus *the Heretick*. This was the year of Chriſt 488; *Dynamius* and *Sifidius* being Conſuls. But on the year following, wherein *Probinus* and *Euſebius* were Conſuls, the ſame *Victor Thunonenſis* records *Acacius*'s death in theſe words: *Euſebio V. C. Coſ. Acacius Conſtantinopolitanus Epiſcopus ſub damnatione moritur*, &c. *The moſt famous perſonage* Euſebius *being Conſul*, Acacius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *dies under Condemnation, and in his room* Flavita *is ordained Biſhop; to whom (he dying in the third month of his Promotion,)* Euphemius *Keeper of the Decrees of the* Chalcedon *Synod was ſucceſſour in the Biſhoprick*. And on the next year, *Longinus* and *Fauſtus* being the ſecond time Conſuls, the ſame *Victor* relates, that *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria* died under Condemnation. But *Baronius*, in *his Eccleſiaſtick Annalls*, relates indeed the death of theſe three Schiſmaticks in the ſame Order with *Victor Thunonenſis*, but not on the ſame year. For he ſays, that *Petrus Fullo* died on the year of our Lord's Nativity 486. And, that *Acacius* died two years after, that is, on the year of Chriſt 488: But in *Mongus*'s death he agrees exactly with *Victor*. But I had rather follow *Victor*'s opinion, who places *Fullo*'s death on the year of Chriſt 488. For *Calendion* was created Biſhop of *Antioch* on the year of our Lord's Nativity 482, as 'tis manifeſt from Pope *Simplicius's Epiſtle*; and in regard he held that Biſhoprick four years, as *Theophanes* does atteſt; it muſt neceſſarily be ſaid that *Petrus Fullo*, who on *Calendion*'s being ejected was put into his place, had poſſeſſion of the See of *Antioch* on the year of Chriſt 486. But who can believe that *Petrus Fullo*, who committed ſo many and ſuch notorious Facts during the time of his Epiſcopate, ſhould have died a few months after his promotion? *Petrus Fullo* therefore died not on the year of Chriſt 486, as *Baronius* thought. But this argument is with eaſe refuted; for 'tis grounded barely on *Theophanes*'s authority, who attributes four years to *Calendion*'s ſitting Biſhop. But *Calendion* ſate Biſhop during the ſpace of one year only. For he was ejected by the treachery of his Ordainer *Acacius*, a little after the *Roman* Synod, on the year of Chriſt 483; as we are informed from Pope *Felix's Letter to all the Presbyters and Archimandrites at* Conſtantinople *and throughout* Bithynia, and from *the Author of the Geſta de nomine Acacii*. But *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* are notoriouſly miſtaken, who relate that *Petrus Fullo* departed this life after *Petrus Mongus*. Whom Pope *Gelaſius* has refuted, in *his Epiſtle to the Orientalls*, who does atteſt that of thoſe two, *Petrus Fullo* died firſt. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Theophanes* relates, that *Fravita* wrote *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*, wherein he denyed that he communicated with *Felix* Biſhop of *Rome*. And on the other hand, that he ſent *Synodick Letters* to *Felix*, wherein he declared to him, that he had no ſociety of communion with *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*. *Theophanes* aſſignes only three months continuance in his Biſhoprick to the ſame *Fravita*; as does likewiſe *Victor Thunonenſis*; and not four, as *Evagrius* affirms in this chapter. *Valeſ.*

ſhoprick. And when this *Fravita* [b] had ſent *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*, *Petrus* on his part returned him anſwer in the like Letters wherein he affirmed the ſame things [with what I have mentioned] concerning *the Acts* at *Chalcedon*. Moreover, after *Fravita*'s departure out of this life, (for he ſate Biſhop four months only;) *Euphemius* was ordained Biſhop in his room. He receives the *Synodick Letters*, which *Petrus* had written to *Fravita*: and having found therein an *Anathema* againſt *the Acts* at *Chalcedon*, was mightily diſturbed, and ſevered himſelf from *Petrus*'s Communion. Both theſe [Prelates] Letters are extant, as well that from *Fravita* to *Petrus*, as that from *Petrus* to *Fravita*; which, by reaſon of their prolixity, I have omitted. When therefore *Euphemius* and *Petrus* were about to contend one with another, and to convene Synods one againſt the other; *Petrus* is prevented by death, and *Athanaſius* ſucceeds him in his Chair. He attempted to unite the diſſenting perſons; but could not effect it, the diſagreeing parties being divided into [c] various opinions.

[c] There were at *Alexandria* two ſorts of Hereticks; to wit, the *Dioſcoritæ*, and the *Eſaiani*: concerning whom *Liberatus* ſpeaks in *his Breviary*. The *Dioſcoritæ* wholly condemned and *anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod*. But the *Eſaiani*, following *Zeno*'s Edict [that is, *His Henoticon*,] did not indeed in any wiſe admit that Synod; yet they pronounc't not an *Anathema* againſt it. *Valeſ.*

This *Athanaſius* having after this ſent *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Succeſſour to [d] *Petrus* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, did the ſame [that *Petrus* had done] in relation to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The very ſame was likewiſe performed by *Johannes*, who after *Athanaſius* ſucceeded in the *Alexandrian* Chair. And after the death of *Palladius* Prelate of the Church at *Antioch*, when *Flavianus* had ſucceeded him in his Chair, *Solomon* a Presbyter of *Antioch* is ſent by him to *Alexandria*, who carried * his *Synodick Letters*, and requeſted *Johannes*'s Letters in anſwer to *Flavianus*. But after this *Johannes*, another *Johannes* ſucceeds in the Chair of *Alexandria*. And theſe things proceeded in the ſame manner [I have mentioned] † till the beginning of [the Emperour] *Anaſtaſius*'s Reign. For he ejected *Euphemius* [out of his Biſhoprick.] Which [tranſactions] I was neceſſitated to joyn together in one continued *Series*, both for perſpicuitie's ſake, and alſo that they might with more celerity be underſtood.

[d] *Evagrius* ſays not expreſly, on what year *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch* died; nor can it be gathered from his words, that he died after *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Yea, rather the contrary may be extracted from *Evagrius*'s words. For, if *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch* had ſurvived *Petrus Alexandrinus*, doubtleſs *Athanaſius*, who ſucceeded *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, would have ſent *his Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch*. For theſe *Synodick Letters* were wont to be ſent by the Patriarchs at the very beginning of their *Patriarchate*. In regard therefore *Athanaſius* ſent his *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, it appears from thence, that *Petrus Antiochenus* died long before *Petrus Alexandrinus*. Further, concerning *Athanaſius's Synodick Letters*, *Liberatus* in *his Breviarium* ſays theſe words: *Non poſt multum tempus*, &c. *No long time after dies alſo* Petrus Mongus *as* Alexandria, *and after him* Athanaſius *is ordained in that See: who himſelf alſo communicated with the* Conſtantinopolitan, Antiochian, *and* Hieroſolymitane *Church in the Edict*. Valeſ.

* *Flavianus's.*

† Or, *Till ſome times of* Anaſtaſius.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the ſlaughter of Armatus, *who was kinſman to the Empreſs* Verina.

BUT *Zeno*, by the perſwaſion of *Illus*, ſlew *Armatus* alſo, who was the Empreſs *Verina*'s kinſman, whom, when ſent [againſt him] by *Baſiliſcus*, *Zeno* had [a] enſnared with gifts, and, inſtead of being an Enemy, had made him a Friend and an Auxiliary. He alſo creates his Son *Baſiliſcus*, *Cæſar*, at the City *Nicæa*. But when he was come to *Byzantium*, he ſlays *Armatus* by Treachery. But he makes his Son *Baſiliſcus*, inſtead of being a *Cæſar*, a Presbyter. Who was afterwards promoted to the Epiſcopall dignity.

[a] *Zeno* brought over *Armatus* to his own ſide, not only by gifts and preſents, but by promiſes alſo.

miſed, that as ſoon as he had recovered the Empire, he would make *Armatus perpetuall Magiſter* [or, *Maſter*,] *of the preſent Militia*; and his Son *Baſiliſcus*, *Cæſar*, and *his own Aſſeſſour*; as *Theophanes* tells us in *his Chronicon*. pag 107. Whoſe words, becauſe they are corrupted, nor could be underſtood by the Tranſlatour, I will annex here. Ἀλλὰ δώρεαις τοῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ τυφλωθείς, καὶ ὑποχέσει διαδόχῳ στρατηλείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλίσκον χειροτονῆσαι ποιῆσαι καὶ συγκάθεδρον αὐτῷ, σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλίσκῳ ἐπαναλῦσαι. That is, *But he alſo (as it frequently* [happens,]) *being blinded with gifts* [ſent] *from* Zeno, *and with a promiſe of the perpetuall Maſterſhip of the Milice, and that* Zeno *would make his Son* Baſiliſcus, Cæſar, *and his Aſſeſſour; returned with* Zeno *againſt* Baſiliſcus. I write therefore, καὶ ὑποχέσει διαδόχῳ στρατηλατείας, *and with a promiſe of the perpetuall Maſterſhip of the Milice. Theophanes* terms *the perpetuall power of Maſter of the Milice* διάδοχον στρατηλατείαν. *The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* does fully confirm our Emendation. For he writes, that *Zeno* had made a promiſe to *Armatus*, *that he would grant to him the Magiſteriall power of the preſent Milice as long as he ſhould live*. *Suidas* relates much concerning this *Armatus*, in the word ἀρμάτων; which ſeem to have been taken out of *Damaſcius* in the *Life* of Hiſydorus *the Philoſopher*. Valeſ.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Rebellion of * Theodoricus *the* Scythian; *and concerning the ſame perſon's death.*

* Or, Theuderichus.

THeoderichus, by Nation a *Scythian*, made an inſurrection alſo againſt *Zeno*: and having gathered together his own Forces in the [Country] of the *Thracians*, undertakes an Expedition againſt † him. And when he had ruined all the Countries before him, as far as the mouth of *Pontus*, he wanted but little of taking the Imperial City it ſelf; [and had ſeized it,] had not ſome of his Greateſt Confidents, induced thereto [by gifts,] entred into a Conſult || about taking him off. Being informed therefore of this ill deſign of his own friends againſt him, he marched back; and not long after this is numbred amongſt thoſe departed this life. Moreover, I will declare the manner of his death, which hapned thus. [a] A Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to caſt it with, was hung up before his Tent, agreeable to the *mode* of the *Barbarians*. Having therefore a mind to exerciſe his body, he ordered his horſe to be brought to him. And it being not cuſtomary with him to make uſe of a [b] *Strator*, he mounted his horſe without any help. But the horſe, being a beaſt unmanaged and fiery, before *Theodoricus* had beſtridden him and ſetled himſelf, riſes with his fore-feet, and began to go forwards upright on his hinder feet only. So that *Theodoricus* ſtriving with his horſe, and not daring to [c] curb him with the Bridle, leaſt he ſhould fall backwards upon him, nor yet being firmly ſeated in his Saddle, was toſſed this way and that way, and thrown upon the point [of his Javelin.] Which ran obliquely into him, and wounded his ſide. Being conveyed from thence therefore to his bed, and having continued alive ſome few days, he died of that wound.

† Zeno.

|| Or, *To kill him.*

[a] Δόρυ ἀμπυκλημένον. In the expoſition of this word Tranſlatours have been miſtaken. *Langus* renders it *Haſtam expeditam, a Javelin fitted up and in readineſs. Muſculus*, according to his own uſage, having not a *Latine* word ready at hand, retained the *Greek* one. But *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred it worſt of all, thus, *Haſtam cuſpide biſidâ, a Javelin with a double point.* I have tranſlated it *Haſtam amentatam, a Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to caſt it with.* For ἀγκύλη is the ſame with *Amentum*; to wit, *the thong wherewith Darts or Javelins were bound about, that they might be caſt againſt the Enemy.* The *Old Gloſſes* out of the *Library of Petrus Daniel* quoted by *Turnebus*, explain it thus: *Amentum, corrigia lanceæ, quæ etiam anſula eſt ad jactum*, that is, *Amentum, the Latchets of a Launce, which is alſo a little handle to caſt it.* Where *anſula* is the ſame with ἀγκύλη, to wit, *that whereby a Dart is held that it may be thrown.* *Heſychius* expounds ἀμπυκλίδες thus, τὸ ἐνεῖραι τοῦ ἀγκύλους τῇ ἀγκύλῃ τῆς ἀκοντίου. Τίθεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἕτοιμον εἴη, *to fit* [or *claſp together*] *the fingers about the leather-latchet of a miſſile weapon.* 'Tis likewiſe uſed *to ſignifie, to be ready.** So *Æſchylus* made uſe of this phraſe, ἀγκυλωτοὺ κοπάδας, *ſounds made by the laſhings of leather-thongs*, [See *Heſychius*, in the word κόπαδος:] a Metaphor taken ἀπὸ τῶν δορατίων, ἅπερ ἀγκυλὰς καὶ μασάγκυλα ἐκάλουν, *from thoſe Javelins, which they termed amentata* [that is, *fitted with loops of leather to fling them with*;] as *Euſtathius* tells us, at the *Second Book of the Iliads*. Now, there was a double uſe of the *Amentum*. For, it conduced both to the holding of the Dart, and alſo that it might be thrown againſt the Enemy with a greater force. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἀναβολῆ δὲ ἐκ εἰωθὼς χρῆσθαι. In the incomparable *Florentine* M. S. I found it plainly written ἀναβολεῖ, as Learned men had conjectured the reading ſhould be. Now, ἀναβολεὺς is the ſame with him whom the *Latines* term a *Strator*, *who is wont to liſt his Maſter on horſe-back*; as *Suidas* atteſts: in which Author there is a paſſage extant of an *ancient Writer*, who ſays theſe words concerning *King Maſſaniſſa*, ὁ δὲ μασσανίσσης γηραιὸς ἵππῳ χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινε, *But this Maſſaniſſa when he was old mounted his horſe without a Strator.* Where *Suidas* ſeems to have taken the word ἀναβολεὺς for *a Scale* which we vulgarly term *a Stirrop*. Valeſ.

[c] Ἀναστειζειν. I think it muſt be made ἀναστειρίζειν, as 'tis in the *Tellerian* M. S. For ſo the *Analogy* requires it ſhould; as from πεῖρα is derived πειρίζειν. *Suidas* expounds ἀναστειρίζειν thus, ἀνθέλκειν, ἀναχαλινῶν, *to pull back, to curb.* But *Nicephorus*, inſtead of this word, made uſe of ἀναστέλλειν, *to repreſs*, or, *to draw back.* Further, the death of *Theodoricus* hapned on the year of *Chriſt* 481, as *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* atteſts, in theſe words: *Placidio ſolo Coſſ. Theodoricus Triarii filius Rex Gothorum*, &c. *Placidius being Conſul alone* Theodoricus Triarius's *Son King of the* Goths, *taking his Forces* [*along with him*] *as far as* Anaplum, *arrives at the diſtance of four miles from the City; but having done no harm to any of the* Romans, *returned forthwith. Further, haſtning into* Illyricum, *whileſt he was going between the moving Carriages of his own Army, he is wounded and ſtriken thorow with the point of a dart lying upon one of the Wagons*, [*occaſioned*] *by the motion of his own horſe who ſtarted; and dies.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Marcianus's *Inſurrection, and what hapned in Relation to him.*

[a] AFter theſe things, *Marcianus* (the Son of *Anthemius* who had been Emperour of *Rome*, a kinſman by mariage to *Leo Zeno*'s predeceſſour in the Empire; for he had married *Leontia Leo*'s younger daughter;) having diſagreed with *Zeno*, made an attempt to ſet up for a Tyrant. And a ſharp engagement happning about the Pallace, wherein many fell on either ſide; *Marcianus* routs his oppoſers. And [by that attack] had poſſeſt himſelf of the Pallace, had he not let that opportunity ſlip, by deferring that action till the morrow. For, Opportunity is a ſwift-wing'd Bird, and, whilſt ſhe flies at your feet, may peradventure be taken. But after ſhe has avoided your hands, on a ſudden ſhe mounts on high, and derides thoſe who purſue her, not ſuffering her ſelf to be catcht by them in future. On which account therefore * *Statuaries* and Painters make her hair long before, but ſhave the hinder part of her head to the very ſkin: with great prudence intimating thereby, that as long as Opportunity is behind, ſhe may be perhaps laid hold on by her long hair: but being got before, ſhe makes a perfect eſcape, not having any thing whereby ſhe may be taken hold of by the Purſuer. Which very thing at that time befell *Marcianus*, who loſt that opportunity which was ſeaſonably offered him, and was not in future able to recover it. For, on the morrow he was betrayed by his own party; and having been wholly deſerted, fled to the Church of the *Divine Apoſtles*. Whence he was drawn out by force, and baniſht to *Cæſarea* a City of the *Cappadocians*. Where keeping company with ſome *Monks*, he was afterwards found out to deſign a private eſcape. On which account he was by the Emperour ſent to *Tarſus* of *Cilicia*, and having had his hair ſhorn, is ordained a Presbyter. Theſe Tranſactions are with great elegancy written by *Euſtathius* the *Syrian*.

[a] *Theophanes* relates this commotion of *Marcianus*'s (in like manner as *our Evagrius* does,) ſoon after the death of *Theodoricus* the Son of *Triarius*. But *Malchus* diſſents, in *his Byzantine Hiſtory*. For he tells us, that *Theodoricus Triarius* having heard of *Marcianus*'s Sedition, forthwith drew together vaſt Forces, and marched towards *Conſtantinople*; pretending to give the Emperour aſſiſtance; but in reality, that he might make himſelf maſter of the Imperial City. *Malchus*'s words, if any one be deſirous of reading them, occur at pag. 86 of the *King's Edition*. Further, *Procopius Marcianus*'s brother, after *Marcianus* was taken, and his Tyranny ſuppreſt, fled into *Græcia* to *Theodoricus*. And when *Zeno* ſent an Embaſſy requiring him to be delivered up to himſelf, he could never prevail to get that done by *Theodoricus*; as *Canlidus* ſays, in *his Second Book*; and *Malchus*, in the *book now cited*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Image-makers.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning the Tyranny of Illus *and* Leontius.

THE ſame *Euſtathius* relates, that *Zeno* framed innumerable deſignes and intreagues, even againſt *Verina* his own mother in Law; and, that after theſe things, he baniſht her into the Country of the *Cilicians:* but, that afterwards, when *Illus*'s Tyranny broke out, *Verina* removed to that termed *the Caſtle of Papirius*, and there ended her life. Moreover, the ſame *Euſtathius* hath written the Affairs of *Illus* with much Eloquence; how, having been treacherouſly laid wait for by *Zeno*, he made his eſcape; and, in what manner *Zeno* delivered up that perſon [to *Illus*] to be put to death, whom he had ordered to murder *Illus*; [paying him with] the loſs of his head, which reward *Zeno* gave him for his unſucceſsfullneſs in that attempt. *Illus* alſo was declared *Maſter* of the *Oriental Milice* by *Zeno*, who made it his buſineſs to conceal [thoſe treacherous deſignes he had framed againſt *Illus*.] But *Illus*, having taken into an aſſociation with himſelf *Leontius*, and one *Marſus* a perſon eminent and skilfull, and *Pamprepius*; went into the Eaſtern parts. Then [the ſaid *Euſtathius* relates] *Leontius*'s being proclaimed Emperour, which was done at *Tarſus* of *Cilicia*; and alſo, what theſe perſons got by their Tyranny; *Theodoricus* (a perſon by original extract a *Goth*, and who was a man of eminency amongſt the *Romans*,) being ſent againſt them, with an Army conſiſting partly of *Romans* and partly of *Barbarians*. The ſame *Euſtathius* does very ingeniouſly deſcribe the ſlaughter of theſe perſons, which in a cruell manner was effected by *Zeno*'s order, [he repaying them with this reward] for their Benevolence [they had ſhown] to himſelf: and, that *Theodoricus*, [a] made ſenſible of *Zeno*'s treacherous deſignes [againſt himſelf,] departed to the *Seniour Rome*: (But others affirm, [b] that [*Theodoricus* made this journey into *Italy*] by *Zeno*'s perſwaſion:) and having vanquiſhed *Odoacer* in an Engagement, made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, and aſſumed to himſelf the name [only] of *King*.

[a] Τῆς ϛυλῆς διδεδιμένῳ ζήνωνϛ, *made ſenſible of Zeno's intent.* In the *Florent.* M.S. 'tis truer written, thus, τῆς ὀπϛυλῆς, &c. *made ſenſible of* Zeno's *treacherous deſignes*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὡς ϗ ὑποδύκαι ζήνωνϛ. Tranſlatours ſaw not the meaning of this place; they were deceived by an ill punctation. But, by placing a middle diſtinction after theſe words, I have caſt a light upon this paſſage. For *Evagrius* ſays, two reaſons were brought, which had moved *Theodoricus* to go into *Italy*. The firſt was becauſe *Zeno* plotted againſt him. The ſecond is aſſigned in theſe words, *But others affirm that*, &c. Indeed, in the *Excerpta of that old Author*, which I publiſhed long ſince at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Theodoricus* is ſaid to have gone into *Italy* with the conſent of *Zeno*. For theſe are the words there, at pag. 479; *Zeno recompenſans beneficiis Theodoricum*, &c. *Zeno recompenſing* Theodoricus *with gifts, whom he made Patricius and Conſul. giving him much; and ſending him into* Italy, *made an agreement with him, that if* Odoachar *ſhould be vanquiſhed, for the merit of his own labours, he ſhould only reign before, in his room whileſt he ſhould live.* [*Loco ejus dum adviveret, in his room whileſt he ſhould live*; ſo 'tis worded in *this note* of *Valeſius*'s here: but in the *forementioned Excerpta of the old Authour*, the reading is, *loco ejus dum adveniret, in his room whileſt he ſhould come.*] *Jordanes* does alſo atteſt the ſame in *his Geticks*, and *in his Book de Succeſſione Regnorum*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Mammianus, *and the* * *Structures* [*built by*] *him.*

* Or, *Works.*

JOhannes the *Rhetorician* relates, that during the Reign of *Zeno*, one *Mammianus*, from being a *Sedentary Mechanick*, became an eminent perſon, and arrived at the *Senatorian* Order; and, that this *Mammianus* built that Edifice termed *The* [a] *Antiphorum* in the *Suburb Daphne*, (which place had before had Vines in it, and was fit for Tillage;) oppoſite to the *publick Bath*; wherein is erected a Brazen Statue, [with this Inſcription,] MAMMIANUS A LOVER OF THE CITY. [The ſame *Johannes* adds,] that he raiſed two *Royall Porticus*'s in the City, for building very magnificent, and beautified with the ſplendour and brightneſs of Stones. And, that between the two *Royall Porticus's*, *The Tetrapylum* a middle Edifice was erected by him, moſt exquiſitely adorned with Columns and * Praſs. I my ſelf have ſeen the *Royall Porticus*'s, which, together with their name, do ſtill retain the Remains of their former Beauty; their flour being paved with *Proconneſian* Marble. But, the [reſt of the] Building has nothing of excellency. For, by reaſon of thoſe Calamities which have befaln them, they have of late been repair'd, [b] nothing being added that might beautifie them. But, of *The Tetrapylum* erected by *Mammianus* we have not found ſo much as the very * Foundation.

[a] So a certain Building ſeems to be termed, which ſerved inſtead of a *Forum*. *Evagrius* ſays, this Edifice was in the *Daphnenſian Suburb, over againſt* [or, *oppoſite to*] *the publick Bath*. For that is the import of theſe words, ἐυθὺ τὸ δημοσίε βαλανείε. *Muſculus* renders ἐυθὺ, *recta ad publicum Balneum, ſtraightforth to the publick Bath*. Which I approve not of: for ἐυθὺ is the ſame with κάθεναντιον, *oppoſite*; as *Suidas* atteſts. Now, in the *Antiforum* (ſays *Evagrius*,) *Mammianus*'s Statue was erected. Whence it is apparent, that *The Antiforum* was the ſame with what I have ſaid above. For Statues were wont to be erected in the *Forum*. Valeſ.

* Or, *matter of* Praſs.

[b] I agree with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savil*; who inſtead of [ὑδὲν ἐς κόσμον] have mended it ὑδενὸς, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Footſtep.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Zeno's *Death, and the Proclaiming* Anaſtaſius *Emperour.*

FUrther, *Zeno* dying Childleſs, of a diſeaſe [termed] *an Epilepſie*, after the ſeventeenth year of his Empire; his brother *Longinus*, who had arrived at great power, entertained an hope, that he ſhould inveſt himſelf with the Empire. But he proved unſucceſsfull in his deſires. For *Ariadne* encircled *Anaſtaſius* with the [Imperial] Crown, who had not yet arrived at the *Senatorian Order*, but was inrolled in that termed * *The Schole of the Silentiarii*. Moreover, *Euſtathius* relates, that from the beginning of *Diocletian*'s Empire to *Zeno*'s death and the Proclaiming of *Anaſtaſius*, there paſſed Two hundred and ſeven years: from the † Empire of *Auguſtus*, Five hundred thirty two years and ſeven months: from the Reign of *Alexander* the *Macedonian* Eight hundred thirty two years, and likewiſe ſeven months: from the Reign of the *Romans* and *Romulus*, One thouſand fifty two years, and moreover ſeven months: from the deſtruction of *Troy*, One thouſand ſix hundred eighty and ſix years, with ſeven months. This *Anaſtaſius*

* See Dr *Howell's Hiſtory* ſecond part; pag. 51.

† Or, *Monarchy.*

Anastasius had his originall extract at the City *Epidamnus*, which is now termed *Dyrrachium*: and [succeeded] *Zeno* in his Empire, and married *his Wife *Ariadne*. And in the first place he sends away *Longinus* (*Zeno*'s brother, who bore the dignity of a *Magister*, *which Officer* the Ancients termed *The Prefect of the Offices in the Pallace*;) into his own Country. Then, [he gave] many other *Isaurians* [a like liberty of returning into their own Country,] who requested the same thing of him.

* *Zeno's.*

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the Emperour Anastasius; *and how, because he would not innovate any thing in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution, the Churches over the whole world were filled with infinite disturbances: and many of the Bishops for that reason were ejected.*

[FUrther,] This *Anastasius*, being a person very [a] studious to promote Peace, would permit no innovation whatever to be made, especially in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution: and took all imaginable Courses, both that the most Holy Churches might continue undisturbed, and also that every person subject to his Government might enjoy a profound Peace; all Animosity and Contention being far removed both from the *Ecclesiastick*, and from the *Civill* State of affairs. The Synod therefore at *Chalcedon* was in these times, neither publickly asserted in the most Holy Churches, nor yet wholly rejected: but every one of the Prelates acted according to that Sentiment they had embraced. [b] And some of them courageously defended what had been expounded in that Synod, nor would they recede even from one syllable of it's determinations, or admit of the alteration of one Letter: but with much confidence *separated from, and would in no wise endure to communicate with those, who admitted not of *that Synod*'s Decrees. But others, not only embraced not the Synod at *Chalcedon* and the determinations made by it; but also *Anathematized* it, together with *Leo's Epistle*. Othersome stifly adhered to *Zeno's Henoticon*; [which they did] notwithstanding their disagreement amongst themselves concerning *the one* or *the two Natures*: these being imposed upon by the [c] composure of the Letters; and those having a greater inclination to Peace and Unity. In so much that the Churches of the whole world were divided into private Factions, nor would the Prelates hold Communion one with another. Hence hapned many * Dissentions both in the *East*, and in the *Western* parts, and throughout *Africa*; neither the *Eastern* Bishops keeping up a Society and Amity with the *Western* or those of *Africa*, nor yet on the other hand these with the *Eastern* Prelates. Moreover, the matter proceeded to an higher Degree of absurdity. For, neither did the *Eastern* Prelates hold a Communion amongst their own selves; nor [would] those who governed the [Episcopall] Chairs of *Europe* or *Africa* [cherish a communion one with another,] much less with Strangers and Forreiners. Which when the Emperour *Anastasius* perceived, he ejected those Bishops who made any Innovation, out of the Church; where-ever he found any such person, either crying up the *Synod* of *Chalcedon* contrary to the usage in those places, or else *Anathematizing* it. He ejected therefore out of the Imperial City, in the first place *Euphemius*, as we have related * before, and then *Macedonius*; after whom *Timotheus* was made [Bishop.] *Flavianus* also [was by him ejected] out of *Antioch*.

[a] How *Anastasius* was affected towards Ecclesiastick affairs, and in what manner he behaved himself in the administration thereof, *Liberatus*, in *his Breviary chap.* 18. informs us in these words: *Ascenderunt quidam & adversantium, &c. Some persons both of those who were against him, and of them who communicated with him, went up to* Anastasius. *And whilst they had a debate before the Emperour, some proposing that the Synod should be* Anathematized, *and so they would communicate; but others, being more calm, were for adding those things in the Uniting Edict, which might satisfie these who had communicated with* Petrus: *The Emperour considering that if he should make an addition to the Edict, he might raise a disturbance in the Church, and that, to* Anathematize *the Synod was impossible; perswaded them that the Uniting Edict was sufficient that they might communicate mutually with one another, as the rest of the Bishops of the Churches did. And when they would not obey to perform these things, he dismissed them without their having obtained any thing.* From which words you see, that the Emperour *Anastasius* wholly followed *Zeno's Edict*, nor would besides innovate any thing. *Vales.*

[b] Κἂν ἔνιοι ὡδὶ, *although some*: It must be, καὶ ἔνιοι, *And some.* Vales.

* Or, *Leapt from.*

* Or, *Surrounded it with an* Anathema.

[c] Τῇ συνθήκῃ γεγραμμάτων. *Johannes Langus* seems to understand the Emperour *Zeno's Letters concerning the uniting of the Churches.* For thus he renders it: *ii quidem Litteris insidiose compositis per fraudem decepti, those being through fraud deceived by the Letters craftily composed.* Which sense *Christophorson* has likewise followed. Indeed, this place of *Evagrius* can't be otherwise explained. For he brings two reasons, why some persons would not acquiesce in *Zeno's Edict*. He says therefore, that some were deceived by that flattering Oration of the Emperour, which was composed to perswade. But, that others, allured with a desire of the peace and repose of the Churches, had acquiesced in *this Edict*. *Vales.*

* Or, *Sections.*

* *Chap.* 23.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Letter of the Monks of Palestine *to* Alcison *concerning* Xenaias *and some other persons.*

NOw, concerning *Macedonius* and *Flavianus*, the Monks in *Palestine*, in their Letter to [a] *Alcison*, say word for word thus: *But,* [b] Petrus *being dead, they were again divided amongst themselves; and* Alexandria *and* Egypt *and* Libya *continued within their own Communion. The rest of the East likewise held a Communion separate from others,* [c] *in regard the Westerns refused communicating with them on any terms, unless to their* Anathematizing *of* Nestorius, Eutyches, *and* Dioscorus, *they would add* Petrus Mongus *also, and* Acacius. *The Churches therefore over the whole world being in this posture, the genuine* [*followers*] *of* Dioscorus *and* Eutyches *were reduced to the smallest number imaginable. And when they were now just a-*alone. *Marcellinus* mentions him in *his Chronicon*, who *Alcissus*. See *Baronius* at the year of *Christ* 516. Vales.

[a] This *Alcison* was Bishop of *Nicopolis*, (which is the *Metropolis* of *Old Epirus*;) one of the chief defenders of the *Chalcedon Synod*. He died in the year of Christ 516, *Petrus* being *Consul* terms him

[b] In regard there were two *Petrus*'s at one and the same time, the one Bishop of *Alexandria*, the other of *Antioch*; 'tis uncertain which of these two is here meant. But it seems more probable, that *Petrus* of *Alexandria* should be meant here; because the *Monks* of *Palestine* do immediately speak of *Alexandria*, of *Egypt*, and of *Libya*. Yet, this meaning is hindred by what is objected by the same *Monks*; to wit, that after *Petrus*'s death *Egypt* held a separate communion, and that the *Orientals* were disjoyned from their communion. For *Petrus Alexandrinus* was succeeded by *Athanasius*, who wrote *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and was joyned in a communion with him, as I have observed above from *Evagrius* and *Liberatus*. But again, if we should say that *Petrus* of *Antioch* were meant at this place, there would be the same difficulty. But, answer may be made, that the *Monks* do speak here, not of the Patriarchs themselves, but of a whole *Diœcesis*, and of the greatest part of the Bishops. 'Tis certain, after *Petrus Alexandrinus*'s death, the *Eastern* Bishops desired the communion of the Church of *Rome*; as 'tis apparent from *Pope* Gelasius's *Letter to the Orientalls*. Vales.

[c] Τῶν δυτικῶν ἀνεχομένων. A negative particle is doubtless to be added, in this manner, τῶν δυτικῶν μὴ ἀνεχομένων, *in regard the Westerns refused*; which is the reading in *Nicephorus* and in the *Tellerian* M. S. *Vales.*

bout vaniſhing in ſuch a manner as not to appear any more in the world, One [d] Xenaias, [a perſon agreeable to his name] truly a ſtranger from God, (on what deſign we know not, nor what the grudge was which he would revenge upon Flavianus, but) under a pretext of the Faith, as moſt do ſay, begins to move againſt Flavianus, and to calumniate him as a Neſtorian. But when Flavianus had Anathematized Neſtorius together with his opinion, Xenaias paſſes from Neſtorius [e] to Dioſcorus, and to Theodorus, and Theodoret, Ibas, [f] and Cyrus, and Eutherius, and Johannes, and we know not to what perſons elſe, nor whence he had gathered them. Some of whom had in reality been Aſſerters of Neſtorius's Sentiments: but others of them, ſuſpected to have been [Neſtorius's followers,] had Anathematized him, and had ended their lives in the Communion of the Church. Unleſs (ſays [Xenaias to Flavianus]) you will Anathematize all theſe perſons who are diſtempered with Neſtorius's Tenets, you are an Embracer of Neſtorius's Sentiments, although you ſhould Anathematize him a thouſand times, together with his Opinion. By Letters alſo he excites the Favourers of Dioſcorus and Eutyches, perſwading them to aſſiſt himſelf againſt Flavianus, and to require him not to Anathematize the Synod, but the forementioned perſons [only.] When Flavianus the Biſhop had made a long and ſtout reſiſtance againſt theſe men, and againſt others who together with Xenaias combined againſt him, to wit, one [g] Eluſinus Biſhop of the Second Cappadocia, Nicias [Biſhop] of Laodicea in Syria, and others from other places; (to relate the Cauſes of which perſons * hatred againſt Flavianus, longs not to us, but to others:) at length [Flavianus] ſuppoſing [h] they would not be quiet in behalfe of theſe perſons, yielded to their contentious humour: and having in writing Anathematized the foreſaid perſons, ſent [his Libell] to the Emperour: For they had incenſed him againſt Flavianus, as being an Aſſertour of Neſtorius's Opinion. But Xenaias not ſatisfied even herewith, required again of Flavianus, that he ſhould Anathematize the Synod it ſelf, and thoſe who aſſerted two natures in the Lord [Chriſt,] one of the Fleſh, another of the Deity. Which when Flavianus had refuſed to do, Xenaias accuſed him again, as being a Neſtorian. After many debates in reference to this matter, when the [i] Patriarch had drawn up an Expoſition of the Faith, wherein he profeſt that he embraced the Synod as to what related to the Depoſition of Neſtorius and Eutyches, but not as to its definition and doctrine of the Faith; they renewed their Accuſations againſt him, as if he were a ſecret favourer of Neſtorius's Sentiments, unleſs he would add an Anathematiſm againſt the Synod it ſelf alſo, and againſt thoſe who aſſerted two Natures in our Lord, one of the Fleſh, another of the Deity. Moreover, by their many fraudulent words and expreſſions, they induced the [k] Iſauri alſo to embrace their own Opinion. And having drawn up a Writing concerning the Faith, wherein they Anathematized the Synod together with thoſe who affirmed two Natures, or Proprieties [in Chriſt;] they withdrew themſelves from a Communion with Flavianus and Macedonius; and enter into ſociety with others, who had ſubſcribed to their Writing. During this interim, they entreated the Biſhop of Jeruſalem alſo, that he would draw up in writing the Form of his own Faith. Which he having ſet forth, ſent it to the Emperour by the followers of Dioſcorus. [l] And that [Copy of it] which they produce, does indeed contain an Anathematiſm of thoſe who aſſert two Natures. But, the Biſhop of Jeruſalem himſelf affirms, that it has been adulterated by them, and produces another without any ſuch Anathematiſm. Nor, need this ſeem a wonder. For they have frequently corrupted the Books of the Fathers. And by [falſe] Titles have aſcribed many of Apollinaris's Books, to Athanaſius, to Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and to [m] Julius. By which [Books] eſpecially, they have induced many perſons to [embrace] their own impiety. Further, they requeſted of Macedonius a Writing concerning his own Faith. Who ſet forth an Expoſition thereof, affirming that he knew no other Faith ſave that of the Three hundred and eighteen, and hundred and fifty [Holy Fathers;] and he Anathematizes Neſtorius and Eutyches, and thoſe who aſſert two Sons, or two Chriſts, or who divide the Natures: [n] but has made no mention of the Epheſine Synod which depoſed Neſtorius, nor of that at Chalcedon

[d] They derive *Xenaias*'s name from the Greek word ξένος, which ſignifies *a ſtranger*, or, *an extraneous perſon*.

This *Xenaias* was Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, ordained by *Petrus Fullo*; he was by another name called *Philoxenus*. Concerning this peſtiferous perſon, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus*, and others, have related much. *Valeſ.*

[e] I doubt not but the name of *Dioſcorus* is by miſtake put here inſtead of the name *Diodorus*. For *Xenaias*, an Enemy of the *Chalcedon Synod*, would not have *Anathematized Dioſcorus*, but *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, and the reſt. So, 'tis certain, *Victor Tunonenſis* [tells us] in *his Chronicon*. *Johanne Gibbo* (ſays he) *Coſſ. Anaſtaſius Imp. Flaviano*, &c. *When* Johannes Gibbus *was Conſul, the Emperour* Anaſtaſius, Flavianus *being Prelate of* Antioch, *and* Philoxenus *Biſhop of* Hierapolis, *convenes a Synod at* Conſtantinople; *and perſwades them to pronounce an* Anathema *againſt* Diodorus *of* Tarſus, *and* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia *together with their writings*, [*alſo, againſt*] Theodoret of Cyrus, Ibas of Edeſſa, Andreas, Eucherius, Quirus *and* Johannes, *Biſhops, and againſt all others who aſſerted two Natures in Chriſt, and two Forms, and who confeſſed not one of the Trinity to have been Crucified, together with* Leo *Biſhop of* Rome *and his Tome, and together with the* Chalcedon *Synod. Theophanes* confirms the ſame in *his Chronicon*, pag. 131. *Valeſ.*

[f] Καὶ κύρου καὶ εὐθερίου. *Victor Tunonenſis* in *his Chronicon* terms them *Quirus* and *Eucherius*, as we ſaw in the foregoing note; where *Quirus* is put for *Cyrus*, in ſuch manner as in St *Ambroſius*'s *Epiſtles*, *Quinegius* is put for *Cinegius*. Further, *Nicephorus* has at this place ſubſtituted the name *Eleutherius*, inſtead of *Eutherius*. Valeſ.

[g] This *Eleuſinas* [or, *Eleuſinius*] is mentioned by *Liberatus* in *his Breviary chap.* 19, in theſe words, ſpeaking of *Severus*: *Ita ut ob hoc ſcriberet*, &c. *So that on this account he would write, even to* Flavianus *himſelf, as 'tis ſignified in his own Epiſtles, and to* Maronas Lector, *and to* Eleuſinus *and* Euthrecius *Biſhops, and to* Oecumenius Scholaſticus *of* Iſauria. The ſame perſon is mentioned by *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 128 of the *King's Edition*; whoſe words *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* has rendred thus: *Anaſtaſius quiete potitus à prælijs, Macedonium Patriarcham avertere ab orthodoxâ fide ſatagebat. Multi autem Epiſcoporum Anaſtaſio gratiam præſtantes, Chalcedonenſi reſiſtebant Concilio, quorum primus erat Eleuſius Saſimenſis. Theophanes*'s words in Greek are theſe; ὧν πρῶτος ἦν ἐλεύσιος σασίμων. But it muſt be written, ἐλδοσίνιος ὁ σασίμων, which is the reading in the *Vatican Copy*. Indeed, the *Monks* of *Paleſtine* do affirm, that this *Eleuſinius* was Biſhop of the *Second Cappadocia*. Now, *Saſima* is a City of *Cappadocia Secunda*, (whereof *Gregorius Nazianzenus* was heretofore Biſhop;) as the *Old Notitiæ* do inform us, and eſpecially *Hieroclis*. Valeſ.

[h] Διὰ τύλας εἰρηνεύειν. It ſhould, as I think, be written εἰρηνεύσειν; or rather, a Negative particle is to be added, in this manner; νομίσας διὰ τύλας μὴ εἰρηνεύειν αὐτόν; and we have rendred it accordingly. Nor do I doubt but *Evagrius* wrote it thus. But *Antiquaries* [that is, *Tranſcribers of Books*,] writing haſtily, omitted the Negative particle at this place. Further, by τύτους, *theſe perſons*, he means *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, *Theodoret*, and the reſt mentioned above. See *Theophanes* pag. 131. *Valeſ.*

[i] *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Antioch* is meant. Which I ſhould not have remarked, had there not been a fault in *Chriſtophorſon*'s Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[k] Τὸς ἰσαυρείας. In *Nicephorus* 'tis righter, thus, ἰσαύρους, *the Iſauri*. Valeſ.

[l] Ὅπερ δὲ τοῦ μὴ προσδέχεσθαι. A conjunction ſeems neceſſary to be added here, in this manner; ἀλλ' ὅπερ μὴ δὲ τοῦ, &c. *And that* [Copy of it] *which they produce.* Valeſ.

[m] See *Leontius de ſectis*, in the *eighth Action*. Where he tells us, that the *Acephali* attributed ſome Epiſtles to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, which in reality were *Apollinaris*'s. Valeſ.

[n] So indeed *Macedonius* behaved himſelf in the beginning of his Epiſcopate, whileſt he was willing to gratifie the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, by whom he had been promoted to the *Patriarchate*. Therefore, many of the Antient Writers have related, that *Macedonius* at the beginning had ſubſcribed to *Zeno*'s *Henoticon*. So, 'tis certain, *Theodorus Lector* affirms, whom *Baronius* has cauſeleſsly reproved on that account. For *Liberatus* relates the ſame in *his Breviary* chap. 18; where he ſpeaks concerning *Johannes Hemula* Biſhop of *Alexandria*;——and a little after that, where he mentions *Johannes Nicæota*, *Hemula*'s ſucceſſour. *Victor Tunonenſis* in *his Chronicon* writes thus concerning *Macedonius*: *Anaſtaſio Aug. Coſ.* &c. *In the Conſulate of* Anaſtaſius Auguſtus, Macedonius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *a Synod being convened, condemns thoſe who embraced the Decrees of the* Chalcedon Synod, *and ſuch as defend* [*the Sentiments*] *of* Neſtorius *and* Eutyches. Laſtly, *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 120, does wholly agree with *Theodorus Lector*. Valeſ.

wherein

wherein Eutiches *had been depoſed. Whereat the* ° *Monaſteries about* Conſtantinople *were highly offended, and ſeparated from the Communion of* Macedonius *the Biſhop. In the mean while,* Xenaias *and* P Dioſcorus *having brought over many of the Biſhops to their own party, became intollerable; and raiſed Tumults againſt thoſe who refuſed to* Anathematize [*the Synod.*] *And againſt ſuch as would not in the end yield to them, they framed many ſtratagems, and cauſed them to be caſt into Exile. In this manner therefore, they baniſh* Macedonius, *and* q Johannes *Biſhop of* Paltum, *and* Flavianus. Theſe are the Contents of the foreſaid Letter.

° He means the Monaſteries of *Dius*, and *Baſſianus*, and of the *Acœmeti* [or, *ſleepleſs Monks*,] and of *Matrona*; who had ſeparated themſelves from the communion of *Macedonius*, and [the Monaſteries] of thoſe who had ſubſcribed *Zeno's Henoticon*, as *Theophanes* tells us in *his Chronicon* pag. 122. *Valeſ.*

P This, as I think, is *Dioſcorus Junior*, who ſucceeded *Johannes Nicæota* in the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*. *Baronius* places his ordination on the year of Chriſt 516, five years after *Macedonius*'s baniſhment. To whom agrees *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*. But *Liberatus* contradicts it, who relates *Dioſcorus*'s ordination before the depoſition of *Macedonius*. And this *Evagrius* confirms here. But, after a more accurate examination of the matter, *Dioſcorus Junior* can't be meant here. For *Macedonius* was ejected out of his Biſhoprick on the year of Chriſt 511, as 'tis manifeſt from *Marcellinus*; and in his room was ſubſtituted *Timotheus*, who forthwith wrote *Synodick Letters* to *Johannes Nicæota* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; as *Liberatus* and *Theophanes* do atteſt. Whereas therefore *Dioſcorus Junior* ſucceeded *Nicæota*, he muſt neceſſarily begin his Preſidency after *Macedonius*'s depoſition. Wherefore, another *Dioſcorus* is meant here. And perhaps, in ſtead of *Dioſcorus*, it muſt be written *Soterichus*. Valeſ.

q Concerning this *Johannes*, *Victor Tunnonenſis* in *his Chronicon* writes thus: *Theodoro Viro C. Coſ. Julianus Boſtrenus*, &c. *The moſt famous* Theodorus *being Conſul*, Julianus *of* Boſtri, *and* Johannes *of* Paltum *voluntarily left their own Churches, and others are put into their places.* But *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* relates that in the Conſulate of *Paulus* and *Muſſianus*, on the year of Chriſt 512. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Expulſion of Macedonius [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople, *and of* Flavianus [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch.

But, there were other things which ſecretly [a] wrung *Anaſtaſius*. For when *Ariadne* had taken a reſolution to cloath *Anaſtaſius* with the Imperial purple; *Euphemius*, who preſided over the Archi-Epiſcopal Chair [of *Conſtantinople*,] would on no terms give his conſent, till ſuch time as *Anaſtaſius* had delivered to him a Caution [or, Contract,] in writing, written with his own hand, and [confirmed] with great Oaths, that he would preſerve the Faith entire, and introduce no Innovation into Gods Holy Church, if he ſhould obtain the Imperial Scepter. Which paper *Euphemius* delivered to *Macedonius* who was intruſted with the cuſtody of the *Sacred Veſſells*. *Euphemius* had done theſe things on this account, becauſe *Anaſtaſius* was by many perſons thought to be addicted to the *Manichean* Hereſie. After *Macedonius* therefore had aſcended the Epiſcopal Throne, *Anaſtaſius* was deſirous of having his own Caution reſtored to him, ſaying it would be a reproach to the Empire, if the forementioned *Obligatory-Inſtrument* ſhould be kept [laid up in the Church.] Againſt which when *Macedonius* made a reſolute oppoſition, and affirmed that he would not betray the Faith; the Emperour [*Anaſtaſius*] framed all imaginable deſignes againſt him, reſolving to eject him out of his [Epiſcopal] Chair. Certain Boyes therefore who were ſlanderers, were produced, who falſly accuſed both themſelves, and *Macedonius* of a filthy and unclean act. But, when it was found, that *Macedonius* was deprived of his Genitalls, they betook themſelves to other Arts and Deſignes; till at length, by the advices and perſwaſions of *Celer Maſter of the Offices at Court*, *Macedonius* withdrew privately from his [Epiſcopal] Chair. But in the Expulſion of *Flavianus*, they have added other things. For we have received information from ſome very aged perſons, who perfectly remembred what ever had hapned during *Flavianus*'s being Biſhop; which perſons do affirm, that thoſe Monks [who dwelt] in that Country termed [b] *Cynegica*, and whatever other [Monks] inhabited the *firſt Provinces of the Syrians*, perſwaded thereto by [c] *Xenaias*, a man [by Extract a *Perſian*;] (Which *Xenaias* was Biſhop of *Hierapolis* a City near to [*Antioch*,] and by a Greek name he was termed *Philoxenus:*) flock't together, and in a tumultuous and very diſorderly manner made an irruption into the City [*Antioch*,] where they would compell *Flavianus* to *Anathematize* the *Chalcedon Synod* and *Leo's Epiſtle*. Whereat *Flavianus* being extreamly troubled, and the Monks preſſing on with great violence; the populacy of the City made an Inſurrection, and ſlew a great many of the Monks; in ſo much that a vaſt number of them had the [River] *Orontes* for their Tomb, their bodies being buried in its waves. There hapned another thing alſo, not much inferiour to this. For, the Monks of *Syria Cœle* (which is now termed *Syria Secunda*,) having a mighty affection for *Flavianus*, becauſe he had lead a Monaſtick life in a certain Monaſtery which was ſituate in a * Country named *Tilmognus*; came to *Antioch*, with a reſolution to defend *Flavianus:* ſo that at that time alſo ſome, and thoſe no ſmall [miſchievous accidents] hapned. Whether therefore on account of the former [Tumult,] or by reaſon of [that diſorder we have mentioned] in the ſecond place, or for both, *Flavianus* is ejected and baniſhed to *Petra*, [a Town] ſituate in the utmoſt confines of *The Paleſtines*.

[a] Τὰ δὲ συμμάχουτα. There is a fault in the word συμμάχουλα. *Nicephorus* (book 16. chap. 26.) writing out this paſſage of *Evagrius*, makes uſe of the word πλήγουλα, *ſtroke*, or, *wounded*. But I am for treading in the footſteps of the ordinary reading; and therefore think it is to be reſtored thus, σωμάζουλα, *wrung*, or, *choak't*; after which manner *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read. In the *Tellerian* M.S. the reading is, τὰ δὲ γὲ συμμάχουλα. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Nicephorus* (book 16. chap. 27,) thought there was a Monaſtery ſo named from one *Cynegius* its Founder. But it ſeems likelier to me, that a Country of *Syria* was ſo termed, wherein there were many Monaſteries. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ὑπὸ ξενάια ἀνδρὶ. The laſt word muſt be expunged, being ſuperfluous; how it crept into this place, I know not. If we have a mind to retain this word, the reading muſt be thus, ἀνδρὸς πέρσου, *a man by extract a* Perſian. For 'tis referred to the *Participle* πεισθέντες, *perſwaded*. *Xenaias* was indeed by Nation a *Perſian*, as *Theophanes*, *Nicephorus*, and others do atteſt. *Valeſ.*

* *Field*, or, *Village.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning Severus *Biſhop of* Antioch.

Flavianus therefore having been ejected, *Severus* is preferred to the Epiſcopal Throne of *Antioch*, on the [a] five Hundredth fifty firſt

[a] This was the year of *Chriſt* 513. For the firſt year of the *Antiochians* precedes the vulgar Æra of *our Lords Nativity* 48. years. *Severus* therefore entred upon the Biſhoprick of *Antioch* on the year of Chriſt 513, in the month *November*, in the *ſixth Indiction*. So *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*: *Indict.* 6. *Clementino & Probo Coſſ.* &c. *In the ſixth Indition*, Clementinus *and* Probus *being Conſuls*, Severus *a worſhipper of* Eutyches's *perfidiouſneſs, by the deſire of* Anaſtaſius Cæſar, *poſſeſſed the See of the Prelate* Flavianus, *and of a Monk was made a Biſhop.* Valeſ.

year

year of *Antioch's* being * ſtyled a free City, in the month *Dius*, it being the *Sixth Indiction* of the [b] *Cycle* then [current ;] but at this preſent time wherein we write, it is the Six hundredth fourty firſt year. This *Severus* had *Sozopolis* for the place of his Nativity, which is one of the Cities of the Province *Piſidia*. He had formerly imployed himſelf in the ſtudy of the Law at *Berytus*. But, having afterwards ſoon left * thoſe ſtudies, when he had received holy Baptiſm in the ſacred Temple of the divine Martyr *Leontius* who is honoured at *Tripolis* a City of the [c] *Maritime Phœnice*, he betook himſelf to a Monaſtick life in a [d] certain Monaſterie ſituate in the mid way between the ſmall City *Gaza* and that little Town termed *Majuma*.

* See book 2. chap. 12. note (a.)

[b] Τῷ πενταδὶ κύκλῳ. *Chriſtophorſon* omitted theſe words in *his Verſion*. The meaning of them is this ; *on the ſixth year of the Indictional Circle which then was*. For, *an Indiction is a Circle of fifteen years*, after the ending whereof, another Circle begins of as many years. *Evagrius* terms the partition of the Circle of fifteen years, ὀπινέμησιν τοῦ κύκλου, which *the Latines* call *Indictionem, an Indiction*. But, whereas *Evagrius* ſays, that *Severus* was ordained on the month *Dius*, that is, *November* ; that muſt neceſſarily have been done in the *ſeaventh Indiction*. For a new *Indiction* was begun on the month *September*. *Evagrius* has expreſſed himſelf in the ſame manner before, at book 2. chap. 12 ; where he ſays theſe words concerning the Earthquake, which hapned at *Antioch* in the times of *Leo Auguſtus* ; ἀνὰ πῶ ἐνδεκάτῳ ὀπινέμησιν τοῦ κύκλου, *on the eleventh partition of the Cycle*, that is, *on the eleventh year of the partition of the Circle*. So, in the *thirteenth Edict* of *Juſtinian* ; μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας ὀπινεμήσεως τοῦ παρωχηκότος κύκλου. *untill the ſecond partition of the paſt Cycle*. Valeſ.

[c] There was a twofold *Phœnice* ; the one termed *Maritima* [becauſe *it lay by the Sea-coaſt* ;] in Greek called παράλος, or, παραλία : the *Metropolis* whereof was *Tyre*. The other named *Libanenſis*, the head City whereof was *Emeſa* ; as the *Old Notitiæ* do inform us. In the *Maritime Phœnice* was the moſt famous City *Tripolis*. In that City, as *Evagrius* does here atteſt, the Martyr *Leontius* was honoured. This is the *Leontius*, of whom mention is made in the *Menologie*, at the *eighteenth day of the month* July. The *Monks*, in their Libell preſented to the *Patriarch Menas*, (*which Libell* is recorded in the *fifth Action* of the *Conſtantinop. Synod ſub Mena*,) do atteſt, that *Severus* was baptized in this Martyrs Church. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Liberatus* in *his Breviary* chap. 19, writes thus concerning *Severus* : *Is enim Severus cum ſedaret prius in Monaſterio*, &c. *For this* Severus, *when he formerly lived* [*or, ſate*] *in the Monaſterie, admitted not of* Zeno's *Edict, nor* [*received to communion*] Petrus Mongus. *After this, living in the Monaſtery of the* Abbot Romanus, *and of* Mamas *who preſided after him, he was from thence ſent to reſide as Apocriſarius* [*that is,* Legate] *at* Conſtantinople : *and becomes one of their number, who were of* Petrus Mongus's [*party.*] This Relation of *Liberatus*'s is far different from that of *Evagrius*. For, *Evagrius* ſays, that at firſt *Severus* was a Monk in a Monaſtery which was between *Majuma* and *Gaza*. And this is confirmed by *Theophanes* alſo. But, that afterwards he reſided [or, ſate] in the Monaſtery of the *Abbot Nephalius* ; which was in *Egypt*, as *Evagrius* tells us in the *two and twentieth chapter of this book*. Out of which Monaſtery *Severus* being driven, came (ſays he) to *Conſtantinople*. But, *Liberatus* relates, that *Severus* ſate indeed in two Monaſteries : but atteſts, that he was not ejected out of any Monaſtery, but, was made *Apocriſarius*. But, whoſe *Apocriſarius* he was, he ſays not. I am of opinion, that he was the *Apocriſarius* of the *Monks of the Eaſt*, who were of the ſame Sect with himſelf. So *Theonas* is termed the *Apocriſarius* of the Monaſteries in *Paleſtine*, in the *firſt Action of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod under* Menas. And that *Evagrius* confirms here. *Valeſ.*

In which place [c] *Petrus* the *Iberian* alſo, who had been Biſhop of the ſame *Gaza*, and was baniſhed together with *Timotheus Ælurus*, * had exerciſed a Monaſtick life, and had left himſelf a famous name. Further, *Severus* [on a time] ingages in a diſpute with *Nephalius*, who formerly had been of the ſame † Sentiment with him concerning the one Nature [of Chriſt ;] but had afterwards united himſelf to to the Defenders of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and to thoſe who aſſerted two Natures in our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*. By this *Nephalius* therefore, and thoſe who were of his party, [*Severus*] is driven out of his own Monaſtery, together with ſeverall others who held the ſame opinion with himſelf. From whence he went to the Imperial City, under the notion of an Embaſſadour, in defence both of himſelf, and thoſe who had been ejected with him. And there he becomes known to the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, as He hath related at large who wrote *Severus's Life*. Moreover, the ſame *Severus*, in the [f] *Synodick Letters* which he wrote, has in expreſs words *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod*. Concerning which matter, [the Monks of *Paleſtine*] in their Letter to *Alciſon*, ſay theſe words. [g] *The* Synodick Letters *of* Timotheus *now* [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople, *have indeed been approved and admitted of here in* Paleſtine : *but the depoſition of* Macedonius *and* Flavianus, *hath not been allowed of* ; *nor yet* Severus's Synodick Letters. [h] *But, thoſe perſons who brought them hither, were diſgracefully and contumeliouſly uſed, agreeable to their deſerts, and betook themſelves to their heels* ; [i] *the populacy of the City and the Monks having made an Inſurrection againſt them. In this poſture was* Paleſtine. [k] *But, of thoſe who were ſubject to* [*the See of*] Antioch, *ſome, induced thereto by fraud, were prevailed upon* ; *of which number is* Marinus *Biſhop of* Berytus.

[f] He means the *Synodick Letters* which *Severus* wrote to *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and to *Johannes Nicæota* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For *Liberatus* (in *his Breviary*, chap. 19,) informs us, that *Severus* held communion with theſe Prelates. Indeed, *Theophanes* (in *his Chronicon*, pag 135,) relates, that *Timotheus*, when he would have inſerted *Severus*'s name into the *Dyptichs*, was hindred by the people of *Conſtantinople*. Valeſ.

[g] *Theophanes* caſts a great light upon this place. He writes (pag. 135,) that *Timotheus* ſent *his Synodick Letters*, and the depoſition of *Macedonius*, to all the Biſhops, that they might ſubſcribe to them : and, that the weaker perſons amongſt them, afraid of the Emperour, ſubſcribed to each Libell. But, that thoſe who were of a mind more ſtout and couragious, would ſubſcribe to neither. Further, that ſome, taking a middle way, ſubſcribed to *Timotheus's Synodick Letters*, but would in no wiſe ſubſcribe to the depoſition of *Macedonius*. Amongſt theſe perſons therefore who took the middle way, were the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*, as the *Monks* do atteſt here in their Letter to *Alciſon*. Valeſ.

[h] Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες. Without doubt the reading muſt be, ὁι κομίσαντες, *thoſe perſons who brought them* ; as it is in *Nicephorus*. In which Author alſo, the reading is fuller by one word ; thus, ὁι κομίσαντες ἐνταῦθα, *Thoſe perſons who brought them hither*. Beſides, in the *Tellerian Manuſcript* I found it plainly written, ὁι κομίσαντες, &c. *Valeſ.*

[i] In *Nicephorus*, this place is otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed, to wit, in this manner : ἔφυγον τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δῆμος τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν κινηθέντων, *Fled out of the City : the populacy and Monks having made an Inſurrection againſt them*. Which diſtinction I like beſt. *Valeſ.*

[k] Τῶν δὲ ὑπ' ἀντιοχείαν. *Nicephorus* words it thus, ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ, *in Antioch* ; which I like not. For the Monks of *Paleſtine* do not ſpeak of *Antioch* here, but of the Biſhops who were ſubject to the See of *Antioch*. For, having before ſpoken concerning the affairs of *Paleſtine*, which were ſubject to the *Patriarch* of *Jeruſalem*, they now paſs to the Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, who were under the Juriſdiction of the *Patriarch* of *Antioch* ; and in the firſt place they name *Marinus* Biſhop of *Berytus*, which was a City of *Phœnice*. Now, *Phœnice* was under the diſpoſe of the *Antiochian Patriarch*, according as it had been agreed in the *Chalcedon Synod* between *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Valeſ.

But others, by force and * *compulſion gave their aſſent to* Severus's Synodick Letters, *wherein was contained an* Anathematiſm, *both of the* Synod, *and of the reſt who had aſſerted two Natures or proprieties in our Lord, one of the Fleſh, another of the Deity. Some, when through neceſſity they had given their aſſent, afterwards altered their minds, and revoak't* [*it :*] *of which number are the Biſhops ſubject to* Apamia. *Others wholly refuſed to aſſent* ; *of which number are* Julianus [*Biſhop*] *of* Boſtri, *and* Epiphanius *of* Tyre, *and ſome others, as they ſay, Biſhops. But, the* Iſaurians, *now come to themſelves, condemn themſelves for their former miſtake : Moreover, they* Ana-

* Or, Neceſſity.

[c] Concerning this *Petrus Iberus*, *Evagrius* has ſpoken already, at chap. 8, book 2. There is mention made of the ſame *Petrus*, in *The Libell of the Monks to the Patriarch Menas*, which is recorded in the *fifth Action of the Conſtantinopolitane Synod under* Menas. *Valeſ.*

* Διὰ πολλῶν αὐτὸς ἦλθε σκαμμάτων, *had paſſed through the ſame exerciſes* ; [to wit, *of a Monaſtick life.*]

† Or, *party.*

Anathematize Severus *together with his followers: Yea, some of the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſticks under* Severus, *having relinquiſh't their own Churches, are fled away: of which number is* Julianus [*Biſhop*] *of* Boſtri, *and* Petrus *of* Damaſcus, *who reſide here with us.* [1] Mamas *alſo: which perſon ſeemed to have been one of the two Ring-leaders of the* Dioſcorians, [m] *by whom* Severus *himſelf had been inſtructed; who has condemned their arrogancy.* And after the interpoſition of other words. *But, the Monaſteries here, and* Jeruſalem *it ſelf, alſo moſt other Cities together with their Biſhops, by Gods aſſiſtance are of one and the ſame mind in relation to the true Faith. For all which perſons, and for us, pray (moſt Holy Lord and our moſt Honoured Father!) that we enter not into temptation.*

[1] *Liberatus* makes mention of this *Mamas*, in *his Breviary*, chap. 19: whoſe words we have quoted at *note (d) in this chapter*, therefore the two Ring-leaders of the *Dioſcorites* [or, *Dioſcorians*,] by whom *Severus* had been inſtructed, are *Romanus* and *Mamas*, *Abbots* of that Monaſtery which was between *Majuma* and *Gaza*. Indeed, *Theophanes*, in *his Chronicon*, terms that a Monaſtery ἡ τῶν σχιζῶν μονα χῶν, *of Schiſmaticall Monks*. Valeſ.

[m] Ὑφ' ὧν ὁ αὐτὸς κατήχθη, *by whom* Severus *himſelf had been lodged*. I had rather write κατηχήθη, *had been catechized, or, inſtructed*. For the *Abbots Mamas* and *Romanus* had inſtructed *Severus*; as we have ſaid before, out of *Liberatus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning the [*Libell of*] *Depoſition ſent to the ſame* Severus *by* Coſmas *and* Severianus.

But, in regard the forecited Letters do atteſt, that [a] thoſe Prelates under [the Juriſdiction of the Church of] *Apamia* receded from [the Communion] of *Severus*; come on, let us add a certain paſſage, * which we have been told by our Fathers, although it be not as yet recorded in any Hiſtory. *Coſmas* Biſhop of our *Epiphania*, † in the Vicinage whereof runs the [River] *Orontes*, and *Severianus* [Biſhop] of *Arethuſa* a neighbouring City, being diſturbed at *Severus's Synodick Letters*, ſevered themſelves from his Communion, and ſent a Libell of Depoſition to him whilſt he ſate Biſhop of the City *Antioch*. They deliver the Libell to one *Aurelianus* * *Arch-Deacon* of the Church of *Epiphania*. who, in regard he feared *Severus*, and [dreaded] the Grandeur of ſo great a Biſhoprick, after his arrivall at *Antioch*, cloathed himſelf in the habit of a woman, and comes to *Severus*, † jeſting and playing the wanton, and by all ways imaginable feigning himſelf to be a woman. [In fine,] having let down the Vail wherewith his head was covered, as far as his breaſts he lamented, and by fetching deep ſighs beſought aſſiſtance; and under the pretence of a *Supplicatory Libell*, delivers a Depoſition to *Severus* then going forth. And without being taken notice of by any perſon, withdraws out of the croud which followed [*Severus*;] and by flying purchaſes his own ſafety, before *Severus* knew what the Contents of the Libell were. But *Severus*, notwithſtanding he had received the Libell, and underſtood what was contained therein, nevertheleſs continued poſſeſt of his own See, untill the death of *Anaſtaſius*. Further, when *Anaſtaſius* was informed of what had hapned to *Severus*, (for, we muſt not omit the mentioning of an Act of *Anaſtaſius*'s, which was wholly made up of Clemency and Humanity:) he orders *Aſiaticus* [b] who bore the command of the *Militia* in *Phœnice Libanenſis*, to eject *Coſmas* and *Severianus* out of their own Sees, becauſe they had ſent a *Libell of Depoſition* to *Severus*. After *Aſiaticus* was arrived in the Eaſtern parts, and found many perſons defending the opinions of *Coſmas* and *Severianus*, and that their Cities made a ſtout reſiſtance in favour of their own Biſhops; He gave *Anaſtaſius* an account, that thoſe Biſhops were not to be driven out of their own Sees without bloudſhed. So much of Clemency and Humanity therefore was there in *Anaſtaſius*, that he wrote expreſly to *Aſiaticus*, that he would in no wiſe [c] effect any thing, though never ſo great and ſplendid, if but a drop of bloud were to be ſpilt. In this poſture therefore were the affairs of the Churches over the whole world, * during the Empire of *Anaſtaſius*. Whom ſome perſons judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon Synod*, and have expunged his name out of the *Sacred Tables*. But at *Jeruſalem*, even whilſt living, he was *Anathematized*.

[a] *Apamia* was the *Metropolis* of *Syria Cœle*, or *Syria Secunda*, to which *Epiphania* and *Arethuſa* were ſubject, as the *Old Notitiæ* inform us. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Which hath paſſed to us from our Fathers.*

† Or, *Which has* Orontes *its neighbour.*

* Or, *The firſt of the Deacons.*

† Ἀκκιζόμενός τε καὶ σκυπτόμενος. *Valeſius* renders theſe words thus: *jocans ac laſciviens, jeſting* [or, *drolling*,] *and playing the wanton.* The primary ſignification of the term ἀκκίζομαι is, *feignedly to refuſe*; it imports alſo *to diſſemble*, or, *to play the fool, to behave ones ſelf as that moſt petulant woman* Acco *did*; from *whoſe carriage* this word had its originall.

[b] Τὴν ἀσιατικὴν ἀρχὴν. We have reſtored this place from the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS; wherein 'tis thus written, τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐν φοινίκη λιβανησίας, *the Command of the Militia in Phœnice Libanenſis*. There were two *Phœnice's*, as I have remarked above; the one termed *Maritima*, the other *Libanenſis*. Over this province was ſet the *Dux of Phœnice*, concerning whom ſee the *Notitia Imp. Rom.* Valeſ.

[c] Inſtead of παρελθεῖν, *attempt*; it would, if I miſtake not, be better written thus, περιελθεῖν, *effect*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Until.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the deſtruction of the Iſaurian *Tyrants.*

But, it will not be diſagreeable to the promiſe we have made * before, if to this Hiſtory we annex ſome other [Tranſactions] worthy to be recorded, [a] which have hapned during the times of *Anaſtaſius*. *Longinus Zeno*'s kinſman, being arrived in that [Country] wherein he had been born, as hath been ſhown * before, † ingages in an open War againſt the Emperour. And great Forces having been raiſed on the one ſide and on the other, amongſt which was *Conon*, heretofore Biſhop at *Apamia* [a City] of the Province of the *Syrians*, who, in regard he was an *Iſaurian*, bore Arms under the *Iſaurians*; at length the War was terminated [in this manner.] The *Iſaurians* who fought under *Longinus* were all cut off to one man. But the heads of *Longinus* and [b] *Theodorus* were ſent to the Imperiall City by *Johannes Scytha*. Which heads the Emperour [ordered to be] fixt upon Poles, [carried about,] and hung up in that [Suburb] termed *Sycæ* ſituate over againſt *Conſtantinople*: a gratefull ſpectacle to the *Byzantines*, becauſe of thoſe miſchiefes they had ſuffered from *Zeno* and the *Iſaurians*. Moreover, the other *Longinus*, ſurnamed *Selinuntius*, the chief ſupporter of that Tyrannick Faction, and together with him *Indes*, are [taken and] ſent alive to *Anaſtaſius*, by *Johannes* ſurnamed *Gibbus*. Wherewith the Emperour

* At book 1. chap. 1.

[a] Χρόνοις ἡμετέροις. I agree with Sr *Henry Savil*, who at the margin of *his* copy hath mended it thus, ἡμῶν, *which hapned*. The ſame perſon corrects the beginning of this chapter thus, ἐκ δὲ τούτου δὲ, &c. *But 'twill not be inconvenient*, &c. it may alſo be made, ἐκ δὲ τόπου δὲ, *But it will not be diſagreeable*, or *miſplac't*; and perhaps 'tis better ſo. For 'tis the ſame, as if you ſhould ſay, ἐκ ἄτοπον, *'twill not be abſurd*. Inſtead of ἡμετέροις, *hapned*, the *Tellerian Manuſcript* has it written γενομένοις, *have hapned*. Valeſ.

* Chap. 29.

† Or, *Puts on.*

[b] *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon* (at *Anaſtaſius's being Conſul alone*;) calls this perſon *Athenodorus* and ſo does *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 118. *Valeſ.*

Emperour and the *Byzantines* were highly pleaſed, in regard *Longinus* and *Indes* were in the manner of a Triumph lead through the ſtreets of the City, and thorow the *Cirque*, [carrying] Chains made of Iron, which were put round their necks and about their hands. From that time thoſe [Donatives] heretofore termed [c] *The Iſaurica* began to be paid into the Imperial Treaſury. Now, that was [a ſum] of Gold, paid every year to the *Barbarians*, amounting to the weight of Fifty thouſand pounds.

[c] He means *The Donative*, which the Tyrant *Hillus* had allowed to the *Iſaurians*, and which the Emperour *Zeno*, though againſt his will, had beſtowed upon them to procure a Reconciliation. Which Donative the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* having refuſed to pay to the *Iſaurians*, they made War againſt the *Romans*, as *Jordanes* relates in *his book de ſucceſſione Regnorum*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the * Saracens, *that they made a Peace with the* Romans.

* Or, *Barbarians termed Scenitæ*; that is, *who dwelt in Tents.*

THoſe *Barbarians* alſo [termed] *Scenitæ*, not without damage to themſelves, became petulant, and inſulted over the *Roman* Empire; and ruined the * Province *Meſopotamia*, [a] both the *Phœnice's*, and *Paleſtine*. But, having received a ſevere overthrow from the Military Commanders in each Province, at laſt they were quiet, and by a generall conſent that whole Nation made a Peace with the *Romans*.

* Or, *The affairs of Meſopotamia*, &c.

[a] Φοινίκεως ἑκαλέσας. It muſt be φοινίκης; as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 17, chap. 35. Further, we have remarked already, that there were two *Phœnice's*; the one termed *Libanenſis*, the other *Maritima*. Nor muſt this be omitted, that, that Province is by the *Latines* ſometimes termed *Phœnicem*, from the *Nominative Caſe Phœnix*. 'Tis certain, in the *Itinerary Table of the Putingeri*, it is called *Syria Phœnix*; as alſo in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. In the *Manuſcript Copies*, 'tis written *Dux Phœnicis*. Nor found I it written otherwiſe in *Ægeſippus*, book 3. chap. 20. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the Siege of Amida, *and the building of* [*the City*] Daras.

MOreover, the *Perſians*, then ſubject to their King *Cavades*, broke the League [with the *Romans*;] and having left their native ſoyle, in the firſt place invaded *Armenia*, and took the ſmall Town named *Theodoſiopolis*; after which they marched to [a] *Amida* a well-fortified City of *Meſopotamia*; which they laid Siege to and took. But the *Roman* Emperour by vaſt Labour rebuilt it. But, if any one be deſirous of having a particular knowledge of theſe matters, and would read an Accurate Narrative of all theſe Tranſactions; [let him conſult] *Euſtathius*, who with much acuteneſs, great Labour, and a ſingular Elegancy, hath written an Hiſtory [of theſe affairs.] Which *Hiſtorian* having brought down his Hiſtory to theſe very times, departed this life, and left off writing at the twelfth year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Empire. After this war was ended, *Anaſtaſius* makes *Daras* (a place of *Meſopotamia*, ſituate in the utmoſt confines of the *Roman* * pale, and being *The Boundarie* as it were of the *Roman* and *Perſian* Empire;) a City, from its being a Field: which he fortified with a ſtrong wall, and adorned with various and thoſe ſplended Buildings, to wit, Churches and other ſacred Houſes, and with *Royall Porticus*'s, publick Baths, and other [Works,] of which the moſt eminent Cities do [uſually] boaſt. 'Tis ſaid by ſome perſons, that this place got the name of *Daras*, becauſe *Alexander the Macedonian* ſon to *Phillip*, had totally vanquiſhed *Darius* there.

[a] *Marcellinus Comes*, in *his Chronicon*, ſays this City was taken by the *Perſians* on the *tenth Indiction*, in the Conſulate of *Probus* and *Avienus*; that is, on the year of Chriſt 502, and on the eleventh year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Empire. See *Procopius* in *Book* 1. *Perſic.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Empire.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Long Wall.

THe ſame Emperour perfected a vaſt Work, worthy to be recorded, [a] which is uſually termed *The Long Wall*, ſituate in a very convenient place of *Thracia*. This Wall is diſtant from *Conſtantinople* about Two hundred and eighty furlongs: it embraces both the Seas, [and runs out] like *a Streight* to the length of *Four hundred and twenty furlongs*: it makes the [Imperiall] City from being a * *Peninſula*, almoſt an Iſland, and affords a moſt convenient and ſafe paſſage to thoſe who have a mind to ſail from that place termed *Pontus* to *Propontis* and the *Thracian Sea*. It repells alſo thoſe *Barbarians*, who make Excurſions out of that termed the *Euxine Sea*, out of *Colchis*, from the *Lake Mæotis*, and from the places about *Caucaſus*; and likewiſe them, who are uſually poured in, out of *Europe*.

* *Almoſt an Iſland.*

[a] Καὶ τὸ μακρὸν καλούμενον τεῖχος. The particle καὶ muſt be expunged, being uſeleſs and ſuperfluous. Further, this Wall was from its Builders name called *Anaſtaſianus*: it was built in *Anaſtaſius Auguſtus's third Conſulate*, on the year of Chriſt 507; as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* Writes. Concerning this Wall *Suidas* gives this Relation, in the word τεῖχος; ἀνασάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κτίζει, &c. *The Emperour Anaſtaſius builds the Long Wall, Sixty miles from the City* Conſtantinople. *It is extended from the Sea at the North, to that at the South. Its length contains fourty miles, and its breadth is twenty foot.* See more in *Petrus Gillius's firſt book de Topographia Urbis Conſtantinopol. Cap.* 21. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning that [Tax] *termed the* Chryſargyrum, *and how* Anaſtaſius *aboliſhed it.*

MOreover, the ſame Emperour performed an eximious and plainly divine Action, to wit, the Perfect and intire * Abolition of that [Tax] termed † *The Chryſargyrum*. Concerning which thing we are now to ſpeak, although it wants the Tongue of a *Thucydides*, or rather one of more Eminency and Eloquence, [to give a Narrative of it.] However, I will declare the matter, not induced thereto by my eloquence, but confiding in [the greatneſs of] that Action. Upon the Dominions of the *Romans*, which were ſo great and ſo far diffuſed, was impoſed a miſerable Tax, deteſtable to God, and misbecoming even the *Barbarians* themſelves, much leſs [agreeable] to the *moſt Chriſtian* Empire of the *Romans*. This Tax, on what account neglected and tolerated I know not, continued till the times of *Anaſtaſius*, who by his Imperial magnificence aboliſh't it. It was impoſed both upon many others who got their maintenance from a Charitable Contribution, and alſo upon thoſe women who ſold the beauty of their Bodies, upon * common Whores likewiſe who proſtituted themſelves in Baudy-houſes [which

* Or, *Inhibition.*

† That is, *A Tax of Gold and Silver.*

* Τὴν πορνείας, *Whores that made no diſtinction in their admiſſion of cuſtomers.*

which ſtood in the hidden and obſcure places of the City; moreover, upon * *Catamites*, who affected not only Nature it ſelf, but the Republick alſo, with Ignominy. In ſo much that, this Tax, inſtead of a Law, made loud proclamation, that thoſe who had a mind, might ſecurely and with impunity commit ſuch abominable Leachery. Further, that impious and deteſtable † profit ariſing from this Tax, was every fourth year paid in to the [a] *First and Chiefeſt of the Præfectures*, by the Collectours who gathered it in all places; ſo that, it was not the ſmalleſt part of this Præfecture, to have both its [b] Proper * *Scrinia* (as they term them,) and alſo [c] ſuch Officers as managed the Accounts of this Nature; [and theſe were] not perſons mean and obſcure, who lookt upon this employ to be a † *Militia* as well as the reſt. Which when *Anaſtaſius* underſtood, and had [d] referred it to the Senate, and had likewiſe deſervedly pronounced this thing to be a deteſtable impiety and a wickedneſs new and unheard-of; he made a Law wherein 'twas declared that it ſhould be wholly aboliſhed, and he burnt thoſe papers || which contained a *Summary* of *this Exaction*. And, being reſolved to make a perfect *Holocauſt* [as it were] of *This Tax* to God, to the end that no one of his Succeſſours in the Empire might in future again renew the old Infamy [of this Exaction;] he feignes himſelf grieved and vexed; [e] and accuſed himſelf of imprudence, and of the higheſt degree of madneſs, ſaying, that by attributing too much to Vain-glory, he had neglected the utility of the Republick, and had raſhly and inconſiderately aboliſhed ſo great a Tax, which had been found out by his Anceſtours, and confirmed by ſo long a duration of Time; before he had duely weighed in his mind the imminent dangers, or the expence of the Milice, (which is the living Wall of the Government,) or [Laſtly] thoſe [charges which are neceſſary] to the Service of God. Without declaring therefore any of the thoughts of his mind, he ſignifies, that it was his intent to reſtore the forementioned Tax. And having ſent for thoſe Officers who had been employed in Collecting that Tax, he confeſt that he repented indeed of what he had done; but knew not what courſe he could now take, or how he might correct his own miſtake, in regard all the papers were burnt, which could have ſet forth a * *Notitia* of this Tax. Theſe perſons having, not feignedly, but in reality, lamented [the Abolition of] this Tax on account of that unjuſt gain which accrued to themſelves therefrom, and pretending the like difficulty [that the Emperour did, in getting it reſtored:] *Anaſtaſius* perſwaded and entreated them, that they would proceed in all imaginable methods of making a ſearch, whether or no the way of Aſſeſſing and Collecting this whole Tax might be found out from thoſe Tables which lay in every place; And having aſſigned a Salary to each of them, he diſpatcht them away to make a Collection of thoſe Papers, giving order, that whatever Paper might be of uſe in ſetting forth the *Notitia* of this Tax, whereever it were found, ſhould be brought to himſelf; to the end that, after much circumſpection and the moſt exquiſite accuracy imaginable, *a Notitia* of this whole Tax might be again compoſed. When therefore thoſe perſons, who were employed in this affair, had ſome time after made their return, *Anaſtaſius* ſeemed very chearfull and full of joy. And he did [f] really rejoyce, becauſe he had obtained what he deſired. He inquired therefore the manner, how, and with whom [theſe papers] had been found, and whether or no any one of this ſort [of Monuments] were left behind. But, when they had affirmed poſitively, that great pains had been taken

* *Such as hired out themſelves to be abuſed contrary to Nature.*

† Or, *Gain.*

[a] Ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτην καὶ χορυφαίαν ἁπάσῃ ἀρχῶν. By theſe words Evagrius ſeems to mean the *Pretorian Præfecture*. For *that* (to uſe *Amm. Marcellinus*'s Expreſſion) *Vertex erat omnium dignitatum, was the Crown* [*or Top*] *of all dignities*. To *this Præfecture* therefore the *Tribute Chryſargyrum* was every fourth year brought in. Indeed, the Tributes were wont to be brought in to the Cheſt of the *Prætorian Præfecture*. Hence 'tis, that in the *thirteenth book* of the *Theodoſian Code*, in the *Title de Luſtrali Collatione*, the greateſt part of the Laws are directed to the *Præfecti Prætorio*. For the *Luſtralis Collatio* was nothing elſe but the *Chryſargyrum*: to wit, Gold and Silver impoſed upon Merchants, or *the Luſtralis auri Collatio*, and *the Auraria Functio*. For ſo 'tis called *in the ſame Title*. Further, whether it ought to be called a *Tribute*, or rather a *Toll* [or *Tax*,] 'tis uncertain. *Evagrius* terms it τέλος, which is *Vectigal, a Toll*, or *Tax*. 'Tis termed alſo *Vectigal* in the *laſt Law ſave one de Luſtrali Collatione*. *The old Author of the Queſtions on the Old and New Teſtament* tells us, this was uſually termed *Aurum pœnoſum, the puniſhing Gold*; ſee him, *in Quæſt.* 75. There is an Elegant paſſage concerning this Tribute, in *Libanius's Oration againſt Florentius*, pag. 427. which I will tranſcribe here. Λεχέσθω τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τ' ἄλλα πάντα γενικῶς· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀφόρητος φόρος, ἀργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς, φείδεσθαι ποιήσας τοὺς δεινὰς πενίσειδας· ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ εὑρεταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπόρων τοῦ πόρου τούτου τῆ θαλάττη δὲ ἐκείνων εἰς διάδοσιν χρωμένων, οἷς μόλις ἄρτια προσφέρουσιν αἱ χεῖρες, ἀπόλωται· διαφύλει δὲ ὅδε νομοφύλαξ· ὃς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἶδον τοὺς σμίλην εἰς ἐρανὸν ἀιρομένους, ὀμνύντας, μὴ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα ἔχειν σφίσιν· ἃ μὴ τοῦτό γε αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττει τῆς ἐσκομμένων, καὶ ὑλακλόντων, καὶ μόνον οὐ δακνόντων ἀτὸς ὁ καιρὸς ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλείω τοὺς δουλείαν καθίστησιν, ἐκβάλλων ἐλευθερίας τοὺ ὑπὸ τῆς γονέων πωλουμένους, ἐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς δέξηται τοὺ τιμὴν τὸ κέρδος, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὺ ἴδωσιν εἰς τοὺ τὸ κατεπείγοντος δεξιὰν ἐρχομένην. Which words I render thus. *Let us alſo now relate that* [*Miſchief*] *which has far ſurpaſſed all the reſt. This is that intolerable Tribute*, The Chryſargyrum, *which renders the approaching* Luſtra [or, *every fifth year*,] *dreadfull and horrid. The name* [*impoſed*] *upon this Tribute is in indeed ſpecious*, [*taken*] *from Merchants. But whilſt they make uſe of the Sea in order to the vending their Wares, thoſe whoſe hands do ſcarce afford them bread, are utterly ruined. Not ſo much as a Cobler eſcapes* [*paying this Tribute.*] *Whom I my ſelf have frequently ſeen lifting their knife wherewith they cut their Leather, up to heaven, and ſwearing that in that knife their All was placed. Nevertheleſs, this frees them not from* [*the vexation of*] *thoſe who are urgent and preſſing upon them, and who bark, and do only not bite. This time (O Emperour!) increaſes the number of ſervants; depriving of Liberty thoſe who are ſold by their Parents, not that their own Coffer may receive the price* [*for which their children are ſold,*] *but that they* [*the Parents*] *may ſee it coming into the hand of the Exactor.* In the Greek Text of *Libanius*, inſtead of διάδοσιν, I have mended it thus, διάδοσιν and in place of the word ἐσκομένων, I have ſubſtituted ἐσκειμένων. *Valeſ.*

[b] Amongſt the *Officials* of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, four *Numerarii* are reckoned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*; the firſt of whom was the *Numerarius of the Gold*, that is, of the *Aurum Luſtrale*, or *Chryſargyrum*. There was alſo amongſt the *Officials* of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, a *Primicerius of the Scrinium of the Golden Maſſe*, and a *Primicerius of the Scrinium of Gold*; on this account perhaps, becauſe a certain part of *this Tax* was brought in to the *Cheſt of the Sacred Largiſſes*. Indeed in the *Title de Luſtrali Collatione*, there is extant a *Law of Valentinianus's*, directed to *Florentius* the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* [that is, *of the Sacred Largiſſes.*] Whence it appears, that ſome part of this *Golden Function* belonged to the *Largitional Titles*. Valeſ.

[c] Καὶ ἦν τὰ τοιαῦτα διαψηφιζόντων. He means the *Numerarii* [that is, *Officers who managed the Accounts*] of the *Aurum Luſtrale*, who were in the *Office of the Præfecti Prætorio*, as I have ſaid in the foregoing note. For διαψηφισαὶ are the *Numerarii*, (as I have long ſince remarked at *Amm. Marcellinus*,) who by another name were termed alſo *Rationarii*. Valeſ.

* *Offices, Cabinets*, or *Rooms.*

† See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. book* 10. *chap.* 8. *note* (b.)

[d] Ἐπὶ τῶν γερουσίαν ἀγαγεῖς. At my pen will write ἀγαγεῖς. For ἀγαγεῖν has the ſame import with *Referre, proponere, to referre, to propoſe.* The *Tellerian Manuſcript* confirms our Emendation, wherein I found it plainly written ἀχθεὶς, as I had conjectured. *Valeſ.*

|| Or, *Which ſet forth this Exaction.*

[e] Ἀβελίας δὲ. I had rather write, ἀβελίας τε ἑαυτῷ καὶ τηρόσει, *and accuſed himſelf of imprudence.* Some few words after this, inſtead of [εἰκῆ τε ἀπερισκέπτως ἀνήγησεν, *and had raſhly, inconſiderately ſuſpended*;] it muſt be written thus, εἰκῆ τε καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἀνήγκεν, *and had raſhly and inconſiderately aboliſhed.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Summary*, or, *Rationary, containing an account how this Tax was to be aſſeſſed and Collected.*

[f] Καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείας. Every body ſees it muſt be made ταῖς ἀληθείαις. Which is the ſame as if he ſhould have ſaid, ὡς ἀληθῶς *really*. Further, this adverb is referred to the verb *Rejoyce*. Which being moſt certain, 'tis nevertheleſs ſtrange, that both Tranſlatours ſhould have referred this adverb to the following word πεπυσμένως, thus, *And he did rejoyce, becauſe he had really and truly obtained what he deſired.* Valeſ.

taken by them in the Collecting of theſe papers, and had ſworn by the Emperour himſelf, that no other paper could be found in the whole *Roman* Empire, which might ſet forth *The Notitia* of *this Tax:* [the Emperour ordered] a great fire to be again made of thoſe papers which had been brought, the aſhes whereof he [cauſed to be] put into water; it being his intent wholly to aboliſh this Exaction: that ſo, neither the duſt, nor the aſhes, nor any the leaſt remain of this thing, or of the burnt papers, might be left appearing. But, leaſt whilſt we ſo much extoll the * abolition of this Tax, we ſhould ſeem not to know, what, and how great matters have with partiality enough been related by the more ancient Writers concerning this [Exaction;] come on, I will now produce even thoſe paſſages alſo, and will demonſtrate them to be falſe, and moſt eſpecially, from thoſe very things which they themſelves have related.

* Or, *Inhibition.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning what Zoſimus *hath written in relation to* The Chryſargyrum, *and about the Emperour* Conſtantine.

Zoſimus (one of their number [who have followed] the execrable and abominable Superſtition of the † Heathens,) being highly incenſed againſt *Conſtantine* [on this account,] becauſe he was the firſt Emperour that embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, and relinquiſhed the abominable Superſtition of the * *Græcians*; relates, that he was the firſt [Emperour,] who invented that termed *The Chryſargyrum*, and made a Law, that ſuch a Tax as that ſhould be brought in [to the Treaſury] every fourth year. [The ſame *Zoſimus*] has || loaded that Pious and Magnificent Emperour with infinite other [Calumnies.] For, he ſays, that he contrived ſeverall other altogether intollerable [miſchiefs] againſt [perſons of] all qualities and conditions, and, that he cruelly murdered his Son *Criſpus*, and likewiſe killed his own Wife *Fauſta*, whom he ſhut up [and ſtifled] in a Bath which had been over-much heated. And, that when he had ſought amongſt his own Prieſts for an expiation of ſuch horrid and nefarious Murders as theſe, and had found none: (for they openly declared, that ſuch black crimes as theſe could not be purged by ſacrifice) [he adds] that he accidentally met with an *Egyptian* who had come out of *Iberia:* and, that having received information from him, that the Faith of the *Chriſtians* aboliſhed all manner of ſin, he embraced thoſe things which the *Egyptian* had imparted to him. And, that from that time he relinquiſhed * the Religion of his Anceſtours, and made a *Beginning of Impiety*, † as he terms it. Now, that theſe things are notoriouſly falſe, I will demonſtrate immediately: But, in the firſt place I muſt give a Relation concerning *The Chryſargyrum.*

† Or, *Gentiles*, or, *Græcians.*

* Or, *Gentiles.*

|| Or, *Blaſphemed.*

* Or, *His Paternall Religion.*

† Or, *As he ſays.*

CHAP. XLI.

An Invective *againſt* Zoſimus, *on account of the Reproaches and Calumnies he has caſt upon* Conſtantine *and* the Chriſtians.

THou ſayſt therefore, (O deſtructive and impure * *Dæmon!*) that *Conſtantine* reſolving to build a City equall to *Rome*, at firſt attempted the erecting of ſuch a great City in the mid way between *Troas* and *Ilium*; and having laid the Foundations and raiſed the wall to an heighth, afterwards he found *Byzantium* to be a place more Commodious, and ſo incompaſſed that with walls; which old City he enlarged to ſuch a degree, and adorned it with ſuch † ſplendid Buildings, that it ſeemed not much inferiour to *Rome* which in ſo many years had by little and little arrived at that Greatneſs. Thou ſayſt further, that he diſtributed amongſt the *Byzantine* people || *The Annona* out of the publick ſtock, and gave a vaſt ſum of Gold to thoſe who had removed together with him to *Byzantium*, for the building of their own private houſes. Again, thou writeſt word for word thus; *After* Conſtantine's *death*, [*the ſupream management of*] *Affairs devolved only to his Son* Conſtantius, [*to wit*] *after the death of his two Brothers. And when* Magnentius *and* Vetranio *had ſet up for Tyrants, he attacked* Vetranio *by perſwaſives. For, both their Armies being come together,* [a] Conſtantius *in the firſt place made a Speech to the Souldiers, and put them in mind of his Fathers Liberality, with whom they had waged many Wars, and* [*by whom*] *they had been honoured with the greateſt Gratuities. Which when the Souldiers had heard, they diveſted* Vetranio *of his purple, and drew him out of the Tribunal* [*clothed*] *in a private habit.* Notwithſtanding, [thou doeſt affirm,] that he underwent nothing of moleſtation from *Conſtantius*, who together with his Father hath by Thee been loaded with ſo many Calumnies. How therefore Thou canſt judge it agreeable [to affirm] the ſame perſon to have been ſo Liberall, and ſo Bountifull; and yet ſo tenacious and ſordid, as to have impoſed ſuch an execrable Tax; I am [I muſt confeſs] wholly ignorant. Further, that he neither ſlew *Fauſta* nor *Criſpus*, nor, for that reaſon, received our Myſteries from any *Egyptian*; hear the words of *Euſebius Pamphilus*, who flouriſhed in the ſame times with *Conſtantine* and *Criſpus*, and was frequently converſant with them. (For, thou writeſt not even what thou haſt received by Report, much leſs the Truth: in regard thou livedſt a long time after, [to wit,] in the Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* (to [b] whoſe Times thou haſt brought down thine Hiſtory,) or rather, after them.)

* Or, *Devill.*

† Or, *Beauties of Buildings.*

|| Or, *Bread*, or, *Bread-corn.*

[a] Πρῶτος ὁ κωνσταντῖνος. It muſt be made *Conſtantius*, as the reading is in the *Tellerian* M. S. and in *Nicephorus* book 16, chap 41. And a little after this, inſtead of πολεμίους, *Enemies*; it muſt be πολέμους, *Wars*; as the reading is in the ſame *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[b] Μέχρι σοῦ γέγραφας. Doubtleſs it muſt be μέχρις οὗ, in two words; and accordingly we have rendred it, *to whoſe times.* And ſo *Nicephorus* read, who has expreſt theſe words of *Evagrius* thus; οἷς καὶ τὸν συγγραφὴν ἔσησας; which place of *Nicephorus*, *Langus* underſtood not, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion of it. It muſt be rendred thus, *Quibus hiſtoriam tuam terminaſti, wherein thou haſt cloſed thine Hiſtory.* For *Zoſimus* brought down *his Work* to the taking of *Rome* effected by *Alaricus*, as 'tis manifeſt from *Photius's Bibliotheca.* Further, from this paſſage in *Nicephorus* and *Evagrius*, *Voſſius* (in *his book de Hiſtoricis Græcis*) affirms, that *Zoſimus* lived in the times of *Theodoſius Junior.* Yet, neither of thoſe two Authors hath ſaid that of *Zoſimus.* They only ſay, that he lived under *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, with which [Emperours] he terminated

nated his History, or rather long after them. Indeed, I am of opinion, that this *Zosimus* lived about the times of *Anastasius*. For he cites *Olympiodorus Thebæus*, who wrote *his History* under *Theodosius Junior*, as *Photius* attests; and he names *Syrianus Philosophus*, who was the master of *Proclus Diadochus*. Now, *Proclus* lived in the Times of *Anastasius*. Lastly, *Suidas* writes, that *Zosimus* the *Sophist* lived in the Reign of *Anastasius*; whom I think to be the same with *Zosimus the Historiographer*. For many *Rhetoricians* and *Sophists* betook themselves to writing History, as 'tis manifest both from *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, and also from many others. And the *dignity of Advocate of the Fiscus* [or, *Treasury*,] wherewith *Zosimus* was adorned, disagrees not much from the *Sophistick dignity*. Vales.

c This passage of *Eusebius* occurs at book 8, chap. 13, *Eccles. Histor.* from which place our *Evagrius* is to be corrected. *Vales.*

In the c *Eight Book of his Ecclesiastick History* [*Eusebius*] writes word for word thus: *Within some small Intervall of time, the Emperour* Constantius *(a person of extraordinary mildness throughout his whole life, most favourable to his Subjects, and one that had a singular affection for the divine Doctrine* [*of our Religion,*]*) ended his life according to the common Sanction of Nature, leaving his own Son* Constantine, *Emperour and* Augustus *in his stead.* And, after some other words. Constantine, *Son to this man, being immediately from that very time* [*of his Fathers death,*] *Proclaimed Supream Emperour and* Augustus *by the Souldiers, (but long before that, by the Supream God) exhibited himself an emulatour of his Fathers Piety towards our Religion.* And, at the * close of his History, he expresses himself in these very words. *But* Constantine *the mighty Conquerour, gloriously adorned with all the Virtues of Religion, (together with his Son* Crispus, *a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recovered his own East.* Doubtless *Eusebius* (who survived *Constantine,*) would never have so highly extolled *Crispus*, if he had been murdered by his Father. Moreover, *Theodoret* relates in † *his History*, that *Constantine* at the very close of his life, was made partaker of Salutary Baptism at *Nicomedia*; and, that he defer'd it till that time, because he was desirous of being baptized in the River *Jordan*. Thou sayst moreover, (most execrable and impurest of Mortalls!) that the || *Roman* Empire, from such time as the *Christian* Religion shewed it self, hath decayed, and been utterly destroyed; [which thou affirmest,] either because thou hast read nothing of what hath hapned in ancient times, or else with a designed malice to attack the Truth. For, the contrary is manifestly apparent, to wit, that the *Roman* Empire hath increased together with our Faith. Consider therefore, how about the very [time of the] Advent of Christ our God amongst men, d most of [the Cities of] the *Macedonians* were ruined by the *Romans: Albania* also and *Iberia*, the *Colchi* and *Arabians*, were made Subjects to the *Romans*. [Consider likewise,] how *Caius Cæsar*, on the *Hundredth* e *eighty second Olympiad*, in great fights subdued the *Galli*, *Germani*, and *Britanni*, (which Nations inhabited Five hundred Cities,) and annexed them to the *Roman* Empire; as it has been recorded by *Historians*. This is the *Cæsar*, who after *the Consuls*, was the first *Monarch* of the *Roman* Empire; who made a way out of * *Polytheism* and † *Democracy*, and introduced a prævious Veneration of a Monarchy, on account of *that* just ready to come, *The Monarchy of Christ*. Immediately, all *Judæa*, and the Neighbouring Countries, were annext [to the *Roman* Empire:] in so much that, *The* * *First Inrollment* was then made, in which *Christ* also together with others was Enrolled, to the end that *Bethlehem* might publickly declare the completion of that Prophecie [which had been uttered] concerning it self. For it hath been predicted by the Prophet *Micah* concerning *it* in this manner: || *And Thou Bethlehem in the Land of Juda, art not the least amongst the Princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come forth to me a Governour, who shall* * *rule my people Israel.* And † after the Nativity of *Christ* our God, *Egypt* was added to the *Roman* Empire, *Augustus Cæsar*, under whom *Christ* was born, having totally subdued *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* who killed themselves. After which persons, *Cornelius Gallus* is constituted *Præfect* of *Egypt* by *Augustus Cæsar*; and he was the First who Governed *Egypt* after *The Ptolemies*, as it has been recorded by *Historiographers*. Further, how many [Countries] have been taken away from the *Persians*, by *Ventidius*, and by *Corbulo*, *Nero's* * *Dux*; by g *Trajan* also, *Severus*, and *Carus*; by *Cassius* likewise, *Odænathus* of *Palmyra*, h *Apollonius*, and others: how often have [the Cities] *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* been taken; as likewise *Nisibis*, (which sometimes passed into the hands of the *Romans*, at others, into those of the *Persians*;) [lastly,] that *Armenia*, and the adjacent Nations, have been annexed to the *Roman* Empire, Thou thy self, together with other Writers, dost Relate. But I had almost omitted those things which Thou writest were done by *Constantine*, who together with his professing of our Religion, valiantly and with great Courage Governed the *Roman* Empire: and what *Thy Julian* suffered, a partaker of the same Mysteries with thy self, who left such deep wounds upon the *Roman* State. But, whether any thing of what hath been predicted concerning the end of the world, hath either received a * prelude, or shall obtain an end, is of an higher dispensation than Thou canst conceive. But, if Thou pleasest, let us make inquiry, in what manner those Emperours who asserted the Superstition of the Gentiles, and how they who had a value for the *Christian* Religion, concluded their [lives and] Reigns. Was not *Caius Julius Cæsar*, the *First Monarch* of the *Roman* Empire, murdered by Treachery, and so ended his life? did not some Souldiers with their swords kill the other *Caius* who was * Nephew to *Tiberius*? was not *Nero* murdered by one of his Domesticks? Did not *Galba* undergoe the same Fate? *Otho*, and *Vitellius* also; which three Emperours Reigned only sixteen months. Did not *Domitian* (who was his brother,) destroy the Emperour *Titus* by poison? Was not *Domitian* himself in a miserable man-

* To wit, pag. 198 of *our Version.*

† See *Theodoret's Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 32.

|| Or, *Affairs of the Romans.*

d Long before Christ's Advent *Macedonia* had been subdued by the *Romans*. Moreover, the *Albani*, *Iberi*, and *Colchi* had been conquered by the same *Romans* long before Christ's birth. Therefore, what *Evagrius* says here, is nothing to the purpose. But, concerning this whole *Invective* of *Evagrius's* against *Zosimus*, see *Johannes Leunclavius's Apology*, which he has prefixt before *his Edition* of *Zosimus*. Vales.

e Κατὰ τὴν τείτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, *on the Hundred twenty third Olympiad.* The same is the reading in the Greek copies of *Nicephorus*; but it must be made Δευτέραν καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν, &c, *on the Hundredth eighty second Olympiad*, from *Eusebius*, and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, pag. 437. *Vales.*

* Or, *The worship of many Gods.*

† Or, *A turbulent Dominion managed by the people.*

* See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 5. note (a, b, c.)

|| See Mic. 5. 2.

* Or, *Feed.*

f *Evagrius* mistakes. For about twenty years before our Saviour's Nativity, *Egypt* was reduced into the form of a Province. *Vales.*

* Or, *Commander.*

g Τραϊανὸς τε Σεβῆρος, &c. It would be better written thus, *Trajan also, Severus and Carus.* For this is required by the order of time. Instead of *Severus*, it might be written *Verus*. For he got a great Victory over the *Persians*, as we are informed from the *Writers of the Historia Augusta.* Vales.

h Concerning this *Apollonius* I have read nothing in any place. *Vales.*

* Or, *Proem*, or, *Beginning.*

* *Germanicus C. Cæsaris pater, Drusi & Minoris Antoniæ filius, à Tiberio patruo adoptatus*, &c. So *Suetonius* in the *Life of Caius Caligula.*

ner removed out of this world by *Stephanus?* What wilt thou ſay concerning *Commodus*, did not he end his life by [the violent hands of] *Narciſſus? Pertinax* alſo, and *Julian*, underwent they not the ſame Fate? did not *Antoninus* Son to *Severus*, murther his Brother *Geta*, and was not he himſelf afterwards taken off in the ſame manner by *Martialis?* what [of] *Macrinus* alſo, was not he carried up and down like a Captive about *Byzantium*, and nefariouſly murdered by his own Souldiers? *Aurelius Antoninus* likewiſe, born at the City *Emeſa*, was not he ſlain together with his mother? and *Alexander* his Succeſſour in the Empire, fell not he together with his mother by * the like fact? What ſhall we ſay concerning *Maximinus*, was not he deſtroyed by his own Souldiers? What concerning *Gordianus*, who by *Philippus*'s Treacheries [was murdered] by his own Souldiers, and ended his days? Now, doe Thou tell me, was not *Philippus* and his Succeſſour *Decius* ſlain by their Enemies? *Gallus* and likewiſe *Voluſianus*, were they not thruſt out of their lives by their own Forces? *Æmilianus* alſo, fell not he in the ſame manner? *Valerianus*, was not he taken priſoner, and carried up and down by the *Perſians?* [In fine,] after *Gallienus* had been treacherouſly murdered, and *Carinus* ſlain, the [ſupream management of] affairs came to *Diocletianus*, and thoſe whom he took in to be Colleagues in the Empire with himſelf. Of whom, *Maximianus Herculius*, and his Son *Maxentius*, as likewiſe *Licinius*, were utterly deſtroyed. But, from ſuch time as the moſt celebrated *Conſtantine* entred upon the Empire, and dedicated to *Chriſt* a City built by himſelf, which bore his own name; look about earneſtly [and ſee,] whether any of thoſe who Reigned in that City, excepting only *Julian* thy *Pontif* and Emperour, have been ſlain either by their own Citizens, or by their Enemies; or whether any Tyrant hath ever vanquiſhed an Emperour, [i] ſave only *Baſiliſcus* who drove out *Zeno*: notwithſtanding, he was afterwards routed by the ſame *Zeno*, and ended his life. I aſſent alſo to what thou writeſt concerning *Valens*; [becauſe] he was the Occaſioner of ſuch and ſo vexatious miſchiefs againſt the *Chriſtians*. For, concerning any other Emperour [beſides theſe,] even Thou thy ſelf canſt not ſay it. Let no perſon account theſe things to be forreign to our *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; but rather [look upon them as] moſt uſefull and †accommodate; in regard the *Hiſtoriographers* amongſt the Heathens do deſignedly attempt to cloud the accurate knowledge of tranſactions. But let us return to the remaining Actions of *Anaſtaſius*.

* Or, *The ſame.*

† Or, *Coherent.*

[i] Ἢ μόνον βασιλίσκε. In the *Tellerian* M.S. I found it written, ἢ μονε βασιλίσκε: but I would rather expreſs it thus, πλὴν μόνε, *ſave only*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLII.

Concerning * The Chryſotelia.

* Or, *Golden Tax.*

THE Actions we have already mentioned, were egregiouſly performed by *Anaſtaſius* in a manner befitting the Imperial Majeſty. But the ſame Emperour did ſome things in no wiſe anſwerable to thoſe [we have related.] For he invented that termed [a] *The Chryſotelia*, and [b] rated the expence of the *Militia* at a very high value, to the great dammage [c] of the *Provincials*. Beſides, [d] he took away the *Exaction* of the Tributes, in regard our *Evagrius*, contenting himſelf in ſetting down the bare name, has omitted to explain the thing it ſelf; nor has any other of the Ancient Writers, that I know of, made mention of this thing. But, as much as I am able to attain by conjecture, I do think *the Chryſotelia* to have been nothing elſe, but *a paying of Gold*, which *Anaſtaſius* firſt ordered to be exacted from the *Provincialls* in ſtead of the *Tributary Function*. For the old *Romans* were wont to bring in the Tributes in the very *Species* themſelves, to wit, in *Wheat*, *Barley*, *Wine*, and *Oyl*: out of which, being carried together into the publick Granaries, the *Military* and *Civil Annona* was diſtributed. Moreover, by the Sanctions of the Emperours it had been forbidden, that the Collectors ſhould exact Gold of the Provincials inſtead of *The Species* [to wit, *Wheat*, *Barley*, &c.] as may be ſeen in the *fourth and fifth Law of the Theodoſian Code*, *Tit. Tributa in ipſis ſpeciebus inferri.* But *Anaſtaſius* was the firſt who gave order, that inſtead of *The Species*, money ſhould be exacted of the Provincialls. Now, I gather this, partly from the word *Chryſotelia* it ſelf, whereby is ſignified *a paying of Gold inſtead of Tribute*; and partly from that which *Evagrius* ſpeaks in this whole chapter concerning *The Tributary Function*, as we ſhall ſee afterwards. *Valeſ.*

[a] What *The Chryſotelia* ſhould be, is hard to gueſs, in

[b] Ἀπεμπολήσας τὴν στρατιωτικὴν δαπάνην. *Johannes Langus* has rendred this place very well, in this manner: *Et populos ſuos Veſtigales bellicis impenſis per nundinationem divenditis ſupra modum gravavit, And he over-much burthened his people that payed Tribute, the Military Expences being by a Market made Sale of.* *Muſculus* tranſlates it thus: *Et Militares ſumptus onerioſiſſimè contra conſuetas contributiones divendidit, and in a moſt burdenſome manner made ſale of the Military Expences contrary to the uſuall contributions.* But, *Chriſtophorſon* renders it worſt of all, in this manner: *Et Stipendia Militaria, und cum exactionibus, non ſine graviſſimo reipublicæ detrimento divendidit, And ſold the Military Stipends, together with the exactions, not without the heavieſt detriment to the Re-publick.* But, to the end we may fully underſtand the thing it ſelf, we will diligently weigh each word. *Evagrius* therefore ſays, ᾧ ἀπεμπολήσας. That word ſignifies in *Latine*, *eum qui vendidit*, *him that hath ſold*. *Suidas* alſo obſerves, that *a fraudulent ſelling*, or *ſale*, is underſtood by this word. Now, the ſelling of the Military Expence may be meant in a twofold manner. For, either *Anaſtaſius* Farmed out the Military Expence to *Publicans*, in ſuch manner as our Kings are wont to do, who uſually let out the allowance of the *Military Annona*, [that is, *the Souldiers Proviſions*,] of Cloths, and other things of that nature, to *Publicans* and *Farmers*. Or elſe, that Sale was no other thing than *an Adæration*, [or, *ſetting a money-value upon theſe Expences:*] in ſuch a manner as if *Anaſtaſius* ſhould have Rated at a moſt burthenſome value the Military Expence, to wit, the *Cloathes*, *Arms*, *Forrage*, &c; which were wont to be brought in by the Provincialls: which thing redounded to the loſs of the Provincialls, who inſtead of *The Species themſelves* were forced to pay a price. And this latter ſenſe I have followed in my Rendition. Now, by theſe words, στρατιωτικὴν δαπάνην, *Evagrius* means not only the *Military Stipends*, [or, *Souldiers pay*,] as *Chriſtophorſon* thought; but, *all manner of charge belonging to the Militia*, to wit, *Cloathes*, *Arms*, and *Proviſions*. *Juſtinian* makes frequent uſe of this word in *his thirteenth Edict*, where he diſtinguiſhes alſo between δαπάνας and σπάσεις. And he informs us, that the σπάσεις were *the Annonæ*, *and the Capita* [or, *Forrage for the Beaſts*] which were paid to the Magiſtrates in Gold: but, of what ſort the δαπάναι were, he explains not; only he intimates, that the values of them alſo were exacted from the Provincialls; where he ſpeaks concerning *The Dux* of *Libya*. Valeſ.

[c] Κατὰ τὰς σωληλατῶν. What σωληλατεῖς were, *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not. *The provincialls who paid Tribute*, are ſo termed. *The Old Gloſſes* explain σωληλατεῖς, thus, *Tributarius, a perſon obnoxious to the paying of Tribute*; σωληλατεία, τὸ ἐπίταγμα, *Tributum, Tribute.* So *Evagrius* (book 5. chap. 13,) calls *the Tributaries* τοὺς σωληλατοῦντας. Valeſ.

[d] Περιεῖλε τὴν τῶν φόρων εἴσπραξιν ἐκ τῶν βουλευτηρίων. Amongſt the Burthens of the *Decuriones*, the *Exactione* [or, *Collection*] of the Tributes was not the leaſt. For they out of their own body made *Suſceptores* [*Takers*, or *Receivers*,] of *The Annonæ*, and *Præpoſiti* [or, *Overſeers*] of *The Manſions* and *Granaries*, as 'tis evident from the *Theodoſian Code*, in *The Title de Decurionibus*, and in *The Titles de Suſceptoribus*. Which yet is not ſo to be underſtood, as if only the *Decurions* might Collect the *Fiſcall Tributes*. For, both the *Officialls* of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and likewiſe the *Officialls of the Preſidents*, were wont to Collect the Tributes from the Provincials; as *Amm. Marcellinus* informs us, book. 17, in theſe words. *Denique inuſitato exemplo, id petendo Cæſar Impetraverat a Præſello*, &c. *In fine by an unuſuall Example, Cæſar by entreaty had obtained that of the Præfect, that the diſpoſe of the ſecond Belgica, which was oppreſſed with manifold miſchiefes, might be committed to him; to wit, on that condition, that neither the Official of a Prefect, nor of a Preſident, ſhould urge any one to pay.* [In *Valeſius*'s Edition of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 90, where this paſſage occurs; it is printed thus: ..... *inique.*

iniquè. Inusitato Exemplo, &c; which imperfection in *Marcellinus*'s Copy he does, I suppose, supply here by altering the punctation, and making it, *Denique inusitato*, &c.] The Emperour *Anastasius* wholly took away from the *Decurions* the exaction of the Tributes, which they in part took care of. Hence 'tis, that in *Justinian's thirteenth Edict*, where he treats concerning the Exaction of the Tributes of *Egypt*, he makes no mention of the *Decurions*; but only names the *Scriniarii* and the *Tractatores* of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, who Collected the *Fiscall Tributes* from the Payers, and brought them to the *Double Table*, or *Cheſt*, of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, the one *Private*, the other *Generall*. Which thing was, I suppose, instituted by *Anastasius*, who had Decreed, that the Tributes should be brought in, not in their very *Species*, but in Gold, as I have remarked above. Now, why *Anastasius* should institute that, this reason may be assigned. The Emperour *Anastasius*, in regard he was most provident in mannaging the publick affairs, (as *Procopius* attests,) was willing rather to buy Peace of the *Barbarians* with Gold, than to engage with them in a doubtfull War. Which when he had succeeded in according to his desire, he lessened the number of the Milice, in regard he had no need of them, because the *Barbarians*, appeased with Gold, would keep the Peace. Therefore *Suidas* in the word ἀναστάσιος, says that the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, were in his Times almost empty of Souldiers. Whereas therefore the *Roman Legions* had been reduced to so small a number, there was no necessity of carrying so many *Species Annonariæ* [that is, *Wheat, Barly*, &c.] into the publick Granaries. Wherefore *Anastasius* judged it to be better, to exact money from the Provincialls, wherewith he might redeem Peace from the *Barbarians*. *Vales.*

[c] Τὰς καλουμένας Βινδικας. There is mention of these *Vindices* in *Justinians Novells*, and in the *thirteenth Edict*. The words of the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* pag. 785, are these: ἐν οἷς ἐφάνη ἀντίπατρος ὁ βίνδηξ ἀντιοχείας: which *his translator* hath rendred thus: *inter quos Antipater Antiochiæ Vindex seu Judex occubuit, amongst whom was slain Antipater the Vindex or Judge of Antioch.* But the *Vindices* were not Judges, but persons set over the Collection of the Tributes, as *Justinian* informs us, in *Novell* 124, and 125. Where he joyns them with the *Curiales, Officiales, Canonicarii*, and *Exactours of the Tributes*. And the same is confirmed by this place of *Evagrius*. For he says, that the Emperour *Anastasius* took the Exaction of the Tributes from the *Curiales*, and translated it to those *Vindices* which himself had instituted. The *Vindices* therefore exacted the Tributes from the Provincialls. The same *Justinian* in *his thirteenth Edict* says, that one *Potamon*, in the times of *Anastasius*, under pretence of *Vindex* of *Alexandria*, was set over the exaction of the Tributes. For so I render these words; ποταμωνος τινος ὑπὸ πρόφασιν δημοσίων τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων πραγματος τὸ τῆς βίνδικος χρῆμα. Whence also we learn, that the *Vindex* of *Alexandria* was set over the exaction τῆς ἐξαγωγίου; *that was a Tax for the Exportation of Tyles and other wares which were exported out of the City Alexandria*. Further, out of this money which the *Vindex* had Collected, he was compelled to allow wood to heat the publick Baths, and to fulfill other solemn duties, as the same *Justinian* informs us in the *above mentioned Edict*. From which passages therein, some persons might be able to Collect, that there was only one *Vindex* in every City. 'Tis further to be noted, that that Constitution of *Anastasius*, wherein the Exaction of the Tributes is said to have been taken from the *Curiales*, was in no wise observed by the succeeding Emperours. 'Tis certain, *Justinian*, in the *forementioned Novells*, does expresly name the *Curiales* amongst those who at their own peril exacted and undertook the Tributes. *Vales.*

[f] Ἐσπούδασε φασὶ μαίνα τὸν σύεα. The Emperour *Justinian* calls this person *Marianus*, in *his thirteenth Edict*, in these words: ἣ σὴ ἐνδιξότης εὗρεν, &c. *Your glorious Magnificence hath found in a certain paper in the times of the Emperour* Anastasius *of pious memory, then when Marianus of glorious memory administred the publick affairs under him* But *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* terms him *Marinus*; *Indictione V.* [says he,] *Paulo & Musciano Coss. die dominico, dum jubente Anastasio Cæsare, per Marinum perq; Platonem in Ecclesiæ pulpito consistentes, in Hymnum Trinitatis Deipassianorum quaternitas additur*, &c. *Plato* was indeed *Præfect* of the City *Constantinople*, as *Victor Thunonensis* informs us in *His Chronicon*: but *Marinus* was *Præfectus prætorio*; wherefore he is set before *Plato* by *Marcellinus*. Further, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, whilst they tell the same thing with *Marcellinus* and *Victor*, mention not the names of *Marinus* and *Plato*, but do expres the dignity of each of them, stiling the one of them λογοθέτης, the other ὕπαρχον. Where, by the term λογοθέτης they mean the *Præfectus Prætorio*, because the *Præfectus Prætorio* manna-ged the accounts of the Tributes. But, we must not omit what *Zonaras* relates, to wit, that by this *Marianus* the Præfect (for so he calls him) *Vitalianus* the Tyrant was vanquished in a Sea-fight, by the help of certain Burning-glasses, which had been framed by *Proclus* the Philosopher. From which words some might conjecture, that this was the *Marinus Syrus* Schollar to *Proclus* the Philosoper. Indeed, *Nicephorus* also, in the *last Chapter of his fifteenth Book*, calls this *Marinus*, a *Syrian*. But, I am of opinion, that that *Marinus Syrus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Anastasius*'s times, must be distinguished from *Marinus Syrus the Philosopher*, who wrote *Proclus's Life*. For this *Marinus* last mentioned was by Religion a *Pagan*, as we learn from an old Epigram which occurs in *the Anthologia*. But, the former *Marinus* was a *Christian*, as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning the Tyranny of Vitalianus.

[Further,] *Vitalianus* by Extract a *Thracian*, makes an insurrection against *Anastasius*. Having laid waste *Thracia* and * *Mysia* [a] as far as [the Cities] *Odessus* and *Anchialus*, he hastned to the Imperial City, at the head of a [vast, but] inconsiderate multitude of the Nations of the *Hunni*. Against whom the Emperour sent *Hypatius*. Who having been betrayed by his own [Forces,] and taken alive by the Enemy, was afterwards redeemed with a vast Ransome; and *Cyrillus* undertakes the mannagement of that whole War. And in the first place, a doubtfull Engagement hapned. Then, after [the fight] had received many * Turns, as well in pursuits, as Retreats, and *Cyrillus* had had the better; [on a sudden] [b] the Enemy began to fall on again, the [*Roman*] Souldiers having voluntarily given ground and turned their backs. And, in this manner *Vitalianus* took *Cyrillus* † in the [City] *Odessus*: and after he had ruined all places with fire and sword, he made his march as far as that place called *Sycæ*; having no other thoughts in his mind, than of taking the Imperial City it self, and of being put into possession of the Empire. But when *Vitalianus* had encamped in *Sycæ*, *Marinus* the *Syrian*, of whom we have made mention before, is sent by the Emperour, to engage him with a * *Marine Army*. Both † Fleets therefore stood opposed to each other, the one having *Sycæ a Stern*, the other *Constantinople*. And at first [by compact as 'twere] they forbore engaging. Then, after some excursions of the Ships, and ‖ Skirmishes on both sides, a sharp Sea-fight was begun between the two Fleets, about those places termed *Bytharia*; and *Vitalianus* having Tack't about, flies with all the Sail he could make, after he had lost most of his Forces. They also who were about him, Sailed off with all imaginable hast; in so much that on the day following, not one of the Enemy was to be found about [c] *Anaplus*, or at the Imperial City it self.

[a] Μέχρις ὀδυσσοῦ, *as far as Odyssus*. It must be written, ὀδησσοῦ, *Odessus*. For so 'tis termed by *Diodorus Siculus* by *Strabo*, and by *Stephanus*. *The ancient Coyns* also have it thus written, as I have long since observed at the *twenty seventh Book* of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *pag.* 334 *of my notes*. Nevertheless, most Writers, as well *Greek* as *Latine*, call it *Odyssus* as if it had had its name from *Ulysses*. Indeed, *Johannes Langus* has rendred that *Ulyssopolim*, which *Nicephorus* had termed ὀδυσσὸν in chap. 38, book 16. *Vales.*

* Or, *Mæsia.*

* Or, *Alterations.*

[b] Ἐπιστροφὰν πάλιν ἔλαβον. I judge it must be written in one word thus, παλινδίωξις. There is the same mistake in *Nicephorus*, Chap. 38, Book 16. what the import of ὀπισροφάδην is, *Suidas* tells us incomparably well, in *that word*. In the *Tellerian* M.S. I found it plainly written παλινδίωξις. *Vales.*

† Or, *Out of Odessus.*

* Or, *Naval Forces.*

† Or, *Armies.*

‖ Or, *Throwing of Missile weapons.*

[c] There was a place so called, as *Marcellinus* attests in *his Chronicon*, whose words we have quoted at chap. 25, *note* (*c.*) *Stephanus* has made mention of the same place in the word γυναικόπολις. *Vales.*

'Tis moreover ſaid, that [after this,] *Vitalianus* ſpent ſome time at *Anchialus*, and kept himſelf quiet. Further, another Nation of the *Hunni* [d] having paſt the *Caſpian Streights*, made an Incurſion [into the *Roman* Provinces.] At thoſe very ſame times alſo, *Rhodus* * was ſhaken by a moſt Violent Earthquake, in the dead of the night; which was the third calamity it had ſuffered of that Nature.

[d] Περαιωθὲν τὰς κασπίους πύλας. The *Hunni* having paſſed the *Caſpian Streights* [or, *narrow paſſes,*] made an irruption into *Armenia, Cappadocia*, and *Pontus*, in the Conſulate of *Anthemius* and *Florentius*, on the year of Chriſt 515, as *Marcellinus* and *Victor Thunonenſis* relate in their *Chronicons*. They were alſo termed *Sabiri*, or *Saber*, as *Cedrenus* atteſts: for ſo 'tis to be read in *Theophanes*. From which Authours it muſt be made here περαιωθὲν τὰς κασπίας πύλας, *having paſt the Caſpian, Streights*. 'Tis certain, *Nicephorus* has thus expreſt this place of *Evagrius*, at book 16. chap. 38. Through theſe *Caſpian Narrow Paſſes*, the *Hunni* were wont to break into the *Roman Pale*, as *Procopius* tells us Book 1. *Perſic.* Where he gives an excellent deſcription of theſe *Narrow Paſſes*, and atteſts that they had been heretofore fortified by *Alexander* the *Macedonian*. Whence, that paſſage of *Saint Jerome*, in *his Epitaph of Fabiola*, receives light; which runs thus: *Ecce ſubito diſcurrentibus Nuntiis, Oriens totus intremuit, ab ultimâ Mæotide inter Glacialem Tanaim, & Maſſagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucaſi rupibus feras Gentes Alexandri Clauſtra cohibent, erupiſſe Hunnorum examina.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Suffered a moſt violent*, &c.

CHAP. XLIV.

That Anaſtaſius *being deſirous to add theſe words,* Who haſt been Crucified on our account, *to the Hymn* [*termed*] * The Triſagium, *a Sedition and diſturbance hapned amongſt the people. Which* [Anaſtaſius] *fearing,* † *made uſe of diſſimulation, and ſoon altered the minds of the people. And concerning the death of* Anaſtaſius.

* See *Meurſius's Gloſſary*, in the word τεισάγιον. † Or, *Feigned an humiliation.*

But at *Conſtantinople*, when the Emperour was deſirous of making an addition of theſe words, *Who haſt been Crucified on our account*, to [The Hymn termed] *The Triſagium*; a moſt violent Sedition hapned, as if the *Chriſtian* Religion had been totally * Subverted. *Macedonius* and the *Conſtantinopolitane* Clergy were the Authours and Abettours of this Sedition, as *Severus* affirms in *his Epiſtle to* [a] *Soterichus.*

* Or, *Abrogated.*

[a] This *Soſherichus* [or, *Soterichus,*] had been ordained Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* by *Macedonius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. Who going over afterwards to the *Eutychian* party, joyned himſelf to the impious *Xenaïas*, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that *Severus*, a Ringleader of the *Eutychians*, ſhould have written Letters to *Soterichus*, a perſon like himſelf, and ſhould in them have accuſed *Macedonius* a Catholick Biſhop, as being the Authour of the Sedition. *Severus* himſelf was rather the Occaſioner of this Sedition, who had perſwaded the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, that to *The Hymn* [termed] *The Triſagium* he ſhould add this Clauſe, *Who haſt been Crucified for us, have mercy upon us*; as *Cedrenus* relates in *his Chronicon*. Further, *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had been taught *this Hymn* [termed] *The Triſagium*, by Angells. Which, as ſoon as the Prieſt had approacht the altar, the *Chaunter* out of the Pulpit began to ſing, in this manner, ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς. ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς. ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, *Holy God; Holy Mighty: Holy Immortall*; as *Jovius Monachus* writes Book 6, in *Photius's Bibliotheca*. On account of this Hymn moſt violent Tumults aroſe afterwards in the Church, when the *Eaſterns* would add this Clauſe to it, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, *Who haſt been Crucified for us*, referring it to *Jeſus Chriſt*. But the *Conſtantinopolitanes* and *Weſterns* rejected that addition, *leaſt any paſſion ſhould be attributed to the Conſubſtantiall Trinity*: and in place thereof ſang theſe words, ἁγία τριὰς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, *Holy Trinity have mercy upon us*; as *Ephræmius Patriarch* of *Antioch* informs us in *Photius his Bibliotheca*. *Macedonius* did right therefore, who retaining the uſage delivered by *Proclus*, refuſed that addition. *Valeſ.*

Which [*Epiſtle*] he wrote before he had obtained the *Epiſcopall Throne*, whilſt he reſided [b] at the Imperial City, to wit, at that time [c] when he, together with others, had been ejected out of his own Monaſtery, as I have * related already. On account of theſe Calumnies, beſides other reaſons † already mentioned, I am of opinion that *Macedonius* was ejected [out of his See.] From this occaſion the populacy was enraged, and in regard they were not any longer to be withheld, many perſonages of the Nobility were reduced to the greateſt of dangers, and ſeverall of the eminenteſt places [of the City] were burnt down. And when the people had found a certain Country-fellow (who lead a Monaſtick courſe of life,) in the houſe of *Marinus* the *Syrian*, they cut off his head; affirming that by this mans motives and perſwaſions *that Expreſſion* had been added [to *The Hymn.*] They alſo put his head upon a pole, [carried it about,] and in a deriding manner exclaimed, that he was the Enemy of the Trinity. [Further,] the Sedition increaſed ſo vaſtly, ruining all things, and being ſuperiour to all * Oppoſition, that the Emperour, † compelled by neceſſity, went to the *Cirque* without his Crown, and ſent the Criers to the people, to make Proclama ion, that with all imaginable readineſs he would reſigne his Empire: but, that it was a perfect impoſſibility for all of them to obtain the Empire, which cannot endure many Colleagues; and, that there was of neceſſity to be one, who might Govern the Empire after him. Which when the people perceived, by a certain Divine impulſe as it were they altered their mindes, and beſought *Anaſtaſius* to put his Crown upon his head, and promiſed to be calm and quiet [in future.] When *Anaſtaſius* had ſurvived theſe diſturbances [d] ſome ſmall intervall of time, he departed to another life, having Governed the Empire of the *Romans*, ſeven and twenty years, three months, and as many days.

* See Chap. 33. † Chap. 32.

* Or, *Strength.* † Or, *Out of neceſſity forced to a compaſſion.*

[b] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place ill, thus, *Vitam in aulâ Imperatoriâ degebat, Lead his life in the Imperial Pallace, Nicephorus* alſo committed the ſame miſtake, who has expounded theſe words of *Evagrius* thus: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀναλόγοις ἐνδιατρίβων, *but as yet reſided in the Imperial Pallace.* But, in *Evagrius* it muſt be written, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, that is, *at the Imperial City.* For ſo *Evagrius* is wont to call *Conſtantinople*, as I have noted above. Beſides, in the foregoing chapter he terms it ſo. *Valeſ.*

[c] Οὗτε τῶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν. Doubtleſs it muſt be, ὅτε τῶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, and we have rendred it accordingly. So alſo *Nicephorus* read: for he has expreſt *Evagrius's* words thus: καθ' ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν, ὁπηνίκα τῶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπηλάθη μοναστηρίω, *at that time, when he was driven from his own Monaſtery.* Yet I wonder, that this was not perceived by the Tranſlatours, to wit, *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon*. Valeſ.

[d] Nay; *Anaſtaſius* lived ſeven years compleat after this Sedition. *Valeſ.*

The End of the Third Book of Evagrius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Empire of * Juſtinus Senior.

* Or, *Juſtinus the Firſt.*

Anaſtaſius therefore being (as I have ſaid,) tranſlated to a better allotment, *Juſtinus*, by Extract a *Thracian*, veſts himſelf with the purple Robe, on the ninth day of the month *Panemus*, which amongſt the *Romans* is termed *July*, in the Five hundredth ſixty ſixth year of *Antioch*'s being ſtyled a free City: he was declared [Emperour] by the Imperial Guards, of whom alſo he was Commander, having been made [a] *Maſter of the Offices* at Court. He obtained the Imperial Dignity beyond all expectation, in regard there were many of *Anaſtaſius*'s relations, who were eminent perſonages, had arrived at the greateſt fortunateneſs imaginable, and who had procured to themſelves all that power which might have inveſted them * with the Imperial Dignity.

[a] Ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων. That is, *Magiſter Officiorum, Maſter of the Offices.* For ſo the *Greeks* do uſually explain that dignity.

* Or, *With ſo great a dignity.*

Nevertheleſs, *Jordanes* in *his Book de Succeſſione Regnorum*, relates, that *Juſtinus* was by the Senate elected Emperour, not from his being *Maſter of the Offices*, but *Comes of the Guards*. To whom agrees the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and the *Old Chronographer* whom I long ſince publiſhed at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus's Hiſtory*. *Procopius* (in *his Anecdota, pag.* 28,) ſpeaking of the Emperour *Juſtinus* as yet a private perſon, writes thus; Ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο ἦν ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων, *For the Emperour* Anaſtaſius *had made him Comes of the Guards in the Pallace.* The ſame *Procopius* makes *Juſtinus*, not a *Thracian*, (as *Evagrius*, *Cedrenus*, and *Zonaras* do,) but an *Illyrian*, born at the Town *Bederiana*. *Theophanes* alſo ſays *Juſtinus* was an *Illyrian*. But, I cannot enough admire at the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, who although he makes him a *Bederianite*, yet terms him a *Thracian*. Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Eunuch Amantius, *and* Theocritus; *and in what manner* Juſtinus *put theſe perſons to death.*

MOreover, there was [at that time] one *Amantius* the chief perſon of the Imperial Bed-Chamber, a man of great power [and intereſt.] Who, in regard 'twas unlawfull for a man deprived of his Genitalls [as he was,] to be poſſeſt of the *Roman* Empire, was deſirous of encircling *Theocritus*, a great Confident of his, with the Imperial Crown. Having therefore cauſed *Juſtinus* to be ſent for, he gave him vaſt quantities of money, ordering him to diſtribute it amongſt thoſe who were moſt fit to effect this thing, and who might be able to inveſt *Theocritus* with the purple Robe. But *Juſtinus* having with this money purchaſed, either [the ſuffrages of] the people, or elſe the Benevolence of thoſe termed *The Guards*, (For 'tis reported both ways;) inveſted himſelf with the Imperial Dignity. Forthwith therefore he * takes off *Amantius* and *Theocritus*, together with ſome other perſons.

* Or, *Deſtroyes from amongſt men.*

CHAP. III.

In what manner Juſtinus *ſlew* Vitalianus *by treachery.*

BUt, he calls *Vitalianus* [then] [a] making [his Reſidence] in *Thracia*, (who had attempted to diveſt *Anaſtaſius* of the Empire,) to *Conſtantinople*: being afraid of his power, of his ſkill in relation to Military affairs, of the greatneſs of his Fame then [ſpread] amongſt all men, and of the deſire he had to obtain the Empire. But perceiving by a ſagacious foreſight, that he could on no other terms bring *Vitalianus* within his own power, unleſs he ſhould feign himſelf his friend; and having [for that reaſon] mask't his face with a fraud not to be detected, he conſtitutes him *Maſter* of [b] one [of thoſe Armies] termed *The Preſent Militia*.

[a] Ἐπὶ τῆς θράκης ποιούμενον. *Nicephorus* (book 17. chap. 1.) inſtead of the word ποιούμενον, *making*, ſubſtituted διάγοντα, *living*. But I am of opinion, that *Evagrius* wrote, τὴν διατριβὴν ποιούμενον, *making his Reſidence*; and, that the two former words were omitted by Tranſcribers. The reading may alſo be σκηνοποιούμενον, *pitching his Tent*, or, *dwelling*. Valeſ.

[b] Ἑνὸς ἦν κωλιμδίων περιστείλεων. There were two Armies in the Court of the *Roman* Emperour, who were called *Præſentes*, in *Greek*, τὸ περίστειλον. Theſe were commanded by two *Magiſtri Militum*, who were termed *in Præſenti*, or *Præſentales*. And in the *Eaſtern Empire*, one of theſe Commanders was a *Magiſter of Foot*, the other *of Horſe*. But in the *Weſtern Empire*, each of them was

was a *Magiſter of Horſe and Foot.* Concerning theſe two *Magiſtri of the preſent Milice*, or, *Milice in waiting*, *Malchus* ſpeaks in *his Excerpta Legationum* pag. 93. Moreover, *Jordanes* in *his Book de Succeſſione Regnorum* agrees with our *Evagrius*, where he ſpeaks theſe words concerning the Emperour *Juſtinus*; *Fœduſque cum Vitaliano percuſſit*, &c. *And he made a League with* Vitalianus, *and after he had ſent for him, made him preſent Maſter of the Milice and ordinary Conſul.* See *Meurſius's Gloſſary* in the word *περίστυλον*. In the *Fifth Action of the Conſtantinopolitane Synod under* Menas, pag. 751, theſe words occur, *ἐν τοῖς σπληνοῖς τῶν θείων περιστύλων ἑκατέρας δυνάμεως. Valeſ.*

*Or, *Place.* After this, he gave a greater *occaſion of perſwaſion, whereby *Vitalianus* might more deeply be impoſed upon, and promotes him to the Conſulate.

c Οὗτος τῆς ὑπατείας ἐχόμενος. c *Vitalianus* therefore being made Conſul, after he was arrived at the Imperial Pallace, ended his life by being treacherouſly murdered d at one of the inner Gates; e paying this puniſhment for thoſe high contumelies wherewith he had affected the *Roman* Empire. But theſe things happened afterwards.

In the *Tellerian* M. S. this place is written thus, ἔτος δὲ εἰς ὑπάτους ἐχόμενος. *Valeſ.*

d Ἐν πυλῃ μεταυλείῳ θύρᾳ. *Muſculus* renders this place thus, *in obſcuriore quâdam Palatii januâ, in a certain more obſcure gate of the Pallace. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner; *in portâ quâdam poſt Aulam poſitâ, in a certain gate placed after* [or, *behind*] *the Pallace. Johannes Langus*, who rendred *Nicephorus* into Latine, has tranſlated it thus; *ad quandam in mediâ Aulâ Januam, at a certain Gate in the middle of the Pallace.* He was minded belike to expreſs that word which *Nicephorus* made uſe of, to wit, μεσαυλείῳ. The *Greeks* had two Gates in their *Edifices which had no Cellars*, or, *Vaults.* The firſt of theſe, which lookt towards the Street, was termed αὐλειος θύρα, the *Porch-Gate*, as *Harpocration* informs us in the word αὐλειος: the ſecond Gate was called μέσαυλος, or, μεσαύλειος, becauſe *it was in the midſt between the Porch and the Atrium* [or, *Court*;] or elſe becauſe it was in the middle between *The* ἀνδρωνῖτις, *men's Apartment*, and *The* γυναικωνῖτις, *womens Apartment*; as the *Authour of the Etymologicon* affirms. *Lyſias* mentions both theſe Gates in *his Oration pro Eratoſthene de Cæde*, in theſe words; ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτὶ ἐῴφει ὁ μέσαυλος θύρα καὶ ἡ αὐλειος, *but having remembred that in that night the Gate between the Porch and Atrium and the Porch-Gate creak't.* I think it muſt be written thus, ὁ μέσαυλος καὶ ἡ αὐλειος θύρα. *Heliodorus* (in the *cloſe of his third book*,) alludes to this place of *Lyſias*, when he ſays, ἐῴφει τε ἡ μέσαυλος. Which paſſage the Tranſlatour renders thus, *Perſtrepebat Oſtium Atrii, the Gate of the Atrium creak't.* *Ælius Dionyſius* (in *his Lexicon in Euſtathius* on Ἰλιάδ. λ'. pag. 862.) ſays theſe words; ἁπλοῦν μὲν τὸν μέσην θύραν μέσαυλον φασὶ. μᾶλλον μὲν τὸν μέσων δυοῖν αὐλαῖν ὡς φησὶν Αἴλιος Διονύσιος· ἣν καὶ μέσαυλον αὐτὸς φησι; *The Greeks term the midd e Gate μέσαυλος, eſpecially the middle of the two Gates, as* Ælius Dionyſius *affirms. Which* [*Gate*] *alſo the ſame perſon ſtiles* μέσαυλος. The ſame is affirmed by *The Scholiaſt of Apollonius at his third book.* Let thus much be noted concerning the propriety of this word, in the Expoſition whereof *Harpocration* is miſtaken, (ſee him in the word μέσαυλος;) who from *Lyſias* thought the import of it was, ἡ ῥυπαρὰ λεγομένη αὐλή, *that termed the ſordid Court* [*or, Yard*] *were the fowls were.* But, we muſt now come neaer to the matter. The words of *Victor Thunonenſis* in *his Chronicon* are theſe: *Maximo V. C. Coſſ. Vitalianus*, &c. *In the Conſulate of the moſt famous* Maximus, Vitalianus *is ſaid to have been killed at* Conſtantinople *within the Pallace, (in a place which by a Greek word they term* The Delphicum,) *by the faction of* Juſtinianus *the Patricius.* Further, *The Delphicum* was an Houſe in the Pallace of *Conſtantinople*, wherein were *the Stibadia* [ſee book 5. chap. 13. note (a.)] of the Emperour; it was ſo termed from *The Delphick Table*; whereon drinking Cups were wont to be placed, as *Procopius* informs us in the *firſt book of his Vandalicks*, pag. 116. *The Delphicum* therefore was *The Houſe of the nineteen places to lye down on and banquet*, near to which was a ſpacious *Atrium*, or *Area*, as we will declare hereafter at *our Annotations on book* 5. *chap.* 13. In this *Area*, therefore or *ſpatious Court*, *Vitalianus* was ſlain in *his own Conſulate*, on the year of Chriſt 520, as *Marcellinus* informs us in *his Chronicon.* For μέσαυλος, or μεσαύλειος imports *Curtis, a large and ſpacious Court*, which was betwixt *the mens Apartment* and *the womens Apartment*, as we have ſeen from *the Authour of The Etymologicon*, &c. But, if we would rather take μέσαυλος to ſignifie *a Gate*, we muſt mean the Gate of *The Delphicum.* Thus the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod under Menas* is ſaid to have been held ἐν τῷ μεσαύλῳ τῷ δώπκῷ; that is, *in the Weſtern* Atrium *of the Venerable Church of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary.* *Cedrenus* in Juſtinian's *thirty ſeventh year* ſays that the μεσαύλιον of the *greater Church* was burnt; which is termed *The Garſonaſtaſium. The old Gloſſes de Habitatione*, interpret μεσαύλιον, *compluvium, a pent-houſe. Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 158, relates that *Juſtinian* built a great Ciſtern of *The Meſaulium* or *Atrium* of *Illus's Baſilica.* The *Old Gloſſes* expound μεσαύλιον, *Atrium, a Court.* But when we read that the Councill was held in the *Meſaulium*, it is not to be underſtood of *an open Court*, but of the *Porticus's of the Court.* For the Councills of Biſhops were not held abroad in the open Air. *Valeſ.*

c Ταύτην καλαδῶν. I had rather make it καταβαλῶν, if I miſtake not. But, 'tis righter thus, καταβαλεῖν, which the Latines term *pœnas ſolvere, to undergo puniſhment.* Thus *Evagrius* expreſſes himſelf in chap. 32. of this book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

How [Juſtinus] *having Ejected* Severus, *put* Paulus *into his place: and, that ſome little time after,* Euphraſius *obtained the See of* Antioch.

BUt *Severus*, who had been Ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, agreeable to what we have *already related, (in regard he ceaſed not a daily to *Anathematize* the Synod at *Chalcedon*, eſpecially in thoſe they term b *The Inſtalling Letters*, and in the Anſwers thereto, which he ſent to the *Patriarchs* in all places; (but they were embraced and admitted of at *Alexandria* only, by *Johannes* Succeſſour to the former *Johannes*, and by *Dioſcorus* and alſo c *Timotheus*, which *Letters* are preſerved till theſe Times of Ours;) and becauſe many contentions in the Church aroſe therefrom, and the moſt faithfull people were divided into Factions; this *Severus* [I ſay]) is by *Juſtinus's* order Seized in the d Firſt year of his Empire, and underwent the puniſhment of having his Tongue cut out, as it has been reported by ſome perſons.

* Book 3. Chap. 33.

a Ἐφ' ἑκάστης. It muſt be made ἐφ' ἑκάστης, *daily*, as the reading is in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus. Evagrius* took this paſſage out of the *Libell of the Monks*, which is recorded in the *Fifth Action of the* Conſtantinopolitane *Synod under Menas*, pag. 712: πῶς δὲ ἐν χαλκηδόνι ἅπαξ σύνοδον ἐφ' ἑκάστης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀναθεματίζειν πλῆθος ὁμοιώνει παύτῃ, πολλὰς φησὶ συμφιδιασάμενον ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χαλκηδόνα ἅπαξ συνόδῳ φησὶ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὑποκόπων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔχων δυπτύχοις; *for daring daily (as we may ſay,) to Anathematize the Holy Synod at Chalcedon, he hath held Communion thus far*, [or, *in this manner*,] *he has in the ſacred Diptycks many of the Biſhops under himſelf who had ſate in that Holy Synod at* Chalcedon. For ſo it muſt be read agreeable to the *Old Tranſlatour*: and this, *Liberatus* confirms in *his Breviarium*, chap. 19; where his words concerning *Severus* are theſe: *Sed vexabatur in Epiſcopatu, tanquam Anathematizaret quidem Synodum, nominaret autem Epiſcopos Synodi; But he was vexed in his Biſhoprick, as if he ſhould Anathematize the Synod, but would name the Biſhops of the Synod.* Valeſ.

b Ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐνθρονιστικαῖς συλλαβαῖς. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this term, as 'tis apparent from *his Verſion.* For he rendred it thus: *Et maximè in Litteris quæ ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, id eſt, quæ de Epiſcopis in ſede Epiſcopali collocandis ſcriptæ ſunt*, &c; *and eſpecially in the Letters which* [are termed] ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, *that is, which are written concerning the Biſhops to be placed in the Epiſcopall Chair. Johannes Langus* (in chap. 2, book 17, of *Nicephorus*,) tranſlates it truer, thus: *Potiſſimùm verò in eis quæ Enthroniſticæ, ſive Synodales dicuntur, Epiſtolis*, &c; *but moſt eſpecially in thoſe Letters, which are termed Enthroniſtick or Synodicall Letters*, &c. So the Letters were termed, which the Patriarchs ſent one to another, at their Inſtallment, that is, in the beginning of their Epiſcopate. There were alſo *Enthroniſtick Homilies*, or *Sermons*, which the Biſhops Preacht to the people at their entrance upon their Epiſcopate. Concerning theſe, *Liberatus* (chap. 19.) writes thus, treating of our *Severus*, concerning whom *Evagrius* ſpeaks here: *Fertur autem Expoſitio ejus, quæ ab eo dicta eſt in Enthroniſmo*, &c; *But his Expoſition is extant, which was ſpoken by him at his Inſtallment, wherein he does both embrace* Zeno's *Uniting Edict, and alſo Anathematizes the* Chalcedon *Synod, and likewiſe confeſſes himſelf to hold Communion with the* Alexandrian *and* Conſtantinopolitane *Prelates.* Valeſ.

c He means *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had ſucceeded *Dioſcorus Junior* in that Biſhoprick, as *Liberatus* relates chap. 19. For *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* cannot be meant here, in regard *Evagrius* has ſaid juſt before, that *Severus's Synodick Letters* were embraced and admitted of only at *Alexandria. Valeſ.*

d Nay; *Severus* was ejected in the ſecond year of the Emperour *Juſtinus*, on the year of Chriſt 517, as *Baronius* has remarked truly. *Valeſ.*

The

The executing of which puniſhment was committed to *Irenæus*, [c] who being then *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, reſided at *Antioch*. 'Tis certain, *Severus* himſelf (in *his Letter* to ſome of the *Antiochians*, wherein he relates the manner of his own Flight;) does aver, that *Irenæus* had been ordered to apprehend * him. In which Letters, he loads *Irenæus* with the greateſt Calumnies, [f] becauſe he had placed the watchfulleſt Guard imaginable about him, that he might not make his eſcape out of *Antioch*. There are thoſe who affirm, that *Vitalianus*, who as yet ſeemed to hold the chiefeſt place of favour and authority with *Juſtinus*, requeſted *Severus*'s tongue, becauſe *Severus* in his own Sermons had been injurious towards him. *Severus* therefore flies from his own See [the Chair of *Antioch*,] in the month *Gorpiæus*, which in the *Roman* Tongue is termed *September*, on the Five hundredth ſixty ſeventh year of *Antioch*'s being ſtyled a free City. After whom *Paulus* aſcends that [Epiſcopal] Chair, and [g] is ordered publickly to commend and aſſert the *Chalcedon Synod*. Moreover, *Paulus* having [h] voluntarily withdrawn himſelf from *Antioch*, finiſhed his life, and goes the [common] way of all men. After him, *Euphraſius*, who [came] from *Jeruſalem*, is preferred to his Chair.

* *Severus.*

[c] Ὃς ἐφειστήκει τῇ ἑῴᾳ ἀρχῶν. By theſe words I am of opinion the *Comes of the Eaſt* is meant; which was a *Civill dignity*, as I have long ſince remarqued at *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 5. *of my notes*. Nevertheleſs, *Nicephorus* thought that this *Irenæus* was the *Dux of the Militia*. For he has interpolated this paſſage of *Evagrius* in this manner: ὃς ἦρχε τῶν ἀνατολικῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἡγεῖτο τάγματος, *who commanded the Military Companies at* Antioch. But there is a fault in theſe words of *Evagrius*, ἦρχε ἐρχῶν, which in my judgment are to be expunged; or elſe to be corrected in this manner ἄρχων ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν. *Valeſ.*

[f] Καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ, &c. Without doubt it muſt be, ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ περιθέντα, *becauſe he had placed the watchfulleſt Guard imaginable about him*, &c. I have noted already, that in theſe Books of *Evagrius*, ᾗ is moſt frequently put inſtead of ὡς. *Valeſ.*

[g] The Emperour *Juſtinus*, at the beginning of his Empire, made an eſtabliſhment by a Law, that all the Biſhops ſhould embrace the *Chalcedon Synod*: but if any would not embrace it, they ſhould be driven from their Sees. *Liberatus* has mentioned this Law in his *nineteenth chapter*, in theſe words: *Mortuo Anaſtaſio, & Juſtino facto Imperatore*, &c; Anaſtaſius *being dead, and* Juſtinus *being made Emperour*, Severus *is accuſed by* Vitalianus *the Magiſter Militum, a Religious and Orthodox perſon, becauſe he deſpiſed the Emperours Command, and would not embrace the Synod*. See *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt 519, *Number* 145. Further, this place of *Evagrius* ſeems to have given occaſion of a miſtake to *Nicephorus*. For, becauſe *our Evagrius* had ſaid, that *Paulus*, *Severus*'s ſucceſſour had been ordered to aſſert the *Chalcedon Synod* at his Inſtallment, *Nicephorus* thought that this *Paulus* was in ſecret an *Eutychian*: Nevertheleſs, that this was falſe, *Liberatus* informs us in *his Breviarium* chap. 19; as alſo the *Legates of the Apoſtolick See in their Relation to Pope* Hormiſda, which *Baronius* records at the year of Chriſt 519. *Valeſ.*

[h] *Paulus* Biſhop of *Antioch* was accuſed by his own Clergy, and by ſome others of the people of *Antioch*, before the *Legates of the Apoſtolick See*, who as yet reſided at *Conſtantinople*; and after their departure, before the Emperour *Juſtinus*; who not able to clear himſelf of the Crimes objected againſt him, being vanquiſhed by the teſtimony of his own Conſcience preſented *Recuſatory Libells*, requeſting that he might have leave to retire from the Epiſcopal Office which he had undertaken. Which when he had been permitted to do, he ſpontaneouſly removed himſelf from the Sacerdotall Function, as the Emperour *Juſtinus* relates in *his Letter to Pope* Hormiſda, which *Baronius* records at the year of Chriſt 521. But although it is not expreſly ſaid in the *foreſaid Letter*, to whom *Paulus* preſented *thoſe Libells*: yet it ſeemeth to me, that he preſented *thoſe Libells* to the Emperour *Juſtinus*. For, that is declared by *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in the Letter which he wrote to Pope *Hormiſda* concerning the ſame affair. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Fires which hapned at Antioch, *and the Earthquakes; wherein* Euphraſius *was buried, and ended his life.*

ABout theſe ſame Times of *Juſtinus*, frequent and dreadfull Fires hapned at *Antioch*, which lead the way as 'twere to thoſe moſt terrible Earthquakes that followed afterwards, and gave beginning to the enſuing Calamities. For, after ſome ſhort time, in the ſeventh year of *Juſtinus*'s Reign, [a] on [his] Tenth month, in the month *Artemiſius*, or *May*, on the Twenty ninth day thereof, at the very hotteſt time of Noon-day, on the ſixth day of that termed *The Week*, a ſhaking and quaking of the Earth invaded the City, which almoſt wholly overturned and ruined it. After theſe [trembling and quakings of the Earth] followed a Fire, ſharing as it were the Calamity with them. For, thoſe places which theſe [ſhakings and quakings of the Earth] afflicted not, the fire ſpreading it ſelf all about, reduced to Embers and Aſhes Further, what places of the City were ruined, how many perſons periſhed in the Fire and by the Earthquakes, (as 'tis probably ſuppoſed;) alſo, what wonderfull and [almoſt] inexpreſſible accidents hapned; *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* has moſt pathetically related, with the Narrative whereof he hath cloſed *his Hiſtory*. Laſtly, *Euphraſius* himſelf alſo, having been incloſed within thoſe ruines, [b] ended his life; [which accident brought] another Calamity upon that City, in regard no perſon was left alive, who might provide ſuch things as were neceſſary.

[a] Μηνὶ δεκάτῳ. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this paſſage, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For he renders it thus: *Anno Septimo Regni ejuſdem Juſtini, menſe decimo, Artemiſio videlicet, id eſt, Maio*, &c; *In the ſeventh year of the ſame* Juſtinus's *Reign, on the tenth month, to wit Artemiſius, that is, May*, &c. *Chriſtophorſon* thought, that the tenth month was here termed *Artemiſius*. But 'tis not ſo. For *Artemiſius* was not the tenth month of the *Macedonians*. *Evagrius* therefore ſays this only here, that that Earthquake hapned at *Antioch* in the ſeventh year, on the tenth month of *Juſtinus*'s Empire. Concerning the year we ſhall ſee afterwards, whether it be truly reckoned *the ſeventh*. But *the tenth month* is rightly put by *Evagrius*. For, that Earthquake hapned in the month *May*, as *Evagrius*, and likewiſe *Theophanes* do atteſt. Now, this was the tenth Month of *Juſtinus*'s Empire. For *Juſtinus* began his Reign on the ninth day of the month *July*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chroniele* obſerves. Therefore, the month *May* of the following year was the tenth month of *Juſtinus*'s Reign. Theſe things concerning the month admit of no doubt. As to the year, our *Evagrius* has done ill to place this Earthquake on the ſeventh year of *Juſtinus*'s Empire, in regard he ought rather to have ſaid *the eighth*. For this Earthquake hapned on the *fourth Indiction*, when *Olybrius* was Conſul alone; as *Marcellinus Comes* and *Theophanes* do atteſt in *their Chronicon's*: which was the year of Chriſt 526. On which year the eighth year of the ſame Emperours Reign was current till the month *July*. *Baronius* therefore has not rightly placed this Earthquake on the year of Chriſt 525; who was lead into a miſtake by *Evagrius*. Further, in the *Florentine Manuſcript*, at theſe words of *Evagrius*, *this Scholion* was ſet in the Margin; ὅτι ὁ μαΐος δεκάτος μὴν λέγεται, [*Note*] *that* May *is termed the tenth month*. But this *Scholiaſt*, whoſoever he was, is miſtaken here. For *May* is not ſimply and abſolutely termed the tenth month by *Evagrius* here, but only the tenth month of *Juſtinus*'s Empire, as I have ſaid above. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τελευτᾷον δὲ οὖν, *in fine therefore*. In the *Florent.* M. S. the reading is truer, thus, τελευτᾷ δὲ, *ended his life*. Further, concerning this Earthquake wherewith *Antioch* was ruined in the times of the Emperour *Juſtinus*; beſides *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, *Procopius* ſpeaks in the *firſt book of his Perſica*, pag. 67, and 68; where he relates that three hundred thouſand perſons periſhed in that Earthquake. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Ephræmius *who ſucceeded* Euphraſius.

BUt the Salutary providence of God over men, which [uſually] provides the Remedy before the Blow, and ſharpens the Sword of its Anger with Clemency, which in the very interim that affairs are in a deplorable and deſperate poſture, diſplays its own compaſſion, excited

excited *Ephræmius* [a] then *Comes of the Eaſt*, to take all poſſible Care, that the City might want nothing of thoſe things that were neceſſary. Which perſon the Inhabitants of *Antioch* admired on this very account, and choſe him their Biſhop. *Ephræmius* therefore obtains *the Apoſtolick Chair*, which was allotted to him as the Reward and Recompence as 'twere of ſuch his providence [towards that City.] Thirty months after this, *Antioch* was again afflicted with Earthquakes: [b] at which time alſo it [changed its name, and] was called *Theopolis*; and the Emperour made proviſion for it by all other care and diligence whatever.

[a] Τῆς ἑῴας ἀρχῆς ἡνίας διέπον-τα, *who held the Raines of Government of the Eaſt.* That is, *was then Comes of the Eaſt, under whoſe diſpoſe were all the Provinces of the Eaſt*; as the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* informs us. That *Ephræmius* was adorned with this dignity, we are told by *Johannes Moſchus* in chap. 37. of *his Limonarium*; where his words are theſe: *Eo tempore vir clemens, & miſericordiæ operibus deditus Ephræmius Comes Orientis erat*, &c; *At that time* Ephræmius, *a perſon of great clemency, and addicted to works of compaſſion, was Comes of the Eaſt, and by him the publick Buildings were repaired: for the City had been ruined by an Earthquake.* *Photius* alſo atteſts the ſame, in *his Bibliotheca, chapter* 228. Valeſ.

[b] Τότε καὶ Θεόπολις; *and then alſo*, &c. I would rather read, ὅτε καὶ Θεόπολις, *at which time alſo*, &c. Which is the reading in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*, who writes, that in *Juſtinian's* Reign *Antioch* had that name given it. The ſame is atteſted by *Stephanus Byſantius* in the word Θεόπολις, and by *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*. This Latter Earthquake hapned on the twenty ninth day of *November*, in the *ſeventh Indiction*, two years after the former Earthquake, as *Theophanes* relates pag. 151; or rather thirty months after the former Earthquake, as *Evagrius* ſays truly. For, ſo many months are reckoned from the twenty ninth of *May* in the year of *Chriſt* 526, to the twenty ninth of *November* in the year of *Chriſt* 528. In which year the *ſeventh Indiction* began to be reckoned from the month *September*. Whence, that appears to be moſt true which I have remarked before, *viz.* that that former Earthquake hapned at *Antioch* on the year of *Chriſt* 526; and not on the year 525, as *Baronius* thought. And yet *Baronius* has rightly placed the latter Earthquake on the year of *Chriſt* 528; which is true. For, whereas he follows *Evagrius*'s Calculation, he ought to have placed that Earthquake on the year 527: in regard the former Earthquake had hapned at *Antioch* on the year 525 of *Our Lord's Nativity*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Zoſimas *and* Johannes *who were Workers of Miracles.*

BUt, in regard we have mentioned the foreſaid Calamities, come on, we will alſo inſert ſome other paſſages, worthy to be remembred, into this our preſent Work; which paſſages were brought to our knowledge by thoſe who ſaw them. There [was] one *Zoſimas*, a perſon who exerciſed himſelf in a Monaſtick life, by Extract a *Phœnician*, of that *Phœnice* termed *Maritima*; the place of his Nativity was *Sinde*, a Village diſtant from *Tyre* not full out twenty furlongs. This man, by his abſtinence from and uſe of meats, and by other virtues of his life, had in ſuch a manner * poſſeſt himſelf of God, that he could not only foreſee things future, but had alſo received [from God] the Gift of †being free from all manner of perturbation of mind. Being therefore [one time] in the City *Cæſarea*, which is the *Metropolis* of one of the *Paleſtines*, at the houſe of [a] a perſonage of eminency; (his name was *Arceſilaus*, a perſon Nobly deſcended and Learned, and one who had arrived at Honours and thoſe other [accompliſhments] which adorn the life of a man:) at that very inſtant of time wherein *Antioch* was ruined [by the Earthquake,] this *Zoſimas* all on a ſudden grew ſad, mourned and ſighed deeply, and ſhed ſo great a quantity of tears that he wetted the earth. He alſo asked for a Cenſer, and having burnt Incenſe all over that place where they ſtood, he proſtrates himſelf on the ground, in order to his appeaſing God with Prayers and Supplications. Then *Arceſilaus* asking him, what that was which troubled him ſo much, he anſwered in expreſs words, that the Noiſe of the Ruine of *Antioch* juſt then rang in his ears. In ſo much that *Arceſilaus* and thoſe then preſent, being ſtricken with an amazement, wrote down the hour, and found afterwards, that it had ſo hapned as *Zoſimas* had declared. Severall other wonders were wrought by this perſon; the multitude whereof I will omit, in regard they are even more in number than can be told; and will mention only ſome of them. There flouriſhed at the ſame time with this *Zoſimas*, a man by name *Johannes*, for virtues like to him; who had exerciſed a *Monaſtick* and * *immateriall* life in the *Laura* [b] *Chuziba*, (which is ſcituate in the extremity of the valley, at the Northern part of the highway that leads paſſengers from *Jeruſalem* to the City *Jericho*;) [c] but had been made Biſhop of the foremention'd City *Cæſarea*. This *Johannes* the *Chuzibite*, in regard he had heard that the wife of the foremention'd *Arceſilaus* had beat out one of her eyes with a Weavers Shuttle, ran to her in great haſt, to make an inſpection into the wound. But when he had ſeen it, and [perceived] that the pupill was faln out, and the whole eye perfectly run out, he orders one of the Phiſitians who had * come thither, to bring a Sponge, and to put the eye which was faln out into its place again as well as he could, and to put the Sponge about it and bind it with † Swathells of Linnen. *Arceſilaus*, was not then preſent. For he hapned to be at that time with *Zoſimas*, in his Monaſtery, which was ſcituate in the Village of the *Sindeni*, diſtant from *Cæſarea* about five hundred furlongs. Meſſengers therefore ran in great haſt to *Arceſilaus*, to acquaint him with what had hapned. *Arceſilaus* was ſitting near to *Zoſimas* holding a Conference with him. As ſoon as he underſtood [the misfortune that had befaln his wife,] he wept bitterly, pluckt off and tore his hair, and threw it into the air. When *Zoſimas* enquired the reaſon hereof, *Arceſilaus* gave him an account of what had hapned, but made frequent interruptions in his Relation by ſighs and tears. *Zoſimas* therefore having left him, retired alone by himſelf into a certain little * Room, where he was wont to converſe with God, as 'tis the uſage of ſuch perſons. After ſome

* Or, *Brought God home within himſelf.*

† Πάσης ἀπαθείας, *of all manner of undiſturbedneſs in relation to the paſſions.*

[a] Σωσῶν αὖ πνὶ ὀπισήμων ἄνα πῶ καίσαρ☉ πόλιν. *Muſculus* has referred theſe laſt words, to the word ὀπισήμων. For he renders it thus: *Hic junctus erat nobili cuidam Cæſarienſi, He was joyned to a certain Noble man of* Cæſarea. But *Nicephorus* and *Chriſtophorſon* conſtrued theſe words otherwiſe, and referred them to the verb σωσῶν which precedes, thus; *Being therefore*, &c, as we have rendred it. Which opinion I do rather approve of. Yet, that which follows in *Evagrius* raiſes a doubt, to wit, that *Zoſimas* asked the ſtanders by for a Cenſer. For, if *Zoſimas* was in the houſe of *Arceſilaus* a Laick, how could he ſeek for a Cenſer there, in regard 'tis not uſuall to have Cenſers in the houſe of a Laick? *Valeſ.*

* Αὔλον, *a life void of matter.*

[b] Χαζιχᾷ, *Chuzica.* So alſo the reading is in *Nicephorus*, and *Ortelius* has retained the ſame reading in *his Theſaurus Geographicus*. But in the excellent *Florentine Manuſcript* it is χαζίβᾳ, *Chuziba*; which is doubleſs truer. For ſo *Johannes Moſchus* terms *that Laura* in chap. 24; *cùm autem veniſſet in Eremum, & moraretur in Cellis Cuſibas*, &c; *But when he was come into the Deſert, and abode in the Cells at* Cuſiba, *he performed the ſame works of mercy. For he went through the high way which leads from* Jordan *to the Holy City.* Where 'tis obſervable, that thoſe are termed *Cells* by *Moſchus*, which *Evagrius* calls a *Laura*. Indeed, *a Laura* was nothing elſe but *Cells of Monks diſperſed here and there*, as I have remarkt above, at book 1. chap. 21. note *(b.)* yet *Moſchus* (chap. 24.) calls it *The Monaſtery Chuziba.* —— Valeſ.

[c] This *Johannes* was firſt Abbot and Presbyter of the Monaſtery *Chuziba*; whence he had the ſurname of *Chuzibite*. But afterwards he was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, as (beſides *Evagrius*) *Johannes Moſchus* informs us, *chap.* 24. Valeſ.

† Or, *Rollers.*

* Or, *Houſe.*

ſome

some little time he came out, lookt chearfully, and with a modeſt and grave ſmile † ſtroakt *Arceſilaus*'s hand ſoftly, *Go*, ſays he, *go away with joy: Grace is given to the* Chuzibite. *Your wife is cured; ſhe has both her eyes; that accident could deprive her of nothing, in regard it ſo pleaſed the* Chuzibite. And ſo it hapned, theſe two righteous perſons having at one and the ſame time wrought a Miracle. This ſame *Zoſimas* going one time to *Cæſarea*, and leading an Aſs after him whereon he had laid ſome things that were needfull to him, meets a Lyon, who having ſeized upon the Aſs, went his way. *Zoſimas* followed the Lyon over the wood, till ſuch time as he had filled his belly with the Aſſe's fleſh. After which *Zoſimas* laugh't, and ſpeaks [theſe words] to the Lyon; *But Friend* [ſays he] *my journey is ſtopt, for I am a man* [d] *groſs and fat, and of a very great age; nor am I able to carry that burthen on my back which was laid upon the Aſs. If therefore you have a mind that* Zoſimas *ſhould remove from hence, you muſt neceſſarily carry my Burthen,* [*though this be a thing*] *contrary to the Law of your Nature; and* [*after that*] *you ſhall be a wild Beaſt again.* The Lyon wholly forgetting his Rage, began to fawn, in a moſt gentle manner [e] ran immediately to *Zoſimas*, and by his geſture * ſhewed his obedience. *Zoſimas* therefore having laid the Aſſes burden on him, lead him as far as the Gates of *Cæſarea*; demonſtrating hereby the power of God, and how all things ſerve and obey us men, when we live to God, and do not adulterate that Grace which is given to us. But, leaſt I ſhould lengthen my Hiſtory by [relating] more [ſuch paſſages as theſe,] I will return to that place from whence I have made a digreſſion.

† Τὴν χεῖρα κατέψυξεν, *cooled his hand.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is, πλὴν χεῖρα κατέψυξεν.

[d] Παχὺς τε ὢν τὸ σῶμα. *Muſculus* omitted theſe words in his Verſion. But *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred them thus; *quippe cùm annis pluriminis onuſtus ſim, in regard I am loaden with many years.* Which rendition is not to be born with; for his following words are, *& ætate admodùm provectus, and very aged.* By this Verſion therefore *Evagrius* would be made to ſay the ſame thing in both places. The *Greeks* term *Groſs, thick*, and *fat men* παχεῖς. Which ſort of perſons are tender and delicate, and unfit to carry a burden. See *Suidas* in the word παχεῖς. *Nicephorus* alſo underſtood not this word. For inſtead thereof he has ſubſtituted theſe, καὶ δι' ἔνδειαν ἐκλελυσμένῳ, *and by reaſon of my want of neceſſaries am macerated,* [or, *melted.*] Valeſ.

* Or, *Roared out.*

[e] Ὡς ἔτρεχε. Doubtleſs it muſt be written, προσέτρεχε, *ran to.* In *Nicephorus* the reading is ὑπέτρεχε, *ran under.* But our Emendation ſeems better. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Univerſall Calamities.

DUring the ſame *Juſtinus*'s Governing the [*Roman*] Empire, that [City] now named *Dyrrachium* (which was anciently called *Epidamnus*,) was ruined by an Earthquake. As was likewiſe *Corinthus*, ſcituate in *Achaia*. *Anazarbus* alſo, the *Metropolis* of the *Second Cilicia*, [ſuffered] a fourth Calamity of this ſort. Which Cities *Juſtinus* rebuilt by the expence of a vaſt ſum of money. In theſe very ſame times alſo, *Edeſſa* a City of the *Oſroeni*, which was vaſtly great and rich, was drowned by the waters of the torrent of *The Scirtus* which runs hard by it; in ſo much that moſt of the houſes were beaten down, and an innumerable multitude of men deſtroyed, whom the water carried away. *Edeſſa* and *Anazarbus* had their [ancient] names changed by *Juſtinus*; for both thoſe Cities were adorned with * his own name.

* That is, *he gave each of them the name of* Juſtinopolis.

CHAP. IX.

How Juſtinus *whilſt he was yet living, took* Juſtinianus *to be his Colleague in the Empire.*

THe ſame *Juſtinus* having paſſed the eighth year of his Empire, [a] and alſo nine months and three days [of his ninth year,] *Juſtinianus* his Siſters Son is made his Colleague in the Empire, being proclaimed on the firſt [day of the month] *Xanthicus*, or *Aprill*, in the Five hundredth ſeventy fifth year of *Antioch*'s being ſtiled a Free City. And when theſe affairs had proceeded in this manner, *Juſtinus* removes from his Empire here [on earth,] * having ended his life on the firſt day of *Lous*, or the month *Auguſt*, when he had reigned four months with *Juſtinianus*, and had [b] held the Empire [as well alone, as with a Colleague] nine compleat years [[c] one month,] and three days. [Further,] when *Juſtinianus* was inveſted with the ſole Government of the whole *Roman* Empire, and the Synod at *Chalcedon* had been aſſerted over all the moſt Holy Churches, by the order of *Juſtinus*, as I have related; the affairs of the Eccleſiaſtick conſtitution were as yet diſturbed in ſome Provinces; and eſpecially at the Imperial City, and at *Alexandria*: *Anthimus* then Governing the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*, and *Theodoſius* preſiding over the Church at *Alexandria*. For both [theſe Prelates] aſſerted *one Nature* [in Chriſt.]

* Or, *Having undergone his perfect day.*

[a] The *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, inſtead of, *three days*, has made it, *five*. For he writes, that *Juſtinianus* was made *Auguſtus* by *Juſtinus*, after eight years nine months and five days of *Juſtinus*'s Empire, on the *Calends* of *Aprill*, in the Conſulate of *Mavortius*; which was the year of Chriſt 527. But the *Authour of that Chronicle* diſagrees from himſelf: for he relates, that *Juſtinus* entred on the Empire on the ninth day of the month *July*, in the year of our Lords Nativity 518. From which time to the *Calends of Aprill* in the year 527, there are eight years, and as many months, together with one and twenty days. But if we follow *Cedrenus*, who relates that *Juſtinianus* was made *Auguſtus* by *Juſtinus* on the fourteenth of *Aprill*, then the Computation of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* will be moſt certain. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὴν αὐτοκρατορείαν διανύσας ἀρχήν. In the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, I found it written, πλὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν διανύσας ἀρχήν, *and had held the Imperiall Government*, or, *the Empire*: which reading pleaſes me beſt. *Valeſ.*

[c] From *Evagrius*'s own Computation 'tis apparent, that theſe words [*one month*] muſt be added here. For in regard he has ſaid a little before this, that on the *Calends of Aprill* of this year, the eighth year of *Juſtinus*'s Reign was compleated, and that he had reigned over and above, nine months and three days; the Conſequence is, that on the *Calends of Auguſt* of the ſame year, nine years were paſſed together with one month and three days. Whence 'tis Collected, that *Juſtinus*'s Reign is to be begun from the twenty eighth day of *June*, according to *Evagrius*'s Sentiment. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

That Juſtinianus *favoured thoſe who embraced the* Chalcedon Synod. *But* [*his Wife*] Theodora *was a Lover of the Contrary party.*

JUſtinianus indeed couragiouſly defended the [Fathers] which had been convened at *Chalcedon*, and the Expoſitions they had made. But his Wife *Theodora* [favoured] them who aſſerted one Nature: [a] whether it were becauſe they themſelves really thought ſo:

[a] Εἴτε καὶ ἀληθῶς ὅπως ἐχόντων. I think it ſhould be worded thus; εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀληθῶς ὅπως ἐχόντων, *whether it were becauſe they themſelves really thought ſo.* For the ſenſe requires this reading. *Nicephorus* in no wiſe underſtood the meaning of this paſſage. But *Muſculus* has explained it excellently well in this manner: *Sive autem ſic verè ſentiebant, ſive ſic diſpenſatione quâdam inter ipſos convenerat; But whether they really thought ſo, or whether it had been ſo agreed amongſt themſelves by a certain diſpenſation. Chriſtophorſon* has followed *Muſculus*, and began a new period from theſe words, in this manner, *Sive igitur ita revera ſentiebant*, &c. *Whether therefore they really thought ſo*, &c. But we have joyned them with the foregoing words. *Valeſ.*

(For

(For when the Subject of the debate is concerning the Faith, Fathers differ from their Children, and Children from their Parents, the Wife [diſagrees] with her own Husband, and again the Husband with his own Wife:) or whether it had been ſo agreed upon between themſelves [b] out of a politick deſign, that the Emperour ſhould defend thoſe who aſſerted *two Natures* in *Chriſt* our God after the Union: but the Empreſs, them who maintained [there was but] *one Nature*. Nevertheleſs, neither of them yielded to the other. But *Juſtinian* pertinaciouſly adhered to what had been agreed on at *Chalcedon*: and *Theodora*, addicted to the Contrary party, made all imaginable proviſion for thoſe who aſſerted one Nature. And ſhe every way cheriſhed [c] our Country-men; but ſhe favoured Forreigners with vaſt preſents of money. [In fine,] ſhe perſwades *Juſtinian* to cauſe *Severus* to be ſent for [to *Conſtantinople*.]

[b] Κατ' εὐκονομίαν. *Muſculus* renders it, *diſpenſatione quâdam, by a certain diſpenſation.* Which Verſion I do not approve off. *Johannes Langus* tranſlates it, *ex compoſito, by agreement*, or, *appointment*. *Chriſtophorſon, deditâ operâ, on ſet purpoſe.* I would rather render it, *per ſimulationem, through pretence*, or, *out of a politick deſign*. For, 'tis oppoſed τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, *to truth*. Some therefore were of opinion, that by fraud and under a Colour it had been agreed on between *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, that the one ſhould adhere to *the Catholicks*, the other to the *Acephali*. In *French* we ſhould term it, *Par Politique*. Valeſ.

[c] Ἡμεδαπές. By this word *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood *The Acephali*. For he has explained this place thus: *Et ejus opinionis Homines, ſi Noſtrates eſſent, benevolè & amicè complexa eſt: Sin externi, præmiis benignè remunerata: And the men of that opinion, if they were our Country-men, ſhe entertained kindly and friendly: but if Forreigners, ſhe rewarded them liberally with gifts.* But *Niccephorus* renders ἡμεδαπὲς, *the Catholicks and the Orthodox*; which I can by no means approve of. For, by ἡμεδαπὲς our *Evagrius* means *The Orientalls*. But, by ἀλλοδαπὲς *Forreigners*, he means *The Weſterns*, Valeſ.

CHAP. XI.

How Severus *perverted* Anthimus [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople, *and* Theodoſius [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria: *which Prelates the Emperour ejected, and put others* [*into their Sees.*]

Severus's Letters, both to *Juſtinianus*, and alſo to *Theodora*, are ſtill extant: from which it may be Collected, that *Severus*, after his relinquiſhing the Chair of *Antioch*, at firſt deferred his journey to the Imperial City; but, that afterwards he went thither. He writes alſo [in the ſame Letters,] that when he was come to *Conſtantinople*, he diſcourſed with *Anthimus*, and finding that he embraced the ſame Sentiments with himſelf, and [maintained the ſame] opinion in relation to God; he perſwaded him to relinquiſh his [Epiſcopal Chair.] He wrote alſo concerning the ſame matters to *Theodoſius* who was Biſhop of the City *Alexandria*: in which [Letters] he boaſts, that he had perſwaded *Anthimus* himſelf, as hath been ſaid, to give ſuch Opinions as theſe the preference before earthly Glory, and his own [Epiſcopal] Chair. *Anthimus*'s Letters to *Theodoſius* concerning theſe matters are alſo extant, as likewiſe *Theodoſius*'s to *Severus* and *Anthimus*; which Letters I omit, (leaving them to thoſe who are deſirous of reading them,) leaſt I ſhould heap together an immenſe multitude [of tranſactions] [a] within this preſent book. But, both theſe [* Prelates,] in regard they proceeded contrary to the Emperour's Commands, and would not embrace what had been agreed on at *Chalcedon*, were expelled from their own Sees. And [b] *Zoilus* ſucceeds in the Chair of *Alexandria*: but in that of the Imperial City, [c] *Epiphanius*: [d] ſo that, in all the Churches from hence forward, the *Chalcedon Synod* was publickly [e] preacht up and aſſerted, and no body dared to *Anathematize* it: but thoſe perſons who would not embrace theſe Sentiments, ſubſtituted. Who being ſoon ejected, *Zoilus* was put into his See, as *Liberatus* informs us in *his Breviary*, chap. 23; and likewiſe *Victor Thunonenſis* in *his Chronicon*, and *Theophanes* pag. 188. *Liberatus* atteſts, that this *Paulus* was *Orthodox*. But *Victor Thunonenſis* and *Theophanes* affirm him to have been an Heretick, and to have celebrated *Dioſcorus*'s name in the *Sacred Diptycks*. For *Victor*'s words are theſe: *Baſilio V. C. Coſ. Alexandrinæ Eccleſiæ*, &c; *in the Conſulate of the moſt famous* Baſilius, Theodoſius *and* Gaianus *being baniſhed from the* Alexandrian *Church, inſtead of them* Paulus *the firſt of the Tabennefiotæ* [*is made Biſhop,*] *who celebrating the depoſition of his predeceſſour the Heretick* Dioſcorus, *is depoſed by the* Paleſtine *Councill, and* Zoilus *is ordained Biſhop in his room*. But *Theophanes* writes thus concerning *Paulus*: Ὅτῳ πλὴν μνήμην σεβόμενοι τὸν ἀνίερον ποιήσας, &c; *This perſon having celebrated the memory of the profane* Severus, *was ejected out of his Biſhoprick by the Emperours diſpleaſure*. He had better have ſaid, *of the profane* Dioſcorus; for *Severus*, if I miſtake not, was as yet living, at ſuch time as *Paulus* was ejected out of his Biſhoprick, that is, on the year of Chriſt 537. I have made theſe remarkes for this reaſon, becauſe *Baronius*, in *his Annalls*, ſays nothing elſe concerning this *Paulus*, ſave what had been related by *Liberatus*. Valeſ.

[a] Τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ. I agree with the Learned, who have already mended this place thus; τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ, *within this preſent book*. Valeſ.

* To wit, *Anthimus*, and *Theodoſius*.

[b] In the place of *Theodoſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *Paulus* was

[c] *Evagrius* miſtakes, and puts *Epiphanius* inſtead of *Menas*. For *Anthimus* had ſucceeded *Epiphanius*. After *Anthimus* was ejected, in his place *Menas* was ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* by Pope *Agapetus*; after *Beliſarius*'s Conſulate, on the year of Chriſt 536; as *Marcellinus* relates in *his Chronicon*. Valeſ.

[d] Concerning this Peace and Union of the Churches which hapned after the Ordination of *Paulus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *Liberatus* (in *his Breviarie*, chap. 23.) ſpeakes theſe words: *Hoc ergo modo unitas facta eſt Eccleſiarum anno decimo imperii Glorioſi Juſtiniani* Auguſti, *On this manner therefore an Union was made of the Churches in the tenth year of the Empire of the Glorious* Juſtinianus Auguſtus. For all the Patriarchs at that time embraced and admitted of the *Chalcedon Synod*; that is, in the year of Chriſt 537. To wit, the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe *Apocriſiarius* [or, *Legate*,] *Pelagius* was at *Conſtantinople*: *Paulus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*: *Ephræmius* of *Antioch*, and *Petrus* of *Jeruſalem*. Of which Prelates, *Paulus*, when at the beginning he had pretended to aſſert the true Faith, afterwards revolted to the *Eutychian Hereſie*, as I have remarked at note *(b,)* from *Victor* and *Theophanes their Chronicles*. Valeſ.

[e] Some perſon ſtudious of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity, will perhaps make enquiry here, in what manner or order this Preaching [Publiſhing, or Aſſerting,] of the *Chalcedon Synod* was wont to be performed. I anſwer, that this preaching was uſually made in the *Ambo*, or *Pulpit* of the Church, by the Biſhop, or another perſon deputed by him, whilſt the Solemn [or, Publick] Prayers were performed. We have this information from *the Letter*, or *Libell of the Orthodox Biſhops* preſented at *Conſtantinople* to *Pope Agapetus*, *which Libell* is recorded in the *Firſt Action of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod under* Menas, where they ſpeak thus concerning the Emperour *Juſtinian*: Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κεκελεύσθαι τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ ἁγίας πανταχοῦ συνόδους ἐν ταῖς ὁπουδήποτε γινομέναις θείαις μυσταγωγίαις μεγαλοφώνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν κηρύκων κηρύττεσθαι, *And on this account he made a Conſtitution that the four Sacred and Holy Synods ſhould be Preached by the divine Preachers in the divine Prayers whereſoever performed. The Old Tranſlatour* renders theſe words thus: *& propter hoc Statuit quatuor Sanctas Synodos in divinis & ſacris initiationibus, a ſacris prædicatoribus prædicari, And on this account he ordered, that the four Holy Synods ſhould be Preach't by the Sacred Preachers, in the divine and Sacred Initiations. This Tranſlatour* thought, that μυσταγωγία was taken in this place for *Initiation*, or *Baptiſm*, as it is wont uſually to be taken. But at this place, θεία μυσταγωγία is taken for *The Publick Prayers*, and has the ſame import with θεία λειτουργία, *The Divine Liturgie*. Indeed, the *Chalcedon-Synod* was firſt Preach't [or, Aſſerted] in the *Publick Prayers* at *Conſtantinople*, in the Reign of *Juſtinus Senior*, as may be ſeen in the *Fifth Action of the Conſtantinopolitane Synod under* Menas, *pag.* 725, &c. *Edit. Colon.* But the Studious of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity muſt be cautioned, that they ſuffer not themſelves to be led into an errour by the *Latine Tranſlatour*, who writes that *this publication* was made after the prayers were ended. When as nevertheleſs, the Greek Text there has a far different import; the words whereof are theſe: ΧΤ πλὴν παρελθοῦσιν κυριακὴν τε καὶ δευτέραν, λειτουργίας ὁπωσοῦν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c: *when Sunday and Munday come, the Liturgie being to be performed* [or, *celebrated*,] *in the Holy Church of God*. The ſame errour is committed by the Tranſlatour, at pag. 733; where the *Greek* runs thus: καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, ὡς ἔθος τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ὁπωσοῦν καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κλεισθεισῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μακαρισμοῦ ΧΤ τὸ σύμβολον λεχθέντος, &c. which words are to be rendred thus: *And after the reading of the Holy Goſpell, when the Divine Liturgie, as uſually, is to be celebrated, and the doors are ſhut, and the Holy Creed, according to Cuſtome, read*, &c. Which paſſages the ſtudious Reader may peruſe there, if he has a mind to underſtand the whole order [or faſhion,] wherein

whereIn the Four *Oecumenicall Synods* were Preach't [or proclaimed,] and read in the *Sacred Diptycks*. Valef.

[f] He means *Juſtinian's fourty ſecond Novell*, which is alſo recorded in the *Fifth Action of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod under* Menas. In the *Edition of Henry Stephens*, who publiſht *Juſtinian's Novells in Greek*, this *Conſtitution* is indeed ſaid to have been dated on the *ſeventeenth of the Calends of Auguſt*, in the *Conſulate of the moſt famous* Beliſarius. But, in the *Edition of the Conſtantinopolitane Councill under* Menas, 'tis ſaid to be dated on the *eighth of the Ides of Auguſt*, after the *Conſulate of the moſt famous* Beliſarius; which is doubtleſs truer. For, in regard *Juſtinian* promulged *that Conſtitution* againſt *Anthimus* and *Severus*, after the ſentence of the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod* pronounc't againſt thoſe Prelates, (as the Emperour himſelf atteſts in the *Preface* of *that Conſtitution*:) and whereas the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod* pronounced a Sentence of Condemnation againſt the foreſaid *Anthimus* and *Severus* on the *twelfth of the Calends of June*, after *Beliſarius's Conſulate*: it is altogether neceſſary, that *that Conſtitution* of *Juſtinian's* ſhould have been promulged on the year after *Beliſarius's Conſulate*. Valeſ.

were by innumerable ways compelled to give their conſent thereto. A [f] Conſtitution therefore was written by *Juſtinianus*, wherein he hath *Anathematized Severus* and *Anthimus* with others, and has made obnoxious to moſt ſore puniſhments thoſe who aſſert their Opinions. From that time therefore, nothing of diſſention remained in the Churches over the whole world: but the *Patriarchs* of each *Diœceſis* agreed one with another, and the Biſhops of the Cities followed their own [g] *Exarchs*: and the *Four Synods* were Preach't up in the Churches; the *Firſt* whereof was *that at Nicæa*, then, *that at Conſtantinople*, *the Third* [was] the *Former Synod at Epheſus*, and the *Fourth that at Chalcedon*. Moreover, there was a *Fifth Synod* convened by the Order of *Juſtinianus*: concerning which I ſhall ſpeak what is fit and accommodate in its due place. In the interim, I will interweave into this preſent Hiſtory thoſe affairs which were tranſacted one after the other in theſe very times, and which deſerved to be recorded.

[g] *Exarchs* at this place are the *Primates*, or *Patriarchs* of each *Diœceſis*, as *Evagrius* has ſaid a little before: in the ſame manner as *Jacobus Syrmondus* has explained it in the *Second Book of his Propempticon*, Chap. 5, where he diſcourſes excellently and moſt Learnedly *concerning Exarchs*. To whoſe exact diligence there remains nothing to be added by us. Nor has *Chriſtophorſon* done ill in rendring Ἐξάρχους here, *Arch-Biſhops*. For *Primates* were heretofore termed *Arch-Biſhops*, as *Iſidorus* informs us in the *Seventh Book of his Origines*, in theſe words: *Ordo Epiſcoporum quadripartitus eſt*, &c; *The order of Biſhops is divided into four parts, into Patriarchs, Arch-Biſhops, Metropolitanes, and Biſhops. A Patriarch in the Greek tongue imports the higheſt Father, becauſe he holds the firſt, that is, the Apoſtolick place: As the* Roman, *the* Antiochian, *the* Alexandrian. *Arch-Biſhop in Greek is termed the higheſt of Biſhops. For he holds the Apoſtolick place, and preſides as well over Metropolitanes, as Biſhops.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XII.

Out of the Hiſtory *of* Procopius Cæſarienſis, *concerning* Cavades *King of the* Perſians, *and his Son* Choſröes.

PRocopius the *Rhetorician* has written the affairs tranſacted by *Beliſarius*: [and he declares,] that *Cavades* King of the *Perſians*, deſirous to inveſt *Choſröes* being the younger of his other Sons, with the Kingdom, [a] conſidered how he might procure his Son *Choſröes* to be adopted by the Emperour of the *Romans*; to the end that by this means the Kingdom might be moſt firmly ſecured to him. In regard therefore * he miſt of this his deſign; by the inducement of *Proclus* who ſate *Quæſtor* to [the Emperour] *Juſtinian*, the Feud againſt the *Romans* was increaſed. Further, the ſame *Procopius* with much exquiſiteneſs and great elegance hath ſet forth the Actions of *Beliſarius Maſter of the Eaſtern Milice*, at ſuch time as the *Romans* and *Perſians* were at War one with another. He relates the firſt Victory therefore of the *Romans* about the places *Daras* and *Niſibis*, when *Beliſarius* and *Hermogenes* commanded the *Roman* Army. To which he ſubjoyns alſo what hapned in the Country of the *Armenians*, and with how great [miſchiefs] *Alamundarus* Commander of thoſe *Barbarians* [termed] * *Scenitæ*, infeſted the *Roman* Provinces. Which *Alamundarus* took *Timoſtratus*, Brother to *Ruſinus*, alive, together with the Souldiers † under his Command; and afterwards delivered him up [when Ranſomed] with a vaſt ſum of money.

[a] Βέλεται ὥστε. The conjecture of Learned men diſpleaſes me; who (inſtead of βέλεται, *deſires*,) have mended it thus, Βεβούλευται ὥστε, *conſulted how* &c. *Nicephorus* (book 17. chap. 10,) inſtead of theſe two words uſes this, διενοεῖτο, *thought*, or, *caſt in his mind*: which pleaſes me beſt. Valeſ.

* *Cavades.*

* Or, *Who dwelt in Tents*: He means the *Saracens*.

† Or, *About him.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Alamundarus *and* Azarethus; *and concerning that Sedition at* Conſtantinople, *which had the name* Nica *given it.*

[THe ſame Authour] * moſt paſſionately deſcribes the Incurſion of the fore mentioned *Alamundarus* and *Azarethus* into the † *Roman* Pale; and how *Beliſarius*, forced thereto by his own Army, made an attaque upon thoſe *Barbarians* in their return to their own Country, near the Banks of *The Euphrates*, the Feſtivall of *Eaſter* then approaching; and how the *Roman* Army was ruined, by their refuſing to obey the advices of *Beliſarius*: and laſtly, how *Ruſinus* and *Hermogenes* made that Peace with the *Perſians* called * *The Interminate Peace*. To which † he ſubjoyns the popular Sedition that hapned at *Byzantium*, whereto *The* || *Word* of the people gave a name. For they gave it the Appellation of *Nica*, [becauſe] the populacy being aſſembled together had given one another *this* † *Word*, in order to their diſtinguiſhing one another. In that [Sedition,] *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* were by the populacy forced to ſet up for Tyrants. But the Heads of them both by *Juſtinian's* Command were cut off by the Souldiers, and drowned in the Sea; the people having been ſoon quelled. Moreover, *Procopius* affirms, that Thirty thouſand men periſhed * in this Tumult.

* Or, *With a Vehemency of affection.*

† Or, *Land of the Romans.*

* Or, *Endleſs*, or, *boundleſs.*

† *Procopius.*

|| Or, *Watch-word.*

† Or, *Watch-word.*

* Ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ, *in this miſchief*, or, *harm.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning * Hunericus *King of the* Vandalls, *and concerning thoſe* Chriſtians *whoſe tongues were cut out by him.*

* Or, *Onerichus.*

THe ſame *Procopius*, in *his Book* wherein he has related the Affairs of the *Vandalls*, gives a Narrative of † ſtrange things, and which deſerve for ever to be kept in memory by men; which matters I come now to relate. *Hunericus* who ſucceded *Giſericus* in the Kingdom, in regard he embraced [the Tenets] of *Arius*, behaved himſelf moſt barbarouſly towards thoſe *Chriſtians* in *Africa*; forcing them who aſſerted the Orthodox Opinions to [retract and] turn to the Opinion of the *Arians*. And if any refuſed to obey his Commands, he deſtroyed them by fire, and infinite other ſorts of death. But he ordered the tongues of ſome of them to be cut out. *Procopius* affirms, that he himſelf

† Or, *The Greateſt.*

[a] Τῇ Θείᾳ ἀγχιβαλεῖν. It muſt be μεγαλαβεῖν, as others before us have already obſerved. Further, concerning theſe *African* Confeſſours (whoſe tongues *Hunericus* King of the *Vandalls* had

ſelf [a] ſaw theſe perſons when they were at *Conſtantinople*, to which City they had fled; and that he conferred with them [and heard them] ſpeak in ſuch a manner as if they had ſuffered no ſuch thing: and [he ſays,] that their tongues indeed were cut out from the very root: but, that they had an articulate voice, and ſpake diſtinctly: [which thing was] a wonder new and unuſuall. *The Conſtitution* of * *Juſtinian* mentions theſe perſons alſo. Two of whom Lapſed, as the ſame *Procopius* relates. For in regard they would † converſe with women, they were deprived of their voice, and the grace of Martyrdom continued not any longer with them.

* In the *Greek Text* here, and in *Robert Stephens's Edit.* 'tis *Juſtinus*: See note *(a)* in this chapter.

† Or, *Have to do with.*

commanded to be cut out, and who afterwards deſiſted not from ſpeaking though their tongues were cut out,) *Marcellinus Comes* ſpeaks in his *Chronicon*, at the *Conſulate of Theodoricus and Venantius*; where he alſo atteſts that ſome of them were ſeen by him. *Victor Thunonenſis* records the ſame in *his Chronicon*, at *Zeno Auguſtus's third Conſulate*. And *Victor Vitenſis* in *his book De Perſecutione Vandalorum*; and laſtly the Emperour *Juſtinian* in his *Firſt Law de Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africæ*. *Which Conſtitution of Juſtinian's* our *Evagrius* quotes a little lower in this chapter; although in the Greek Text the name of *Juſtinus* is erroneouſly written inſtead of *Juſtinianus*. See more in *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 484. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Cabaones *the* Moor.

[a] Ἀναδέδει, *produces*. I had rather make it, ἀναδέδωκε, *relates*: as *Evagrius* expreſſes himſelf at the beginning of the *next chapter*. Valeſ.

MOreover, [*Procopius*] [a] relates another admirable paſſage, which was wonderfully effected by God [our] Saviour, amongſt men who were ſtrangers indeed to our Religion, but who behaved themſelves piouſly and holily at that time. He ſays, that *Cabaones* was King of thoſe *Moors* about *Tripoly*. *This Cabaones*, ſays he, (for I think fit to make uſe of *Procopius*'s own words, who has elegantly related theſe matters, as well as others;) *Having received information, that the* Vandalls *would undertake an Expedition againſt him, behaved himſelf in this manner. In the firſt place he ordered his Subjects, to abſtain from all manner of injuſtice, and* * *from dainty and delicious diſhes, but moſt eſpecially from the* † *company of women. Then, he pitcht two Camps, in the one he himſelf Encamped, together with all the men: but within the other he ſhut up the women; and threatned he would inflict a puniſhment of death upon any one that ſhould go into the womens Entrenchment. After this, he ſent* || *Spies to* Carthage, *to whom he gave theſe Orders: that if the* Vandalls, *when on their expedition, ſhould* * *defile any Oratory* † *wherein the* Chriſtians *worſhipped, they ſhould make an Inſpection into what was done. But, when the* Vandalls *were removed from that place,* [*he enjoyned them*] *to do all things that were the quite contrary, to that Church out of* † *which the* Vandalls *had made their Removall, and were gone. 'Tis reported that* || *he ſaid this alſo, that he was indeed ignorant of that God whom the* Chriſtians *worſhipped: but 'tis probable, ſays he, if he be a ſtrong and powerfull* [*God,*] *as he is ſaid to be, that he will be revenged on thoſe who injure* [*his Deity,*] *and will defend his worſhippers. The Spies therefore, when they were arrived at* Carthage, *continued there, and* * *veiwed the preparation of the* Vandalls. *But when their Army had begun their Expedition towards* Tripoly, † *they put themſelves into a mean garb, and followed them. The* Vandalls *on the very firſt day* [*of their march*] *made Stables of the* Chriſtians *Oratories, into which they brought their Horſes, and their other Beaſts; omitting the performing no ſort of Contumely whatever: alſo they themſelves practiſed* * *their uſuall unrulineſs, cuff't thoſe* Chriſtian || *Miniſters whom they could take, tore their backs with many ſtripes, and commanded them to wait on them. But,* Cabaones's *Spies, as ſoon as ever the* Vandalls *had removed from thoſe places, performed what they had been ordered to do. For they cleanſed the Churches immediately, with great care carried away the dung and whatever elſe had been irreligiouſly put therein, lighted all the Candles, paid the higheſt Reverence imaginable to the* * *Miniſters, and were indulgent to them in all other inſtances of kindneſs and beneficence. Then, they diſtributed money amongſt the indigent, who ſate about thoſe ſacred Houſes; in this manner they followed the Army of the* Vandalls. *And the* Vandalls *from this very time throughout their whole Expedition committed ſuch impious facts as theſe: but the Spies made it their buſineſs to apply remedies thereto. But when the* Vandalls *drew near* [*towards the* Moors] *the Spies haſtned and told* Cabaones, *as well what the* Vandalls, *as what they themſelves had done to the Churches of the* Chriſtians, *and* [*informed him*] *that the Enemy approacht.* Cabaones *hearing this, put his Army into a poſture fit to ingage. Moſt of the* Vandalls, *as 'tis ſaid, were deſtroyed: many of them were taken by the* Moors, *and very few of that Army returned to their own homes. This overthrow* Thraſamundus *ſuffered from the* Moors: *and not long after this he ended his life, when he had Reigned ſeven and twenty years over the* Vandalls.

* Or, *From food which brought nouriſhment.*

† Or, *Copulation with.*

|| Or, *Scouts.*

* Or, *Be injurious to.*

† Or, *Which.*

|| *Cabaones.*

* Or, *Beheld.*

† *The Scouts*, or, *Spies.*

* Or, *Their own Intemperance.*

|| Or, *Prieſts.*

* Or, *Prieſts.*

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Beliſarius's *Expedition againſt the* Vandalls, *and their totall overthrow.*

THe ſame *Procopius* relates, that *Juſtinian* (in compaſſion to thoſe *Chriſtians* who ſuffered grievouſly there,) declared [he would undertake] an Expedition [into *Africa*;] but by the ſuggeſtions of *Johannes* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he was diverted from that deſign. Yet, he was afterwards admoniſhed in a [a] Dream, not to deſiſt from that Invaſion.

[a] Concerning this Viſion which appeared to *Juſtinian* in his ſleep, *Victor Thunonenſis* writes thus: *Juſtiniano Aug. IV. Coſ. Juſtinianus Imp. Viſitatione Lætj*; &c; *Juſtinianus Auguſtus being the fourth time Conſul. The Emperour* Juſtinianus, *by a Viſitation of* Lætus *the Biſhop who was made a Martyr by* Hunericus *King of the* Vandalls, *ſends an Army into* Africk *againſt the* Vandalls, *under the Command of* Beliſarius *Maſter of the Militia. Victor Vitenſis* has made mention of this *Lætus* the Biſhop, in *his firſt book De Perſecutione Vandalorum*. Further, concerning this Expedition of *Juſtinian* into *Africk* againſt the *Vandalls*, *Marcellinus Comes* ſpeaks alſo in *his Chronicon*, and places it on the *Fourth Conſulate* of the ſame *Juſtinianus*, that is on the year of *Chriſt* 534. *Marius Aventicenſis* relates the ſame in *his Chronicon*. But *Baronius* in *his Annalls* reproves *Marcellinus*, and maintains that that Expedition was undertaken by *Juſtinianus* in *his Third Conſulate*, on the year of Chriſt 533. *Juſtinian's Conſtitution de Confirmatione Digeſtorum* (which is prefixt before the work of the *Pandects*,) confirms *Baronius*'s opinion. But, by *Baronius*'s favour, I think the opinion of *Marcellinus* and *Victor* to be truer. Nor do I doubt, but a fault has crept into *Juſtinian's Conſtitution*, (on the authority whereof *Baronius* relies,) and that *the Third Conſulate* of the Emperour *Juſtinian* has been written by Tranſcribers of Books inſtead of *The Fourth*. And this *Juſtinian* himſelf does ſo manifeſtly ſhew in the *foreſaid Conſtitution*, that I admire it was not perceived by *Baronius*. For thus *Juſtinian* ſpeaks: *Leges autem noſtras, quas in his Codicibus, id eſt, Inſtitutionum & Digeſtorum poſuimus,*

posuimus, &c; But our Laws which we have put in these Codes, that is, of the Institutions and Digests, [shall] obtain their strength from [our] third most happy Consulate of the present twelfth Indiction, on the third of the Calends of January, and *shall be of force for ever. For on the twelfth Indiction Justinian bore his Fourth Consulate, as Marcellinus Comes attests. But, some one will object, that the twelfth Indiction was begun from the Calends of September, in Justinians Third Consulate. Therefore, we must have recourse to another Argument, to prove what I have said above; viz. that the Vandalick Expedition was begun on Justinians Fourth Consulate, and that that Constitution whereon Baronius's opinion is founded, was written in Justinians Fourth Consulate. Now, this may be proved thus. In the end of the foresaid Constitution, as well in the Greek as Latine, Justinian makes mention of a Præfectus Prætorio of Africa. But, a Præfectus Prætorio of Africa was first created by Justinian in his Fourth Consulate, a little before the Calends of the September of the thirteenth Indiction, as the First Law of the Code de Præfecto Prætorio Africæ informs us. For Justinian speaks in this manner: Hæc igitur Magnitudo tua cognoscens, ex Calendis Septembribus futuræ decimæ tertiæ Indictionis effectui mancipari procuret. Vales.

For [he was told,] that in case he would give the Christians assistance, he should ruine * the Kingdom of the Vandalls. Incouraged by this Dream, [b] having passed the seventh year of his Reign, he sends Belisarius to the Carthaginian War, about the Summer Solstice: after the * Prætorian Ship had been brought to that Shore which is before the Pallace, and Epiphanius Bishop of the [Imperial] City had made such Prayers as were fit and agreeable, and had put aboard the Prætorian Ship some of those Souldiers, whom he had baptized a little before. The same Authour likewise has given a Narrative of some passages concerning The Martyr Cyprianus, which deserve [to be inserted into this] History: his expres words are these. All the Carthaginians have an high veneration for that holy person Cyprianus, and [in honour] of him have erected a most magnificent Church * without that City, near the Sea-Shore, and besides other Religious respects [by them paid to him,] they also celebrate an Anniversary Festivall, which they term Cypriana; and hence the Mariners are wont to call that Storm (which I have even now mentioned,) by the same name with this Festivall, because it usually rages at that very time, whereon the Africans are accustomed perpetually to celebrate that Festivall. In the Reign of Hunericus, the Vandalls took this Church from the Christians by force, drove the Priests out thence with great Ignominy, and afterwards * altered it, in regard it was come into the possession of the Arians. The Africans being vexed and highly displeased on account hereof, they say that Cyprianus appeared and visited [them] frequently in [their] sleep, [and said to some of them,] that the Christians ought in no wise to be sollicitous about him: for, that he himself in process of time would be his own Revenger. Which prediction was compleated in the Times of Belisarius; when Carthage by the Commander Belisarius was reduced to a Subjection to the Romans, [c] after the Ninty fifth year of its being lost: when also the Vandalls were totally vanquished, the Heresie of the Arians was presently driven out of Africk, and the Christians recovered their own Churches, according to the Martyr Cyprianus's prediction.

* Or, Affairs.

[b] Ἕβδομον τῆς βασιλείας ἐνιαυτὸν ἔτρεφε. Procopius's words out of the First Book of his Vandalicks pag. 107, are these: ἕβδομον ἤδη ἔτος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἄρχειν ἔχων Ἰουστινιανός, &c. Which words import, that his seventh year was already past. Now, if we should say that the Vandalick Expedition was undertaken in Justinians third Consulate, as Justinians words do wholly seem to perswade; (when, about the Summer Solstice, the Roman Navy came up to the Byzantine Port, and soon after set Sail from thence (as Procopius relates,) that is about the end of the month June:) Justinian was then in the seventh year and third month of his Empire. For the first day of Justinians Reign is brought from the Calends of April. But, if we should place the Vandalick Expedition on Justinians Fourth Consulate, it will be the eighth year of his Empire; and not the seventh, as Procopius writes: wherefore Baronius's opinion is truer; which is confirmed both by the Emperour Justinians authority, and also by the testimony of Procopius. Vales.

* Or, Admirall Ship.

* Or, Before.

* Reformed, or, repaired.

[c] The Emperour Justinian agrees; whose words in the First Law of the Code De Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africæ, are these: Ut Africa per nos tam brevi tempore reciperet Libertatem, ante nonaginta quinque annos a Vandalis captivata; that Africk should by Us receive its Liberty in so short a time, having been captivated by the Vandalls ninty five years before. Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicon relates, that Carthage was taken by the Romans on the ninty sixth year of its being lost. But Victor Thunonensis affirms that Africk was recovered by the Romans under the Command of Belisarius, on the ninty seventh year of the Vandalls entrance into it. Vales.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Spoyls which were brought out of Africa.

THe same *Procopius* hath recorded this passage. *When* Belisarius *(says he) having vanquished the* Vandalls, *was returned to* Constantinople, *bringing along with him the Spoyls, the Prisoners of War, and* Gelimeres *himself King of the* Vandalls; *a Triumph was granted him, [at which time] he lead through the* Cirque *all things that were worthy of admiration. Amongst which there was a vast Treasure; for* Gizerichus *had heretofore plundered the Pallace at* Rome, *(as has before been related by me;) at such time as* Eudoxia *Wife to* Valentinian *Emperour of the* Western Romans, *(having both lost her Husband by* Maximus's *means, and also been injured as to her Chastity,) had sent for* Gizerichus, *promising she would betray the City to him. At which time* [Gizerichus] *burnt* Rome, *and carried away* Eudoxia *with her two Daughters into the Country of the* Vandalls. *When also, together with other Treasures, he made plunder of what ever* Titus *Son to* Vespasian *had brought to* Rome, *after his Conquest of* Jerusalem; *to wit,* Solomon's *Gifts, which he had dedicated to God. Which Gifts* Justinian *sent to* Jerusalem *again, in honour to Christ our God; whereby he exhibited a due honour to God, to whom they had been before dedicated. Procopius* says also, that *Gelimeres*, lying then prostrate on the ground in the *Cirque*, over against the Emperours Throne whereon *Justinian* sate and beheld what was done, uttered this divine Oracle in his own Country Language, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning those Phœnicians *who fled from the face of* Jesus *the Son of* Nave.

MOreover, [the same *Procopius*] relates another thing, never mentioned by any Authour before him, which is most admirable, * and transcends almost all belief. He relates therefore, that *The Moors*, a Nation of the *Africans*, removed out of *Palestine*, and took up their habitation in *Africa*: and, that they are those [people] whom the sacred Scriptures do mention [by the names of] *Gergeshites* and *Jebusites*, and those other Nations who were vanquished by *Jesus* the Son of *Nave*. And he supposes this thing to be || unquestionably true, from a certain Inscription cut in *Phœnician Letters*, which he affirms that he himself read. This [Inscription he says,] is to be seen near a Foun-

* Or, And transcends the Hyperbole [excess, or, superlativeness.] of every wonder.

|| Or, Every way.

tain, where two Columns of white Marble are erected, on which theſe words are cut: WE ARE THEY WHO FLIE FROM THE FACE OF THAT THIEF JESUS THE SON OF NAVE. And this was the concluſion of theſe tranſactions; *Africa* was again reduced to a ſubjection to the *Romans*, and paid in the Annuall Tributes, as it had uſually done before. 'Tis moreover reported, that *Juſtinian* repaired an Hundred and fifty Cities in *Africa*, (ſome whereof were wholly ruined, and others, as to their greateſt part) and, that he made them moſt tranſcendently more magnificent than they had been before, [beautifying them] with an eximious ſplendidneſs, with Ornaments, and with Structures as well private as publick; with the Incloſures of walls alſo, and with other vaſt Edifices, wherewith Cities are both uſually adorned, and alſo [wherein] the Deity is appeaſed; with plenty of waters likewiſe, as well for uſe, as ornament; ſome of which waters were firſt brought into them by him, the Cities having not had them before; and others he reduced to their ancient courſe and order.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning * Theodoricus *the* Goth *and what hapned at* Rome *under him till the times of* Juſtinian, *and, that* Rome *was again reduced to a Subjection to the* Romans, *after* Vitiges *had fled out of that City.*

* Or, *Theuderichus.*

I come now to declare the affairs which were tranſacted in *Italy*, and theſe *Procopius* the *Rhetorician* has with great accuracy ralated till his own times. After *Theodoricus*, as it has * already been declared by me, had taken *Rome*, (having wholly vanquiſhed *Odoacer* who tyrannized therein;) and had Governed the *Roman* Empire as long as he lived; *Amalaſuntha*, who had been his Wife, undertook the † *Tutelage* of || *Atalarichus* Son to them both, and Governed the Empire; ſhe * was a woman of a Maſculine Spirit, and in this manner ſhe managed affairs. This woman firſt incited *Juſtinian* to a deſire of a *Gothick* War, having ſent Embaſſadours to him, in regard a Plot was framed againſt her. Further, when *Atalarichus* had ended his life, which he did whilſt very young, * *Theodatus* kinſman to *Theodoricus* takes upon himſelf the adminiſtration of the Weſtern Empire. Who, when *Juſtinian* had ſent *Beliſarius* into the Weſtern parts, relinquiſhed his Government; (for being a perſon addicted rather to Books and Study, he was wholly unexperienced in Military affairs;) *Vitiges* a moſt warlike perſon being in the interim Commander in chief of the Weſtern Forces. From the Hiſtory of the ſame *Procopius* we may extract this alſo, that when *Beliſarius* arrived in *Italy*, *Vitiges* left *Rome*; and, that *Beliſarius* with his Army about him made his approach to *Rome*. Whom the *Romans* received moſt willingly, and opened their Gates to him; that having been chiefly effected by *Silverius* then Pontif of that City; who on this account had ſent *Fidelis* a perſon that had been Aſſeſſour to *Atalarichus*. Thus the City was delivered up to *Beliſarius* without an Engagement: and *Rome* was again brought to a ſubjection to the *Romans*, after [the ſpace of] Sixty years, on the ninth of the month *Apellæus* which the *Latines* term *December*, when *Juſtinian* was in the eleventh year of his Empire. The ſame *Procopius* relates alſo, that when the *Goths* beſieged *Rome*, *Beliſarius* having a ſuſpicion that *Silverius* Pontif of that City would betray it, † condemned him to a *Deportation* into *Achaia*; and made *Vigilius* Pontif in his ſtead.

* Book 3. Chap. 27.

† *Gardianſhip.*

|| *Athalaricus.*

* Or, *She inclined rather to a maſculine gravity.*

* Or, *Theudatus.*

† Or, *Carried him away into Greece.*

CHAP. XX.

How thoſe [*people*] *termed* The Eruli *turned* Chriſtians *in the times of* Juſtinian.

ABout theſe very times, as the ſame *Procopius* relates, *The* [a] *Eruli* (who long before had paſſed the River *Danube*, at ſuch time as *Anaſtaſius* Governed the *Roman* Empire;) having been kindly received by *Juſtinian* who enriched them with great wealth, by a generall conſent turned all *Chriſtians*, and changed their Priſtine way of living for a more civilized and quieter courſe of life.

[a] Concerning the converſion of theſe people to the Faith of *Chriſt*, *Procopius* ſpeaks in book 1. of *his Gothicks*, and *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 149. Theſe people, in regard they lived near the Lake *Mæotis*, in Fenny places, were from thence firſt termed *Eluri*. For ἕλη in *Greek* ſignifies *Fens*, or *Fenniſh places*. *Jordanes* in *his book de Rebus Geticis*, writes thus concerning *The Heruli*: *Nam prædicta Gens, Ablabio Hiſtorico referente*, &c; *For the foreſaid Nation, as* Ablabius *the Hiſtorian relates, dwelling near the Lakes of* Mæotis, *in Fenniſh places, which the Greeks term Ele, were named* Eluri. *The Author of the Etymologicon* ſays the ſame in the word ἕλος. *Helmoldus* in *his Chronicon of the Slavi*, chap. 2, affirms that theſe *Heruli* were a *Slavick Nation*, who dwelt between *Albia* and *Odora*, and reach't a great way out to the South in a long Bay; who alſo, as he writes, were by another name termed *Heveldi*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXI.

That Beliſarius *recovered* [*the City*] Rome, *which had been again taken by the* Goths.

AFter this, *Procopius* ſets forth *Beliſarius's* Return to *Conſtantinople*, and how he carried *Vitiges* along with him, together with the Spoyls taken out of *Rome*; alſo, *Totila's* ſeizure of the *Roman* Empire, and how *Rome* was again reduced under the *Goths* Dominion; and, that *Beliſarius* arriving the ſecond time in *Italy*, recovered *Rome* again. And how, when the *Perſian* War broke out, *Beliſarius* was again ſent for to *Conſtantinople* by the Emperour.

CHAP. XXII.

That the Abaſgi *turned* Chriſtians *alſo in thoſe times.*

THe ſame [Writer] Relates, that about theſe very times the *Abaſgi* became more civilized, and embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion; and, that the Emperour *Juſtinian* ſent one of the Eunuchs belonging to his Court, by deſcent an *Abaſgian*, his name *Euphrata*, amongſt the *Abaſgians*, to declare to them, that no one in that Nation ſhould in future have his Genitalls cut off with an Iron, nor, that a force ſhould be put upon Nature. For, out of theſe the Servants of the Imperial Bed-Chamber were for the moſt part choſen, whom they uſually term Eunuchs. Then alſo *Juſtinian* built a Church [in honour] of *The Theotocos* amongſt the *Abaſgi*, and conſtituted Prieſts amongſt them. And from thence forward [*The Abaſgi*] learned

* Or, *The Opinions.* ned * *The Dogmata* of the *Christians* with the greateſt accuracy imaginable.

CHAP. XXIII.

That the Inhabitants of Tanais *alſo at that time embraced the* Chriſtian Religion; *and concerning the Earthquakes which hapned in* Greece *and* Achaia.

IT is related by the ſame Writer, that the Inhabitants of *Tanais* (thoſe who dwell in this Region, term that Stream [which runs] out of the *Lake Mæotis*, untill [it falls] into the *Euxine Sea*, *Tanais*;) earneſtly entreated *Juſtinian* to ſend a Biſhop to them; and, that *Juſtinian* [a] brought their Petition to effect, and moſt willingly ſent a Prelate amongſt them. The ſame Authour with much elegancy records, that in the times of *Juſtinian*, the *Goths* made an irruption out of *Mæotis* into the * *Roman Pale*; [he declares] alſo, that there hapned dreadfull Earthquakes in *Greece*, *Bœotia*, and *Achaia*, and, that the places about *The Criſæan Bay* were ſhaken, and, that innumerable other Towns and Cities were totally ruined. That there hapned likewiſe *Chaſms* of the Earth in many places: and, that in ſome places the Ground cloſed and came together again: but, that in others, [thoſe *Chaſms*] continued.

[a] Ἐπιμελῶς τε τῶν δήπουθεν. I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote ὁπτελῶς τε τῶν δήπουθεν ἐυστοχῶν ἀπερξάσθαι, *and that Juſtinian brought their petition to effect.* For thus *Nicephorus* words it, book 17, chap. 13. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Land of the Romans.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Narſes *a* Maſter of the Milice, *and his Piety.*

* *Procopius.* † Or, *Command of the Army.*

HE relates likewiſe *Narſes*'s † Expedition, who was ſent into *Italy* by *Juſtinian*; and in what manner he Conquered *Totila*, and after him *Teia*; and how *Rome* was taken the Fifth time. Further, thoſe perſons who had an intimacy with *Narſes* do report, || that he appeaſed the Deity with ſupplications and other [offices of] Piety [in ſuch a manner,] paying ſo due a veneration thereto, that even *The Virgin* and *Theotocos* her ſelf manifeſtly declared to him the time when he ought to Engage: and that he ſhould not give the *Onſet*, before he had received the *Signall* from † thence. Many other actions, which deſerve great commendation, were performed by *Narſes*; for he vanquiſhed *Buſelinus* and *Sindvaldus*, and reduced many [Regions,] as far as the Ocean, [to the *Roman* Empire.] Which [Actions] *Agathias* the *Rhetorician* has recorded, but as yet they are not come to our hands.

|| We have rendred this Clauſe, as far as the next full point, according as we found it pointed in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; the punctation in *Valeſius's Edition* (as the *Learned Reader* will eaſily obſerve,) puts a ſenſe upon theſe words far different from that we have expreſſed in our Verſion.

† Ἐκεῖθεν; that is, *Cœlitus, from Heaven*, as *Grynæus* and *Curterius* have rendred it. *Valeſius* tranſlates it, *ab illâ, from her*, to wit, *The Virgin Mary.*

CHAP. XXV.

That Choſroes, *Stimulated with Envy at the proſperous ſucceſſes of* Juſtinian, *broke out into a War againſt the* Romans, *and ruined many* Roman *Cities, amongſt which* [*he deſtroyed*] Antioch The Great *alſo.*

THe ſame *Procopius* has related theſe matters alſo, how *Choſroes*, after he had received information that affairs both in *Africa* and *Italy* had ſucceeded ſo fortunately to the *Roman* Empire, was exceſſively inflamed with envy: and objected ſome things againſt the *Roman* Empire, affirming that the League was violated [by them,] and that they had broken the Peace which had been agreed on [between the two Empires.] And, that in the firſt place *Juſtinian* diſpatch't away Embaſſadours to *Choſroes*, who might perſwade him not to break *that Interminate Peace* [which had been made] between them, nor to violate the Articles of agreement, but rather that the matters in controverſie might be inquired into, and compoſed in an amicable manner. But he ſays, that *Choſroes*, corroded by envy which ſtimulated him within, would accept of none of thoſe rationall propoſalls; but with a numerous Army made an Invaſion into the *Roman* Territories, in the Thirteenth year of *Juſtinian*'s Governing the *Roman* Empire. [The ſame *Procopius*] relates likewiſe, how *Choſroes* laid Siege to and deſtroyed * *Sura* a City ſcituate on the Banks of *The Euphrates*, [with the Inhabitants whereof] he ſeemingly made ſome Articles of agreement, but dealt with them far otherwiſe, [perpetrating] all the moſt Impious and Nefarious Facts [amongſt them,] having not in the leaſt heeded the Articles of agreement; and was made Maſter of that City by Treachery rather than his * Arms. Alſo, how he burnt *Berœa*; and after that [made] an Attack upon *Antioch*, *Ephræmius* being then Biſhop of that City, who had left it, [a] in regard nothing of what he did, ſucceeded according to his deſign. Which [Prelate] is reported to have preſerved the Church and all [the Edifices] about it, having adorned [the Church] with ſacred Gifts, [on this deſign,] that they might be the price of its Redemption. Moreover, [the ſame Writer] alſo gives a moſt patheticall and lively deſcription of the Siege of *Antioch*, laid to it by *Choſroes*, and how *Choſroes* [becoming maſter of it] ruined and deſtroyed all things with Fire and Sword. Alſo, how * he went to *Seleucia* a neighbouring City [to *Antioch*,] then to the *Suburb Daphne*; and after that to *Apamea*, *Thomas* then Governing the Chair of that Church, a perſon [admirable and] moſt powerfull both in words and deeds. This Prelate wiſely refuſed not to be a Spectatour, together with *Choſroes*, of † *The Cirque-Sports* in the *Hippodrome*, (though that was a thing contrary to the uſage of the Church;) [it being his deſire] by all imaginable ways to gratifie *Choſroes*, and

* Σεσῆνα.

* Or, *War.*

[a] Μηδενὸς αὐτῷ ἧσσον κατασκοπῶν φερίοντος. I have corrected this place from the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and from *Nicephorus*, in which Authour 'tis written thus: Μηδενὸς αὐτῷ ἧσσον κατασκοπῶν φερίοντος, *in regard nothing of what he did ſucceeded according to his deſign*, or, *deſire.* See *Procopius Book* 2. *Perſic.* where he ſays, that *Ephræmius* the Biſhop was falſely accuſed for having a deſign to deliver up *Antioch* to the *Perſians*; and, that ſoon after he fled into *Cilicia*, being afraid of the Irruption of the *Perſians.* But concerning the Ornaments given by *Ephræmius* to the Church of the *Antiochians*, there is not a word extant in *Procopius.* Valeſ.

* *Choſroes.*

† Or, *Equeſtrian Games.*

to mitigate his mind. Whom *Choſroes* asked, whether he ſhould be willing to ſee him at his own City. And they ſay, that *Thomas* anſwered really and according to the true Sentiment of his own mind, that he would not willingly ſee *Choſroes* in his own City. Which anſwer, as 'tis reported, *Choſroes* wondred at, and deſervedly admired this man [for the love he bore] to Truth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Miracle of the Pretious and Vivifick wood of the Croſs, which hapned at Apamia.

BUt, in regard I am fallen upon this relation, I will alſo declare a Miracle that hapned * there, which deſerves to be inſerted into our preſent Hiſtory. When the Inhabitants of *Apamia* were informed that *Antioch* had been burnt [by *Choſroes*,] they earneſtly beſought the forementioned *Thomas*, to bring forth and expoſe to view (though contrary to the uſuall cuſtome,) the Salutary and Vivifick wood of the Croſs, to the end they might have the laſt ſight of, and kiſs the only Salvation of men, and might take the †*Viaticum* of another life, the pretious Croſs being their Convoy to a better allotment. Which thing *Thomas* performed, and brought forth the Vivifick wood, having appointed ſome ſet days for its being expoſed to view, to the end that all the neighbourhood might come together thither, and enjoy the ſafety [ariſing] from thence. Together therefore with others, || my Parents alſo went thither, leading me along with them who then * went to [the School of] a *Grammar* maſter. Wherefore at ſuch time as we were vouchſafed to reverence and kiſs the pretious Croſs, *Thomas* lifting up both his hands, ſhewed the wood of the Croſs [which was] the abolition of the Old Curſe, and went all about the ſacred Church, as 'twas the uſage on ſolemn and ſet days of † veneration. But, as *Thomas* moved up and down, there followed him a vaſt flame of a ſhining, not of a burning fire, in ſo much that every place, where he ſtood to ſhew the pretious Croſs, ſeemed to be all on a flame. And this hapned not once, or twice, but oftner, whilſt the Biſhop went round all that place, and whilſt the people there aſſembled earneſtly entreated *Thomas* that that might be done. Which thing predicted that ſafety which hapned to the *Apamenſians*. A picture therefore was hung up at the Roof of the Church, which [a] by its repreſentation might declare theſe things to thoſe who know them not.

* *At Apamia.*

† Or, *Voyage-proviſion.*

|| Or, *Thoſe who brought me to the Light.*

* Or, *Frequented an inferiour Schoolmaſter.*

† Or, *Adorations.*

[a] Τῇ γεγραφῇ διασαφῆλλε σα. 'Tis doubtfull, what γεγραφὴ ſhould ſignifie here, whether *a picture, and an image of that flame which had followed the wood of the Croſs*; or, *a Writing*. *Muſculus* took it for *a Writing*, or, *an Inſcription*; as did alſo *Chriſtophorſon*, who renders it thus: *Ob quam cauſam imago in teſtudine Sanctuarii ſtatuta fuit, quæ Inſcriptione in Baſi inciſâ, hoc miraculum illis qui ejuſdem ignari erant, commonſtravit; For which reaſon an image was ſet up in the Roof of the Sanctuary, which by an Inſcription cut upon its Baſis, might ſhow this Miracle to thoſe who were ignorant of it.* But this Rendition is intollerable. For firſt, a *Baſis* is not a term properly uſed about a *Painted Picture*, but concerning a *Statue* only. Beſides, if the Image were in the Roof, where, I pray, was the *Baſis* ſet. My Sentiment is, that the Image [or, repreſentation] of this Miracle was Painted in the Arched Roof of the Church, whereon perhaps ſome Verſes were inſcribed, which might record this Miracle. Such like Inſcriptions are extant in *Gruther's Theſaurus*, and in *Paulinus's Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

Which [picture] was preſerved intire untill the incurſion of [b] *Adaarmanes* and the *Perſians*. At which time it was burnt, together with Gods holy Church and that whole City. And theſe things hapned thus. But *Choſroes* at his going away violated his Articles of agreement, (for he had agreed to ſome things then alſo;) and did the quite contrary; which [behaviour] was agreeable indeed to his unſtable and inconſtant humour, but does in no wiſe befit a man of ſenſe and reaſon, much leſs a King, * who has a value for his Articles of agreement.

[b] In *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian Manuſcript* the reading is Ἀδδαρμάνε, *Ardaarmanes*. Concerning this *Adaarmanes* Captain of the *Perſians*, and his irruption into *Syria*, our *Evagrius* ſpeaks in *his ſixth book*. In *Robert Stephens* he is called *Adearmanes*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Who makes an account of his* &c.

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Choſroes's *Expedition againſt* Edeſſa.

THe ſame *Procopius* records what has been related by the Ancients concerning *Edeſſa* and *Agbarus*, and how Chriſt [a] wrote to *Agbarus*.

[a] Πεμψὶς ἀσσάριον ἀπέστειλε. I agree with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sr *Henry Savill*, who inſtead of ἀπέστειλε, *ſent away*, have mended it thus, ἐπέστειλε, *wrote*. Moreover, the words which immediately follow, (to wit, theſe, εἴτε καὶ ἐς ἑτέραν ἔφοδον, &c,) are corrupted alſo. In the *Florentine Manuſcript* 'tis thus worded, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἐς ἑτέραν ἔφοδον, &c. But the place as yet is not without fault. I write thus therefore: εἴτε καὶ ὡς καθ' ἑτέραν ἔφοδον ἐς πολιορκίαν σφῶν ἐβεσιωῶν καθίστη ὁ χοσρόης, *Further alſo, how in* [or, *at*] *another incurſion* Choſroes *reſolved upon a Siege of the Edeſſens*. Valeſ.

Further alſo, how in another Incurſion *Choſroes* reſolved upon a Siege of the *Edeſſens*, ſuppoſing he ſhould * enervate what had been divulged by the Faithfull, [to wit,] that *Edeſſa* ſhould never be ſubdued by † an Enemy. Which thing is not indeed extant in *that Letter* ſent from Chriſt our God to *Agbarus*, [b] as may be gathered by the ſtudious from what has been related by *Euſebius Pamphilus*, who has inſerted that Letter word for word [into *his* || *Hiſtory*.] Nevertheleſs, 'tis both divulged and believed amongſt the Faithfull, [c] and the Event it ſelf declared the Truth, Faith bringing the Prediction to effect. For, after *Choſroes* had made an Attack againſt the City, and had ſeverall ways attempted to break into it, and had raiſed ſo vaſt a Rampire, that in heighth it ſurmounted the City-walls; and had made uſe of infinite other Engines; [after all this, I ſay] he retreated without effecting his deſign. But I will give a particular Narrative of what was done. *Choſroes* ordered the Forces he had about him, to bring together a vaſt quantity of wood of any ſort of Trees they could light on, in order to a Siege. This [wood] having no ſooner been ordered to be brought together than 'twas effected, he laid it round in the form of a circle, caſt Earth into the midſt of it, and advanced it directly towards the City. Building in this manner

* Or, *prove falſe.*

† Or, *Enemies.*

[b] Ὡς ἐσὶ πού φιλοπόνως ἐλεῖν. I had rather write, πῶς φιλοπόνοις, *by the ſtudious.* Valeſ.

|| Book 1. Chap. 13.

[c] Καὶ τὸ πέρας ἐδείξαλο. This whole place is corrupted, as 'tis apparent to the Readers. Sr *Henry Savill* at the margin of *his Copy* hath noted, *that perhaps it ſhould be* ἐδεείξαλο, *demonſtrated*, or, *declared*: which emendation *Nicephorus* confirms, in chap. 16, book 17. where he writes out this place of *Evagrius* thus; ἔδειξε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον πῶς τῆς πίσεως ἐφάρμοσον, ὡς μάλισ' ἀληδὴ εἶναι καὶ σύμφωνον: that is, as *Langus* renders it, *Res ipſa quoque prædictionis ejus fidem, quòd vera maximè ſit & ſibi ipſi conſentiens, confirmavit*; *the thing it ſelf alſo confirmed the authority* [or, *faith*] *of that prediction, that it might be very true and agreeable to it ſelf.* My Sentiment therefore is, that this whole clauſe of *Evagrius* muſt be written thus: καὶ τὸ πέρας ἔδειξε τὸ ἀληδὲς, τῆς πίσεως ἐς ἔργον πῶ ἐφάρμοσιν ἀσασάσης, *and the event it ſelf declared the Truth, Faith bringing the prediction to effect.* Valeſ.

ner * by degrees upon the wood and on the earth, and making nearer approaches to the City, he raised it to so vast a height, and made it surmount the City-wall so far, that from an higher place he could throw darts against those who in defence of the City endangered themselves on the wall. The Besieged therefore, when they saw the Rampire (like a Mountain) coming near and approaching the City, and were in expectation that the Enemy would set foot into the City; very early in the morning attempted to work a Mine directly opposite to the Rampire which by the *Romans* is termed an [d] *Aggesta*; and put fire therein, to the end that, the wood being consumed by the flame, the Rampire of Earth might fall to the Ground. And that work was brought to perfection. But, after they had kindled the fire, * their project proved unsuccesfull, in regard the fire had not a passage, whereby the air being let in, it might † catch hold of the heap of wood. Being reduced therefore || to the greatest *Non-plus* imaginable, they bring forth [e] that Image framed by God, which the hands of men had not made; but Christ [our] God had sent it to *Agbarus*, in regard [*Agbarus*] desired to see him. Having carried this most holy Image therefore into the Mine which they had made, and † sprinkled it with water, they cast [some] of the same [water] upon the pile of fire and on the wood: and immediately (the Divine power giving assistance to their Faith who had done this,) what had before been impossible to them, was brought to effect. For the wood forthwith received the flame, and being in the twinkling of an eye reduced to coals, transmitted it to the wood which lay above, the fire preying all about upon all things. Now the Besieged, when they saw the smoak breaking out above, made use of this device. They brought forth little † Stone-bottles, and having stuft them with Brimstone, Tow, and other matter which would readily take fire, they threw them upon that termed *The Aggesta:* which Bottles, (the fire kindling within them by the force of their being thrown,) raised a smoak, and thereby effected this, [to wit,] that it was not perceived that a smoak broke out of the Rampire. For all persons who were ignorant hereof, supposed, that the smoak came out of the Bottles rather than from any other place. On the third day after this therefore, * the small Tongues of Fire appeared coming forth out of the earth, and then those of the *Persians* who fought † upon the Rampire, were sensible what imminent danger they were in. But *Chosroes*, as if he resolved to make a resistance against the Divine power, turned the *Aquæducts* which were before the City, upon the pile of fire, and attempted to extinguish it. But the fiery pile received the water as if it had been rather Oyle, or Brimstone, or some such matter as is † combustible, and was much more increased, till such time as it had destroyed the whole Rampire, and perfectly reduced the *Aggesta* to ashes. Then therefore *Chosroes*, disappointed of all his hopes, and being experimentally sensible, that he had gotten great disgrace by supposing he could vanquish that God worshipped by us; made an inglorious return into his own Territories.

* Or, *By little and little.*

[d] See *Procopius* (out of whom *Evagrius* borrowed this,) book 2. *Persic.* pag. 83. In what manner *these Aggesta* were built by the *Romans*, *Apollodorus* informs us incomparably well in *his Mechanicks*. *Which Book, being lately done into Latine by me*, by Gods assistance I will e're long publish, together with some other Writers of the same subject. *Vales.*

* Or, *They mist of their design.*

† Or, *Embrace the matter.*

|| Or, *To the greatest difficulty*, or, *highest pitch of desperation.*

[e] This place of *Evagrius* is cited in the *Seventh Occumenicall Synod*, pag. 613; and likewise by *Barlaam* in *his book Contra Latinos*. Further, concerning this Image not-made-with-hands, which Christ is said to have sent to *Agbarus*, see *Greiser* in *his book De Imaginibus non Manufactis*. But, it is to be noted, that no mention is made of this Image transmitted by Christ to King *Agbarus*, either by *Eusebius* in the *First Book of his Ecclesiastick History*, or by *Procopius* in *his Siege of the City Edessa*. For these Authours relate, that a Letter only was sent by Christ to *Agbarus*, by the Apostle *Thaddæus*. Vales.

† Or, *Overwhelmed.*

† Λαγυνίδας. In *Robert Stephens*'s Edition 'tis λαγυνίδας. *Lexicographers* have no such word. I meet with the term λάγηνος, which signifies *Lagenam a Flagon*, or *Stone-bottle.*

* Αἱ γλωσσίδες τῶν πυρὸς.

† Or, *From.*

† Or, *Wont to catch*, or, *nourish a flame*

† Or, *There was a conference on both sides about*, &c.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Miracle which was performed at Sergiopolis.

MOreover, I will relate another thing, which was done by [the same] *Chosroes* at the City *Sergiopolis*; in regard 'tis [a passage] worthy to be recorded, and in reality deserves to be consigned to eternall memory. For *Chosroes* came to this City also, and attempted to take it by a Siege. After therefore he had made an Attacque against its walls, † the Inhabitants came to a Parley with him about a preservation of the City. And it is agreed [at length on both sides,] that the sacred Treasure and Gifts [which had been dedicated to the Church] should be the Ransome of the City; amongst which [gifts] was that [a] Cross also which had been sent thither by *Justinianus* and *Theodora*. After these things had been brought to *Chosroes*, he asked the Priest and those *Persians* who had been sent with him [into the City on that account,] whether there were any thing remaining. Then a certain person of those not accustomed to speak the truth, returned answer to *Chosroes*, that there were other sacred Gifts of great value, which were concealed by the Citizens who were very few in number. Now, of [the sacred Treasure] which was brought out [of the City to *Chosroes*,] nothing of value had been left behind consisting either of Gold or Silver, but of another sort of matter more pretious, and which was wholly dedicated to God; to wit, the most holy Reliques of the Victorious Martyr *Sergius*, which lay in a certain oblong Chest covered over with Silver. When *Chosroes*, perswaded hereby, had sent his whole Army to the City, on a sudden, round the whole Circuit [of the City walls] there appeared an innumerable multitude of Souldiers, who with Bucklers defended the City. Which [Apparition] those sent by *Chosroes* having beheld, returned, and with admiration declared both their number, and their kind of Armour. But *Chosroes*, after on a second enquiry he understood that very few persons were left in the City, and those either very aged or very young, the men of strength and vigour being all cut off and destroyed; found that the Martyr was the Authour of this Miracle. And being [on this account] put into a fear, and having admired the Faith of the *Christians*, he returned into his own King-

[a] Concerning this Golden Cross which *Chosroes* had taken out of the Church of the *Sergiopolites* for the price of its Redemption, *Theophylactus Simocatta* speaks in the *Fifth Book of his History*, *Chap.* 13. Where also *Chosroes*, Grandchild [or, *Nephew*] to this *Chosroes* here mentioned by *Evagrius*, does in expres words attest, that that Cross, in honour of the Martyr *Sergius* had been sent by the Emperour *Justinian* to *Sergiopolis*, and was placed in the Church of St *Sergius*. Vales.

dom. [b] They ſay alſo, that at the cloſe of his Life he was vouchſafed [the Laver of] Divine Regeneration.

[b] In the excellent *Florentine. Manuſcript* theſe words are written in the margin here: ὅτι φησὶ περὶ Χοσρόου, ὅπερ ἀλλὸς τις περὶ ἱστορικῶν οὐκ εἶπεν; that is, [*Note that Evagrius*] *ſpeaks that concerning* Choſroes, *which no other Hiſtorian has mentioned*: to wit, that about the cloſe of his Life he received the Sacrament of Baptiſm. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning the Peſtilentiall Diſtemper.

MOreover, I will give a Narrative of that [Peſtilentiall] Diſtemper which brake out [in theſe times,] and which has raged now theſe Two and fifty years, ([a] a thing which is never related to have hapned before,) and has in a manner deſtroyed the whole Earth.

[a] Μὴ πρότερον ἰσχηκὸς. A *Poſtpoſitive Article* ſeems neceſſary to be added, in this manner; ὅ μὴ πρότερον ἰσχηκὸς, *a thing which is never related to have hapned before.* Which Emendation *Nicephorus* confirms book 17. chap. 17; who hath worded this place of *Evagrius* thus; ὅπερ ὅπου ἦλθεν εἰς ἀκοὴν, δεύτερον καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος διάσης τὴν γῆν, *which thing never was heard of, that it* [*a Plague*] *ſhould invade the earth for the ſpace of two and fifty years.* Indeed, no Plague is recorded to have raged ſo long. This Peſtilence is ſaid to have begun on the year after *Baſilius*'s Conſulate, which was the year of Chriſt 543, as 'tis atteſted by *Victor Thunonenſis* in *his Chronicon*, and by the *Continuer* of *Marcellinus Comes*'s *Chronicon*. *Victor Thunonenſis* writes thus concerning this Plague: *Horum exordia malorum generalis orbis Terrarum mortalitas ſequitur*, &c. *A generall Mortality of the world follows the beginnings of theſe miſchiefs, and the greater part of the people is killed by a Perſecution of their Groynes.* The words of *Marcellinus*'s *Continuer* run thus: *Indictione 6. Anno Secundo poſt Conſulatum Baſilii*, &c; *in the ſixth Indiction, on the Second year after* Baſilius's *Conſulate, a great Mortality deſtroys* Italy, *the Eaſt and Illyricum having in the ſame manner been already conſumed.* *Victor* does indeed ſeem to agree with *Marcellinus*, relating that that Plague began on the ſecond year after *Baſilius*'s Conſulate, as *Marcellinus*, records. But, in reality he diſſents in the ſpace of one year. For, the ſecond year after *Baſilius*'s Conſulate, in *Victor Tunonenſis* is the ſame with the firſt year after *Baſilius*'s Conſulate, to wit, the year of Chriſt 542. For, *Victor Thunonenſis* does always term *that year immediately following the Conſulate of any Conſul*, the *ſecond year*, not *the firſt*; as may be proved by many inſtances. Further, our *Evagrius* ſeems to follow *Victor Thunonenſis*'s opinion. For *Evagrius* ſays, that that Peſtilence began two years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Perſians*. Now, *Antioch* was won by the *Perſians* when *Juſtinus Junior* was Conſul, on the year of our Lords Nativity 540, as *Marcellinus* and *Marius* relate in *their Chronicles*. But *Baronius* will have this Plague to have begun on the year of Chriſt 544. *Valeſ.*

For, two years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Perſians*, a Peſtilentiall diſeaſe began to rage, in ſome things like to that recorded by * *Thucydides*, in others far different. And it took its beginning from *Æthiopia*, as 'twas then reported: but by turns it has overrun the whole world; this Diſtemper having, I think, left no Mortalls untouch't. Some Cities were ſo ſorely oppreſſed [with this Calamity,] that they became wholly empty of Inhabitants: but in other places where the Diſtemper arrived, its chaſtiſement was more light. Nor did [this Peſtilence] rage at any certain and ſet ſeaſon [of the year;] nor, after it had raged, did it in a like manner recede. But, it ſeized ſome places at the beginning of Winter, others in the Spring time, [b] others in Summer; again, otherſome during the procedure of the Autumn. And, in ſome Cities, when it had touched ſome parts, it abſtained [from infecting] the other parts thereof. And you might frequently ſee in a City not infected, ſome Families utterly deſtroyed: But in other places, one or two Families having been conſumed, the reſt of the City in future continued untouch't by the Diſtemper. But, after a more accurate inſpection into the matter, we found, that thoſe Families which had continued untouch't, were on the year following the only ones which ſuffered [by this Diſtemper.] But, that which was the moſt wonderfull thing of all, was this, that if it hapned that the Inhabitants of thoſe Cities infected, removed to any other place where this Diſtemper raged nor, they were the only perſons ſeized with theſe Diſeaſes, who [coming] out of infected Cities, made their Reſidence in Cities uninfected. And theſe things hapned frequently, both in Cities and in other places, at the periods of thoſe *Cycles* termed the *Indictions*. But, moſt eſpecially [c] on the 2d year *of each Indiction, almoſt a totall deſtruction befell men. In ſo much that I my ſelf who write theſe things; (For I thought good to interweave into this Hiſtory what has a relation to my ſelf, by a fit inſertion of what is Congruous at places opportune and convenient: [I my ſelf, I ſay,]) who [d] as yet frequented [the School of] a *Grammer-Maſter*, was ſeiſed with thoſe termed the † *Bubo*'s, about the beginning of this [Peſtilentiall] Diſtemper. And in thoſe Sickneſſes which raged at ſeverall times, I loſt many of my Children, my Wife, and ſeverall others of my Relations, [e] my Servants alſo, and very many of thoſe who lookt after and tilled my Grounds: the Circles of the *Indictions* dividing as 'twere the Calamities that befell me amongſt themſelves. At what time therefore I did write theſe things, being in the [f] fifty eighth year of mine age, [g] within theſe two laſt years, when this Diſtemper had raged at *Antioch* now the fourth time, *Anno Chriſti* 539, *on the year of Chriſt* 539. Sr *Henry Savill* thought indeed, that by theſe words *Evagrius* meant, *that that Plague had raged chiefly on the ſecond Indiction.* But *Evagrius* ſays not that; nor, had that Plague begun to rage on the year of Chriſt 539. *Evagrius* therefore ſays this only; viz. that on the ſecond year of each Indiction that Plague raged more ſorely than 'twas wont to do at other times. *Valeſ.*

* See *Thucydides*'s *Hiſt.* book 2. pag. 129, &c. *Edit. Francofurt.* 1594.

[b] Ἄλλας δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον. I think it ſhould be worded thus, ἄλλας δὲ περὶ θέρος ἐπὶ, *others in Summer*, as the reading is in *Nicephorus* book 17. chap. 18. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Of the Cycle of fifteen years.*

† Or, *ſwellings in the Groyn.*

[c] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ δεύτερον ἔτει. I am of the ſame opinion with Learned men, who have mended it ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, *in* [or, *on*] *the ſecond year*; as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. So, 'tis certain, Sr *Henry Savill* hath mended it in the margin of his Copy, and hath added this note,

[d] In the excellent *Florent.* and *Tellerian* M.S. I found it written, ἐς γραμματιστικὰς ἔτι φοιτῶντα, *as yet frequented* [*the School of*] *a Grammar-Maſter*; which is more elegant. And thus *Evagrius* ſpeaks above, at chap. 26; where he writes, that he frequented the School of the Grammarians, at ſuch time as *Antioch* was taken by *Choſroes*, that is, on the year of Chriſt 540. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is, ἐς γραμματιστικὰς ἔτι φοιτῶντα, *as yet frequenting the Grammer-Maſters.*

[e] Οἰκέτας τε καὶ χωρίτας: That is, *Servos & Colonos, my Servants and Husband-men.* For χωρίται are *Ruſticks*, or *Tillers of Ground*, who are likewiſe termed χωρικοὶ, as I have remarked at book 6. of *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* chap. 40. note *(e.)* So *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* pag. 139, ſpeaking of *Dioſcorus Junior*'s Election; ἀνεχώρησε, ſays he, τὴν πλείστην τῶν χωρικῶν. Where *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* renders it well, thus, *Multitudinem Ruſticorum, the multitude of the Ruſticks.* Valeſ.

[f] From this place, *Evagrius*'s Birth may eaſily be found out. For, whereas he has ſaid in the beginning of this chapter, that at ſuch time as he wrote theſe things, it was the fifty ſecond year of that Plague; and does now aſſert, that whilſt he wrote the ſame things, he was in the fifty eight year of his age; it neceſſarily follows, that he had been born ſix years before the beginning of this Plague. Further, that Plague began on the year after *Baſilius*'s Conſulate, or, two years after the deſtruction of *Antioch*, as *Evagrius* has ſaid above. *Evagrius* therefore was born on the year of Chriſt 536, or 537. *Valeſ.*

[g] Οὐ πρὸ τῶν δύο χρόνων. That is, *duobus his poſtremis annis nondum elapſis, theſe two laſt years being not yet overpaſt.* Which I ſhould not have remarked, had not I perceived, that both Tranſlatours have been out in the Verſion of this place. For *Muſculus* renders it thus; *Cùm autem iſta ſcriberem, & annum ætatis quinquageſimum octavum agerem, & duo iſta temporis ſpatia nondum elapſa eſſent*, &c; *But whenas I wrote theſe things, and was in the fifty eighth year of my age, and thoſe two ſpaces of time were not yet overpaſt*, &c. But *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it thus: *Cùm autem iſta ſcriberem, quinquageſimo octavo anno ſcilicet ætatis, non biennio antè*, &c; *But when as I wrote theſe things, to wit, in the fifty eighth year of my age, not two years before*, &c. He had better have ſaid, *intra hoc poſtremum Biennium, within theſe two laſt years.* Valeſ.

(For

(For the [h] fourth Cycle [of the Indictions] hath passed from the beginning [of this calamitous Disease:]) besides the persons forementioned, I lost my Daughter, and my Grandchild born of her. Further, this Distemper *consisted of a complication of Diseases. For, in some it began from the head, and having made the eyes bloudy, and tumified the face, it descended into the throat, and sent the person seized with it from among men. In others there hapned a † looseness of the Belly. In others some arose *Bubo's*, and thence [hapned] very high Fevers: and within two or three days they died, being as firm and sound in body and mind as those who had been afflicted with no Distemper. Others became distracted and mad, and so ended their lives. Carbuncles also breaking out [of the body,] destroyed many men. Some persons having once, twice, and thrice been seized [with this Distemper,] and escaped with their lives; afterwards were infected [with it] again, and died. The ways likwise of contracting this Distemper were different and manifold, and such as were *unaccountable. For some died, meerly by conversing and living together [in the same house:] others, by a touch only: otherwhile, by entring into an house: again, others [contracted the Infection] in the *Forum*. Some having fled out of infected Cities, continued uninfected themselves, but imparted the Disease to those who were not infected. Others contracted no Distemper at all, although they had lived with many infected persons, and had touched not only persons Distempered, but those likewise who were dead. Otherwhile (although they made it their business to destroy themselves, because of the loss of their Children or Families; and on this account especially were continually conversant with the infected; nevertheless, as if the Disease made a resistance against their will,) were in no wise seized with it. This Pestilentiall Distemper therefore has raged Two and fifty years, as I have said, till this present time; having out-done all [Plagues] which [ever hapned] before. [i] But *Philostratus* admires, because in his time a Plague raged Fifteen years. Now, the Events after this yet to come, are uncertain, in regard they proceed thither, whither it shall seem well pleasing to God, who certainly knows both the Causes [of things,] and also whither they tend. But I will return to that place, from whence I have digressed, and will give a Narrative of the rest of *Justinian*'s Transactions.

[h] These words are not to be understood so, as if four entire Indictions had passed from the beginning of this Plague, to that year whereon *Evagrius* wrote these things. For four entire Indictions make sixty years. But, *Evagrius* has said above, that at such time as he wrote these things, it was the fifty second year of that Pestilence. These words therefore are not meant concerning entire Indictions. For the Pestilence began to rage in the East, in the fifth Indiction, on the year after *Basilius*'s Consulate, which was the year of Christ 542. From which if you count two and fifty years in order, it will be made the year of Christ 594. *Vales.*

† *Flix*, or, *Lask.*

* Or, *Surpassing* [all] *account.*

[i] Φιλόστρατος δὲ θαυμάζει. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* Manuscripts, 'tis written, φιλόστρατος δὲ θαυμάζει, *For Philostratus admires*; which reading nevertheless I approve not of. But, who this *Philostratus* should be concerning whom *Evagrius* speaks, and where he should have written this, 'tis uncertain. *Philostratus* an *Athenian Historian* is mentioned by *Georgius Syncellus* in *his Chronicon*, on the first year of the Emperour *Aurelian*. Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning * Justinian's *insatiable Avarice.*

* Or, *Justinian's love of money, and insatiableness.*

† Or, *unseemly.*

|| Or, *Desirous.*

* Or, *Having coloured over inexcusable Pretexts.*

† Or, *Forged any familiarity or mixture*; that is, *an act of uncleanness.*

* Or, *Absurd.*

JUstinian was indeed [a person] of an insatiable Avarice, and so † extravagant a lover of what was another's, that for Gold he sold his whole Empire, to those who governed the Provinces, to the Collectors of the Tributes, and to any persons else who for no cause at all are || wont to frame Plots against men. Besides, * by patching Calumnies together, he punished many and [almost] innumerable persons, whose possessions were great, with the loss of their whole Estates. Further, if a woman who got her livelyhood by the prostitution of her body, had † falsely objected a familiarity or mixture against any one, out of her desire to procure what he had; immediately all the Laws were abolished and made null, and, provided she had made *Justinian* partaker of her * filthy gain, she might remove all the riches of the person calumniated to her own house. Nevertheless, the same Emperour was profuse in his expending money: in so much that he erected many holy [a] and magnificent Churches every where; and other pious Houses for the taking care of men and women, as well young as old, and of those disquieted with Various diseases: and he allotted vast Revenues, out of the Income whereof these things might be done. He likewise did infinite other pious [Acts,] and such as are well pleasing to God, provided the doers thereof perform [those works] with such Goods as are their own, and offer their pure Actions, as a sacrifice, unto God.

[a] Καὶ ἐκκλησίας ναὸς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. Sr *Henry Savel* has expunged the particle καὶ out of *his Copy*. But I am of opinion it is to be retained here, provided the words be only transposed, in this manner; ὥστε καὶ πολλὰς ἁγίας καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐκκλησίας ναὸς ἀνεστήσατο, *in so much that he erected many holy and magnificent Churches every where.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning the Great Church of Saint Sophia, *and* [*that*] *of* The holy Apostles.

FUrther, [the same Emperour] erected not only many other Churches at *Constantinople* of a gracefull composure, [in honour] to God and [his] Saints: but he also built that great and incomparable Work, [the like whereto] is not to be found any where on record, [to wit,] * that most spacious Church of Saint *Sophia*, [a Structure] beautifull and eminent, and which exceeds the possibilty of a description. Nevertheless, as far as I am able, I will attempt to describe this Church. † The fabrick of the Sanctuary is a || *Tholus*, erected upon four Arches, raised to so vast an heighth, that 'tis very difficult for those who look steadfastly from below, to see the Top of the * *Hemisphære*: but such as stand above, though they be persons very bold and daring, will in no wise attempt to look down, and cast their eyes downwards to the Pavement. The Arches are raised [a] empty from the Pavement to the very Covering [or, Top] of the Roof. On

* Τὸν μέγιστον τῆς ἐκκλησίας νηὸν, *that most spatious Temple of the Church.*

† Ὁ περὶ ἀνακτόρων νηὸς, *the Temple of the Sanctuaries.*

|| See *Evagrius*, Book 2. Chap. 3. note *(b.)*

* Or, *Arch.*

[a] Αἱ κεναὶ καμάραι. Some one will per-

haps ask, what this word κεναὶ, *empty*, means. For *Evagrius* ſays that the Arches or Vaults aroſe empty from the Pavement to the top. In this place therefore we are to underſtand, that [the Arches] were open, upheld by no Columns. *Procopius* in *his firſt Book De Ædificiis*, atteſts this concerning two of the Arches only: ἡ δὲ ἀψίδων αἱ μὲν δύο αὐτῶν κεναὶ τῶν ἐς ἠέρα ἐπανεσχήκασι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον; *but two of the Arches were raiſed up into the empty Air, at the riſing and at the ſetting Sun.* Valeſ.

b Αὐλοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις. Tranſlatours have rendred this place very badly. *Muſculus* turns it thus: *In dextro Latere ad Siniſtram ordinatæ ſunt in illis Columnæ; In the right ſide on the left hand Columns are placed in them. Chriſtophorſon* interprets it in this manner: *In dextro latere, ſunt homini ingredienti ad Lævam Columnæ ordine locatæ* &c; *In the right ſide, on the left hand to a man going in, Pillars are placed in order*, &c. They were led into a miſtake by the omiſſion of one Conjunction, [to wit, καὶ, *and*, which is wanting *in Robert Stephens's Edition*;] which we have put in from the *Florentine* M. S. in this manner; ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον, &c; *On the right hand and on the left*, &c. It remaines now that we explain what thoſe words mean which follow next, viz. ὑποδεδεγμένοις αὐλοῖς κίονες. *Evagrius* himſelf therefore ſhall be his own Interpreter; who (*in his firſt Book*, chap. 14,) deſcribing the ſacred Church of *Symeones the Stylite*, ſays *it conſiſted of four Portico's*. [But, by *Valeſius*'s favour, *Evagrius*'s words *in that Chapter* are theſe; ἐν ᾧ τετράστοον πανταχῇ στοαῖς κεκοσμῆσθαι, *beautified with* Portico's of [or, *at the*] *four ſides*.] And then he adds theſe words: ὑποδεδεγμένοις δὲ ταῖς στοαῖς, κίονες, &c. That is, *oppoſite to* [or, *near to*] *thoſe Portico's are placed Pillars*; wherefore at this place, inſtead of αὐλοῖς, I would more willingly read αὐλαῖς; to wit, by underſtanding the term ϑαλίσι, *Arches*. Valeſ.

c Theſe *Hyperœa* [*Galleries*, or, *Upper Rooms*] were deſigned for the women, that being therein placed apart by themſelves, they might behold the ſolemn performances of the Divine Service, as *Paulus Silentiarius* relates *in his deſcription of Saint Sophia*; which Authour ſays, that thoſe *upper rooms* or *Galleries*, were upheld by ſix Columns of *Theſſalick Marble*; whereas nevertheleſs, there were only two Columns below, which upheld the Galleries, *pag.* 110. *Paulus* terms them γυναικήϊα ὑπερῶια *the womens Hyperœa*; in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here, and alſo *Procopius in his firſt Book*; where he deſcribes this Church of *Saint Sophia*: although *Procopius* rather terms them *Porticus's*. Valeſ.

d By theſe words *Evagrius* ſets forth the difference which was between the Columns of the Church of *Saint Sophia*. For he ſays, that the Columns which were at the right and left ſide of the Church, that is, at the North and South, had Galleries or Chambers laid upon them, out of which the Faithfull might behold the Sacred Myſteries which were celebrated at the Altar. But the Columns which were placed at the Eaſt and Weſt, upheld no Gallerie; but were left naked. It was my ſentiment that theſe things were to be more largely explained, for this reaſon; becauſe I perceived Tranſlatours, eſpecially *Chriſtophorſon*, ſaw nothing here. *Valeſ.*

e Ἐκ τῆς καταντικρὺ θύρας τῆς ἱερᾶς κόγχης. He means, I ſuppoſe, the moſt Eaſterly part of the Church; which, becauſe the whole Structure was a *Tholus*, muſt be almoſt Semi-circular, or, made in the form of a Shell.

f In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, as likewiſe in *this of Valeſius*'s, there is an imperfection in the *Greek Text* here. *Curterius, Grynæus, Chriſtophorſon*, and D^r *Hanmer*, in their Verſions have inſerted this number, *Sixty ſix*; from what authority I know not. *Muſculus* and *Valeſius* leave a Blank here in their Verſions; the latter of whom ſays nothing concerning this imperfection, *in his Notes*.

On the right hand and on the left, [b] oppoſite to the [Arches] are placed Pillars, framed of *Theſſalick* Stone: and they bear up [c] *Hyperœa*, which being underpropt by other ſuch like Columns, give a liberty to thoſe that are deſirous of looking down from on high upon *the Myſteries*. To which place alſo the Empreſs comes on Holidays when She is preſent at the Sacred performance of *the Myſteries*. But the [Columns placed] at the Eaſt and Weſt, [d] are ſo left, that there ſhould be nothing which might hinder the admiration of ſo vaſt a greatneſs. The *Porticus*'s of the forementioned *Hyperœa*, finiſh ſo great a Work with Pillars and ſmall Arches. Further, that the *Miracle* of this Structure may be plainer and more manifeſt, I have reſolved to inſert here the [number of] Feet, both of its Length, Breadth, and Heighth; as likewiſe the empty ſpaces, and heighth alſo of the Arches. The meaſure therefore is this. The length from that † Door oppoſite to the Sacred [e] *Concha*, where the unbloudy Sacrifice is offered, unto the [*Concha*] it ſelf, is an Hundred and ninty Feet: the breadth from North to South, One hundred and fifteen Feet: the * heighth from the Center of the *Hemiſphære* to the Pavement, is an Hundred and eighty Feet. The breadth of each of the Arches is [f] ..... Feet. The length from

† Or, *gate*.

* Or, *depth*.

East to Weſt [contains] Two hundred and ſixty Feet. [g] The breadth of their Light is Seventy five Feet. There are beſides at the Weſt two other *Porticus*'s very ſplendid, and *open Courts* on all ſides of an admirable Beauty and Gracefullneſs. The ſame *Juſtinian* built the Church of *The Divine Apoſtles*, which will not readily give precedency to any other Temple. In which Church the Emperours [h] and the Prelates are cuſtomarily interred. But, concerning theſe and ſuch things as theſe, let thus much every way [ſuffice] to have been ſaid.

g See, if you pleaſe, *the deſcription of* Saint Sophia's *Church*, which *Franciſcus Combefiſius*, (*a perſon that deſerves well of Learning*) *has lately publiſhed, page* 254. *Paulus Silentiarius* deſcribes *theſe Windows*, in *his Ecphraſis*, (*which the moſt Learned perſon* Carolus de Fraxino *hath newly publiſhed*;) and *Procopius*, in *his firſt Book De Ædificiis*. Valeſ.

h *Sozomen* ſays the ſame in the *cloſe of his ſecond Book of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. But (which is to be taken notice of,) neither of them (neither *Evagrius* nor *Sozomen*,) do affirm it was peculiar to the *Conſtantinopolitane Biſhops*, that they, in like manner as were the Emperours, ſhould be buried in the *Church of the Apoſtles*; but they ſpeak in generall concerning the Biſhops. Indeed *Nicephorus* (*book* 8. *chapter the laſt*,) does expreſsly atteſt, that not only the *Conſtantinopolitane*, but other Biſhops alſo, who for ſanctity of life had excelled others, were interred there. For it often hapned, that Biſhops, either ſent for by the Emperours, or making a journey to the Imperial City on account of Eccleſiaſtick affairs, ended their lives there. Thus in the times of *Anaſtaſius*, *Alciſſus* and *Gajanus* died at *Byzantium*, and *by Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* are recorded to have been buried in one Sepulcher. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Emperour [Juſtinian's] *madneſs rather than kindneſs ſhown* * *towards* [*the Faction*] *of the* Venetiani.

* Or, *Towards* [*the Faction in*] *the blew colour.*

[a] THere was alſo another thing in *Juſtinian*, that exceeded the utmoſt ferity of Savage Beaſts: (which whether [it proceeded] from a fault of Nature, or from ſloth and fear, I cannot ſay; but, it took its beginning from that popular Sedition [termed] * *Nica*.) For he ſeemed ſo † highly to favour the one of the Factions, I mean that || of the *Venetiani*, that they committed murders upon perſons of the contrary Faction at noon day, and in the midſt of the City; and not only feared not puniſhments, but alſo obtained rewards: in ſo much that hence it hapned, that many were made Murderers. Moreover, a liberty was indulged them of entring even into houſes, of plundring the riches laid up therein, and of ſelling [miſerable] men their own ſafety. And if any one of the Magiſtrates had attempted to puniſh them, he endangered his own ſafety. 'Tis certain, a perſonage who was *Comes of the Eaſt*, becauſe he had ordered ſome Seditious perſons to be beaten with † *Bow-ſtrings*, he himſelf was lead through the midſt of the City and ſcourged with *Bow-ſtrings*. *Callinicus* likewiſe Governour of *Cilicia*, becauſe according to the preſcript of the Laws he had inflicted a capitall puniſhment upon two *Cilician* Murderers, *Paulus* and *Fauſtinus*, who fell upon him and would have murdered him; was Crucified, undergoing this puniſhment on account of his great prudence in paſſing judge-

a Ἐπὶ δὲ δεινῷ τινὶ τερατεύσατο. In *Robert Stephens's Edition* the verb δεῖ is wanting, which the *Geneva Printers* have inſerted unhappily from the conjecture of *Chriſtophorſon* and others. But from the *Tellerian* and *Florentine Manuſcripts* I have mended this place thus, ὑπεῖν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον, &c, *There was alſo another thing*, &c: Which emendation *Nicephorus* confirms. For inſtead of theſe words of *Evagrius*, he ſubſtitutes theſe, ἐν δὲ τι πρᾶσσειν αὖτε. *Valeſ.*

* See Chap. 13.

† *Manifeſtly*, or, *openly*.

‖ Τῶν κυανέων, *thoſe of the Blew*.

† Νεύροις; the term ſignifies originally a *Nerve*, or, *Sinew*; it imports alſo *a Bow-ſtring*, or, *Rope*.

ment

ment, and of [his obſerving] the Laws. Hence it hapned, that * thoſe of the other Faction, having fled out of their own Country, and finding reception amongſt no men what ever, but being driven from all places as perſons moſt deteſtable; beſet Travellers, and committed Rapines and Murders: and all places were filled with untimely deaths, Robberies, and ſuch like horrid and impious Crimes. But ſometimes † he turned to the contrary opinion, and ſlew the *Venetiani* themſelves; ſubjecting them to the Laws, to whom he had given permiſſion of perpetrating nefarious Facts, in a Barbarick manner, throughout every City. But, to give a particular Narrative of theſe matters, is a thing above Relation or [any compaſs of] time: nevertheleſs, theſe things [I have mentioned] are ſufficient for the making a conjecture concerning the reſt.

* Οἱ δαὶ τὰ μέρη. *Valeſius* renders theſe words: *Praſiniani, the green-coloured-faction.*

† *Juſtinian.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning Barſanuphius *the* Aſceta.

AT the ſame time, Divine perſons, and ſuch as were Workers of great Miracles, lived in various parts of the world: but ſuch of them, whoſe Glory ſhone every where, [were thus termed.] *Barſanuphius* by extract an *Egyptian:* This perſon lead an unfleſhly life in the fleſh, in a certain Monaſtery near the Town *Gaza:* inſomuch that he performed many Miracles and ſuch as are ſuperiour to [any] Relation. Moreover, 'tis believed that he lives at this preſent, ſhut up in his Cell; although Fifty years and upwards are now paſt, ſince he hath been ſeen by any perſon, or has pertaken of any thing that is upon the Earth. Which things *Euſtochius* Prelate of *Jeruſalem* [a] disbelieving, when he had ordered the Cell, wherein this man of God had incloſed himſelf, to be dug open, a fire brake out thence, which burnt almoſt all perſons that were there preſent.

[a] Δυσαπιστῶν εὐσεβίῳ. Inſtead of the Verb [δυσαπιστῶν, *eaſily believing,*] which undoubtedly is corrupted, *Nicephorus* makes uſe of δυσπιστῶν, *disbelieving.* And, inſtead of *Euſtochius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the ſame *Nicephorus* has *Salluſtius. Salluſtius* was indeed Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius Auguſtus.* But *Euſtochius* governed the ſame Biſhoprick about the beginning of *Juſtinus Junior's* Empire, as *Theophanes* atteſts in *his Chronicon.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning the Monk Symeon, *who for Chriſt's ſake* [*feigned himſelf*] *a Fool.*

MOreover, at [the City] *Emiſa* there was one *Symeones:* this perſon had in ſuch a manner diveſted himſelf of the Garment of Vain-glory, that amongſt all perſons who knew him not, he was accounted an Idiot, although he abounded with all manner of wiſdom and divine Grace. Further, this *Symeones* for the moſt part lived alone by himſelf, allowing no perſon what ever a Liberty of knowing, either when or in what manner he † prayed to God; nor [permitting them to know] at what time he abſtained from, or partook of nouriſhment at home. At ſome times being abroad in the ſtreets, he ſeemed [a] to be a perſon diſtracted, and to have nothing of prudence or wiſdom in him.

† Or, *Rendred the Deity Propitious.*

[a] Ἐκτετραφθαι τῷ καθεσθῶτι. Doubtleſs it muſt be made καθεκότι, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book. 17. chap. 22. *Valeſ.*

At other times he would go into a Victualling-houſe, and eat of what ever food or proviſion he met with, when he was hungry. But, if any perſon [b] bowed his head and reverenced him, he would immediately run from that place in anger, being afraid that his own Virtue ſhould be found out by the Vulgar. And in this manner *Symeones* behaved himſelf in the *Forum.* But there were ſome perſons that held a familiarity with him, with whom he uſually converſed without any thing at all of diſſimulation. Amongſt thoſe of his acquaintance therefore, one had a maid, who having been debauch't and got with child by ſome perſon, when ſhe was forced by her Maſters to declare the man who had done this, ſhe affirmed that *Symeones* had had to do with her in private, and that ſhe was with child by him, and that ſhe would ſwear that the matter was ſo, and (if need ſhould require,) could manifeſtly prove the thing. Which when *Symeones* had heard, he aſſented, ſaying that he carryed fleſh about him, which was a frail and mutable thing. But when this matter came to be divulged amongſt all perſons, and *Symeones* (as it ſeemed) was obnoxious to a great ignominy, he withdrew himſelf, and feigned that he was aſhamed. When therefore the woman's time of delivery was come, and ſhe ſate in the uſuall poſture of women in Travail; her Labour cauſed moſt acute, many, and intollerable pangs, and brought the woman into the imminenteſt danger of her life. But the Birth * fell not in the leaſt. *Symeones* therefore being deſignedly come thither, when he was requeſted [by thoſe preſent] to go to Prayers, he declared before them all, that the woman ſhould not be delivered, untill ſhe would confeſs who was the Father of the child in her womb. Which when ſhe had done, and had named the true Father, the Infant leap't forth immediately, Truth it ſelf doing [as 'twere] the office of a Mid-wife. The ſame perſon was one time obſerved to go into the houſe of a Strumpet, and having ſhut to the door, he and ſhe continued alone for ſome time: after this he opened the door again, and ran away in great haſt, looking round leaſt any one ſhould ſee him, whereby he much increaſed the ſuſpicion. In ſo much that the perſons who had ſeen him, brought forth the woman, and enquired of her, both what the meaning of *Symeones's* coming into her was, and why he made ſo long a ſtay. The woman ſwore, that for three days before that, becauſe of her want of neceſſaries, ſhe had taſted of nothing but water only: but, that *Symeones* had brought victualls and meat and a veſſell of Wine along with him, and having ſhut the door, had ſpread the Table, and bad her go to ſupper, and fill her ſelf with proviſions, becauſe ſhe had been ſufficiently afflicted with want of nouriſhment; and ſhe fetcht out the Remains of the victualls [which *Symeones*] had brought to her. Further, ſome ſmall time before that Earthquake hapned which ſhook *Phœnice Maritima*, wherein [c] *Berytus*, *Byblus*, and *Tripolis* ſuffered more [than other Cities, the ſame *Symeones*] holding a whip on high in his hand, ſcourged moſt of the Columns in the *Forum*, and cryed out, *Stand, You muſt dance.* Becauſe therefore nothing was done unadviſedly and without deſign by this man, ſome

[b] The *Laicks* were wont to bow their heads, not only before the *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*, but before the *Monks* alſo, to receive their Bleſſing. An illuſtrious inſtance of which is extant in *Sozomen*, book 8. chap. 13. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Was not in the leaſt forwarded.*

[c] Concerning this Earthquake, the *Author of Antoninus Martyr's Itinerarium* ſpeaks in

t'eſe words: *Inde Venimus in partes Syriæ, ubi requieſcit ſanctus Leontius*, &c; *Thence we came into the parts of* Syria, *where Saint* Leontius *reſts, which City, together with other Cities, was ruined by an Earthquake in the time of the Emperour* Juſtinian. *From thence we came to* Byblus, *which City alſo, with all things that were therein, was deſtroyed. From thence we came into the City* Triari, *which was likewiſe ruined. Thence we came into the moſt ſplendid City* Beryto, *wherein there was lately a ſtudy of Learning; which was alſo ruined, as we were told by the Biſhop of the City, to whom the perſons were known, except the ſtrangers who periſhed there.* Further, that City wherein Saint *Leontius* reſts, is *Tripoly*, as I have remarked before, book 3. chap. 33. *note (c.)* This Earthquake hapned on the twenty fourth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, as *Cedrenus* writes in *his Chronicon*, and *Theophanes* pag. 192. What *thoſe Authors* relate concerning *Botry* a City of *Phœnice*, is memorable, *viz.* that in that City there was an Haven made by that Earthquake, (there having been no Port there before,) the Promontory which was called *Litho-proſopon* being removed. But in *Theophanes* 'tis written βόστρυθρ, inſtead of βότρυθρ. By which fault in the writing the Tranſlatour was induced to render it *Boſtra*; which is a very groſs miſtake; in regard *Boſtra* is a Mid-Land-City of *Arabia*. The name of this City is in my judgment to be reſtored in *Antoninus Martyr's Itinerary*, at that place which I have quoted above. For, inſtead of the City *Triari*, it muſt be written *Botry*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the Monk Thomas, *who in like manner feigned himſelf a Fool.*

THere was alſo at the ſame time one *Thomas*, who followed the ſame courſe of life in *Syria Cœle*. This perſon went [one time] to *Antioch*, to receive the annuall ſtipend [allotted for the maintenance] of his own Monaſtery. [a] For [this annuall ſtipend] was ordered [to be paid] out of the [Revenues of the] *Antiochian* Church. *Anaſtaſius* * *Oeconomus* of the ſame Church, (in regard the ſaid *Thomas* troubled him frequently,) gave him [one day] a box on the ear with his hand. Whereat when the perſons preſent with them were much offended, *Thomas* ſaid, that neither he himſelf would receive any thing more [of the annuall ſtipend,] nor ſhould *Anaſtaſius* † pay any more. Both which things came to paſs: *Anaſtaſius* ending his life on the day following; and *Thomas* being tranſlated to [b] *Hoſpitall of the Suburb*, whilſt he was on his Return home. They laid his dead Body in the Monuments of *the Strangers*. But, in regard when one or two had been buried after him, *Thomas*'s Body was ſtill above them, (God ſhowing a great Miracle, even after his death: for [the other Bodies] were removed and thruſt down;) [the Inhabitants] admire this holy perſon, and declare [the thing] to [c] *Ephræmius*. Then his * Holy dead Body is removed to *Antioch* with a publick Feſtivity and [a ſolemn] pomp, and is honourably buried in the *Cœmitary*; having at its tranſlation cauſed the Peſtilentiall diſtemper, which then raged at *Antioch*, to ceaſe. And the Inhabitants of *Antioch* do magnificently celebrate an anniverſary Feaſt [in honour] of this [*Thomas*] till theſe our times. But let us † return to the * propoſed *Series* of our Hiſtory.

[a] Ἐτέτακτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτόσε ἐκκλησίας. Who would not admire, that three Learned men ſhould have been miſtaken in the Rendition of this place? *Johannes Langus* tranſlates it thus: *illius enim Eccleſiæ cenſebatur, for he was reckoned of that Church.* And *Muſculus* renders it almoſt in the ſame manner. But *Chriſtophorſon* has tranſlated it worſt of all, thus: *ab eâ ſiquidem Eccleſiâ Presbyter fuerat ordinatus, for he had been ordained Presbyter by that Church.* Theſe perſons thought that theſe words [ὁ Θωμᾶς, *this Thomas*] were here to be underſtood; whereas we are to underſtand ἡ ἐπέτειος χορηγία, *this annuall ſtipend*, or, *Alms, which was wont yearly to be diſtributed out of the Revenues of the Church of* Antioch *to the Monaſtery of the Abbot* Thomas. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Johannes Moſchus*, in *his Limonarium Chap.* 88, ſays this *Thomas* dyed in the Church of *Saint Euphemia* which was in the *Daphnenſian Suburb*. Therefore the Church of the *Bleſſed Euphemia* was near the *Hoſpitall*, wherein ſtrangers were entertained: in ſuch manner as we now adays ſee Churches joyned to *Hoſpitalls* and *Spittles*. Further, *Johannes Moſchus* ſays, that this *Thomas* was the *Apocryſarius*, that is, the *Procurator*, of his own Monaſtery. For, thoſe were termed *Apocryſarii, who managed the affairs of Monaſteries and Churches*, as *Juſtinian* informs us in *his ſixth Novell*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Steward.*

† Or, *Give.*

[c] *Moſchus* in the *forecited chapter*, calls the Biſhop of *Antioch*, (not *Ephræmius*, but) *Domninus*, who ſucceeded *Ephræmius*. *Nicephorus Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople* terms this perſon *Domnus*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Moſt holy.*

† Or, *Turn our courſe.*

* *Preſent*, or, *oppoſite.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the Patriarch Menas, *and concerning the Miracle which hapned then to the Boy of a certain* Hebrew.

ANthimus having been ejected (as I have * ſaid,) out of the Chair of the Imperial City, [a] *Epiphanius* ſucceeded in that Epiſcopate: and after *Epiphanius*, *Menas*; in whoſe times hapned a Miracle highly worthy to be recorded. There is an [b] ancient uſage at *Conſtantinople*, that when a great quantity of the Holy parts of the immaculate Body of Chriſt our God are left remaining, [ſome] young Boyes of their number who frequent the Grammar-Schools are ſent for, that they may eat them. Which thing having hapned at that time, the Son of a * *Glaſs-maker* (as to his opinion a *Jew*,) was † called amongſt the other Boyes. This child told his Parents, who enquired the reaſon of his ſtay, what had hapned, and what he together with other boyes had taſted of. His Father, highly incenſed and enraged, ſnatcht up the boy immediately, and threw him into the Furnace of coals, wherein he uſually formed Glaſs. But his mother ſought for her ſon, and when ſhe could not find him, ſhe went all about the City mourning and * making great lamentation. And on the third day after ſtanding at the door of her husband's work-houſe, ſhe called her Son by his name, † weeping and tearing herſelf. The Boy knowing his mother's voice, anſwered her out of the Furnace. Shee breaks open the doors, goes in, and ſees her Son ſtanding in the midſt of the coals, the fire having not touch't him in the leaſt. The child, when afterwards asked in what manner he had continued un-hurt, ſaid, that a woman cloathed in a purple garment came to him frequently, gave him water, quenched the coals that were near him, and fed him as often as he was hungry. Which paſſage having been brought to [the hearing of] *Juſtinian*, he [ordered] the boy and his mother to be ‖ Baptiſed in the Laver of

* Book 4. Chap. 11.

[a] We have taken notice of this miſtake of *Evagrius*'s above, at chap. 11, *note* (*c*;) which *Nicephorus* has alſo corrected. But *Nicephorus* himſelf, whilſt he amends *Evagrius*'s errour, has committed another. For he relates, that *Menas* was ordained by Pope *Agatho*; whereas he was ordained by *Agapetus* in the place of *Anthimus*, as 'tis agreed amongſt all perſons. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Nicephorus Calliſtus* (Book 17. Chap. 25.) atteſts, that this Cuſtome, (*viz.* that the Particles of the Sacred Euchariſt which remained, were at *Conſtantinople* diſtributed amongſt the Boyes to be eaten;) continued even in his age; and he writes, that he himſelf, whilſt he was a Boy and was frequently converſant in the Churches, partook of thoſe parts. *Valeſ.*

* *Glaſs-maker* (as to his opinion a *Jew*,) was † called amongſt the other Boyes. This child told his Parents, who enquired the reaſon of his ſtay, what had hapned, and what he together with other boyes had taſted of. His Father, highly incenſed and enraged, ſnatcht up the boy immediately, and threw him into the Furnace of coals, wherein he uſually formed Glaſs. But his mother ſought for her ſon, and when ſhe could not find him, ſhe went all about the City mourning and * making great lamentation. And on the third day after ſtanding at the door of her husband's work-houſe, ſhe called her Son by his name, † weeping and tearing herſelf. The Boy knowing his mother's voice, anſwered her out of the Furnace. Shee breaks open the doors, goes in, and ſees her Son ſtanding in the midſt of the coals, the fire having not touch't him in the leaſt. The child, when afterwards asked in what manner he had continued un-hurt, ſaid, that a woman cloathed in a purple garment came to him frequently, gave him water, quenched the coals that were near him, and fed him as often as he was hungry. Which paſſage having been brought to [the hearing of] *Juſtinian*, he [ordered] the boy and his mother to be ‖ Baptiſed in the Laver of

Or, Glaſs-worker.

† Or, *Taken.*

* Λύγον κακύσασα.

† Or, *Tearing herſelf with weepings.*

‖ Φωτισθέντας, *enlightned.*

of Regeneration, and [c] enrolled them amongst the Clergy: but his father, because he would not embrace the profession of Christianity, was [by the Emperour's order] crucified in [the Suburb] [d] *Sycæ*, as designing to have murdered his own son. These things hapned in this manner.

[c] Ἐκλήρωσε. *Johannes Langus* renders this place thus: *Puerum cum matre divino Regenerationis Lavacro adhibuit, deoque dicavit*; *He admitted the Boy with his mother to the divine Laver of Regeneration, and Dedicated* [*them*] *to God.* But *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have translated it far worse. For *Musculus* terms it, *servavit, he kept*, or, *preserved.* But *Christophorson* has rendred it thus: *pueram cum matre Lavacro Regenerationis tingendos decrevit, He Decreed the boy with his mother to be Baptized in the Laver of Regeneration.* I doubt not but the place is thus to be rendred: *Puerum simul ac matrem Regenerationis Lavacro initiatos Clero adscripsit, He enrolled the boy and his mother, having been initiated in the Laver of Regeneration, amongst the Clergy.* Which must be understood in this manner, that the Emperour ordered that Boy to be reckoned amongst the *Readers* of the Church; but, commanded his mother to be ordained *a Deaconness*. Valesius.

[d] In this Suburb of the City *Constantinople*, punishments were heretofore usually inflicted on Criminalls, as I have already intimated in *my Notes on Book* 28. *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 362. Whereto add a passage of *Saint Jerome* out of *his Commentaries on Matt.* 26th, which runs thus: *Extra urbem enim & foras portam loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, & Calvariæ, id est, Decollatorum sumpsere nomen.* Valesius.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Who were Bishops of the Greater Cities at that time.

AFter *Menas*, *Eutychius* ascends the [Episcopall] Throne [at *Constantinople.*] But at *Jerusalem*, after *Martyrius*, *Salustius* succeeds in that See, and after him, *Helias*. After *Helias*, *Petrus*; and after *Petrus*, *Macarius*; [whose Election] the Emperour approved *not of; so that he was [afterwards] Ejected out of his own Chair: [a] For they affirmed that he asserted *Origen's opinions*. After this [*Macarius*] therefore, *Eustochius* succeeded in that Bishoprick. After the Ejection of *Theodosius*, as has been related † above, *Zoilus* is declared Bishop of *Alexandria*. And when he was added [b] to [the *Alexandrian* Bishops] his predecessours, *Apollinaris* undertakes [the Government of] that Chair. After *Ephræmius*, *Domninus* is entrusted with the [Episcopall] Throne of *Antioch*.

* Or, *Not as yet.*

[a] Indeed, many Monks severed themselves from his communion, because he was thought to assert *Origen's* opinions.

† Chap. 11.

One of their number was the *Abbot Elias*, who was also called Βοσκᾶς, as *Johannes Moschus* relates in the *nineteenth Chapter of his Limonarium*. And yet *Theophanes*, in *his Chronicon* pag. 205, says *Macarius* was ejected out of his See χῃ συκοφαντίᾳ, that is, by *subornation, fraud, and calumny*. But *Theophanes* relates that in a place wholly unfit and incongruous, to wit, in the Empire of *Justinus Junior*. Now, *Macarius* was ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* on the year of Christ 546; and having after two years been expelled out of his See, *Eustochius* was substituted in his room on the year of Christ 548, as *Baronius* relates. Nevertheless, *Victor Thunonensis* differs herefrom, in *his Chronicon*. For he attributes eight years of Episcopate to *Macarius*, and says that *Eustochius*, was ordained whilst he survived, on the year before the *Fifth Synod*, that is on the year of Christ 552: and my Sentiment is, that this is truer. *Valesius.*

[b] Τοῖς αὐτὸν ἡγησαμένοις. The same is the reading in *Nicephorus* also, book. 17. chap. 26. But I do not think it can be said in *Greek*, αὐτὸν ἡγησαμένοις. I write therefore, ἢ ᾗ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡγησαμένοις, &c. For, ἢ τῶν ἀλεξανδρέων is understood. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Fifth Holy Oecumenicall Synod, *and on what account it was convened.*

DUring therefore *Vigilius's* presidency over the *Elder Rome*; whilst in the first place *Menas*, and then *Eutychius* [was Patriarch] of *Constantinople*; and whilst *Apollinaris* [was Bishop] of *Alexandria*, *Domninus* of *Antioch*, and *Eustochius* of *Jerusalem*; *Justinian* convenes the *Fifth Synod*, on this account. The Assertours of *Origen's* opinions abounding and growing powerfull [in the Monasteries of *Palestine*,] and especially [a] in that termed *The new Laura*; *Eustochius* made it his whole business to eject them. And going to *The new Laura*, he drove them all out, and pursued them to a great distance, as being the common pest [of mankind.] They, dispersed into severall places, associated many persons to their own party.

[a] This *New Laura* is mentioned in the Life of *Saint Euthymius*. Concerning this matter *Theophanes* (though in an unfit place, to wit, in the Affairs of *Justinus Junior*,) writes thus: ἐυσεβῶν δὲ ἀπελθὼν εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα, &c; *But* Eustochius *removing to* Jerusalem, *out of that hatred he bore to* Apollinaris, Agatho *and* Macarius, *ejected those Monks of the* New Laura, *as Origenists: And on this account he himself was also* [*afterwards*] *ejected, and* Macarius *was again restored to his own Chair.* *Baronius* thinks indeed, that *Macarius* was restored to his own See, a little before *Eustochius's* ordination; and then, that *Eustochius* had obtained the See of *Jerusalem* again, because by his Legates he was present at the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod* on the year of Christ 553; as 'tis sufficiently manifest from our *Evagrius*, and from the *Acts of the foresaid Synod*. But *Baronius* was widely mistaken. For *Macarius* (*Eustochius* being ejected,) was restored to his own See long after the *Fifth Synod*, in *Justinian's Thirty seventh year*; on the *Twenty fourth year after* Basilius's *Consulate*; as *Victor Thunonensis* relates in *his Chronicon*, who lived in those very times, and could not be ignorant of that. *Valesius.*

Theodorus surnamed *Ascidas* (Bishop of *Cæsarea* the Head-City of the Province *Cappadocia*; [a Prelate] resident with *Justinian*, faithfull to him, and of whom the Emperour made great use;) undertook the Patronage of these [Monks.] Upon * his making a disturbance therefore at the [Imperial] Pallace, and terming [*Eustochius's*] Fact the † highest impiety and wickedness; *Ruphus Abbot* of *Theodosius's* Monastery, and [b] *Conon* [Abbot] of the [Monastery] of *Saba* (persons of the chiefest note * amongst the *Monasticks*, both for their own worth, and on account of the Monasteries over which they presided;) are sent to the Imperial City by *Eustochius*. They were accompanied with others also, not much inferiour to them in dignity. And these men resolved to debate concerning *Origen* primarily, and concerning *Evagrius* and *Didymus*. But *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian*, desirous of diverting them to another matter, [c] proposes to be debated the Cause of *Theodorus* [Bishop] of *Mopsuestia*, and that

* *Theodorus's*

† Or, *All impiety.*

[b] *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* has composed an illustrous Elogy of this *Conon*, in the Life of *Saint Saba*, about the end, in these words. *Qui Cassianus cum decimum mensem implesset in administrationis one*, &c. *Which* Cassianus, *when he had compleated his tenth month in his Administration, departed out of this life; after which the Monks commit the Præfecture to* Conon. *They command, but God, I suppose, moved the minds of the Monks to this. Now, he was a person highly eminent for true Sentiments, all manner of Virtue, and good Actions: who also made use of great care and diligence in his Prefecture. For he both recollected those Fathers which had departed from thence, being ejected by the* Origenists; *and likewise erected and as it were renewed the* Laura, *which by those frequent Tumults and Wars of Hereticks, was now brought to its knees.* *Johannes Moschus* speaks of the same *Conon* Governour of *Saint Saba's Laura*, in chap. 42; where he intimates, that he was an acquaintance of *Eustochius's* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. *Valesius.*

* Or, [*amongst those*] *of the Solitude.*

[c] Ἐπεισάξει τὸ κατὰ Θεόδωρον, *superinduces the Cause of* Theodorus. *Liberatus* relates the same in *his Breviary, chap.* 24. Yet *Liberatus* says nothing concerning *Rufus* and *Conon* the Abbots sent by *Eustochius* to *Constantinople*. On the other hand *Evagrius* makes no mention of that condemnation of *Origen*, which had been made by the Emperour *Justinian* by the endeavour of *Pelagius Apochrysiarius of the* Roman *See*; to which condemnation all the Patriarchs had subscribed, to wit, *Zoilus* of *Alexandria*, *Ephræmius* of *Antioch*, *Petrus* of *Jerusalem*; as *Liberatus* writes in the foregoing chapter: now, that hapned on the year of Christ 538, as *Baronius* relates. But that Embassie of *Conon*, *Rufus*, and the other *Palestine Monks*, was sent by *Eustochius* to *Constantinople* on the year of Christ 551. For on that year *Apollinaris* was put into the place of *Zoilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, as *Baronius* affirms. But *Eustochius*, out of his hatred chiefly to *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Alexandria*, ejected the Monks of the *New Laura* out of their Monasterie, as being *Origenists*; agreeable to what we have related above out of *Theophanes*. Valesius.

of *Theodoret* and *Ibas:* the All-good God having excellently well diſpoſed the whole matter ſo, that whatever was profane both on the one and on the other ſide might be wholly expelled. The firſt Queſtion therefore having been propoſed, whether it were lawfull to *Anathematize* the dead; *Eutychius* who was then preſent, (a perſon incomparably well verſed in the Sacred Scriptures, who during *Menas*'s Life was not very eminent; for he was then but [d] *Apocriſiarius* to the Biſhop of *Amaſia*;) being not only wiſer, but alſo looking with contempt upon thoſe convened, ſaid in expreſs words, that that queſtion need not be debated: in regard King *Joſias* did not only heretofore ſlay the living Prieſts of *Dæmons*, but alſo dug open the Sepulchers of thoſe who had been dead long before. All perſons that were preſent look't upon theſe [words of *Eutychius*'s] to be moſt appoſitely ſpoken. Which [ſaying of his] when *Juſtinian* was acquainted with, he preferred * him to the Chair of the Imperial City, on the death of *Menas* which hapned ſoon after. Further, *Vigilius* [e] gave his conſent by his Letters, but refuſed to be preſent at the Synod. The Synod therefore being convened, when [the Emperour] *Juſtinian* asked, what their Sentiment was concerning *Theodorus*, and in relation to thoſe things which *Theodoret* had written againſt *Cyrillus* and *his Twelve* † *Heads*; alſo [what they thought] of that Letter ſaid to be *Ibas*'s, [written by him] to *Maris* the *Perſian:* after many paſſages had been recited [out of the Books] of *Theodorus* and *Theodoret*, and after it had been made apparent, that *Theodorus* had long ſince been condemned, and [his name] expunged out of the *Sacred Diptycks*; and, that Hereticks ought to be condemned even after their death: with *all ſuffrages* (as the uſuall ſaying is,) they *Anathematize Theodorus*, and what had been written by *Theodoret* againſt *Cyrillus's Twelve Heads*, and againſt the true Faith; *Ibas*'s Letter alſo, which he wrote to *Maris* the *Perſian*; [their condemnation of the foreſaid perſons and writings] being conceived in theſe expreſs words.

[d] Τῶν δὲ ἀποκειστῶν τὸν ἀμασείας ὄντα ἀποκρίσιαρον διακονεῖτο. That is, *was Apocriſiarius to the Biſhop of Amaſia.* For as well the Patriarchs, as the Biſhops of the greater Churches, had their *Apocriſiarii* or *Reſponſales*, who managed Eccleſiaſtick affairs in the Emperour's Pallace. Which thing had been in uſe from the times of *Conſtantine the Great*, as *Hincmarus* tells us *in Epiſt. 14. Ad Proceres Regni.* Monaſteries had likewiſe their *Apocriſiarii* in the Imperial City, who performed the ſame Office; as I have obſerved above. There is mention of theſe *Apocriſiarii* in *Juſtinian's Sixth Novell.* See more in *Pithœus's Gloſſary ad Novellas Juliani Anteceſſoris*, and in *Reſvecydus's Onomaſticon ad Vitas Patrum.* Valeſ.

* *Eutychius.*

† Or, *Chapters.*

[e] Ἐγγράφως συνθέμενος. *Johannes Langus* underſtood theſe words concerning *Eutychius*'s Ordination. For he has rendred them thus: [ſee *Niceph.* book 17, chap. 27.] *Porro Vigilius etiamſi ei Scripto interveniente, cum Eutychio conveniret; aſſidere tamen illi noluit; Further, although* Vigilius *agreed with* Eutychius, *approaching* [or, *interceding with*] *him by a Letter; yet he would not ſit together with him.* But this Rendition is contrary to the meaning of *Evagrius*, and of *Nicephorus* himſelf. For *Evagrius* ſays only this; that *Vigilius* gave his conſent indeed to thoſe matters which were tranſacted in the Synod; but would not be preſent at it. And the ſame thing is confirmed by the *Acts of the Fifth Conſtantinopolitan Synod, pag.* 112. From *which Acts* we are informed, that Pope *Vigilius* who was then at *Conſtantinople* (although he had been frequently asked, both by the Emperour *Juſtinian*, and alſo by all the Biſhops convened in that City, that he would come to the Councill, and had himſelf promiſed that by his Letter; yet) would never come to the Synod. Further, that writing, whereby *Evagrius* ſays *Vgilius* had conſented to the determination of the Synod, is nothing elſe but *Vigilius's Conſtitution*, which *Baronius* has publiſhed at the year of Chriſt 553; or elſe, the *Letter of Pope Vigilius*, which *Petrus de Marca* firſt ſet forth in Greek, together with a *moſt Learned diſſertation*, which it would be worth while to read. *Valeſ.*

[f] *Whereas the Great God and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *according to the Parable in the Goſpells, &c.* And after ſome other words. *Beſides all thoſe other Hereticks which are condemned and* Anathematized *by the four foremen-*

[f] This ſentence is extant in the *Eighth Collation of the Fifth Synod, pag.* 112. Valeſ.

tioned holy Synods, and by the holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church; We alſo condemn and Anathematize Theodorus *who is ſtyled Biſhop of* Mopſueſtia, *and his impious writings; alſo, what hath been impiouſly written by* Theodoret, *both againſt the true Faith, and againſt the* Twelve Heads *of* Cyrillus *of Bleſſed memory, and againſt the* Firſt Holy Synod *at* Epheſus; *in fine, whatever has been written by the ſame* [Theodoret] *in defence of* Theodorus *and* Neſtorius. *Moreover, we alſo* Anathematize *that impious Letter ſaid to have been written by* Ibas *to* Maris *the* Perſian. And after ſome few words, they expounded Fourteen [g] Heads concerning the right and † ſincere Faith.

† Or, *Unblameable.*

[g] Theſe fourteen *Capitula*, or *Expoſitions of the true Faith*, are extant pag. 1155, and 1166, *Synod. Conſtantinop.* Valeſ.

And theſe things proceeded in this manner. But, [h] when *Libells* were delivered in by the Monks *Eulogius*, *Conon*, *Cyriacus*, and *Pancratius*, againſt the opinions of *Origen Adamantius*, and againſt the followers of his impiety and errour; *Juſtinian* conſulted the then convened Synod about theſe matters, having ſubjoyned [to his own Letter] a Copy of the *Libell*, as alſo what he had written to *Vigilius* concerning theſe things. From all which it may be gathered, that *Origen* had made it his buſineſs, to fill the * Purity of the Apoſtolick † *Dogmata* with [i] *Paganiſh* and *Manichæan* Tares. A *Relation* therefore was tranſmitted to *Juſtinian* from the Synod, after the Exclamations which they [had heaped together] againſt *Origen* and thoſe involved in the ſame erroneous Tenets with him. Part of which [*Relation*] runs thus.

[h] In the *Acts of the Fifth Conſtantinopolitane Synod* which have come to our hands in the Latine tongue, there is nothing of thoſe things extant which *Evagrius* ſubjoyns here, to wit, concerning the condemnation of *Origen, Evagrius* and *Didymus.* Therefore *Baronius* with good cauſe thought that *thoſe Acts* were maimed and imperfect. *Nicephorus* affirms theſe things to have been done againſt *Origen* and his followers in the *Second Convention:* but *Theophanes* and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* relate, that the *Fifth Synod* was principally and moſt eſpecially convened againſt the errours of *Origen, Evagrius*, and *Didymus*; but in the ſecond place againſt *the Tria Capitula.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Simplicity.*

† Or, *Opinions.*

[i] Theſe words are taken out of the Emperour *Juſtinian*'s Letter to the *Fifth Conſtantinopolitane Synod*; part of which Letter is recorded by *Cedrenus* in *his Chronicon.* Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διέγνωσται ἡμῖν ὡς τινὲς ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις εἰσὶ μοναχοὶ ἀπόπυθεν πυθαγόρα καὶ πλατῶνι καὶ ὠριγένει κατακολουθήσαντες, δεῖν ὠήθημεν φρενίδα καὶ ζήτησιν ποιήσασθαι περὶ τούτων, ἵνα μὴ τέλεον διὰ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ μανιχαϊκῆς ἀπάτης αὐτῶν πολλὰς ἀπολέσωσι. That is, *In regard therefore it has been told us, that there are certain Monks at* Jeruſalem *who were followers of* Pythagoras, Plato, *and* Origen; *We were of opinion, that care ought* [*to be taken*] *and enquiry made about theſe perſons, leaſt by their* Paganiſh [or, Græcian,] *and* Manichæan *errour they ſhould perfectly ruine many perſons.* The ſame occurs in the Emperour *Juſtinian's Letter to Menas, concerning the Errours of Origen.* Valeſ.

You who poſſeſs a mind partaker [k] *of a Celeſtiall Nobility, Moſt Chriſtian Emperour!* And after ſome other words. *We have avoided therefore, we have avoided that* [*Doctrine.*] *For we knew not the voice of Strangers. And having ſecurely bound this perſon, as a Thief, and like a Robber, with the Ropes of an* Anathema, *we have caſt him out of the Sacred Rails.* And after ſome few words. *But you will know the power and efficacy of the matters which have been tranſacted by us, by the reading thereof.*

[k] Τῆς ἀνωθὲν εὐγενείας. I cannot approve of *Chriſtophorſon*'s tranſlation, who turns theſe words thus: *Qui animum nobilitatis antiquæ participem tenes, who poſſeſs a mind partaker of Ancient Nobility. Johannes Langus* and *Muſculus* have rendred it better. *Langus*, in this manner; *Qui animum obtines cæleſtis participem gencroſitatis, who have a mind partaker of a celeſtial generoſity.* And *Muſculus*, thus; *Animum ſupernæ nobilitatis ſortite Chriſtianiſſime Imperator! You who have gotten a mind of Supernall Nobility, Moſt Chriſtian Emperour!* Valeſ.

Hereto

Hereto they also annexed whatever * Heads *Origen*'s followers had [from their Masters] learned to assert; which [Heads] manifested both their agreements, as also their disagreements, and likewise their [l] manifold errour. Amongst these there was a *Fifth Head* [which contained] the Blasphemies broach't by some private persons of that termed *The New Laura*; the Contents of which Head run thus. [m] *Theodorus Ascidas the Cappadocian said: If the Apostles and the Martyrs doe now work Miracles, and are in so great honour; unless in the Resurrection they shall be made equall to Christ, what manner of Resurrection shall they have?* my best remembrance I have noted the same fault some where before this. But the place comes not at present into my mind. *Vales.*

* Or, *Chapters.*

[l] Τὴν πολυχρόνιον τῶν πλάνην. In *Nicephorus* 'tis written truer, thus, πολυχρονίδιον; nor am I of opinion that πολυχρόνιος is a Greek word. To

[m] As far as may be gathered from these words of *Evagrius*, this *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian* was one of the Monks of the *New Laura*, which was near the City *Jerusalem*. This therefore is the *Theodorus*, follower of *Nonnus* the *Origenist*, who being afterward made Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, openly undertook the patronage of the *Origenists*, as *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* relates *in the Life of Saint* Saba. Further, whereas this *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* acted the chief parts, as I may say, in the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod*, as may be seen from its *Acts*, how is he now accused in the same Synod as an *Origenist*? We may therefore not without Cause conjecture, that these things which *Evagrius*, *Theophanes*, and *Cedrenus* say were done in the *Fifth Synod* against *Origen*, were long after *that Synod* added to it, on account of the likeness of their Subject: but, were not done in *that Synod*. So also, the *Acts* of the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod* under *Menas*, against *Anthimus* and *Zoaras*, were wont to be joyned to this *Fifth Oecumenicall Synod*, as *Photius* attests in *his Bibliotheca*. The same thing may also be proved by what *Evagrius* subjoyns. For he says, that many impious expressions gathered out of the Books of *Evagrius*, *Didymus*, and *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, were related to *that Synod*. Now, if these things had been done in the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod*, as *Evagrius* says, it would have been altogether superfluous and unusefull, to repeat those expressions of *Theodorus*, which had so often been rekoned up and condemned in the aboveſaid Synod. My Sentiment therefore is, that these things were acted against *Origen* in another *Constantinopolitane Synod* on the year of Christ 538; then, when certain Monks of *Jerusalem*, who were favoured by *Pelagius* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and by *Menas* Bishop of *Constantinople*, presented a Libell to *Justinian*, containing certain Heads collected out of *Origen*'s Books; and requesting of the Emperour, that those Heads might be condemned; as *Liberatus* tells us chap. 23. of *his Breviary*. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 538. Moreover, our conjecture is fully confirmed by what *Evagrius* writes a little before this; *viz.* that into those things done against *Origen* was inserted the Emperour *Justinian*'s Letter to Pope *Vigilius* concerning the errours of *Origen*. These matters therefore were not transacted in the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod* on the year of Christ 553. For on that year *Vigilius* was at *Constantinople*; nor was there any need that *Justinian* should treat with him by Letters. Wherefore these things were done against *Origen* long before, to wit, then when *Justinian*, having received the Libell of those *Palestine* Monks, wrote a Letter to *Menas* Bishop of *Constantinople* concerning the errours of *Origen*; giving him order, that when he had assembled the Bishops that were present in the Imperial City, and the Abbots of Monasteries, he should condemn those errours. This Letter of *Justinian*'s is extant in *Greek* and *Latine*, published at the end of the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod*. In a place altogether forreign and unfit. For it belongs not to the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod* which was celebrated on the year of Christ 553, but to another *Constantinopolitane Synod*, which by the Emperour *Justinian*'s order had been convened on the year of Christ 538. Therefore *Baronius* has rightly placed that Letter of *Justinian* at that year I have mentioned. Now at the close of his Letter *Justinian* affirms in expres words, that he had also written a Letter to *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* upon the same Subject. For thus he says. *Hæc porro eadem Scripsimus non modo ad Sanctitatem tuam*, &c; *Moreover, we have written the very same things not only to your Sanctity, but to the most Holy and most Blessed* Vigilius *also Pope and Patriarch of the Seniour* Rome, *and to all the other most Holy Bishops and Patriarchs, of* Alexandria, Theopolis, *and* Jerusalem, *that they might both take care of this matter, and also that these things may come to an end.* Lastly, those *Anathematisms* which *Nicephorus* says were thrown against *Origen*'s opinions in the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod*, occur in the self same words in *Justinian*'s Letter to *Menas*, which was written long before the *Fifth Synod*, on the year of Christ 538; as *Baronius* informs us from *Liberatus*. The same also may be proved from the Letter which *Gregory the Great* wrote to the Four Patriarchs in the beginning of *his Episcopate*. For, although he does expresly profess in that Letter, that with Veneration he gives Reception to the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod*, in which Letter some writings of *Ibas*, *Theodorus*, and *Theodoret* are condemned; yet he says not one word concerning *Origen*'s condemnation. Which certainly he would not have omitted, if *Origen* had been condemned in that Synod. *Vales.*

The same Fathers related severall other Blasphemies of *Didymus*, *Evagrius*, and *Theodorus*, which with great diligence they had collected out of their Books. Further, some intervall of time after this Synod, [n] *Eutychius* is ejected, and [o] *Johannes* is placed in the Chair of the *Constantinopolitane* Church in his room. This *Johannes* was born at [p] *Sirimis*, which is a Village scituate in the *Cynegick Region*, in the *Antiochian* Territory.

[n] These things are written carelesly enough by *Evagrius*, who has disguised the Cause of *Eutychius*'s deposition, least he should in any wise offend the Memory of the Emperour *Justinian*. If any one be desirous of reading a compleat Narrative of this matter, 'tis extant in *Surius* in the *Life of the Blessed Patriarch* Eutychius, *elegantly written by his disciple* Eustathius, and in *Nicephorus* Book 17, Chap. 29. *Baronius* says that was done on the year of Christ 564, which was the Emperour *Justinian*'s last year. *Vales.*

[o] This is *Johannes Scholasticus* who has *a Collection of Canons Extant.* *Victor Thunonensis* in *his Chronicon*, gives us this account of his ordination: *Anno* 39. *Imperii sui Justinianus Eutychium Constantinopolitanum Episcopum*, &c. *In the* 39th *year of his Empire* Justinian *sends into Exile* Eutychius *Bishop of* Constantinople, *a Condemner of the three Heads, and of* Evagrius *the Hermite a Leucon, and of* Didymus *the Monk an* Alexandrian *Confessour, whose praises we have produced above from the authority of illustrious men; and in his room makes* Johannes *Bishop a like* [*assertour*] *of the same Errour.* Vales.

[p] Ἐκ τῆς σιρίμου. In the excellent *Florentine Manuscript* I found it written σιρήμου, both here and in the following Chapter. *Theophanes* makes mention of this *Mannour* or *Village*, in *his Chronicon* pag. 151; where he writes concerning *Alamundarus*'s irruption into *Syria*; κἀκαυσε (says he,) τὰ ἔξω καλχηδόνος καὶ τὸ σιρήμιον κτῆμα καὶ πᾶν κωμύριον χάραν: that is, *And he burnt the outward parts of* Chalcis, *and* [*ruined*] *the Mannour* [or, *Possession*] *Sirmium, and the Cynegick Region.* In the *Greek*, instead of καλχηδόνος, *Chalcedon*, I have mended it thus, χαλκίδος, *Chalcis.* *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

That Justinian * *having forsaken the right Faith, asserted the Body of* [*our*] *Lord to be incorruptible.*

* Or, *Being perverted from the right opinion.*

AT the same time *Justinian* † deflected from the right High-way of [Orthodox] Sentiments, and having entred a path untrodden by the Appostles and Fathers, fell into Thorns and Brambles. Wherewith being desirous to fill the Church, he mist of his design; the Lord having securely fenced * the High-way [a] with hedges not to be broken, that Murderers [and Thieves] might not break in, as if the wall had been faln and the Fence broken down: [and thus] he fulfilled the Prophets Prediction. *Johannes* therefore, who was also termed *Catelinus*, having [b] succeeded *Vigilius* in the Bishoprick of the *Elder Rome*, and *Johannes* born at *Sirimis* Governing the *Constantinopolitane* Church, and *Apolinaris* that of *Alexandria*, *Anastasius* successour to *Domninus* presiding over the *Antiochian* Church, and over that at *Jerusalem* [c] *Macarius*, who was again restored to his own Chair:

† Or, *Turned aside.*

* Or, *The King's way.*

[a] Ἀρρήτοις θείκοις, *with unspeakable Hedges.* In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written, thus, ἀῤῥήκτοις θείκοις, *with Hedges not to be broken.* Which writing the *Tellerian Manuscript* confirms. *Vales.*

[b] *Evagrius* mistakes. For *Johannes* succeeded not *Vigilius*, but *Pelagius* was his successour. After whose death, *Johannes Junior* undertook the Episcopate of the Church of *Rome*, on the year of Christ 560. *Vales.*

[c] This place is chiefly to be taken notice of against the Sentiment of *Baronius*, who believed *Macarius* was restored to his own See before the *Fifth Constantinopolitane Synod*. But this passage of *Evagrius* refutes *Baronius*'s opinion; *Evagrius* informing us here, that *Macarius*'s Restitution was made long before *that Synod*. To *Evagrius* agrees *Victor Trunonensis* in *his Chronicon*, in these words: *Anno* 37. *Imperii Justiniani*, &c. *On the* 37th *year of* Justinian's *Empire*, Eustochius *Bishop of* Jerusalem *who had been ordained whilst* Macarius *was alive, is ejected: and* Macarius *is again put into his own See.* But *Theophanes*, in *his Chronicon*, places *Macarius*'s Restitution on the times of *Justinus Junior*, as I have observed above. *Vales.*

* *Juſtinian.* when * he had *Anathematized Origen*, *Didymus*, and *Evagrius*, after *Euſtochius*'s depoſition; *Juſtinian* writes that which amongſt the *Romans* is called *an Edict*, wherein he has termed the Body of [our] Lord incorruptible; and incapable of Naturall and irreprehenſible † paſſions; affirming that [our] Lord ate in the ſame manner before his Paſſion, as he did eat after his Reſurrection, his moſt holy Body having received no change or alteration from its very Formation in the Womb, neither in the Voluntary and Naturall Paſſions, nor yet after [his] Reſurrection. To which [Aſſertions] *Juſtinian* [reſolved] to force the Prelates in all places to give their aſſent. But when all of them affirmed, that they earneſtly expected [the opinion of] *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, they [thereby] repreſt the [Emperour's] firſt Attempt.

† Or, *Affections.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning Anaſtaſius *Arch-Biſhop of* Antioch.

MOreover, This *Anaſtaſius* [was a perſon] both incomparably well skilled in the Sacred Scriptures, and alſo accurate in his Moralls and way of living: in ſo much that he would * take conſideration about the moſt triviall matters, nor would he † deflect at any time from a conſtancy and firmneſs, much leſs in things momentous, and which had a relation to the Deity it ſelf. And he had * tempered his diſpoſition ſo, that neither an eaſineſs of acceſs to and conference with him, might render him expoſed to what was unmeet and inconvenient; nor ſhould an Auſterity and Rigour make him inacceſſible in relation to what was fit and rationall. In [conferences that were] weighty and Serious, he was of a ready ear, and fluent Tongue: But in [diſcourſes that were] impertinent and ſuperfluous, he had his ears perfectly ſhut. A bridle repreſt his tongue in ſuch a manner, that he † meaſured his diſcourſe with reaſon, and rendred Silence far better than talke. This perſon therefore *Juſtinian* makes an Attack againſt, as againſt ſome inexpugnable Tower, and ſets upon him with all manner of Engines; conſidering with himſelf, that if he could ruine [a] this [Tower,] he ſhould afterwards become Maſter of the City with eaſe, enſlave the Doctrine of the true Faith, and lead captive the Sheep of Chriſt.

* Or, *Obſerve.*
† Or, *Make an excurſion.*
* Or, *Mixt.*
† Or, *Directed his diſcourſe by reaſon.*

[a] Ἐι τοῦτο καθαιρεθείη. In *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian Manuſcript* it is truer written, thus, εἰ τοῦτον καθαιρεθείη, *if he could ruine this* [*Tower.*] For ſo the Rules of Grammer require it ſhould be 'Tis a Metaphor drawn from Machines uſed in Sieges, wherewith Cities are wont to be aſſaulted. Further, concerning the conſtancy of this *Anaſtaſius Sinaïta* in defending the true Faith againſt the Hereſie of the *Aphthartodocitæ*, *Euſtathius* writes alſo in the *Life of the Bleſſed* Eutychius *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople. *Valeſ.*

But *Anaſtaſius* by a divine heighth of mind raiſed himſelf ſo far [above the Emperour,] (for he ſtood upon a Rock of Faith not to be broken;) that by his own *Relation* ſent to *Juſtinian*, he openly contradicted him, and in the ſame [*Relation*] demonſtrated [to him] moſt perſpicuouſly and with great eloquence, that the Body of [our] Lord was corruptible in paſſions naturall and irreprehenſible, and that the Divine Apoſtles and * Holy Fathers both thought and taught ſo. The ſame anſwer he returned to the Monks of the *Firſt* and *Second Syria*, who had conſulted him: and he confirmed the minds of all perſons, and † prepared for the Conflict, reciting daily in the Church that ſaying of that Veſſell of Election; * *If any one preach any other Goſpell unto you, than that you have received, though he be an Angell from Heaven, let him be accurſed.* Which [words] when all perſons had || weighed in their minds, a very ſmall number only excepted, they imitated him. The ſame *Anaſtaſius* wrote a [b] *Valedictory Oration* to the *Antiochians*, after he had received information, that *Juſtinian* was reſolved to ſend him into Baniſhment. Which Oration is deſervedly delightfull and admirable, for the elegancy of its words, the abundance of its * ſententious expreſſions, the frequent quotations of Sacred Scripture, [c] and for the Accommodateneſs of the Hiſtory.

* Or, *Divine.*
† Ἐπαλειφων, *anointed himſelf.*
* Galat. 1. 8, 9.
|| Or, *Looks on.*
[b] Σωτηριωδεις πρὸς τὸν ἀντιοχέων λόγος. 'Tis ſtrange that three Tranſlatours, *Langus*, *Muſculus*, and *Chriſtophorſon*, ſhould all miſtake in the Rendition of one word. The *Grecians* termed σωτηριακὸς and σωτηριώδεις λόγους, *Valedictory*, or, *Farwell Orations*, and have handed down to us the peculiar method of *Thoſe Orations*, as I have remarked in *My Notes upon* Euſebius's *Life of* Conſtantine, book 3. chap. 21, *note* (*a.*) Valeſ.
* Or, *Sentences.*

[c] Καὶ τὸ περίφορον τῆς ἱστορίας. Sr *Henry Savil* at the margin of *his copy* has mended it, καὶ τὸ περιφόρως. For ſo the Rules of Grammar require it ſhould be. But I have obſerved that the Rules of Grammar are ſometimes deſpiſed by our *Evagrius*. *Nicephorus*, when he wrote out this paſſage of *Evagrius*, inſtead of the *Conjunctive Particle*, ſubſtituted a *Præpoſition*, in this manner, πρὸς τὸ περίφορον τῆς ἱστορίας. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the death of Juſtinian.

BUt this Oration was not publiſhed, God having provided ſome better thing for us. For *Juſtinian*, whilſt he dictated a ſentence of *Deportation* againſt *Anaſtaſius* and the Prelates about him, was inviſibly wounded, and ended his life, after he had Reigned in all Thirty eight years and eight months.

The End of the Fourth Book of Evagrius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphaniensis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Election of [*the Emperour*] Justinus, *and concerning his Moralls.*

WHen therefore *Justinian* in this manner had fill'd all places with Disquietude and Tumults, and at the close of his Life had received the condign reward of such [Actings,] he departed to the infernall * punishments: but *Justinus* his Sister's Son, who was intrusted with the custody of the [Imperial] Pallace, which [Grand Officer] the *Roman* Tongue terms [a] *Curopalates*, is invested with the purple after his [death:] neither *Justinian*'s departure, nor the Election of *Justinus* having been made known to any person, save to those that were his Confidents, till such time as he appeared at the * *Ludi Circenses*, † in order to his performing and undertaking what usually belongs to an Emperour.

* Or, *Judicatories.*

[a] Concerning the Office of the *Curopalates*, much hath been already said by many persons, to repeat which here is superfluous; we will remark this only, that the *Curopalates* always went before with a Golden Rod, as often as the Emperour would appear in publick. *Cassiodorus* tells us this, in *his Formula Curæ palatii*, in these words: *Considera quâ Gratificatione tractéris, &c. Consider with what Gratification you are treated, how being adorned with a Golden Rod, amongst numerous obeysances, you seem to go first before the Royall feet.* So also *Corippus* in Book 2. Chap. 7. *De Laudibus Justini Minoris*; where he describes *Justinus*'s procession to the *Cirque* [in these words,]

* Or, *Running of Horses in the Cirque.*

† Or, *About to doe and submit himself to the usages of an Empire.*

——————*Tunc ordine longo*
Incedunt summi proceres, fulgensque Senatus,
Ipse inter primos vultu præclarus honoro,
Fratris in obsequium gaudens Marcellus abibat.
Dispositorque novus sacræ Baduarius Aulæ,
Successor Soceri, fastus mox Curopalates.

Concerning this Golden Rod which was wont to be carried before the *Roman* Emperours, *Paulus Silentiarius* speaks, in *his description of the Church of Saint Sophia*, not far from the beginning.

——————Ὀρνύμενον δὲ
Ὡς δέμις, ἠὲ ἀνέμιμνε σωέμποροι ἀσπιδιώτην,
Οὐ χρυσῆν πνα ῥάβδον, ἀεὶ περικάλλιθεν ἀνάκλων.

For I assent not to that Learned man, who hath rendred it, *Aureas Secures, Golden Axes.* And at first this dignity was small, for it was under the dispose of the *Castrensis* [See Dr *Howells History, Second part, pag 64.*] *of the Sacred Pallace.* But afterwards it began to be accounted the chiefest dignity of the Pallace, from such time as *Justinus* Nephew to *Justinian* bore it. It was a *Civil*, not a *Military* dignity, as *Alemannus* thought, who (in *his Notes on* Procopius's *Historia Arcana,*) confounds the *Curopalates* with the *Comes Excubitorum.* Vales.

After these [Solemnities] therefore were over, when nothing of an * opposition had in any wise been attempted [against him,] he returned to the Pallace. [By] the first Edict he promulged, the [b] Prelates who had been convened in all places, were sent home to their own Sees, in order to their worshipping God in the usuall and received manner, no Innovation being made in relation to the Faith. And this Action done by him was highly commendable. But, as to his Life, he was dissolute, and * altogether a slave to Luxuries and † obscene pleasures: so ardent a lover also of other mens money, that he sold all things for illegall gain, and revered not the Deity even in the Ecclesiastick preferments, which he made his markets of to any persons he could meet with, and publickly proposed even these to sale. Moreover, being possest [c] with [two most contrary] Vices, Boldness and Sloth, in the first place he caused his [d] kinsman *Justinus* to be sent for, a personage of an universall honour and esteem, both for his skill in Military affairs, and for those other dignities [which he had born:] he at that time made his residence about the *Danube*, and hindred the *Abari* from passing that River.

* Or, *Innovation.*

[b] Τὰς ἀπαυλαχῆ συναγωγὰς ἱερέας. *Nicephorus* (book 17. chap. 33.) took these words of *Evagrius* as meant of the Bishops, who had been banished by *Justinian* into various places for their defence of the true Faith. But that word συναγωγὰς can not bear this interpretation. Therefore *Christophorson* chose to interpret this place concerning the Bishops, who from all places had been assembled together at *Constantinople*. But neither can I approve of this Rendition; in regard *Evagrius* says those Bishops were not convened at *Constantinople*, but ἀπαυταχῆ, that is, *in all places.* Vales.

* Or, *openly involved in.*

† Or, *Immense.*

[c] Ταῖς κακίαις. Some word seems to be wanting, which may be supplied in this manner; ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις κακίαις, *most contrary Vices.* And so *Christophorson* seems to have read. *Vales.* See *chap. 19. note (d.)*

[d] This *Justinus* was Son to *Germanus Patritius*, and Cousin-germane to the Emperour *Justinus*, as *Johannes Biclarensis* informs us in *his Chronicon.* Indeed, *Germanus* and *Justinus Junior* were akin. For *Germanus* was *Justinian*'s Nephew by his Brother. But the Emperour *Justinus* was the Son of *Vigilantia Justinian*'s Sister. Further, this *Justinus* Son to *Germanus* had born the Consulate in the year of Christ 540. The Emperour *Justinian* had created the same person

Maſter of the Milice throughout *Colchis* and *Armenia*, in place of *Martinus*, as *Agathias* writes in *his Fourth Book*; but afterwards he made the ſame perſon *Maſter of the Milice* throughout the *Thracia*'s; as *Menander Protector* declares in the *Firſt Book of his Hiſtory*, pag. 99. Valeſ.

The *Abari* are a *Scythick* Nation who live in Waggons, and inhabit the * Regions ſcituate beyond *Caucaſus*. Which people, in regard they had been ſorely afflicted by the [c] *Turks* their Neighbours, [left their habitation, and] with their whole Families fled from them, and came to the *Boſphorus*. Then leaving the Shore of that termed the *Euxine* Sea, (where many barbarous Nations who had left their own dwellings, inhabited; moreover, Cities, * *Caſtra*, and [f] ſome *Stations* had been built [there] by the *Romans*, when either † *Veterane* Souldiers, or Colonies had been ſent thither by the Emperours:) they continued on their journey, engaging all the *Barbarians* they met with, till ſuch time as they were arrived at the Banks of the *Danube*, and [g] had ſent Embaſſadours to *Juſtinian*. From thence therefore *Juſtinus* was ſent for, on pretence as if he were to enjoy [the advantage of] that Compact which had been made betwixt him and the Emperour *Juſtinus*. For, in regard both of them were equall as to their Secular Grandeur and Power, and whereas the Empire * hung as it were betwixt them; after many debates they had come to this agreement, that he who was arrived at the Empire, ſhould give the other the Second place; that ſo, by being Second in the Empire, he might be Firſt in reſpect of all other perſons.

* Or, *Fields.*

[c] In what manner theſe *Abari*, or *Abares*, having been vanquiſhed by the *Turks*, betook themſelves into *Europe*, *Theophilactus Simocatta* relates, *Book* 7. *Chap.* 7. Valeſ.

* Or, *Camps.*

[f] Καὶ τινες πρεσβυτικὰς ὁρμήσεις. In *Nicephorus* Book 17. Chap. 34, and in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, 'tis written in one word, thus, πρεσβυτικήσεις, *Stations*, or *Landing places*; which I rather approve of. But I think this whole place muſt be thus written, ἔνθα συχνὰ μὲν ἔθνη βαρβαρικὰ ὠκίδισαν· ὠκίδισαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ ῥωμαίων πόλεις τε καὶ στρατόπεδα, &c, *where many Barbarous Nations*, &c, according as we have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Diſabled.*

[g] In *Juſtiniani Auguſtus*'s times, the *Abares* having paſſed into *Europe*, became firſt known to the *Romans*, as *Theophilactus Simocatta* relates *in Book* 7. *Chap.* 8: for when they had come to the places of *Scythia* and *Mæſia*, they ſent Embaſſadours to *Juſtinian*, on the thirty firſt year of *Juſtinian*'s Empire, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon*, and *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*. But *Victor Thunonenſis* mentions this Embaſſy a little later. *Poſt Conſulatum*, &c. *After the Conſulate of the moſt famous perſonage* Baſilius *on the twenty third year; the Emperour Juſtinian makes the Embaſſadours of the Nation of the* Abari *whence they had come*, &c. This was the thirty ſixth year of *Juſtinian*'s Empire. Concerning the ſame Embaſſy of the *Abares* to *Juſtinian*, *Menander Protector* is to be conſulted in the *Firſt Book of his Hiſtory*, pag. 99 *of the King's Edition*, where he excellently well deſcribes that Embaſſy, and confirms *Victor Thunonenſis*'s opinion. For he ſays, that *Juſtinian* died not long after. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Enclined to both of them.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Murder of Juſtinus *Kinſman to the Emperour* Juſtinus.

[THe Emperour] *Juſtinus* therefore received *Juſtinus* with great appearances of kindneſs and friendſhip; but ſoon after he framed [various] cauſes and pretences, and [by degrees] deprived him of his * *Satellites*, his *Domeſticks*, and the *Protectors* of his Body, and [a] forbids him Acceſs to himſelf: [b] for he ſate at home.

* *Guards*, or, *Partiſans.*

[a] Τοὺς τε παρ' αὐτῷ πρεσβύτας. *Nicephorus* took away the *Præpoſition* here. For he has expreſt this place of *Evagrius* thus: καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ πρεσβύτας ἀνείργε, *and hindred him from going abroad.* But I had rather write with *Evagrius*, τούς τε παρ' αὐτὸν πρεσβύτας εἶργεν. Which reading I have followed in my Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[b] Καθῆστο γὰρ ἔνδον. *Nicephorus* and *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words of *Evagrius* concerning *Juſtinus* kinſman to the Emperour *Juſtinus*. But I had rather take them as meant of the Emperour *Juſtinus* himſelf. For he being ſickly, for the moſt part ſate at home, and forbad his kinſman *Juſtinus* acceſs to himſelf. Indeed, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* do atteſt what I have ſaid concerning *Juſtinus*; For *Cedrenus*'s words are theſe: ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης σωματικῶς νοσηλεύόμενος καὶ σκυθρωπάζων, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος περέρχεσθαι, *This* Juſtinus *was continually ſick, and diſmal-ſighted, and unable to come abroad.* Valeſ.

[At length] by *Juſtinus*'s order [c] he is removed to the Great City *Alexandria*; where he is moſt inhumanely murdered in the dead of the night, whilſt he lay in his bed; this being the reward he received for his kindneſs to the Republick, and for thoſe eminent Services he had performed in the Wars. Nor would the Emperour *Juſtinus* and his wife *Sophia* abate of their rage, or could they ſatiate their burning fury [conceived againſt *Juſtinus*,] till ſuch time as they had ſeen his head after 'twas cut off, and had trampled it under their feet.

[c] Ἐξωρίσθη, *is brought home.* I had rather read ἐξωρίζεται, *is removed.* So in the foregoing chapter, where the reading is ἐσωκίσθη δὲ, &c; *Nicephorus* reads, ἐξωκίσθη, and underſtands that place of *Evagrius* concerning the *Barbarians* who had been carried thither by the *Romans*. Further, this *Juſtinus* was made *Auguſtalis* and *Dux* of *Alexandria*, by the Emperour *Juſtinus* in the ſixth year of his Empire, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* do relate. *Cedrenus*'s words are theſe: ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰωάννης, ὅτι ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουστῖνος, ὃς ἦν δοὺξ ἀλεξανδρείας συσκευὴν μελετᾷ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, πέμψας αὐτὸν ἀπεφάλισε, *But* Juſtinus *having heard that his kinſman, who was* Auguſtalis *and* Dux *of* Alexandria, *meditated treachery againſt the Emperour, he ſent and beheaded him.* Write thus, ὃς ἦν αὐγουσταλιὸς καὶ δοὺξ ἀλεξανδρείας, according as the reading is in *Theophanes*. For theſe two dignities, *Auguſtalis* and *Dux*, although they were diſtinct, yet were now and then given to one and the ſame perſon by the Emperours, as may be proved by many inſtances. Further, this dignity was beſtowed on *Juſtinus* by the Emperour, not in honour to him, but rather that he might ſend him far off from the Imperial City. Therefore the City *Alexandria* was to *Juſtinus* inſtead of a priſon. Hence 'tis, that *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* relates, that *Juſtinus Auguſtus* detained his Coſin-German *Juſtinus* priſoner as 'twere at *Alexandria*. Moreover, *Johannes Biclarienſis*, in *his Chronicon*, places the murder of this *Juſtinus* on the ſecond year of *Juſtinus Junior*'s Empire; to wit on the ſame year whereon *Ætherius* and *Addæus* had a capitall puniſhment inflicted on them. And this is more agreeable to the account given here by *Evagrius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

Concerning thoſe Miſcreants Addæus *and* Ætherius.

MOreover, [a] not long after, the Emperour delivered up *Ætherius* and *Addæus*, (perſons of the [b] *Senatorian* Order, who had been great Favourites of the Emperour *Juſtinian*'s,) to a judiciary proceſs, they being charged with an accuſation of High-Treaſon. Of theſe two, *Ætherius* confeſſed that he deſigned to kill the Emperour by Poyſon, and ſaid that he had *Addæus* his Accomplice in this attempt, and his Aſſiſtant in all [his other deſignes.] But *Addæus* with horrid Oaths affirmed, that he was wholly ignorant of theſe [Treaſons.] Nevertheleſs, both of them were beheaded. *Addæus* at ſuch time as his head was cut off, affirmed, that in this matter he had been falſely accuſed, but that he was deſervedly puniſhed by [divine] Juſtice, which inſpects all affairs wherever tranſacted: for [he ſaid] that by Magick he had murdered *Theodotus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*.

[a] Οὐ μετὰ πολὺ δὲ καὶ. The former negative particle muſt be expunged, as being altogether ſuperfluous. *Valeſ.*

[b] The words of *Johannes Biclarienſis in his Chronicon* are theſe: *Anno Secundo mense principis*, &c. *On the ſecond year of the mentioned Emperour, in the Imperial City,* Ætherius *and* Addæus Patritii, *being detected whilſt by Phyſitians they attempted to kill* Juſtinus *by Poyſon rather than ſword, are ordered to be puniſhed with a capitall ſentence: the former was devoured by wild Beaſts, the ſecond was burnt to death.* I know not whether *Johannes Biclarienſis* termed theſe men *Patritii* inſtead of *Senators*; but there is a great difference between the *Patritian* and *Senatorian* dignity. Concerning the ſame *Ætherius* and *Addæus*, *Euſtathius* in the *Life* of Eutychius *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, writes thus: *Quâ quidem die, id eſt, tertiâ Octobris*, &c; *On which day, that is the third of* October, *thoſe perſons alſo who had framed Plots againſt the holy man and had caſt him into Exile, [I mean] Ætherius and* Addæus, *the latter of whom was Præfect of the City, and the former was* Curator *of [the houſe of] Antiochus, died*, &c. *Valeſ.*

But

But I cannot positively affirm whither or no these things were so: however, they were both most flagitious wretches. *Addæus* was a Notorious * *Sodomite*. And *Ætherius* omitted no sort of Calumny, but preyed upon the Estates as well of the living, as of the dead, in the name of that Imperial [c] House, of which he was *Curator* [or, Governour,] during the Empire of *Justinian*. And such was the conclusion of these matters.

* Or, *Buggerer*.

[c] He means the house of *Antiochus*, of which *Ætherius* was *Curator*, as *Eustathius* attests in the place just now cited: *ille autem Antiochiæ Curator*. *Eustathius*'s words in Greek, if I mistake not, are these; ὁ δὲ ἐπίτροπος τῆς ἀντιόχου, that is, *But Ætherius Curator of the House of* Antiochus. The same *Eustathius* makes mention of this house, where he describes in what manner *Eutychius* was ejected out of the Imperial City: *Dicebant enim quidam graves viri*, &c. *For some grave men said, if he should go out of the Sacred Temple, he would be killed. For some Armed men, who were placed in the Mannour-House of* Antiochus, *stayed for him without, for that purpose*. *Theophilactus* mentions the same Imperial House in *his third Book, Chapter* 3. There were many such houses at *Constantinople*, as the House of *Placidia*, the House of *Flaccilla*, the House of *Hormisda*, and severall others belonging to the Emperour: each of which Houses had its *Curator*, who look't after that House or Pallace, and all its Revenues. These Officers are termed *Curæ Palatiorum* in the *Notitia of the* Roman *Empire*, under the disposse of the *Castrensis of the Sacred Pallace*. But then, the dignity of these *Curators* was the chiefest, and their Title was *Most Glorious* and *Most Magnificent*; as *Tiberius Augustus's Constitution de Domibus Imperialibus informs us*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Edict of our Faith, which Justinus *wrote to the* Christians *in all places.*

MOreover, the same *Justinus* wrote an Edict to the *Christians* in all places, [the Contents] whereof [ran] in these expres words. IN THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST OUR GOD, EMPEROUR CÆSAR FLAVIUS JUSTINUS, FAITHFULL IN CHRIST, MILD, THE GREATEST, BENEFICENT, ALEMANICUS, GOTTHICUS, GERMANICUS, ANTICUS, FRANCICUS, ERULICUS, GEPÆDICUS, PIOUS, HAPPY, GLORIOUS, VICTOR, TRIUMPHATOR, ALWAYS ADORABLE, AUGUSTUS. * My peace I give unto you, *says the Lord Christ, our true God*. My peace I leave with you, *declares the same* [*Christ*] *to all men. The purport of which* [*expressions*] *is nothing else, but that those who believe in him should* † *unite in one and the same Church: being of the same mind in relation to the true* ‖ *Faith of the Christians, and having an aversion for them who affirm or think the contrary. For, the* * *Primary safety* [*which*] *has been appointed to all men,* [*is*] *the Confession of the true Faith. Wherefore, We also following the Evangelick Admonitions, and the Holy Symboll, or Creed of the Holy Fathers, do exhort all men to betake themselves to one and the same Church and Opinion: believing in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, in the Consubstantiall Trinity, in the One Deity, or Nature and* † *Essence, both in word and deed, and* ‖ *asserting One Might and Power and Operation, in the three* Hypostasis*'s or Persons, into which we have been baptized, in which we have believed, and to which we have been conjoyned. For we adore the Unity in the Trinity, and the Trinity in the Unity, which hath an admirable both Division, and* * *Unition: an Unity in respect of the* † *Essence or Deity: but a Trinity in respect of the proprieties or* Hypostasis*'s or Persons. For, that we may so speak, it is indivisibly divided, and divisibly conjoyned. For* [*there is*] *One in Three,* [*to wit,*] *the Deity, and Three* [*are*] *One, in whom* [*namely*] *is the Deity, or, to speak more accurately, which* [*are*] *the Deity it self: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, when as each Person is considered by himself; the mind* [*to wit*] *dividing those things which are inseperable: the Three* [*Persons being one*] *God, understood together, on account of the same Motion and the same Nature. For we ought both to confess one God, and also to assert Three* * Hypostasis*'s or Proprieties. But we Confess him, the only Begotten Son of God, God the Word, who was begotten of the Father before Ages and without time, not made; in the last days to have descended from Heaven on our account and for our Salvation, and to have been incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and of our Lady the Holy Glorious* Theotocos *and Ever-Virgin* Mary, *and to have been born of her:* [a] *who is our Lord* Jesus Christ, *one of the Holy Trinity, Glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. who is to the Father and to the Holy Ghost.* In *Nicephorus*, Book 17. Chap. 35, where this Edict of the Emperour *Justinus* concerning the Faith is recorded, this place is read thus: ὃς ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἴσος, *who is equall to the Father and to the Holy Spirit*. Which reading *Christophorson* hath followed. For he renders it thus; *Qui est equalis Patri & Spiritui Sancto, who is equall to the Father and to the Holy Spirit*. But in this place the equality of the Father and Son is not treated of: but, whether Christ be one of the Trinity. I have therefore supplyed this place righter from the excellent *Florentine Manuscript*, in this manner; ὃς ἐστιν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ εἷς τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, συνδοξούμενος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, *who is our Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. The *Tellerian* M. S. has it written thus: ὃς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, *who is in the Father and in the Holy Spirit*. Vales. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is the same with that set at the beginning of this note.

* John 14. 27.

† Or, *Run together into*.

‖ Or, *Opinion*.

* Or, *First Salvation*.

† Or, *Substance*.

‖ Or, *Glorifying*.

* Or, *Joyning together*.

† Or, *Substance*.

* Or, *Subsistences*.

[a] Ὃς ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι,

For the holy Trinity hath not received an addition of a Fourth Person, although one of the holy Trinity God the Word hath been incarnate: but he is One and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, *Consubstantiall to God and the Father according to the Deity, and the same* [*Person is*] *of the same substance with us in respect of the Humanity: passible in the flesh, and the same* [*Person*] *impassible in the Deity. For we acknowledge not One God the Word who wrought Miracles, and another who suffered: but we confess One and the same our Lord* Jesus Christ *God the Word, to have been incarnate and perfectly made man, and that the Miracles* † *belong both to One and the same, as likewise the sufferings, which he Voluntarily underwent in the flesh on account of our Salvation. For* * *a man gave not himself for us; but God the Word himself, made man without* [*any*] *Conversion,* ‖ *underwent both a Spontaneous Passion, and a death in the Flesh for us. Although therefore we confess him to be God, yet we deny not that the same person is also Man: and by our confessing him to be man, we deny not the same Person to be also God. Whence, whilst we profess one and the same* [*Person*] *our Lord* Jesus Christ *to be* * *compounded of both Natures, the Deity and the Humanity,* [b] *we introduce not a Confusion into the Unition.*

† Or, *Are of*.

* Or, *a certain, or, some one man*.

‖ Or, *Received*.

* Or, *Made up*.

[b] Σύγχυσιν τῇ ἑνώσει οὐκ εἰσαγόμεν. *Christophorson* has rendred this place ill, in this manner: *Non Confusionem in Unitatem introducimus, We introduce not a confusion into the Unity*. Nor has *Musculus* done righter; who translates it thus: *Unitatem non confundimus, We confound not the Unity*. I do not wonder at *Musculus*, who in this Edict of *Justinus* always renders ἕνωσιν *Unitatem*, *Unity*, very erroneously. That Learned man hath committed the same mistake, *who has done into Latine the Fragments of* Ephræmius *Bishop of* Antioch, *which are extant in* Photius's *Bibliotheca*. But why *Christophorson*, who every where renders ἕνωσιν, *Copulationem*, *Copulation*, should at this place

tranſlate it otherwiſe, I know not. *Johannes Langus Nicephorus's* Tranſlatour renders it thus: *In Unione confuſionem non inducimus, We induce not a confuſion in the Union.* Exactly right, if you add a Syllable, in this manner, *in Unitione, in the Unition.* For the term *Unio*, though it be now a days frequently uſed in the Schools of Philoſophers and Divines, is a barbarous word, when 'tis taken for *Unition.* For *Unio* in *Latine* ſignifies *Unitatem, Unity*; as may be proved from *Tertullian, Jerome, Prudentius, Pope* Simplicius, and others. Let therefore thoſe *Zoili* [*Carpers*, or, *Cenſurers*] ceaſe reproving of us, becauſe in the *Letter of* Alexander *Biſhop of* Alexandria, which is recorded by *Socrates book* 1. *chap.* 6, we have tranſlated μοναδα, *Union.* For we did that from the uſe and propriety of the Latine Tongue: which they being wholly ignorant of, thought that *Unio, Union,* was nothing elſe but *Unitionem, Unition.* But, betwixt *Unio* and *Unitio*, there is as much difference, as between μονας and ἑνωσις. *In Union* or *Unity, there is nothing but what is ſimple or ſingle.* But, *in Unition ſomething compounded of two is neceſſarily underſtood.* 'Tis certain, the *Old Tranſlatour of the* Chalcedon *Synod* always renders ἑνωσις, *Unition*, or *adunation.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Shall not.* † Or, *So as we are.* ‖ *Sublimity*, or *Eminency.* * Or, *Being both at the ſame time.*

For he * *will not ceaſe to be God, becauſe* † *agreeably to us he was made man: nor again, becauſe by Nature he is God, and cannot receive a likeneſs to us, will he refuſe to be man. For, as he hath continued God in the Humanity, ſo alſo* [*though*] *exiſting in the* ‖ *Majeſty of the Deity, he nevertheleſs* [*continues*] *Man:* * *exiſting Both in the ſame, and* [*is*] *One God and alſo Man,* The Emmanuel. [*Further, whereas*] *we confeſs him perfect in the Deity, and perfect in the Humanity, of which* [*two*] *he is alſo made up,* [*yet*] † *we bring not in a particular Diviſion or Section upon his one compounded* Hypoſtaſis: *but we ſhow the difference of the Natures, which is not deſtroyed* [*or, taken away*] *by the Unition. For, neither has the Divine Nature been changed into the Humane, nor hath the Humane Nature been converted into the Divine. But both* [*Natures*] [c] *being underſtood, or rather exiſting in the definition and* ‖ *manner of the proper Nature, we affirm that the Unition was made according to the perſon: now, the Unition according to the perſon imports, that God the Word, that is one Perſon of the Three perſons of the Deity, was united not to a præ-exiſting Man, but in the Womb of our Lady the Holy-Glorious* Theotocos *and Ever-Virgin* Mary; *that from her he framed to himſelf in a proper Perſon Fleſh of the ſame ſubſtance with us and ſubject to like paſſions in all things, ſin only excepted, and that it was enlivened with a rationall and intelligent Soul.* [d] *For he had a Perſon in himſelf, and was made Man, and is One and the ſame our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *Glorified together with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt.* [*Moreover,*] *weighing in our minds his ineffable Unition, we rightly confeſs one Nature incarnate of God the Word, which in the Fleſh is enlivened with a rationall and intelligent Soul. And again, taking into conſideration the difference of the Natures, we aſſert them to be two, introducing no manner of Diviſion. For each Nature is in him. Wherefore, we confeſs One and the ſame Chriſt, One Son, One Perſon, One* Hypoſtaſis, [*to be*] *God and alſo Man.*

† Διαίρεσιν μὲν οὐ τοιαύτην ἀναπλάττομεν, ἢ τοιοῦν ἐκ διαφέρουσῶν τῶν μιᾶς αὐτοῦ συνθέτου ὑποστάσεως.

[c] Νοουμένης δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπαρχούσης. In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written, thus; νοουμένης δὲ καὶ ὑπαρχούσης μᾶλλον, &c. But, I had rather read thus; νοουμένης δὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπαρχούσης, *being underſtood, or rather exiſting*, &c. Nor do I doubt but the Emperour *Juſtinus* wrote ſo as I have ſaid: For he reproves himſelf, becauſe he had ſaid, νοουμένης, *being underſtood*; as if the difference of the two Natures in Chriſt were in the underſtanding only, and did not really exiſt. *Valeſ.*

‖ Λόγῳ, *Form, fashion, ſtate.*

[d] Ἐν αὐτῷ ὃ ἔχε πλὴν ὑποστάσιν. In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἐν αὐτῇ, underſtand τῇ σαρκὶ, *in the very Fleſh.* Which reading is not tollerable. For Chriſt had not a proper ſubſiſtency in the Fleſh, but before he aſſumed Fleſh, he had a proper ſubſiſtency, in regard he was the ſecond perſon of the Sacred Trinity. Nevertheleſs, if any one be minded to defend *Nicephorus's* reading, I ſhall not much gainſay it For it more fitly coheres with the words preceding. The ſenſe therefore is this, that *the Son of God, who had a proper ſubſiſtency from all Eternity, having aſſumed Fleſh, ſubſiſted therein perſonally.* Valeſ.

But all thoſe, who have thought or do think contrary hereto, we Anathematize, *and judge them eſtranged from the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church of God. Whereas therefore the true* * Dogmata, *which have been delivered to us by the Holy Fathers, are aſſerted; We exhort you all to Concur in one and the ſame Catholick and Apoſtolick Church; yea rather, we beſeech you. For we are not aſhamed, though placed in the ſublimity of Royalty, to make uſe of ſuch expreſſions* [e] *for the Conſent and Union of all Chriſtians, to the end one Glorification may be* † *attributed to the Great God and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt; *and that in future no perſon might pretend to quarrell* [f] *about the Perſons or the Syllables. For the Syllables tend to one and the ſame right Faith and meaning: that Uſage and* ‖ *Form, which hitherto hath obtained in God's Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church,* [*remaining*] *in all things firm and without Innovation, and continuing* [*ſo*] *to all Futurity.*

* *Points*, or *Opinions*

† *Sent forth.*

‖ *Scheme*, or, *State.*

To this Edict all perſons gave their conſent, and affirmed [that the Faith and Doctrine] was [therein] Orthodoxly promulged: but yet it reduced not ſo much as one [of the Churche's members,] which had been rent inſunder, to an Unity, becauſe [the Emperour] in expreſs words had declared, that [the State of] the Churches had been preſerved firm and without Innovation, and for the time yet to come [ſhould ſo continue.]

[e] Ὑπὲρ τῆς, &c. I am of the ſame mind with the Learned, who have long ſince mended it, ὑπὲ τῆς, *for the*, &c. Although *Nicephorus* has retained the vulgar reading. *Valeſ.*

[f] Περὶ προσώπων καὶ συλλαβῶν. The firſt word προσώπων, *perſons*, is uſed on account of *Neſtorius's* Hereſie, who aſſerted two perſons in Chriſt, the one of man, the other of the Word. But the word συλλαβὰς *Syllables* was annext on account of the *Eutychians* and *Accephali*, who affirmed that Chriſt conſiſted of two Natures before the Unition; but after the Unition, they aſſerted but one Nature in him. On the other hand, the Catholicks adored Chriſt in two Natures. Thoſe Syllables therefore are ἐν and ἐκ. Which though they are different, yet if they be rightly underſtood, do both aim at one and the ſame Faith and Opinion, as *Juſtinus* adds. See *Evagrius* above, at book 1. chap. 1 note *(c.)* Further, this Edict was promulged by *Juſtinus Junior* on the firſt year of his Empire, to wit the year of Chriſt 566, as *Baronius* remarks: than which Edict *Juſtinus* conferred nothing more upon the Catholick Church: but, ſatisfying himſelf in having only expounded the Orthodox Faith, he in future prohibited diſputes about the *Neſtorian* and *Eutychian* Opinion, and permitted every one to think of theſe matters according to his own arbitrement. From this Edict therefore followed no advantage, as *Evagrius* obſerves truly. Wherefore *Johannes Biclarienſis* [ſaid] amiſs in *his Chronicon*, whoſe words concerning *Juſtinus Junior* are theſe: *Qui Juſtinus anno primo Regni ſui*, &c; *Which* Juſtinus *in the firſt year of his Reign, deſtroyed thoſe things which had been deviſed againſt the* Chalcedon *Synod. And ſuffered the Creed of the Holy Fathers of the Church convened at* Conſtantinople, *(which Creed had been laudably received in the* Chalcedon *Synod,) to have entrance, and to be ſung by the people in every Catholick Church, before the Lords Prayer was to be repeated. Biclarienſis* attributes thoſe things to *Juſtinus Junior*, which rather befitted *Juſtinus Senior.* Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Ejection of Anaſtaſius *Biſhop of* * Theopolis.

* Or, *Antioch.*

MOreover, *Juſtinus* ejected *Anaſtaſius* out of the Chair of *Theopolis*; objecting againſt him, both the profuſe expence of the ſacred Revenue which had been made, ſaying it was immoderate, and not according to what was meet and neceſſary; and alſo [charging him] with † reflecting abuſively on himſelf. For when *Anaſtaſius* was asked, why he would fling away the ſacred money in ſo laviſh a manner, he replyed openly, *that it might not be taken away by* Juſtinus *that common Peſt.* But 'twas ſaid that [*Juſtinus*] had therefore conceived an old Grudge againſt *Anaſtaſius*, becauſe when he

† Or, *Blaſphemy againſt himſelf.*

[a] Τὴν ὀπισ-
κοπὴν ἐγ-
χειρωθέν-
τι. *Nicephorus*, in regard he underſtood not theſe words, omitted them, as may be ſeen in book 17. chap. 36. For he has expreſt this place of *Evagrius* thus: Πεφήνιτο δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι παρὰ ζημίαν χρήματα, ἃ παρῄτησο δοῦναι, *But 'twas ſaid that* Juſtinus *was angry with him, becauſe he refuſed to give him money when he demanded it.* But 'twas eaſie to have mended the place of *Evagrius*, in this manner; ὅτι μὲ ζημίαν ἦν χρήματα τὸν ὀπισκοπὴν ἐγχειρωθεὶς ἂν εἴλετο δοῦναι, *becauſe having been promoted to the Biſhoprick he refuſed to give* [Juſtinus] *money who demanded it.* And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* ſeem to have read. For thus *Muſculus* renders it; *Dicitur autem Anaſtaſio ſuccenſuiſe, quòd quum pecuniam pro Epiſcopatûs collatione exigeret, dare illam noluerit; But 'tis ſaid that he had been angry with* Anaſtaſius, *becauſe when he exacted money for his Collation to the Biſhoprick, he refuſed to give it.* This occaſion of hatred therefore againſt *Anaſtaſius* was of a long ſtanding, before *Juſtinus* had arrived at the Empire. Wherefore *Evagrius* uſes the word μωισας, which ſignifies *an ancient and concealed Anger.* 'Tis certain, whilſt *Juſtinian* ſurvived, *Anaſtaſius* had been elected Biſhop of *Antioch.* Now, the Grandees at Court, and thoſe whoſe intereſt was great with the Emperour, were wont to exact money of them who were elected Patriarchs, as may be proved by the Example of *Chryſaphius* the *Eunuch*, who demanded money of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; as *Evagrius* has related above, ſee book 2. chap. 2. Nevertheleſs, this was forbidden by the *Novell Conſtitutions of* Juſtinian. *Valeſ.*

[b] Indeed, *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, brings another reaſon, on account whereof *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* was depoſed from the See of *Antioch.* But, becauſe Tranſlatours have in no wiſe hit the meaning of *Theophanes*, I will annex his words here: Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἀνασάσιος ὁ ἐπισκοπῶν ἀντιοχείας ὁ μέλας, κατεκρίθη ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγεγραφοις ἢ συνοδικῶν, ἰωάννου τὸ κωνσταντινοπόλεως τῷ χειροτονήσαντι ἰωάννην τὸν ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ ὅτι αὐτὸν χειροτονηθέντα, ἐξελήλυθη τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ ἀσανακλητον ἐστιν: That is, as I render it. *On the ſame year* Anaſtaſius *the Great, Biſhop of* Antioch, *in regard in his anſwer to the Synodick Letters, he had reprehended* John *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *who had ordained* John *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and had* [*at the ſame time reproved him*] *who had been ordained by him, was ejected out of his Biſhoprick by reaſon of* Juſtinus's *indignation.* I reade therefore in *Theophanes*, ἢ τῷ χειροτονηθέντι, which emendation is moſt certain. *John* Biſhop of *Alexandria* had been ordained at *Conſtantinople* by *Johannes Scholaſticus*, on the fifth year of *Juſtinus*'s Empire, in the year of Chriſt 570, as *Baronius* alſo relates. After his ordination, when (as 'twas uſuall) he had written Synodick Letters to *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Anaſtaſius* in his anſwer to thoſe Letters, had ſeverely reproved his Ordainer *Johannes*; in regard, contrary to the Eccleſiaſtick Rules, he had been thruſt into the place of *Eutychius* as then living. He had alſo reprehended him, who having been ordained by him, had drawn upon himſelf the fault and blot of his own Ordainer. The Emperour *Juſtinus* (who loved *Johannes Scholaſticus*, as being the perſon by whom he had been Crowned,) taking offence at this thing, ejected *Anaſtaſius* out of his See. *Theophanes's Latine Tranſlatour* thought, that thoſe Synodick Letters which *Anaſtaſius* had given anſwer to, had been written by *Johannes* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; which is a miſtake. For they were written by *Johannes* Biſhop of *Alexandria* in the beginning of his Epiſcopate. Therefore, after the word συνοδικῶν a *Comma* muſt be put, as *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* has done. Further, *Baronius* places this Depoſition of *Anaſtaſius* on the year of Chriſt 573; which is the *eighth year* of *Juſtinus*'s Empire. But I had rather, with *Theophanes*, place it on the *Fifth* or *Sixth year* of the ſame *Juſtinus*, in regard it hapned a little after the ordination of *Johannes* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, which was performed on the year of Chriſt 570, as *Baronius* himſelf does atteſt. *Valeſ.*

he demanded money of him at his promotion to the Biſhoprick, *Anaſtaſius* would not give it him. Moreover, other matters were objected againſt *Anaſtaſius*, by ſome perſons who, I ſuppoſe, were deſirous of ſerving and promoting the Emperour's deſign.

CHAP. VI.

That, after Anaſtaſius, Gregorius *was made Biſhop, and concerning his diſpoſition.*

But after *Anaſtaſius*, *Gregorius* is preferred to the Epiſcopall Throne, [a] *whoſe Glory*, that I may uſe the Poet's expreſſion, *is far ſpread.*

[a] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred this place very ill, as if by theſe words *Evagrius* would have ſhown, that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch* had been eminent for Poetry. But *Langus* has turned theſe words righter, thus: *Cujus lata eſt Gloria, ut Poetæ verbis utar, whoſe Glory is far ſpread, that I may uſe the Poets words.* Valeſ. *Evagrius* makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion at chap. 15, book 13 where he ſpeaks of *Iſidorus Peluſiota.*

[This perſon] from his younger years had been exerciſed in the Monaſtick Conflicts, and had ſtriven with ſo much courage and conſtancy of mind, that in a very ſhort time, || even during his youthfull age, he arrived at the higheſt degrees; and Governed the Monaſtery of the [b] *Byzantii*, where he embraced a † Monaſtick life. [Afterwards,] by the * order of *Juſtinus* [he preſided over the Monks] of mount *Sinai* alſo; in which place he fell into the greateſt of dangers, by undergoing a Siege from thoſe *Arabians* [termed] *Scenitæ.* Nevertheleſs, when he had procured that place a profound Peace, he was called from thence to the † *Patriarchate.* For underſtanding and virtue of mind, [c] and in all other things he was the eminenteſt perſon of all men, and the moſt active in [effecting] whatever he had propoſed to himſelf; || of an undaunted ſpirit, and a man not to be induced to yield, or to be afraid of the Secular power. He made ſuch magnificent † diſtributions of money, and uſed ſuch a bountifullneſs and liberality towards all men, that whenever he went abroad, numerous crowds of people, beſides thoſe that were his uſuall attendants, followed him. And whatever perſons could either ſee, or hear he was [d] going forth, flock't together. [e] The honour given to the ſupreameſt Powers [of this world] was inferiour to that [paid] to this man; for people were for the moſt part deſirous, both of ſeeing him as near as poſſibly they could, and coveted to hear him diſcourſe. For he was moſt excellently qualified to excite a deſire of himſelf in all perſons, who upon what ever account came to and converſed with him. For, his aſpect was admirable, and his diſcourſe, by reaſon of his pleaſantneſs of ſpeech, moſt delightfull; as ready as ever was any man, in the preſent apprehending of a thing, and moſt quick in action: in || chooſing the beſt advice, and in paſſing a judgement, as well of his own, as the affairs of others, he was † moſt prudent. On which account he performed ſo many and ſuch great things, never deferring any buſineſs till the morrow. He was the admiration not only of the *Roman* Emperours, but of them of *Perſia* alſo, in regard he ſo demeaned himſelf in all affairs, as either neceſſity required,

* Or, *Perſwaſion.*

† Or, *Arch-Biſhoprick.*

|| Or, *Not to be wounded by fear.*

† Or, *Contributions.*

|| Or, *Giving.*

† Or, *Moſt ſufficient.*

[a] Τὴν ὀπισκοπὴν ἐγχειρωθέντι. *Nicephorus* read it ἐγχειρισθέντα, *committed.* Valeſ.

[b] Τῆς τῶν βυζαντίων μονῆς. *Johannes Langus* renders theſe words thus: *Primùm verò Byzantii Monaſterio præfuit, But in the firſt place he preſided over the Monaſtery of Byzantium.* But *Evagrius* does not ſay, that *Gregorius* was a Monk or Abbot of *Byzantium*, but that he was Abbot of the Monaſtery of the *Byzantii.* This ſeems to have been a Monaſtery in *Syria*, wherein *Gregorius*, whilſt he was yet young, had received the Rudiments of a Monaſtick life. *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 206, ſays *Gregorius* had been *Apocriſiarius* (that is, *procurator*, or, *Agent*) of the Monaſtery of the *Byzantii.* Valeſ.

[c] Πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κρείττω. I conjecture we ſhould read here, πάντα τε ἐν πᾶσι κρείττω, *and in all things he was the eminenteſt perſon of all men.* For ſo *Evagrius* expreſſes himſelf hereafter, at chap. 19. of *this book*; where his words concerning *Mauricius* are theſe; ἢ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῆ τε ἢ ἀδόνητον, *and every way accurate and immovable.* Valeſ.

[d] Πεζεύοντα. I had rather make it πεζεύοντα, *going forth.* In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἰόντα, *going.* Valeſ.

[e] Καὶ ἦν τὰ γε εἰς τὸν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν δεύτερα τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῆς. *Nicephorus* read this place otherwiſe. For, inſtead of the word τοσαύτην he has κοσμικὴν, *Mundane*, or, *Secular.* Which in my judgment is far righter. *Johannes Langus* has tranſlated *Nicephorus*'s words thus: *Et honorem mundanis dignitatibus debitum, præ viri hujus obſervantiâ ſecundo loco habebant, And they placed* [or, *had*] *the honour due to Secular dignities, in the ſecond place, in reſpect of the obſervancy of this man.* Valeſ.

or

or occaſion would bear; [f] [to which he was] never wanting, as I ſhall manifeſt particularly in due place. There was in him much of vehemency, and alſo ſometimes paſſion. But on the other hand, his Lenity and Manſuetude was not little, but rather † abundant and extraordinary. So that, that ſaying which with great wiſedom hath been uttered by *Gregorius the Divine*, might incomparably well befit him; *an Auſterity ſo well tempered with* || *Modeſty, that the one is not injured by the other; but both are an ornament and commendation to each other.*

[f] Οὐχ ὕστερον. In my own judgement, I have reſtored this place very happily, in this manner, ἐχ ὑστερῶν; that is, *when time, or neceſſity required, he would be always at hand.* Valeſ.

† Περιέσσον.

|| Or, *Baſhfullneſs.*

CHAP. VII.

How thoſe termed the Perſarmenii *ſurrendred themſelves* † *to the* Romans: *on which account a War broke out* || *between the* Romans *and* Perſians.

† Or, *To the Chriſtians.*

|| Or, *With the Perſians.*

DUring the firſt year of this [*Gregorius*'s] Governing his Biſhoprick, the [Inhabitants] of that [Country] anciently termed *Armenia the Great* (which afterwards was named *Perſarmenia*; this [Region] had heretofore been ſubject to the *Romans*; but, after *Philippus* ſucceſſour to *Gordianus*, had betrayed it to *Sapor*, that termed *Armenia the Leſs* remained in ſubjection to the *Romans*, though all the reſt was in the power of the *Perſians:*) being profeſſours of the *Chriſtian* Religion, in regard they had * ſuffered grievouſly from the *Perſians*, and eſpecially || in thoſe matters which related to their Religion, ſent an Embaſſy ſecretly to *Juſtinus*, entreating they † might be received as ſubjects to the *Romans*; to the end they might with freedome and ſecurity perform [the Rites] of the Divine worſhip and honour, and that nothing might obſtruct them [in thoſe performances.] [Which Embaſſy] *Juſtinus* having admitted of, and ſome [Conditions ſet forth] in writing having been agreed to by the Emperour, and confirmed with great and ſolemn [b] Oaths;

[a] The ſame reaſon of the deſection of the *Armenii* is aſſigned by *Theophanes Byzantius* in *Photius*, and by *Johannes Biclarienſis* in his *Chronicon*; whoſe words are theſe: *Armeniorum & Iberorum Gens qui a prædicatione Apoſtolorum Chriſti fidem ſuſceperant*, &c; *The Nation of the* Armenii *and* Iberi *who from the Preaching of the Apoſtles had embraced the Faith of Chriſt, whilſt by* Choſdroa *Emperour of the* Perſians *they were compelled to the worſhip of Idolls, refuſed Obedience to that impious Command, and ſurrendred themſelves with their Provinces to the* Romans. *Which thing broke the League of Peace between the* Romans *and* Perſians. But the *Abbot of Biclaire* is miſtaken in this, to wit, his placing the defection of the *Armenii* on *Juſtinus Junior's Firſt year*. For the Peace between the *Romans* and *Perſians* was broken on the *Seventh year* of the Emperour *Juſtinus*, as *Theophilactus* relates in the *Third Book of his Hiſtory, Chap.* 9; and likewiſe *Theophanes*, and his *Tranſlatour Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, and *Cedrenus*. Beſides, even *Johannes Biclarienſis* himſelf diſagrees from himſelf in his Narrative of this affair. For he ſubjoyns theſe words a little after: *Anno quinto Juſtinus Imperator*, &c; *On* [his] *Fifth year the Emperour* Juſtinus, *having repelled the* Perſians, *makes* Armenia *and* Iberia *Roman Provinces*. Valeſ.

|| Or, *Intreſation to their own Sentiment*, or, *Opinion.*

† Or, *Might be made.*

[b] Concerning this Oath, wherein the Emperour *Juſtinus* had bound himſelf, that he would never deliver up the *Armenii* and *Iberi* (who had Surrendred themſelves to the *Romans*,) to the *Perſians*, *Menander Protector* ſpeaks in *his Excerpt. Legationum, pag.* 121 *of the* King's *Edition*: Λόγον δὲ ἐχ' ἵκιστα ἐπιεῖτο πολὺν ὁ καίσαρ ἧς ὀμωμοσμένων τοῦ ἰουστιανοῦ τὰ βασιλέως τοῖς περσαρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς μεταχωρήσασιν ἰβήρων. ὀμωμόκει γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, &c. Which words the Tranſlatour underſtood not. In the firſt place therefore, inſtead of τοῦ ἰουστιανοῦ *by Juſtinianus*, it muſt be mended thus, τοῦ ἰουστίνου *by Juſtinus*. And then, the whole place is to be rendred in this manner. *For* Tiberius Cæſar *deſervedly made the greateſt account of thoſe Oathes, which by the Emperour* Juſtinus *had been given to the Perſarmenii and* Iberi, *who had revolted to the* Romans. *For the Emperour had ſworn, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavour, to reduce that Land, which had nouriſhed them, to a ſubjection to himſelf. But, if he ſhould not be able to effect that thing, and could not put an end to the War; yet, that he would never Surrender up to the* Perſians *the Authours of that defection, and their Relations, and in generall thoſe who ſhould have a mind to be Subjects* [*or, partakers*] *of the* Roman *Republick*. Valeſ.

the *Armenii* kill their own [c] Governours, and * in one intire Body joyn themſelves to the *Roman* Empire, together with their Neighbours whom they had taken into an Aſſociation with themſelves, as well thoſe of the ſame, as of other Nations; *Vardanes* [being their Leader,] a perſon eminent amongſt them for deſcent, dignity, and skill in Military affairs. When therefore *Choſroes* complained of theſe things, *Juſtinus* diſmiſſed [his Embaſſadours] with theſe words, that the peace [which had been made between them] was terminated, and that 'twas not poſſible for *Chriſtians* to reject *Chriſtians* when they made them their refuge in a time of War. This was *Juſtinus*'s anſwer. Nevertheleſs, he made no preparations for a War; but yielded up himſelf to his uſuall Voluptuouſneſs, and || Poſtponed all affairs to his own pleaſures.

* Or, *By a generall conſent.*

[c] To wit, *Surenas*. For he had been made χιλιαταρχὴς, or, *Rector of Armenia* by the King of the *Perſians*; after he was ſlain, the *Perſarmenii* delivered up themſelves to the *Romans*, as *Theophilactus* tells us in *his third book, chap.* 9; and *Theophanes Byzantius* in *his Excerpta in Photium*. Laſtly, *Menander* ſays the ſame, in *his Excerpta Legationum, pag.* 115. Valeſ.

|| Or, *Put all affairs in the Second place to*, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Marcianus *the* † Magiſter Militum, *and concerning the Siege of* Niſibis.

† Or, *Maſter of the Militce*, or, *Souldiers.*

[FUrther,] he ſends [a] *Marcianus*, who was his kinſman, *Magiſter* of the *Orientall* [*Milice*,] but allows him neither an Army fit for an engagement, nor any other ſufficient proviſion for the [carrying on a] War. *Marcianus* arrives in *Meſopotamia*, to the manifeſt hazard and Subverſion of all affairs, drawing along with him ſome few Souldiers, and thoſe unarmed; having alſo with him ſome Trench-makers and [b] Oxe-drivers, whom he had by force taken from among the [c] Provincialls. He comes to an Engagement therefore with the *Perſians* in a ſmall Fight about *Niſibis*, (the *Perſians* themſelves being as yet unprovided for a War;) and having got the better, lays Siege to the City: the *Perſians* [in the interim] thought not fit to ſhut the Gates, but moſt ſcornfully reproach't and derided the Army of the *Romans*. Many other Prodigies were ſeen, which foreſhewed the future misfortunes; but at the beginning of this War, we our ſelves ſaw a Calf newly calv'd, out of whoſe neek grew forth two heads.

[a] *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* calls this perſon *Martinus*, as does likewiſe *his Tranſlatour Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*. But *Theophanes Byzantius*, *whoſe Excerpta* are extant in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, terms him *Marcianus*, and calls him the Empeiour *Juſtinus's* ἐξάδελφον, *Brother's Son*. [*Valeſius* in *his note here*, renders *that Greek* word, thus, *Conſobrinum*, *Siſter's Son*.] And ſays, he was ſent *Magiſter Militum* into the Eaſt by *Juſtinus* on the *Eight year of* his Empire. *Valeſ.*

[b] Βοηλατῶν. From the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M.SS, I have mended it thus, *βοηλάτας, Drivers of Oxen*; and ſo *Nicephorus* read. But *Nicephorus* inſerts two words here. For he expreſſes this paſſage thus, σφεῖς δὲ σκαπανεῖς καὶ ῥαφεῖς καὶ βοηλάτας: that is, as *Langus* renders it, *as alſo Ditchers, and Taylors, and Drivers of Oxen.* Which word [*Taylours*] *Nicephorus* ſeems to have read in his Copy. For I ſee not whence he could have gotten it. Further, there was uſe of theſe *Taylours* in the Camps, to mend the Souldiers clothes, or elſe to ſow Skins together for Tents or Tabernacles. *Valeſ.*

[c] Σωτελῶν. Tranſlatours have rendred this place ill. For *Muſculus* tranſlates it thus: *Et foſſores quoſdam ac bubulcos ex municipiis acceptos ſecum habens, And having with him ſome Ditchers and Oxe-drivers taken out of the Towns.* But *Chriſtophorſon* renders it in this manner: *Inter quos habuit foſſores & Bubulcos ex numero veſtigalium exemptos, amongſt whom he had Ditchers and Oxe-drivers excmpted* [or, taken] *out of their number who payed Tribute.* They knew not what the

the word σωστελεῖς signified. *Evagrius* has made uſe of this word above, at *chap.* 42, *book* 3. At which place we have remarked, that by that word, are meant *the Provinciall Tributaries*, who are alſo termed *Collatores* in *the Code*. From thoſe therefore *Martinus* the *Magiſter Militum* had by force drawn Ditchers and Oxe-drivers, and Taylours, that he might make uſe of their Labour in his Army: for he reckoned them not amongſt the Souldiers, as *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have thought. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

How Choſroes *(after he had ſent his Generall* Adaarmanes *againſt the* Romans, *who afflicted them with many and thoſe ſevere Loſſes;) went himſelf in perſon to* Niſibis.

BUt *Choſroes*, after he had made ſufficient proviſion of all things neceſſary for a War, went to a certain [place,] and having paſt the *Euphrates* in his own Country, ſends *Adaarmanes* into the *Roman* Territories, by a [place] termed *Circeſium*. This *Circeſium* is a Town moſt commodious to the *Romans*, ſcituate in the utmoſt confines of the Empire. Which [Town] is fortified not only with walls raiſed to a vaſt heighth; but the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Aboras* do likewiſe encompaſs it, and make the City as 'twere an Iſland. But [*Choſroes*] himſelf having, together with thoſe [Forces] about him, paſſed the River *Tigris*, marched directly to *Niſibis*. [Though] theſe things had been done, [yet] the *Romans* were a long while ignorant of them: in ſo much that *Juſtinus*, giving overmuch credit to report, (which ſaid that *Choſroes* was either already dead, or drawing his very laſt breath,) became highly incenſed, becauſe the Siege of *Niſibis* was protracted ſo long; and ſent ſome perſons who might haſten *Marcianus* forward, and might forthwith bring him the Keys of the Gates: But when this affair was not in the leaſt forwarded, but rather he himſelf procured great ignominy and diſgrace, in regard he would attempt thoſe things which could not be done againſt ſuch and ſo vaſt a City, and with ſo pittifull and deſpicable an Army; in the firſt place a meſſage is brought to *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Theopolis*. For whereas the Biſhop of *Niſibis* was an intimate friend to *Gregorius*, in regard he had received great preſents from him; and moreover being one that was highly diſpleaſed at the *Perſians* contumelious uſage of the *Chriſtians*, which the *Chriſtians* had continually ſuffered from them, being alſo deſirous that his own City might become ſubject [to the Empire] of the *Romans*; he gave *Gregorius* an account of whatever was done in the Enemie's Country, and in due time made known [to him] all things. Of which [matters *Gregorius*] forthwith ſent *Juſtinus* a Relation, declaring to him *Choſroes*'s ſudden irruption. But *Juſtinus*, involved in his uſuall pleaſures, heeded not what had been written [to him by *Gregorius*;] nor would he give credit thereto, but only ſuppoſed [that true,] which he himſelf deſired. For *'tis uſuall with perſons who are diſſolute, that they ſhould be both [a] ſlothfull and confident againſt the Events [of affairs;] and if any thing happens contrary to their wills, they disbelieve it. He wrote therefore to *Gregorius*, [in which Letters] he perfectly rejected thoſe things [told him by *Gregorius*,] as being wholly falſe: or if they were true, yet, that the *Perſians* could never prevent the Siege; but, that if they did prevent it, they would retire [from thence] with great loſs. [At the ſame time] he ſends one *Acacius* (a wicked and ſpitefull perſon,) to *Marcianus*, giving him order, that although *Marcianus* ſhould have ſet one of his feet into the City, he ſhould nevertheleſs * turn him out of Commiſſion. Which thing [*Acacius*] performed exactly, obeying the Emperour's Commands though to the diſadvantage of the Republick. For being arrived in the [*Roman*] Camp, he diveſts *Marcianus* of his Command, in the Enemies Country, without having acquainted the Army therewith. But the *Centurions* and Leaders of the Ranks, having underſtood at their coming off the Watch, that their Commander in chief was turn'd out of Commiſſion, [b] would not appear in publick any more, but left [the Service,] were diſperſed here and there, and brake up the ridiculous Siege. In the interim *Adaarmanes* having an Army of *Perſians* and barbarous *Scenitæ* fit to engage, paſſed by *Circeſium*, and ruined the *Roman* Territories with all manner of depopulations, burning and killing, deſigning in his mind or performing nothing that was mean and triviall. He alſo takes Caſtles and many Villages, no body making a reſiſtance againſt him: Firſt, becauſe [at that time] there was no Commander [of the *Romans:*] and then, in regard the [*Roman*] Souldiers were by *Choſroes* ſhut up in *Daras*; as well Excurſions to fetch in forrage, as irruptions, were made without impediment. He made an attack alſo upon the † *Theopolites* by the Souldiers he had with him; (for he went not thither in perſon.) Nevertheleſs, thoſe [Souldiers of his] received a repulſe beyond all expectation, although no body, excepting only a very ſmall number, continued in the City; and though the Biſhop was fled, and had carried a long with him the ſacred Treaſure, becauſe, both moſt part of the wall was fallen down, and the people alſo had raiſed a Sedition, being deſirous of beginning an Innovation, as it uſually happens, and moſt eſpecially at ſuch times as thoſe. Moreover, [the Seditious] themſelves betook themſelves to their heels, and had left the City empty; nothing at all being to be found out, * that might either annoy the Enemy, or on the other hand keep them off.

* Or, *It follows.*

[a] Τό τε ἀφρὲς. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἀφρὲς, with a double ρ. So a little before, where the reading is ἀχάλεν; *Nicephorus* has it written ἀχάλλειν, which is more uſuall. Yet, that word may be written with a double λ, as *Heſychius* tells us. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Remove him from his Command.*

[b] Οὐ παρῆσε τὸ πλῆθος. I think it muſt be made ἐς τὸ πλῆθος. And ſo *Muſculus* ſeems to have read. For he renders it thus: *Exercitui porro adeſſe noluit, would not be any more preſent with the Army.* *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner, *Copias non ulterius ducunt, lead not the Forces any more.* But the Greek will not bear this ſenſe *Valeſ.*

† *Antiochians.*

* Εἰς ὁπότε χυσιν, ἢ ἀντεπεχείρησιν; words which I have not yet met with, uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, as by all the Tranſlatours they are taken here.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the taking of Apamia *and* Daras.

WHen therefore [a] *Adaarmanes* had been fruſtrated in this attempt, having burnt that City anciently termed *Heraclea*, but afterwards named *Gagalice*, he took *Apamia*, which had been built by [b] *Seleucus Nicator*, [a City] heretofore

[a] Ἀδαρμάνης. This name is found variouſly written in ancient Authours. In *Theophanes's Chronicon*, he is called *Artabanes*, and *Ardamanes* in the *Palatine Manuſcript Copy*. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* terms him *Dux Adermanus*. In *Nicephorus* 'tis Ἀδαρμάνης, *Vadarmanes*. In *Theophanes Byzantius*, *Baraamanes*. Hereafter in the thirteenth chapter he is termed *Ardamanes*. *Theophylactus*, *Book* 3, calls him *Adormaanes*. Valeſ.

[b] Σελεύκῳ τῷ νικήτορι. Undoubtedly it muſt be made νικάτορι, *Nicatoris*. For *Seleucus* the firſt King of *Syria*, becauſe of his famous Victories, had the ſurname of *Nicator*, as we learn from the *Old Coyns*, which aſcribe this Title or Surname to him. *Valeſ.* See *Valeſius's notes on Amm. Marcel.* pag. 41.

heretofore rich and populous, but in [proceſs of] time it was become extreamly ruinous. Having poſſeſt himſelf of this City on ſome Articles of agreement, (for [the Inhabitants] were in no wiſe in a capacity to make a reſiſtance, the wall by reaſon of its age being faln to the ground;) he utterly deſtroyed it by fire; and when he had made plunder of all things, contrary to the conditions agreed to by him, he went away, and lead away Captive all the Citizens, and [the Inhabitants of] the adjacent Villages. Amongſt which [Priſoners] he carried away alive the Biſhop of the City, and that perſon who was entruſted with the Government [of the Province.] Moreover, he committed all manner of * outrages at his departure, there being no body that might reſtrain or give him any the leſt reſiſtance, excepting a very few Souldiers ſent by *Juſtinus*, under the Command of one *Magnus*, who was heretofore *Preſident* of the † *Argentarii* at the Imperiall City, but had afterwards by *Juſtinus* been made *Curator* of one of the Imperial Houſes. And theſe [Souldiers] alſo ran away with all the haſt imaginable, there having wanted but little of their being all taken by the Enemy. When therefore *Adaarmanes* had performed theſe Exploits, he came to *Choſroes*, who had not yet taken the City [*Daras.*] His joyning Forces with *Choſroes* was of great importance to [their] affairs, both becauſe it gave incouragement to their own men, and alſo ſtruck a terrour into the Enemy. Further, [*Choſroes*] found that City encompaſſed with a wall, and a vaſt Rampire of earth caſt up hard by the wall, alſo thoſe Engines [termed] * *Helepoles* ſtanding ready; and eſpecially the *Catapultæ* wherewith ſtones are thrown from an Eminence, which [Machines] they uſually term † *Petrariæ*. || In this manner *Choſroes* became Maſter of that City by force, in the Winter time, *Johannes* the Son of *Timoſtratus* being its Governour, who was very little ſollicitous about it, or rather betrayed it. For both are reported. Now, *Choſroes* had laid Siege to that City five months and more, no body appearing in its defence. Having therefore brought all perſons out of the City, (which were a vaſt multitude,) and in a cruell manner killed ſome of them there, and preſerved others, which were the moſt in number, alive; he fortified the City with a Garriſon, becauſe its ſite was commodious: but he himſelf returned into his own Countrey.

* Or, *Cruelties.*

† *Bankers.*

* *Machines uſed in Sieges, to batter down the walls.*

† Or, *Engines to caſt ſtones.*

|| Or, *With which.*

CHAP. XI.

That the Emperour Juſtinus *was ſeized with a* * Frenſie: *but* Tiberius *undertook the care of the Republick.*

* Or, *Frantick diſtemper.*

WHich [proceedings] when *Juſtinus* was made acquainted with, having in his mind not ſo much as one thought that was ſound and prudent, nor bearing his [a] misfortune ſo as it becomes a man to doe; from ſuch an heighth of pride and haughtineſs he falls into a Frantick diſtemper and madneſs, and in future became inſenſible of what was tranſacted. From thence forward therefore *Tiberius* had the management of the Republick, a perſon by deſcent a *Thracian*, but one who bore the chiefeſt place of truſt, [and was the greateſt favourite] with *Juſtinus*.

[a] Τὸ συγχὸν. It muſt be made σωφρονοῦν; as I found it written in the *Tellerian* M. S. *Valeſ.*

[b] This perſon had heretofore been ſent [by *Juſtinus*] againſt the * *Abari*, [accompanied with] a vaſt Army of Souldiers which had been raiſed. But, the Souldiers not enduring ſo much as the ſight of the *Barbarians*, *Tiberius* wanted but little of being taken, had not the Divine providence in a wonderfull manner protected him, and reſerved him for the *Roman* Empire; which had been reduced to ſuch danger by *Juſtinus*'s abſurd and raſh attempts, that ['twas feared leaſt] together with the whole State it ſhould be utterly ruined, and might yield to the * prevalent power and dominion of the *Barbarians*.

* Or, *Abares*, or, *Avares.*

[b] The Emperour *Juſtinus* ſent *Tiberius* the *Comes of his Guards*, againſt the *Avares*, with an Army ſufficiently ſtrong, on the ninth year of his Empire, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon*. But *Johannes Biclarienſis* ſays that was done on the fourth year of *Juſtinus*'s Empire: where he relates, that from this Battel *Tiberius* returned a Conquerour to *Conſtantinople*. Which yet is declared to be falſe by *Evagrius* and *Theophanes*. Valeſ.

* Or, *So great.*

CHAP. XII.

That Trajanus *having been ſent Embaſſadour to* Choſroes, * *repaired the affairs of the* Romans.

* *Corrected*, or, *reſtored.*

TIberius therefore reſolves upon a † Courſe very ſeaſonable, and accommodate to the [preſent juncture of] affairs; which repaired the whole misfortune. For [a] *Trajanus*, a wiſe perſon of the *Senatorian Order*, a man highly valued by all men for his gray-hairs and underſtanding, is diſpatcht away to *Choſroes*: He was not to perform that Embaſſy in the name of || the Emperour, nor of the State, but was to ſpeak in behalf only of [the Empreſs] *Sophia*. Moreover, She wrote to *Choſroes*, [in which Letter] She lamented both the calamities of her Husband, and alſo the State's being deprived of an Emperour; adding with all, that 'twas misbecoming [a Prince] to inſult over a woman that was a widow, over a || dead Emperour, and over a deſerted State: For, that * he himſelf, when he had faln ſick ſometime ſince, had not only experienced the like [humanity and kind uſage,] but had likewiſe had the beſt Phyſitians ſent him by the *Roman* State, who alſo freed him from his diſtemper. [Hereby] therefore *Choſroes* is prevailed upon. And although he was juſt ready to make an Invaſion || upon the Territories of the *Romans*, yet he concludes a Truce for the ſpace of three years, in the Eaſtern parts. But, 'twas thought good, that *Armenia* [b] ſhould not be included in the like [conditions of a Truce;] ſo that, he might wage War there, provided no body diſturbed the Eaſtern parts.

† *Councill*, or, *advice.*

[a] This *Trajanus* was *Patritius* and *Quæſtor of the Sacred Pallace*; concerning his Embaſſie to the *Perſians*, *Menander Protector* ſpeaks in the *Sixth Book of his Hiſtories*, pag. 157. and 165. This, as I think, is the *Trajanus Patritius* who had written *a ſhort Chronicle*, an admirable work, as *Suidas* atteſts. *Theophanes* mentions him in *his Chronicon*, pag. 56. *Suidas* writes indeed, that he had lived in the times of *Juſtinianus Rhinotmetus*. But I am of opinion that *Suidas* is out, in regard no perſon of this name is mentioned in the Empire of *Juſtinianus Rhinotmetus*. But in the Reign of *Juſtinus junior*, *Trajanus Patritius* is commended by *Menander Protector* in *his Sixth Book*, and by our *Evagrius* here. *Valeſ.*

|| Τῆς βασιλείας, *of the Empire.*

|| Or, *Deſected.*

* *Choſroes.*

|| Τοῖς ῥωμαϊκοῖς πεδίοις. In *Nicephorus* the reading is truer, τοῖς ῥωμαίων πεδίοις, *upon the Territories* [or, *affairs*] *of the* Romans. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς μείνας. In my own judgment I have reſtored this place very happily, ſo, that inſtead of the word μείνας, it muſt be written, μὴ εἴᾳ. For in the Truce which was made between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, it had been expreſsly cautioned, that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Armes throughout the Eaſt only: but in *Armenia* and *Iberia* it ſhould be lawfull to wage War. See *Menander Protector* in the *Sixth Book of his Hiſtories*, pag. 157; which authour does fully confirm this our Emendation. And ſo does *Theophylactus*, *Book* 3. *Chap.* 12. Valeſ.

During

During the transaction of these affairs in the East, *Sirmium* was taken by the [c] *Abares*: which [City] the *Gepidæ* had possest themselves of before, but had afterwards Surrendred it to [the Emperour] *Justinus*.

[c] Πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων, *by the Barbarians.* The reading in *Nicephorus* is the same. Nevertheless, I doubt not but it should be written πρὸς τῶν Ἀβάρων, *by the Abares.* For the *Abares* took the City *Sirmium*, as *Menander Protector* attests in *his Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 117. Which City having before been in the hands of the *Gepidæ*, the *Abares* who had destroyed the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, asserted, that that City, with the rest of the riches of the *Gepidæ*, had passed into their power and dominion, as the same *Menander* relates, pag. 114 and 130. See *Theophylactus*, Book 1. Chap. 3. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Election of Tiberius *to the Empire, and concerning his disposition.*

ABout the same time, *Justinus* by the advice of *Sophia*, proclaims *Tiberius*, *Cæsar*. At which Election [*Justinus*] made such a speech, as transcends all History, as well ancient as modern; the most Commpassionate God allowing *Justinus* this opportunity, both for a confession of his own sins, and also that he might be the Authour of wholesome advice for the advantage and benefit of the State. For, at a convention [a] in the *Atrium* of the [Imperial] Pallace (where [b] ancient custome says such Solemnities were performed,) both of [c] *Johannes* the Patriarch, whom we mentioned before, together with his Clergy, of the Magistracy and *Honorati*, and of all the Grand Officers about the Court; *Justinus*, when he had invested *Tiberius* with the Imperial Coat, and had cloathed him in the [Purple] * Robe, with a loud voice spake publickly [these following words.]

[a] Ἐν τῇ ὑπαίθρῳ αὐλῇ, *in the open Court* [*of the Pallace.*] *Nicephorus* adds a word here, in this manner, ἐν τῇ ὑπαίθρῳ αὐλῇ τῆς ἀνακτόρων, *in the open Court of the Imperial Pallace. Theophylactus* makes mention of this place, *Book* 1, *Chap.* 1; and relates, that the Emperours were usually proclaimed there; φοβεῖται γὰρ ἀχθεὶς ὁ πλέων [says he,] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων βασιλείων αὐλὴν, ἥτις παρήνωται τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ἀνακτόρων οἰκίας, &c. Which place the *Latine Translatour* has expresst in a long circuit of words, in this manner: *Tiberius namque in atrium palatii juxta domum, in quâ multi ex herbis, seu frondibus, ad cænandum, dormiendumve tori, sive Lectisternia, vestibulum illustre, visendumque proscenium. Huc, inquam, gestatus*, &c. Whence it appears, that he understood not what was meant by these words. Likewise *Nicephorus Callistus*, when he wrote out this place of *Theophilactus* omitted the latter words. But my Sentiment is, that by these words, πολυτελείᾳ οἰκίας, *Theophilactus* means *that House* which in Greek was termed δεκαεννέα ἀκκούβιτα, Because in it there were *nineteen Accubita*, or *Stibadia, whereon the Emperour with his Nobles lay down and banquetted at Christmas, and on the more solemn Festival days*, as *Theophanes* and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* do relate *in the one and thirtieth year* of Justinian; and likewise *Luitprandus* in *Book* 6 *Rerum per Europam Gestarum*, Chap. 3; where his words are these: *Est domus quæ Decaennea accubita dicitur*, &c. *There is an House which is termed the Decennea accubita. It is so called for this reason, because nineteen Tables are spread there in the Nativity of our Lord. Whereon the Emperour and likewise his Guests do banquet, not in a sitting posture, as on other days, but by lying down.* Near this House was the Tribunal, or Throne, in which the Emperours and Empresses were crowned. *Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus*, pag 176, speaking of *Isaurus Leo*; ἐν τῷ τειβουναλίῳ (says he) λεγομένῳ δεκαεννέα ἀκκούβιτον θέσει τὸν υἱὸν κωνσταντῖνον εἰς βασιλέα, *in the Throne termed the Decaennea Accubita he Crowned his Son* Constantine *Emperour. Anastasius* relates the same, as does likewise the *Author Historiæ Miscellæ*, Book 21. The same Writer, *book* 22, speaking of *Constantinus Copronymus*: *Anno* 28 *Imperii sui coronavit*, &c; *On the* 28th *year of his own Empire, the Emperour Crowned his Wife* Eudoxia, *after he had been thrice married, in the Tribunal of the nineteen Accubita.* Hence 'tis, that *Codinus* (in *his Origines Constantinopolitanæ*,) places τὸ σέψιμον, *The Stepsimon*, near the *House of the nineteen Accubita*: by which term [*The Stepsimon*] he means the throne whereon the Emperours were Crowned. Now, this House was, in the *Third Region* [of the City,] near the *Hippodrome*, as *Luitprandus* attests. Indeed, the *Old Description* informs us, that in *that Region* was the *Great Cirque*, and the *Semicircular* [or, *half-round*] *Porticus*, which was called *The Sigma*, and lastly the Tribunal of the *Forum* of *Constantine*. And 'tis very likely, that of *that Porticus* was made the House of the *nineteen Accubita*; for *a Sigma* is the same with a *Stibadium* or *an Accubitum*. Moreover, the Church of *Saint Stephen* is by *Codinus* placed near the Tribunal of the *nineteen Accubita*, which *Petrus Gyllius* (*book* 2, *chap.* 15,) relates, from an *Old Authour*, to have been near *the Sigma*. Further, this House of the *nineteen Accubita*, was also termed *The Delphica*, or, *The Delphicum*, as *Procopius* attests book 1. *of his Vandalicks*, *pag.* 116; and *Victor Thunonensis* in *his Chronicon*. Vales.

* Or, *Cloake.*

[b] I can't tell *why Evagrius* should say this was an old custome, that the Emperours of *Constantinople* should be proclaimed in the *Atrium* of the Imperial Pallace. For the old custome was, that the *Augusti* should be proclaimed in the Seventh *Milliarium*, or, *mil*, from the City, in the presence of the Army, in the *Campus*, or field without the City. And *Valens*, [was] the first that had been stiled Emperour in that Suburb, by his Brother *Valentinian*. After whom, the following emperours of the East were proclaimed in the same place, as I have long since observed *in my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus's* 26th *book* pag 111, 116. The Emperour *Zeno* also was Crowned in the *Seventh Milliarium* by his own Son *Leo*, as *Victor Thunonensis* relates *in his Chronicon*. Likewise *Basiliscus* was a little after stiled Emperour in the *Campus*, as *Theophanes* informs us. Now, the *Campus* was in the *Seventh Milliarium*, as *Theophylactus* attests, book 8, chap. 12. But who was first saluted *Augustus* in the *Atrium* of the Imperial Pallace, at *Constantinople*, I have not yet plainly found. Indeed, *Justinus Junior* seems to have been proclaimed Emperour there, as may be gathered from the first chapter of *this book*. Vales.

[c] *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* attests, *that* (not *Johannes Scholasticus*, but) *Eutychius* was then Patriarch of *Constantinople*. For *Johannes Scholasticus* died on the *Tenth Indiction*, in the month *August*, the day before the *Calends of September*. And *Eutychius* was restored to his own See on the same year, in the month *October*, on the *Eleventh Indiction*, as *Theophanes* attests. On the year following (which was the year of Christ 578, in the *Twelfth Indiction*, on the 25th *of September*,) this *Eutychius* Crowned *Tiberius Augustus*, as *Theophanes* and the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* inform us. But, on a more attentive examination of the thing, I have perceived nothing is to be found fault with here: for *Evagrius* speaks not here concerning *Tiberius*'s being proclaimed *Augustus*, but of the Appellation of *Cæsar* granted to him. Further, *Tiberius* was made *Cæsar* on the *Eighth Indiction*, as the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* informs us: at which time *Johannes* was *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*. Vales.

*Let not the Magnificence of Your Attire deceive You, nor the Scene of those things which are seen: by which I have been imposed upon, and have rendred my self obnoxious to the Extreamest of Punishments. Do You correct my mistakes, and withall * Lenity and Mansuetude Govern the State.* Then pointing to the † Magistrates; *You ought not*, said he, *in any wise to be perswaded by them*; and further added, *For they have reduced me to those Circumstances wherein You now behold me.* [He uttered] severall other such like [expressions,] which put all persons into an amaze, and drew from them plenty of Tears. Now, *Tiberius* was very tall of Body, and besides his Stature, the Comeliest person, not only of Emperours, but of all other men, [d] as far as any one may conjecture; [e] in so much that, in the first place, even his very shape deserved an Empire. His temper of mind was Sweet and Curteous, [a person] that received all men kindly even at the first sight. He esteemed it [the greatest] Riches to be liberall to all men in reference to bountifull Contributions, not only as far as a necessity, but even to an affluence.

* Ἐυπαθείας, *delight of mind.*

† Or, *Governours.*

[d] Ἥπερ τις εἰκάσειν. I think it must be written, εἰπεῖν τις εἰκάσειν, *as far as any one*, &c.

Nor do I doubt but *Evagrius* left it thus written. Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*, wherein I found it plainly written in this manner. Away therefore with the rendition of *Musculus*, who translates it thus: *Insignis magis, quàm ut quisquam illi conferri possit, more eminent, than that any one might be compared to him.* But *Christophorson* turns it in this manner; *Pulchritudinis excellentiâ omnium opinione major, for the excellency of beauty, greater than the opinion of all men.* Vales.

[e] Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ εἶδος ἄξιον. The reading in the *Florentine Manuscript* is truer, thus, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν, &c, *in so much that, in the first place*, &c. *Evagrius* alludes to that known verse of the *Tragœdian*; πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος. Vales.

f 'Ου γὰρ ὅπη λαβεῖν. I had rather write, ὅ γὰρ π λαβεῖν ὤφελον οἱ δεόμενοι, &c. *For he conſidered not, what Petitioners ought to receive*, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 18, chap. 1. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuſcripts*, inſtead of ὤφελον, 'tis written ὄφειλον. Valeſ.

f For he conſidered not, what Petitioners ought to receive, but what it became an Emperour of the *Romans* to give. 'Twas his ſentiment, that that Gold was adulterate || which was Collected with the Tears [of the Provincials.] Hence ('tis certain) it was, that he remitted the Collection of g one whole years Tribute, to the Tributaries. And thoſe poſſeſſions which *Adarmanes* had ruined, he freed from the Tributary Function, not only in proportion to the damage they had ſuffered, but alſo much above [the loſs.] Moreover, h thoſe illegall Preſents were remitted to the Magiſtrates, for which [Bribes] the Emperours had heretofore ſold their Subjects [to them.] He alſo wrote Conſtitutions concerning theſe matters, making thereby proviſion for the ſecurity of poſterity.

|| Or, *Which came from Tears.*

g There is extant a Conſtitution of *Juſtinus Junior*, wherein he has remitted to the Provincialls the Remains of the Tributes of the paſt year, *untill the Eighth Indiction of the Cycle current.* Which *Juſtinus* ſeems to have done by the perſwaſion of *Tiberius*, whom a little before he had Created *Cæſar*, at the beginning of the *Eighth Indiction*, as the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* informs us. Into this firſt Conſtitution therefore of the Emperour *Juſtinus junior*, the name of *Tiberius* the *Cæſar* ought alſo to have been inſerted. *Valeſ.*

h At this preſent there is extant a Conſtitution of the Emperour *Juſtinus junior*, concerning the promoting Rectours of Provinces without reward. Which amongſt the *Novell Conſtitutions* of *Juſtinus junior* is the *Fifth* in number. In that Conſtitution *Juſtinus* gives permiſſion to the Provincialls, that they may make known to the Emperour thoſe perſons whom they ſhould judge fit to Govern their own Province; and the Emperour promiſes, that he will give forth the *Codicills* and the *Inſignia* [*Marks*, *Tokens*] of Magiſtracy freely, without any preſent or gift. Which Law, in regard it bears date on the eighth year of *Juſtinus Junior*'s Empire, was, we doubt not, ſet forth alſo by the perſwaſion and ſuggeſtion of *Tiberius* the *Cæſar*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Emperour Tiberius *raiſed a vaſt Army* [*to be imployed*] *againſt* Choſroes; [*at the head whereof*] *he ſent* Juſtinianus *the* Dux, *and drove* [Choſroes] *out of* * *the* Roman *Pale.*

* Or, *Land of the Romans.*

HAving therefore imployed the ill gotten Treaſure to a good uſe, he made proviſion for a War. And raiſes ſo vaſt an Army * of valiant men, by liſting the choyceſt Souldiers, both of the || *Tranſalpine* Nations who [inhabit] about the *Rhine*, and alſo of the † *Ciſalpines*, of the *Maſſagetæ* likewiſe, and other *Scythick* nations; of thoſe alſo about * *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*, of the *Illyrii* and *Iſauri*: that he intermixt near an Hundred and fifty thouſand men with his incomparable i Troops of Horſe, and Routed *Choſroes*: who after his taking of *Daras*, immediately in the Summer had made an irruption into *Armenia*, and from thence reſolved upon an Invaſion of *Cæſarea*, (which is the *Metropolis* of *Cappadocia*,) and of the Cities in that Region. He contemned the *Roman* Empire in ſuch a manner, that when *Cæſar* diſpatch't away an Embaſſy to him, he would not vouchſafe the Ambaſſadours acceſs to himſelf: but ordered them to follow him to *Cæſarea*: for there, he ſaid, he would * give them audience. But when he ſaw the *Roman* Army fronting him, (Commanded by b *Juſtinianus* c Brother to that *Juſtinus* who had been barbarouſly murdered by [the Emperour] *Juſtinus*,) accurately well Armed, the Trumpets ſounding an *Alarm*, the *Colours* raiſed in order to an Engagement, the Souldier greedy of ſlaughter, and with a moſt incomparable decency breathing forth rage and fury, [laſtly] ſuch and ſo great a number of Horſe, as none of the Emperours had ever conceived in their mind; he was ſtricken with a great amazement, ſighed deeply at ſo unhop't-for and unexpected a thing, and would not begin a Fight. When therefore he deferred an Engagement, made delayes, ſpent the time, and only feigned a Fight; d *Curs* the *Scythian*, a perſon that Commanded the Right Wing, makes an Attack upon him. The *Perſians* were not able to bear the † Shock of his Charge, but apparently deſerted their || Ranks; whereupon [*Curs*] made a great ſlaughter amongſt the Enemy. Then he Attacks the *Rere* [of the *Perſian*,] where *Choſroes* and the whole Army had their Baggage: and he takes all the Kings Treaſure, and moreover the whole Baggage, in the very ſight of *Choſroes*, who bore it with patience, and e thought his own trouble might with more eaſe be indured, than the Attack of *Curs*. In this manner therefore *Curs*, together with his Souldiers, poſſeſſes himſelf of great Riches and Plunder, and drives away the Beaſts of burthen together with their Burthens, amongſt which hapned to be *Choſroes*'s Sacred Fire, adored by him as a God: [after this] he marches round the *Perſian* Army ſinging a Victorious Song, and about Candle-lighting returns to * the *Roman* Army, which † had now left its Station; neither *Choſroes* nor the *Romans* having begun a Fight: only ſome Skirmiſhes had hapned, and (as it uſually hap-

b *Menander Protector* has mentioned this *Juſtinian Magiſter Militum throughout the Eaſt*, in the *Sixth Book of his Hiſtories*, pag. 159. As alſo *Theophylactus*, Book 3. Chap. 12. And likewiſe *Johannes Biclarienſis* in *his Chronicon*: *anno* 9. *Juſtini Coſdroes Perſarum Imperator*, &c; *On* Juſtinus's *ninth year* Coſdroes *Emperour of the* Perſians, *with too numerous an Army, advances to ruine the* Roman *Confines: againſt whom* Juſtinianus *Commander of the* Roman *Milice and Magiſter Militum of the Eaſt being ſent by* Tiberius, *makes ready for a War, and in the Fields which lie between* Daras *and* Niſibis *engages in a brave Fight, having with him thoſe moſt valiant Nations, which in the Language of the* Barbarians *are termed* Hermani; *where he vanquiſhes the forementioned Emperour.* Valeſ.

|| Or, *Beyond the Alpes.*

† Or, *On this ſide the Alpes.*

* Or, *Paonia.*

i Εἴλας ἱππέων. Without doubt it muſt be made ἴλας, *Troops*. 'Tis a wonder to me, that this was not taken notice of, either by *Nicephorus*, or the Tranſlatours. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Conſider of their Embaſſy.*

* Or, *His own* [*forces.*]

† Or, *Had now broke their own Ranks.*

c Τ' ἀδελφῷ ἰυςίνε δεικαίως ἀνηρημμένῳ. From the *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuſcripts* I have made this place thus; τ' ἀδελφῷ ἰυςίνε τῷ πρὸς ἰυςινε δεικαίως ἀνηρημμένῳ, *Brother to that* Juſtinus *who had been barbarouſly murdered by* [*the Emperour*] Juſtinus. This *Juſtinian* therefore was Son to *Germanus*, (which *Theophylactus* does alſo atteſt in *his Third Book*,) Brother of that *Juſtinus* who had been ſlain by the Emperour, as *Evagrius* relates in the beginning of *this book*. Valeſ.

d *Theophylactus* mentions this perſon, in book 3. chap. 16; and in book 1. chap. 9. In which places the *Latine Tranſlatour* terms him *Curſius*. But, he had better have tranſlated it *Curſus*. For ſo *Menander Protector* calls him, in the *ſixth book of his Hiſtories*, pag. 159 of the *King's Edition*. In *Theophanes's Chronicon*, pag. 214, he is corruptly termed κρὰς, *Crous*. Valeſ.

e Ἀνεκλοτέρειαν δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶ ὀπιςροφῆς τῶ κὰρς ἠξιωμένε. I rather approve of *Nicephorus*'s reading, (book 18. chap. 2.) which runs thus; ἀνεκλοτέρειαν δὲ πῶ ἑαυτῶ ὀπιςροφὴν τῶ κὰρς ἠξιωμένε: only, I would adde an Article, in this manner, τῆς τῶ κὰρς ἠξιωμένε. That is, as *Johannes Langus* renders it, *Quòd facilius is impreſſionem ſuam, quàm ipſius Cours ſuſtineri poſſe exiſtimaret, becauſe he thought his own impreſſion might with more eaſe be endured, than the Attack of* Cours. Further, *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* relates this Flight of the *Perſians* and Victory of the *Romans*, after the death of the Emperour *Juſtinus junior*, when *Tiberius* had obtained the Empire alone. But *Theophylactus*, from whom *Theophanes* ſeems to have taken his Relation, atteſts that that hapned whilſt *Juſtinus* was yet alive, when *Tiberius* bore the Title and Dignity of *Cæſar* only, and governed the State; as may be ſeen in *Theophylactus's third book*, *chap.* 14. To whom agrees our *Evagrius*; for he relates the Death of *Juſtinus Junior* hereafter, in the *nineteenth chapter of this book*, where he ſays in expreſs words, that after *Juſtinus's* death, *Tiberius* deprived *Juſtinian* of the Dignity of *Magiſter Militum*. Valeſ.

pens,)

pens,) ſometimes one man [came out] of each Army and engaged in a ſingle Combat. On the night following *Choſroes* kindled many Fires, and prepared for a Night-Fight: and whereas the *Roman* Army was divided into two Camps, in the dead of the Night he falls upon thoſe who were Encamped to the Northward. After he had routed them by his ſudden and unexpected Attack, he invades *Melitina* a City that lay near, which was then without a Garriſon and deſtitute of Inhabitants. And after he had burnt down this whole City, he made preparations for his paſſing over the River *Euphrates*. But when the *Roman* Army was got together into one Body, and followed him, being put into a fear in relation to his own ſafety, he himſelf got upon an Elephant, and ſo paſt the River. But a vaſt number of the [Forces] about him were buried in the Torrent of the *Euphrates*. After he had received information of their being drowned, he marched away from thence. *Choſroes* therefore having undergone this laſt puniſhment for his ſo great † inſolence towards the *Romans*, in company of thoſe [of his Forces] who had made their eſcape, went into the Eaſt, where he had a Truce, to the end no one might make an Attack upon him. But *Juſtinianus* with the whole *Roman* Army entred the *Perſian* Empire, where he paſſed the Winter ſeaſon, no body giving him any the leaſt moleſtation. About the Summer Solſtice he returned, without the loſs of any part of his Forces, and with great felicity and much glory ſpent the Summer about the Confines of both Empires.

† *Petulancy*, or, *Contumelie.*

CHAP. XV.

That Choſroes *being heavily diſquieted at his own overthrow, ended his life: but his Son* Hormiſda *undertook the Government of the* Perſians.

But, an immenſe [deluge of] ſadneſs being poured in upon [a] *Choſroes*, (who was now ſorely diſtreſſed, reduced to a deſperation, and overwhelmed with a reciprocall Torrent of Grief,) in a miſerable manner took him out of this life; after he had erected an immortall Monument of his own Flight, [to wit] the Law he wrote, that no Emperour of the *Perſians* ſhould in future lead forth an Army againſt the *Romans*. His Son *Hormiſda* ſucceeds him in the Empire. [b] Of whom I muſt at preſent omit to ſpeak, in regard the ſequel [of Tranſactions] calls me to themſelves, and doth expect the * thread of my Diſcourſe.

[a] The death of *Choſdroes* King of the *Perſians* is related too ſoon here. For he died after *Tiberius* had gotten the Empire, as *Theophylactus* atteſts, book 3. chap. 16. which is alſo confirmed by *Menander Protector* in *his Excerpt. Legat.* Wherefore *Theophanes* is miſtaken in *his Chronicon*, who relates *Choſdroes*'s death, and the Inauguration of his Son *Hormiſda*, in the Empire of *Juſtinus Junior*. Valeſ.

* *Line*, or, *Procedure.*

[b] Ὁ νῦν ἐατέον. In the *Tellerian Manuſcript* I found it written, ὃν νῦν ἐατέον, *of whom I muſt at preſent omit to ſpeak*: which reading I prefer far before the Vulgar one. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

Who at that time were Biſhops of the Greater Churches.

After the departure of *Johannes*, called alſo *Catelinus*, out of this life, [a] *Bonoſus* undertakes the Government of the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; he was ſucceeded by another *Johannes*, whoſe ſucceſſour was *Pelagius*. The *Conſtantinopolitane* Chair, when *Johannes* was dead, was reſtored to *Eutychius*, who had been Biſhop before *Johannes*. After *Apollinaris*, *Johannes* ſucceeds in the Throne of *Alexandria*, who was ſucceeded by *Eulogius*. After *Macarius*, *Johannes* is promoted to the Epiſcopate of *Jeruſalem*, a perſon who had been exerciſed in the Conflicts of an unfurniſhed life, in that termed the Monaſterie of the *Acœmeti*; [b] nothing of an Innovation having been attempted in relation to the Eccleſiaſtick conſtitution.

[a] In *Nicephorus*, book 17, chapt. 35, he is called *Bonoſus*. This is he, whom *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* and the other Authours who have written *concerning the Lives of the Biſhops of Rome*, do term *Benedictus*. *Baronius* thinks he had the Surname of *Bonoſus*. Valeſ.

[b] *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words ſo, as if *Evagrius* would have ſaid, that in the times of *Johannes* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, no tumult had been raiſed in the Church. But to me *Evagrius* ſeems to mean another thing; to wit, that during that whole time, wherein thoſe Prelates here named by *Evagrius*, ſate; there had been no tumult in the Church. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Earthquake which hapned at Antioch *in the times of* Tiberius.

But, [a] in the third year of *Tiberius the Cæſar*'s Governing the *Roman* Empire, there hapned at *Antioch* and the Suburb *Daphne* which is near it, a moſt diſmall ſhaking of the Earth, [b] at the very hotteſt time of Noon-day. At which time all *Daphne* was totally demoliſhed by this Earthquake, and the Edifices at *Antioch*, as well the publick as the private ones, were rent in ſunder to the very earth, but fell not to the very ground. Some other accidents hapned likewiſe, highly worthy to be recorded, both at *Theopolis* it ſelf, and at the Imperial City alſo: which diſquieted both thoſe Cities, and incited them to the greateſt Tumults. [These Accidents] took their * beginning from a divine Zeal, and obtained a concluſion befitting God. Which [matters] [c] I come [now] to give a Narrative of.

[a] Τῇ τρίτῃ καίσαρος Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου τῆς βασιλείας διαδοχῇ. *Nicephorus* (book 18, chap. 3,) thought that by theſe words was meant the third year of *Tiberius Auguſtus*'s Empire. The ſame was the Sentiment alſo of *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus*, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But in my judgment, *Evagrius* ſeems to mean here the year of *Tiberius*'s *Cæſarean* Dignity. For, in the firſt place the words themſelves do ſufficiently ſhow that. Then ſecondly, *Evagrius* has not yet related *Juſtinus Junior*'s death, nor the Coronation of *Tiberius*. For he ſpeaks of theſe hereafter, in *the nineteenth chapter of this book*. Wherefore, thoſe things related in this chapter, hapned whilſt *Juſtinus Junior* was yet alive. *Valeſ.*

* *Occaſion.*

[b] Ἐς τ' αὐτὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸ σφοδρότατον. It muſt be made ἐς αὐτό, *at the very*; as 'tis in the *Tellerian* M. S; or, κατ' αὐτό, as it is in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[c] Λέξων ἔρχομαι. *I begin to relate.* I had rather write, ἔρχομαι, *I come*: for ſo *Græcians* are wont to ſpeak. In the *Tellerian* M. S. I found it plainly written, λέξων ἔρχομαι, *I come to give a relation of.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Inſurrection againſt the Execrable Anatolius.

ONe *Anatolius* (a perſon at firſt [a] of the ordinary rank, and one of the Sedentary Mechanicks, but afterwards in what manner I know not, he had thruſt himſelf into the Magiſtracy, and into other Offices;) lived in the City *Antioch*: where alſo he followed thoſe affairs which he then had in hand. On which account likewiſe it hapned that he contracted an intimate familiarity with *Gregorius* the Prelate of that City: and made frequent viſits to him, [b] partly that he might confer with him, and partly to render his own power and authority greater by often converſing with him.

This [*Anatolius*] was afterwards diſcovered to have ſacrificed [to the Gods;] and having on that account been called to Examination, was detected to be a moſt execrable wretch, a Conjurer, and a perſon involved in innumerable impieties. But he †corrupted the *Comes of the Eaſt* with money; and wanted but little of gaining his diſmiſſion, together with his Accomplices; (For he had ſeverall others of the ſame Moralls with himſelf, who had been apprehended at the ſame time that he was:) had not the populacy made an Inſurrection, and by raiſing a great diſturbance, ſpoyled that deſign. Moreover, they exclaimed againſt the Patriarch himſelf, and ſaid that he *was a party in that Conſult. Alſo, ſome turbulent and deſtructive *Dæmon* [c] had perſwaded ſome perſons, that he was ‖ preſent together with *Anatolius* at the [deteſtable] ſacrifices. For this reaſon *Gregorius* was reduced to the imminenteſt of dangers, moſt violent incurſions being made againſt him by the populacy. And this ſuſpicion was raiſed to ſuch an heighth, that the Emperour *Tiberius* himſelf became deſirous of knowing the truth from *Anatolius*'s own mouth. He gives order therefore, that *Anatolius* and his Accomplices ſhould forthwith be conveyed to the Imperial City. Which when *Anatolius* underſtood, he ran to an Image of the *Theotocos* hung up by a rope in the Priſon, and having folded his hands behind his back, ſhewed himſelf in the poſture of an humble Suppliant and Petitioner. But ſhe, abominating [the man,] and reproving [the Wretch] as impious and hatefull to God, [d] turned [her face] quite backward; an horred ſight, and worthy to be forever remembred: which thing having been ſeen, both by all the Priſoners, and alſo by thoſe who were entruſted with the cuſtody of *Anatolius* and his Accomplices; was declared to all perſons. Moreover, ſhe was ſeen by ſome of the Faithfull, inciting them againſt that Peſt *Anatolius*, and ſaying that he had been injurious to her Son. But after he was brought to the Imperial City, and having been *expoſed to the acuteſt of Tortures, had not any thing in the leaſt to ſay againſt the Prelate [*Gregorius*;] he, together with his Aſſociates, became the Occaſioner of greater Tumults there, and [was the Authour] of a popular Sedition in that City. For, when ſome of † them had received a ſentence of Baniſhment, but were not to be taken off by *a capitall puniſhment; the populacy, incenſed by a kind of Divine zeal, put all things into a diſturbance, by being exaſperated, and highly enraged. And having ſeized the perſons that had been condemned to Exile, they put them into a Boat, and burnt them alive; which ſentence the people pronounc't againſt them. They likewiſe exclaimed againſt the Emperour, and againſt *Eutychius* their own Patriarch, as being betrayers of the Faith: And they were about to have murdered *Eutychius*, and thoſe perſons to whom the *Cognizance* of this Cauſe had been committed, going up and down to all places in queſt of them; had not providence, the preſerver of all things, delivered them out of their hands who ſought after them, and by degrees appeaſed the Rage of ſo numerous a multitude, in ſuch a manner, that no miſchievous Action was committed by their hands. Further, *Anatolius* himſelf in the firſt place was caſt to the wild Beaſts in the *Amphitheatre*, and his Body having been torn by them, was afterwards fixt to a Croſs. But neither in this manner found he an end of his puniſhment in this life. For the Wolves having drag'd his impure Body down from the Croſs, (a thing never before ſeen,) divided it for a prey amongſt themſelves. There was alſo a certain perſon amongſt us, who (before theſe things hapned,) affirmed, that he ſaw in his ſleep, in what manner the Sentence againſt *Anatolius* and his Accomplices ſhould be *pronounced by the people. And an Illuſtrious [e] *Curator* of the Imperial Houſes, who was a vigorous defender of *Anatolius*, affirmed that he ſaw the *Theotocos*, who ſaid, how long would he defend *Anatolius*, who had caſt ſuch great contumelies, both on her ſelf, and on her ſon. And in this manner were theſe affairs concluded.

For the Houſes of the Emperours, as well thoſe in the Imperial City, as them in the Suburbs, had their *Curatores*, who look't after their Revenue. And this dignity was not the meaneſt, for the perſons who bore it had the Titles of *Moſt Glorious* and *Moſt Magnificent*, as I have remarked before at the *third chapter of this book*. They ſeem alſo to have had a Juriſdiction, as *Agathias* ſhews in *his Fifth Book*, ſpeaking concerning one *Anatolius* an *Ex-conſul*; ἄνωθεν τῶν τῆδε ὑπάτων ἀξίᾳ τεπιμηθον, &c. *A perſon that had both been honoured with the Dignity of the Conſuls, and beſides had obtained an Office, [which was,] to take care of and to look after the Houſes and poſſeſſions*

[a] Πολλῶν τε ὀπηδοφείων. In the excellent *Flotine Manuſcript* I found it plainly written, ἐξ πυλαίων τε καὶ ὀπηδοφείων, *of the ordinary rank, and one of the Sedentary Mechanicks.* The ſame is the reading in *Nicephorus*. Further, 'tis ſtrange that three Tranſlatours ſhould have been miſtaken in the rendition of one word. For *Johannes Langus* renders it thus: *Erat Theopoli Anatolius quidam, ex plebeis ille quidem & ignavis unus, There was at* Theopolis *one* Anatolius, *a perſon of the ordinary rank and one of the ſlothfull.* *Muſculus* tranſlates it in this manner; *Unus ex multis illis qui vitam delicate inſtituunt, One of thoſe many who lead a delicate life.* *Chriſtophorſon*'s Verſion runs thus; *Anatolius vir quidam plebeius primùm & mollis*. Anatolius *a man at firſt a plebeian and effeminate*, or, *ſoft*. Which interpretation they ſeem to have drawn from *Suidas* and the *Authour of the Etymologicon*; who expounded ὀπηδοφελῶ in this manner, ἀεργὸς καὶ γυναικώδης, *idle and effeminate*. But, this term ſignifies ſomething elſe here, as is concluded from the preceding term. Wherefore I doubt not, but by this word *Evagrius* means the *Artifices Sellularii, Sedentary Mechanicks*, which the *Greeks* alſo term ἑδραίους, for the ſame reaſon, to wit becauſe *they do their work ſitting*. So *Julius Pollux* book 7, chap. 1; and the *Authour of the Etymologicon* in the word βάναυσος. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὰ μὲν καὶ πράγματα διαλεξάμενος. I write, τὰ μὲν ὡς διαλεξάμενος, *partly that he might conſer with him*; the word πράγματα muſt be expunged, which crept in here from the foregoing line. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Bought off.*

* Or, *Was a partaker of that deſign.*

[c] Ἐνέπεισεν ἑνίους. Doubtleſs it muſt be made, ἀνέπεισεν, *had perſwaded*; as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. *Valeſ.*

‖ Or, *Intermixt.*

[d] Ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπίσω. Without doubt it muſt be written, ἐς τὰ ὀπίσω μετεστράφη, *turned* [*her face*] *quite backward*. And ſo *Nicephorus* read, who has expreſt this place of *Evagrius* thus, εἰς τὸ ὀπίσθεν παντάπασιν ἀπεστράφη, *turned her ſelfe quite away from him*. Whence it appears, that *Nicephorus* put a *Comma* before the word τέλειον, after the term διελέγχθη: which punctation I do rather approve of. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens*'s Edition, this paſſage is worded and pointed thus; ἡ δὲ, μυσαχθεῖσα καὶ τὸν ἐναγῆ καὶ δεινὰ διελέγχθη τέλειον, ὃν τὸ πάλιν μίσος ἐφίη; *But ſhe, both abominating this impious perſon and perfectly reproving* [*the Wretch*] *hateſull to God, turned backward.*

* Or, *Subjected.*

† Viz. *Anatolius's Accomplices.*

* *Given-out*, or, *executed.*

[e] Τῶν Καισαριανῶν προεστώς; that is, *Curator of the Imperial Houſes.*

ſions of the Emperour. Thoſe Officers are by the Romans *termed Curatores.* The term ἀρχὴν, *Office*, in this paſſage of *Agathias* (though *Vulcanius* has omitted it in *his Verſion*,) is in no wiſe ſuperfluous; but it imports an Office of a Magiſtrate, or a Juriſdiction. Beſides, that purple Ribband [or Garland,] and the Tables which the ſame *Anatolius* was wont to affixe to the Houſes of private perſons, that he might challenge them for the Treaſury, (as *Agathias* ſubjoyns in his following words,) do manifeſtly enough declare, that *Anatolius* had a Juriſdiction as *Curator* of the Imperial Houſes. 'Tis certain, the *Conſtitution* of the Emperour *Tiberius concerning the Divine Houſes*, doth plainly atteſt, that thoſe *Curatores* had Juriſdiction. For in that Conſtitution, *Tiberius* does make an expreſs eſtabliſhment, that an *Actor*, who ſhall prefer a Plaint [or, *Sue Proceſs*] againſt a *Cartularius* or a *Conductor* or a *Colonus* of an Imperial Houſe, concerning any matter belonging to an Houſe of the Emperour, may, if he will, come to an hearing before the *Moſt Glorious* and *Moſt Magnificent Curator*. But if he ſuſpects him, he may proſecute his Cauſe before any other Judge who ſhall have been put into Commiſſion by the Emperour. But the Emperour *Tiberius* in *that Law* prohibites the *Curatores* from fixing *Tables* or *Fiſcall Titles* on the Houſes of private perſons, and from Sealing them. For the *Curatores* were wont to ſell ſuch *Titles* as theſe to the meaner ſort, and to exact ſomething of them for their Patronage and Protection, as *Tiberius* does *there* ſhew. Moreover, theſe Houſes, and the *Conductores* [*Hirers*] of them enjoyed many priviledges and immunities, as may be ſeen in the *Theodoſian Code*, *Tit. de privilegiis domus Auguſtæ*, and in the *fore-mentioned Conſtitution of* Tiberius. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Mauricius's *Generalſhip, and concerning his Vertues.*

BUt, *Tiberius* being now, after the death of *Juſtinus*, encircled with the [Imperial] Crown, turns *Juſtinianus* out of Commiſſion, in regard he managed not [the War] againſt the *Barbarians* with the ſame fortunate ſucceſs as formerly. And [a] he Creates *Mauricius Magiſter of the Eaſtern Milice*, a perſon that derived his Deſcent and Name from the *ſeniour Rome*; but from his immediate Parents he acknowledged himſelf a Native of [b] *Arabiſſus*, a City of *Cappadocia*. He was a perſonage of great prudence and perſpicacity, every way accurate and immoveable. As to his Diet and Moralls, he was conſtant and moſt exact, a perfect Maſter over his appetite, making uſe of thoſe [proviſions] only that were neceſſary and eaſily procured; but [avoiding] all other things, † wherewith diſſolute and intemperate men are wont to pleaſe themſelves. He was not eaſie of Acceſs as to Conferences with * *the Many*, nor gave attention [promiſcuouſly to all perſons;] being ſenſible, that the firſt produced contempt, and the ſecond opened the way to flattery. He permitted very few Viſits to be made to himſelf, [c] nor thoſe except concerning affairs of conſequence. But to matters ſuperfluous he ſtopt his ears, not with wax, according to the Poet, but with reaſon rather: that ſo, reaſon might be the beſt key of his Ears, which ſhould opportunely both open and ſhut them in Diſcourſes. He had in ſuch a manner, ‖ clear'd himſelf of ignorance, the Mother of Raſhneſs; and of Sloth, which [d] dwelleth with her, and is her [e] Comrade: that his being in danger was [to be aſcribed]. to Wiſedome, and his ſlowneſs of Action, to ſecurity. For, Courage and Prudence rode on Opportunities as 'twere on an Horſe, and governed the Raines acccording to what the Utility [of the Republick] might order. And, the Remiſſneſs and * Intenſneſs of his very Aſſaults were performed in a certain Meaſure, Order, and Proportion. But concerning this matter we ſhall ſpeak more accurately in the Sequel. For, what and how eminent a perſon he was, muſt be reſerved to his own Empire; which hath made a more manifeſt diſcovery of this man, and, by having allowed him an uncontroulable power of doing any thing, has diſplaid his very inmoſt Receſſes. This *Mauricius* therefore having at the head of the *Roman* Army made an Expedition into the *Perſian* Territories, takes from the *Perſians* their Cities and moſt convenient Caſtles: and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſo great a Spoil, that the * Captives he had brought away [out of *Perſia*] [f] peopled whole

[a] Yea, *Tiberius*, whilſt *Juſtinus* as yet ſurvived, created *Mauricius Magiſter of the Oriental Milice*, after he had turned out *Juſtinian*; as *Theophylactus* atteſts, book 3, chap. 15. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Arabiſſus*, or *Arabiſſum*, was heretofore a Town of *Armenia Secunda*, as *Hierocles* informs us in *his Notitia of the Provinces of the Eaſtern Empire*. Indeed, in the *Firſt Conſtantinopolitane Synod*, a Biſhop of *Arabiſſus* in *Armenia the leſs* is mentioned. Moreover, *Philoſtorgius* aſcribes this Town to *Armenia the Leſs*, as may be ſeen in *Suidas*, in the word εὐδόξιος. But afterwards it was attributed to *Cappadocia*, if we may believe *Evagrius*. I know not whether it be the ſame with *Arabiſſon*, whereof *Menander Protector* makes mention in *his Excerpta Legationum*, (*pag.* 159 *of the Kings Edition*,) which Town was near *Theodoſiopolis*. Valeſ.

† Or, *Wherewith a diſſolute life is delighted.*

* Or, *The Vulgar.*

[c] Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπωιδασμῶν. *Muſculus* renders this place thus; *acceſſus ad ſe raros permittebat, eoſque elaboratos, he permitted very few Acceſſes to himſelf, and thoſe* [procured] *with a great deal of difficulty.* Nor has *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlated it better, in this manner; *Raro ad ſe adeundi conceſſit poteſtatem, eamque niſi vehementer oratus, largitus eſt; He rarely granted a power of acceſs to himſelf; and he beſtowed that, not without very earneſt intreaty.* Neither of theſe Tranſlatours have hit the ſenſe of this place. But the *Florentine Manuſcript* hath ſhown us the true reading of this paſſage. For, inſtead of ἐπωιδασμῶν, it is there written ἐπωιδυσμῶν. I doubt not therefore but this whole place is thus to be read; τὰς μὲν ἐν ἐς αὐλὸν ἐσόδους ἀπανίας παρεῖχεν, καὶ τούτοις ἐπωιδυσμῶν. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀδείποις ἀπέρρηγεν, *He permitted very few Viſits*, &c, as we have rendred it. Further, in the *Florent. Manuſcript* theſe words are ſet in the Margin: οἷα λέγει περὶ μανεικίου θαυμαστὰ πλήρη καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια, *Thoſe things which he ſpeaks concerning* Mauricius *are full of admiration and worthy of praiſe.* There occurs another Elogie of *Mauricius*, elegant enough, in *Suidas* in the word μανεικιος, taken out of *Menander Protector's Hiſtory*: to compare that with this here, would not be unuſeful. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τὴν ἀπωκισμὸνην. I am not of the ſame opinion with *Chriſtophorſon* and *Sir Henry Savil*, who at this place read ἐπωκισμὸνην. For there is no ſuch Greek word as ἀπωκισμὸνη, as I think. *Muſculus* alſo ſeems to have read in the ſame manner. For he renders it thus; *Inſcitiam verò matrem temeritatis, & ignaviam illius domeſticam ac ſociam ſic a ſe repellebat*, &c. *for he ſo drove from himſelf Ignorance the Mother of Raſhneſs, and Sloth her Domeſtick and Companion*, &c. In the ſame manner *Evagrius*, in the beginning of *this book*, hath ſpoken concerning *Juſtinus Junior*; θράσει δὲ καὶ δειλίαις ταῖς κακίαις κρατέμενος, &c. *being poſſeſt with —— Vices, Boldneſs and Sloth*: where (as it ſeems from this place) we ſhould read ταῖς συνδυοῖν κακίαις, *with two Vices that were Comrades or Chamberfellowes.* But if any one had rather read ἐπωκισμὸνην, as *Sir Henry Savil* does, then the paſſage is to be rendred thus; *Et inquilinam ejus, ac contubernalem ignaviam, And Sloth which dwelleth with her, and is her Comrade.* For, there is as much difference between the word ἀπωκισμὸν and ἐπωκισμὸνη, as between ἄποικος and ἔποικος. Now, ἄποικος imports *Colonus*, but ἔποικος ſignifies *Inquilinus*; as *Suidas* informs us in the word ἔποικος. *They who were carried out of their own Country into any Colonie, were termed* ἄποικοι *or Coloni.* But, *he who voluntarily left his own Country and removed into a Colonie or into any other City*, was termed ἔποικος, or μέτοικος. *Chriſtophorſon* is miſtaken therefore, who hath rendred this place thus: *Inſcitiam autem Matrem Audaciæ, & Timiditatem quæ ei vicina ac finitima eſt, ſic ab ſe depulit, But he in ſuch a manner thruſt from himſelf ignorance the Mother of Boldneſs, and Timidity which is her Neighbour and Borderer.* Ἐπωκισμὸνη does not ſignifie *Finitimam a Borderer*, but *inquilinam*, as I have ſaid. And the Latine word *inquilina* does exactly agree with the Greek-term. For 'tis called *inquilinus ab incolatu, from habitation or dwelling.* Beſides, the words σύνδυος does not ſignifie *Vicinam, a Neighbour*; (for that would be ἀσχύνος;) but *Contubernalem, a Comrade or Chamber-fellow*, who lives under the ſame Roof. But, after a more diligent inſpection into the Matter, I ſhould rather read at this place ἐπωκισμὸνην. *Valeſ.*

[e] Σύνδυον αὐτῇ. I think it muſt be αὐτῷ, underſtand, τῷ θράσει, *Raſhneſs.* The reaſon of which emendation I have given a little before. *Nicephorus* (book 18, chap. 8,) writing out this paſſage of *Evagrius*, has expreſt it thus; δειλίαν τὴν ἐπωκισμὸνην καὶ σύνδρομον αὐτῇ, *Sloth which dwelleth with her and is her Aſſeſſour*: which is the worſt way of all. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ἐξοικίσαι. In the *Florentine Manuſcript* I found it written ἐξοικῆσαι. *Nicephorus* has made uſe of the ſimple verb οἰκίσαι. I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote ἐσοικίσαι, *Peopled.* *Evagrius* has uſed the ſame term in the *firſt* and *ſecond chapter of this book.* Valeſ.

‖ Or, *Thruſt from himſelf.*

* Σαγηνευθέντα ἀχμαλώτα, *the enſnared Captives.*

Iſlands, Cities, and Countreys, which in proceſs of time had been deſerted; and land that before had been wholly untilled, was by them rendred fertile; and out of them were raiſed numerous Armies, which with great Courage and Valour waged wars againſt other [barbarous] Nations: [in fine,] every family was filled with thoſe that might perform Servile Offices, in regard Slaves could be procured at a moſt cheap rate.

CHAP. XX.

How Mauricius *vanquiſhed* Tamchoſroes *and* Adaarmanes *Generalls of the* Perſians.

MOreover, He engaged with the Eminenteſt of the *Perſian* Commanders, to wit, *Tamchoſroes* and *Adaarmanes*, who had made an irruption [into the *Roman Pale*] with a Conſiderable Army. In what manner, when, and where this Action was performed, let others relate; or perhaps we will give a Narrative thereof in another work: for our preſent Subject promiſes an account of far different affairs. Nevertheleſs, [a] *Tamchoſroes* fell in that Engagement, not by the Valour of the *Roman* Army, but by the piety only of their Commander in chief [*Mauricius*,] and by his Faith in God. * Moreover, *Adaarmanes* flies with all imaginable haſt, having been ſeverely worſted in that Fight, and loſt many of his own Forces: and that, notwithſtanding *Alamundarus*, who Commanded the † *Saracens*, had acted perfidiouſly, and refuſed to paſs the River *Euphrates*, and to give aſſiſtance to *Mauricius* againſt thoſe *Saracens* who were in the *Perſian* Army. For the *Saracens* are not to be vanquiſhed by others, becauſe of the fleetneſs of their Horſes: nor can they be taken, if at any time they be * ſtopt, and they prevent the Enemy in their Retreats. Notwithſtanding alſo, [b] *Theodorichus*, who was Commander of the *Scythian* Nations, ſtood not even the firſt Charge, but fled together with the Forces about him.

[a] Ὁ ταμοσχέης, *Tamoſchroes*. It muſt doubtleſs be written ταμχοσρόης, *Tamchoſroes*. For ſo *Evagrius* calls him a little before. *Menander Protector* mentions this Commander, in *his Excerpta Legationum*, and *Theophylactus* in *his Third Book*. The ſame *Theophylactus* relates alſo (book 3, chap. 18,) how he was killed in a Battell againſt *Mauricius*. And atteſts, that that was done after the death of the Emperour *Juſtinus*, at ſuch time as *Tiberius* was promoted to be *Auguſtus*. In the *Tellerian Manuſcript* it is written χοσρόης, *Choſroës*. Valeſ.

* Φεύγει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδααρμάνης καταπεφόβ, &c. In *Robert Stephens* the reading here is, φεύγει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδααρμάνης καπαφοβ. ἐν τῇ, &c.

† Or, *Barbarous* Scenitæ.

* Or, *Incloſed*, or *ſurrounded*.

[b] *Theophylactus* has made mention of this Commander *Theodorichus*, in *his third book*, chap. 17. He was by Nation a *Goth*, as may be concluded from his name. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

† Or, *Declared Empire to* Mauricius.

Concerning thoſe Signes which † *preſignified* Mauricius's *being made Emperour.*

FUrther, there hapned Signes alſo ſhown from Heaven, which foretold, that *Mauricius* ſhould be Emperour. For, as he offered incenſe late at night, within the Sanctuary of the Sacred Houſe of the holy and moſt undefiled Virgin and *Theotocos Mary*, (which by the *Antiochians* is termed *Juſtinian*'s Church,) the Veil about the Sacred Table ſeemed to be all on fire; in ſo much that *Mauricius* was ſtruck with Terrour and Amazement, and very much dreaded that ſight. *Gregorius* Patriarch of that City, ſtanding by *Mauricius*, told him, that that thing proceeded * from God, and portended the greateſt and moſt eximious events to him. Chriſt our God appeared likewiſe to him [a] in the Eaſt, requeſting of him that he would avenge him. Which [Viſion] apparently declared that he ſhould be Emperour. For, from whom elſe could [our Saviour] have requeſted ſuch things, ſave from an Emperour, and from one who was ſo pious an Adorer of himſelf? Moreover, his Parents related to me ſeverall other memorable paſſages, and ſuch as are worthy to be recorded, when I my ſelf made enquiry of them concerning theſe matters. For his Father affirmed to me, that in his ſleep he ſaw a vaſt Vine, which ſprang out of his Bed at the very time of * his conception, and that a great many and thoſe the faireſt ſort of Grapes appeared hanging on it. And his Mother declared, that [b] at the very time of her delivery, the Earth ſent forth a ſtrange and unuſuall ſweet ſmell. Alſo, that ſhe termed [c] *The Empuſa* had often carried away the Infant, as if ſhe would have devoured it: but was unable to do it any miſchief. *Symeones*, likewiſe who kept his Station upon a Pillar near *Antioch*, a man of extraordinary prudence in the management of affairs, and one adorned with all the Divine Virtues, ſpoke and performed many things, which declared that *Mauricius* ſhould be Emperour. Concerning which perſon we ſhall ſpeak more opportunely in the following book of our Hiſtory.

* Or, *From a certain Divine inſtinct.*

[a] That is when *Mauricius* was in the Eaſt. So *Nicephorus* expounds this place of *Evagrius*, in the *ninth chapter of his* 18th *book*. A little after, from the ſame *Nicephorus*, and from the *Tellerian* M. S. I have mended it, ὕπερ τῆ ἐνδείκνυσιν ζητήσ, *and petitioned him in relation to a revenge*; whereas before it was one word, thus, ὑπερενδείκνυσιν, &c. *Valeſ.*

* *Mauricius*'s.

[b] Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῷ, &c. I am of the ſame mind with Sir *Henry Savil*, who hath noted in his Copy, that perhaps it ſhould be written, καθ' αὐτὸν ἔφασκε τὸν ὑποτεξιν, &c. *declared, that at the very time of her delivery*, &c. And ſo the reading is in *Nicephorus*. In the *Tellerian Manuſcripts* I found it written, περὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑποτεξιν, *at her very delivery*. Valeſ.

[c] See, if you pleaſe, what I have remarked concerning *The Empuſa*, at the *eighth book of* Sozomen's *Hiſtory, chap. 6. Nicephorus*, who deſervedly derides ſuch Old-wives-fables as theſe, affirms (chap. 9. book 18.) that in his age this [Shee-devill] was called *Gillo*. Thoſe termed *Strigæ* by the *Romans*, were like to theſe *Empuſæ*; concerning theſe *Strigæ* ſee *Feſtus*. The *old Gloſſes*, *Striga*, λαμυγὼν γυνὴ φαρμακὶς, *Læſtrygon, a Witch*. Concerning this *Gillo* or *Gello*, which heretofore was believed to ſnatch away Children, *Leo Allatius* has remarked much, in *his Letter to Paulus Zachias*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Proclaiming of Mauricius *and* Auguſta.

FUrther, *Mauricius* is promoted to the Empire, at ſuch time as *Tiberius* was drawing his laſt breath, and had delivered to him his Daughter *Auguſta*, and the Empire inſtead of a portion, * He ſurvived his being made Emperour but a very ſhort time; but left an immortall Memory for the good Actions he performed. Nor, are they eaſily to be confined within the bounds of a Narrative. Moreover, *Tiberius* left an incomparable Inheritance to the Republick, to wit, his proclaiming of *Mauricius* Emperour. To whom he diſtributed his Names alſo: for he ſtyled *Mauricius*, *Tiberius*; and to *Auguſta* [he gave the name of] *Conſtantina*. What was performed by them, the following book, divine ſtrength affording me its aſſiſtance, ſhall ſet forth.

* Or, *He lived in the Empire but*, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

† Or, *Concerning a ſummary of*, &c.

† *A Computation of the Times from* Juſtinus Junior, *to* Mauricius.

MOreover, that the Times may be * diſtinguiſhed with all imaginable accuracy, you are to know, that *Juſtinus Junior* reigned [a] by himſelf twelve years ten months and a half; [b] with *Tiberius* [his Colleague,] three years and eleven months. All which time put together, [make up] ſixteen years nine months and an half. *Tiberius* reigned alone four years. So that, from *Romulus* untill the proclaiming of *Mauricius Tiberius* Emperour, there are concluded to be ....., as both the former, and preſent [deſcription of] the years hath manifeſted.

* Or, *recounted.*

[a] This place gave occaſion of a miſtake to *Baronius*, who, in *his Eccleſiaſtick Annalls*, following *Evagrius* as his Authour, attributes ſixteen years and nine months Reign to *Juſtinus Junior*. But, the other *Chronologers* aſſign fewer years to *Juſtinus*. For, *Johannes Biclarienſis* attributes but eleven years to him; *Cedrenus*, thirteen years and ſome few months. *The Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* affirms, that he Reigned twelve years and eight months. Laſtly, *Dionyſius Petavius*, a moſt diligent Writer of Times, gives *Juſtinus* thirteen years of Empire, lacking one month. Which years he begins from the year of Chriſt 565, on the month *November*, in the *fourteenth Indiction*, whereon he judges, (with *Theophanes* and *Baronius*,) that *Juſtinian* died. To the opinion of which perſon I do moſt willingly ſubſcribe. Indeed, that the firſt year of *Juſtinus Junior* was current with the *fourteenth Indiction*, we are informed from the ſame *Juſtinus's Firſt Novel* to *Julianus Præfect of the City*, which has this Subſcription: *Data* 18. *Kalendas Octobres Chalcedone, Imp.* D. N. *Juſtino* P. P. *Auguſt. Anno Primo, Indictione quintâ decimâ, Dated on the eighteenth of the Calends of* October, *at* Chalcedon, *Emperour our Lord* Juſtinus *Father of his Country Auguſtus, on his firſt year, in the fifteenth Indiction.* For, the firſt year of *Juſtinus*'s Empire began from the month *November*, as 'tis agreed amongſt all writers. It muſt therefore neceſſarily have then been the *fourteenth Indiction:* in regard, on the month *September* of the year following, the *fifteenth Indiction* is reckoned. For, if *Juſtinus* had begun his Empire on the *fifteenth Indiction*, (as *Victor Thunonenſis*, *Johannes Biclarienſis*, and the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*, have left it recorded;) and in the month *November*; 'tis certain, the *firſt Indiction* would have begun in the month *September* of the year following. Further, of theſe twelve years and eleven months, (during which compleat ſpace of time we affirm that *Juſtinus* Reigned,) he Reigned alone and without a Colleague eight years nine months and an half: with *Tiberius* the *Cæſar*, he Reigned four years, and almoſt one month. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Tiberius Conſtantinus* was made *Cæſar* by *Juſtinus*, in the *eighth Indiction*, on the ſeventh day of the month *September*, as 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But he began his Empire in the *twelfth Indiction*, on the fifth day of the month *October*. Hence there are four years and twenty eight days of *Tiberius's Cæſarean power*. But, if we had rather follow *Theophylactus*, who writes, that *Tiberius* was made *Cæſar* by *Juſtinus* on the ſeventh day of *December*, on the *ſixth Feria*; there will be three years and almoſt ten months, which is, from the year of Chriſt 574, to the year 578. Further, 'tis to be obſerved, that *Tiberius Conſtantinus*, after the death of *Juſtinus Junior*, reckoned the years of his own Empire from the beginning of his *Cæſarean power*, as we are informed by the Subſcription of the ſame *Tiberius's Sacra Pragmatica, concerning the Confirmation of the Emperour* Juſtinus's *Conſtitutions*; which runs thus: *Data tertio Idûs Auguſti*, &c. *Dated on the third of the Ides of* Auguſt, *at* Conſtantinople, *on the eighth year of the Emperour our Lord* Tiberius Conſtantinus Auguſtus, *and on the third year after his own Conſulate, and on the firſt year of the moſt noble* Flavius Tiberius Mauricius the moſt happy *Cæſar*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Series *of Hiſtory, which is preſerved till our Times.*

BY God's aſſiſtance, the Hiſtory of the Church is * handed down to us, digeſted into one body, by [the induſtry of the beſt] Writers. Till the times of *Conſtantine*, by *Euſebius Pamphilus*. From *Conſtantine*'s Reign, to [the Empire of] *Theodoſius Junior*, by *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, and *Socrates*: and [Laſtly,] [a] by thoſe Collections, we have made in this our preſent Work. The Ancient Hiſtory, as well Sacred as Profane, is extant, continued in a *Series* by the Induſtrious. For *Moſes*, who was the firſt that began to write an Hiſtory, (as 'tis moſt evidently demonſtrated by thoſe who have made Collections in reference to theſe matters;) compiled a true and moſt exact account of affairs from the beginning of the world, according to the information he had from God himſelf, with whom he converſed in the Mount *Sina*. Others who followed him, preparing a way for our Religion, have in the Sacred Volumes ſet forth what hapned in ſucceeding Ages. Moreover, *Joſephus* wrote a large Hiſtory, which is every way uſefull and profitable. Whatever occurrences, whether fabulous or reall, have hapned amongſt the *Greeks* and ancient *Barbarians*, whilſt the *Greeks* waged Wars amongſt themſelves, or againſt the *Barbarians*; or whatever elſe has been tranſacted from ſuch time as they had an account that men firſt exiſted; have been Recorded by [b] *Charax*, *Theopompus*, and *Ephorus*, and by innumerable other Writers. The Actions of the *Romans*, wherein is contained the Hiſtory [almoſt] of the whole world, or whatever elſe hapned, whilſt they were involved in Civill and inteſtine Broyls, or acted againſt others; have been ſet forth in writing by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, who began his Hiſtory from thoſe people termed the *Aborigines*, and continued it to *Pyrrhus* * King of the *Epirotes*. From that time, *Polybius* the *Megalopolite* hath brought down [his Hiſtory] to the deſtruction of *Carthage*. All which *Apianus* has † with great perſpicuity diſtinguiſhed, and hath gathered together each Action into one Body, although they were performed at different times. In like manner, the Affairs tranſacted after the Times of thoſe Hiſtorians I have mentioned, have been committed to writing by *Diodorus Siculus*, [who wrote] till [the Times of] *Julius Cæſar*; and by *Dion Caſſius* who brought down his Hiſtory to the Empire of *Antoninus* born at *Emeſa*. *Herodian* alſo, a Writer of the ſame Times, has given us a Record of Tranſactions till the death of *Maximus*. [c] *Nicoſtratus* the *Sophiſt* of *Trapezus* has compiled an Hiſtory, wherein he ſets forth an account of affairs from *Philippus* who ſucceeded *Gordianus* in the Empire, untill *Odænathus* of *Palmyra*, and *Valerian*'s diſgraceſull Expedition againſt the *Perſians*. *Dexippus* alſo has written at large concerning the ſame matters, who begins from the [d] *Scythick* Wars, and ends at the Empire of *Claudius* ſucceſſour to *Gallienus*. The ſame *Dexippus* hath compiled an Hiſtory of the Actions of the *Carpi* and other Barbarous Nations, which they performed in their Wars within *Achaia*, *Thracia*, and *Ionia*. *Euſebius* begins from *Octavianus*, *Trajanus*, and *Marcus*, and has brought down his Hiſtory as far as the death of *Carus*. Moreover, [e] *Arrianus* and *Aſinius Quadratus* have written ſome

* Or, *Preſerved.*

[a] Καὶ ὧν ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐξήνεγκε πόνος. Doubtleſs it muſt be written, καὶ ὧν ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, &c. *And* [Laſtly] *by thoſe*, &c. For 'tis referred to the foregoing words διὰ ἱστορικῶν; which the Tranſlatours perceived not. *Valeſ.*

[b] Concerning *Charax Pergamenus* a Writer of Greek Hiſtories, ſee what *Voſſius* has written in *his book de Hiſtoricis Græcis.* Valeſ.

* Or, *The Epirote.*

† Or, *judiciouſly.*

[c] This ſeems to be the ſame perſon, who by *Vopiſcus* in the *Life of Aurelianus*, is termed *Nicomachus*; he had written an Hiſtory of thoſe times, as *Vopiſcus* atteſts there. This *Nicoſtratus* here was a different perſon from *Nicoſtratus* the *Sophiſt*, who flouriſht in the Empire of *Marcus*; as *Suidas* affirms, and alſo *Georgius Scyncellus* in *his Chronicon*. Valeſ.

[d] Ἀπὸ μυθικῶν ἀρξαμένῳ. In *my Annotations on the Excerpta Legationum out of Dexippus*, I have long ſince remarked, that at this place the reading muſt be, ἀπὸ σκυθικῶν, *from the Scythick Wars.* For *Dexippus* wrote the σκυθικά, that is, *the Wars which the* Romans *waged againſt the* Scythians, as *Photius* atteſts in *his Bibliotheca.* Valeſ.

[e] *Arrianus* wrote *the Parthica* and *Alanica*, in *which books* he related the Actions performed by the *Romans* againſt the *Parthians* and *Alans*. *Evagrius* therefore means *theſe books* here. *Valeſ.*

things concerning the ſame times. The Hiſtory of the following Times is given us by *Zoſimus*, untill the Emperours *Honorius* and *Arcadius*. After which Emperours, Affairs have been Recorded by *Priſcus Rhetor*, and others. All theſe Tranſactions are excellently well reduced into an *Epitome* by [f] *Euſtathius Epiphanienſis*, in two Volumes; the firſt whereof [comprizes matters tranſacted] untill the taking of *Troy*, and the ſecond, unto the twelfth year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Empire. From whence, untill the times of *Juſtinian*, *Procopius* the *Rhetorician* hath Recorded affairs. The Hiſtory of thoſe Times next immediately following, untill the flight of *Choſroes Junior* to the *Romans*, and his Reſtauration to his own Kingdom by *Mauricius*, (who made not any the leaſt delay at that affair, but gave [the Fugitive] a Royall Reception, and with the Expence of a vaſt ſum of money, and accompanied with great forces, conveyed him back into his own Kingdom, [g] with all poſſible expedition;) hath been written in a continued *Series* by *Agathias* the *Rhetorician*, and [h] *Johannes* my Fellow-Citizen and Kinſman; although as yet they have not made their Hiſtories publick. Concerning which affairs, we our ſelves alſo, the Divine † Clemency giving us permiſſion, will in the Sequel give ſuch a Narrative as is accommodate and agreeable.

[f] This is the *Euſtathius Syrus*, whoſe Teſtimony our *Evagrius* has made frequent uſe of, in the foregoing books.

Concerning this Authour *Suidas* writes thus: ἐυσέβιος ὁ ἐπιφανεὺς χρονικὴν ἐπιτομὴν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου μέχρις ἀναστασίου βασιλέως ἐν τόμοις, *Euſtathius Epiphanienſis* [*wrote*] *a Chronologicall Compendium of affairs from Æneas till the Emperour* Anaſtaſius *in Tomes*. At my perill write, ἐν τόμοις *C*, *in two Volumes*, or *Tomes*. I have *Evagrius*'s authority here, for this Emendation. *Valeſ.*

[g] Μάλιστα πάντως. I think it muſt be, μάλα πάντως, *with all poſſible expedition*; in order to the avoiding the ill ſounding of the words. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Benevolence.*

[h] This *Johannes* was an *Epiphanienſian*. For, whereas *Evagrius* calls him his own Fellow-Citizen, he muſt needs have been an *Epiphanienſian*, in regard *Epiphania* a City of *Syria*, was *Evagrius*'s native place. Wherefore *Voſſius* is miſtaken in *his book de Hiſtor. Græcis*, who thought that this *Johannes* was by birth an *Antiochian*. Valeſ.

The End of the Fifth Book of Evagrius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

THE

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphaniensis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Marriage of Mauricius *and* Augusta.

MAURICIUS, After he had obtained the Empire, in the first place made provision for his Marriage. And, agreeable to the solemn usage of Emperours, he takes to Wife *Augusta*, who was also called *Constantina*. The pomp of those Nuptialls was most magnificently performed, and Banquets and * Jolity [celebrated and observed] in every place of the City. At this Wedding were present *Piety* and *Imperial Dignity*, which [two] guarded [*Mauricius* and *Constantina*] in the gracefullest manner imaginable, and presented them with the richest Gifts. For, the † Firſt ‖ produced the Father and the Mother [of *Mauricius*,] (a thing never known to have hapned to any Emperour before,) who consecrated the Wedding with their Comely Gray-hairs and Venerable Wrincles; his Brethren also, eminent for their Shape, Stature, and Comelineſs, who adorned the Nuptiall Pomp. The * Second [presented] a Robe interwoven with Gold, adorned with Purple and *Indian* Stones; Crowns also of the highest value, enrich't with much Gold and the various brightnesses of Gems; all those personages likewise, which bore Offices in the Imperial Pallace, and were enrolled in the *Militia*; who carried Nuptiall Tapers in their hands, were [a] most magnificently clad to the end they might be known, and with Songs celebrated that Nuptiall solemnity. In so much that, never was there amongst men any thing more Splendid or, * Richer than that ‖ Show. [b] *Demophilus*, writing concerning *Rome*, does indeed relate, that *Plutarchus Chæronensis* uttered a [c] wise saying, viz. *that for the sake of that one only* † *City, Virtue and Fortune had entred into a mutuall League.* But I may say, that *Piety* and *Felicity* in such a like manner had come together in one *Mauricius*; for Piety had vanquished Felicity, and would in no wise permit her to make an escape. After this, *Mauricius* made it his business to invest and adorn, not his Body only, but his mind also, with the Imperial Purple and Crown. For, of all the Emperours that were his Predecessours, he alone Reigned over himself. And being in reality made an Emperour, he expelled out of his own mind that † *Democraticall* dominion of the passions. And having Constituted an * *Aristocracy* within his own mind, he shewed himself a living Image of Virtue, instructing his Subjects to an imitation of himself. All this is not spoken by me out of flattery. For, why should I utter these words with such a design, since † he is wholly ignorant of what I write? But, that what I have said is really so, will be made evident, both by those Gifts conferred on him by God, and also from the successfull Accidents which have hapned at severall times; all here mentioned was

* Ἁβρωσύνας, *pride*, or, *voluptuousnes*.

† Viz. *Piety*.

‖ *Shewed*, or, *brought*.

* Viz. *Imperial Dignity*.

[a] Μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε ἐσταλμένους. In *Nicephorus* (book 18. chap. 8.) the reading is, ἐστεμμένους, *Crowned*; which I don't approve of. For 'twas not the custom amongst the Ancients, at least so far as I know, that those who were invited to weddings, should wear Crowns in like manner as did the Bridegrooms. Besides, the words next following do confute this reading. For *Evagrius* adds, that they were magnificently clothed for this reason, because they might more easily be distinguished, or known. But, that can have no relation to Crowns. For, they could not be known or distinguished by the Crowns which they wore. *Vales.*

* *More prosperous*, or, *fortunate*.

‖ Or, *Pomp*.

[b] Concerning this *Demophilus*, *Suidas* writes in *his Lexicon*; in transcribing of whom *Vossius* (in *his book de Historicis Græcis*,) was satisfied, and has added nothing further. But, in regard I have had an account of his Country, and way of writing; in favour to the Studious, I will here annex it. That *Damophilus* therefore (or, *Demophilus*,)

a Native of *Bithynia*, who wrote severall usefull stories and passages out of the books of the Ancients, as *Julian* informs us in *his* Μίσοπωγ: Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ βιθυνῷ ποικίλα συγγράμματα τετιῦχται, &c. *Such writings were composed by* Damophilus *the* Bithynian, *of which he made a Collection out of various Authours, and composed Relations that were very pleasing both to the Younger and the Elder Student.* I am sure *Julian* at that place produces a certain passage, which that *Damophilus* had Collected out of *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, in like manner as *our Evagrius* does here. *Vales.*

[c] Σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, *uttered a plain saying*. I had rather read, σοφῶς εἰπεῖν, *uttered a wise saying*; as *Christophorson* seems to have read. Further, the place of *Plutarch*, which *Evagrius* means here, is extant in *his book de Fortunâ Romanorum*, not far from the beginning. *Vales.*

† *Rome.*

† *Popular*, or, *Plebeian.*

* Ἀριστοκρατείαν: the originall import of this term is, *a government managed by many and those of the noblest Rank*: but 'tis taken metaphorically here, *for a company of thoughts of the best sort.*

† *Mauricius.*

which

which muſt * without controverſie be by us aſcribed to God.

* Or, *Confeſſedly.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning Alamundarus *the* Saracen, *and his Son* Naamanes.

BEſides all his other [Virtues,] this was the chiefeſt of his Care, that the bloud of none of thoſe who had been guilty of High-Treaſon, ſhould in any wiſe be ſhed. Therefore, he did not put to death even *Alamundarus* Chief of the *Saracens*, who had betrayed both the Republick and *Mauricius* himſelf, as I have * already related: but only puniſhed him with *Deportation* to an Iſland, together with his Wife and ſome of his Children, [ordering him] to dwell in *Sicily*. But *Naamanes* Son to this man, (who had involved the State in innumerable miſchiefs, and by the aſſiſtance of thoſe *Barbarians* he had about him, had ruined and enſlaved both the *Phœnice*'s, and the *Paleſtine*'s, at ſuch time as [his Father] *Alamundarus* was ſeized;) although all [the Judges] were of opinion that he deſerved a capitall puniſhment, was only detained by him under a * Cuſtody at large; and he inflicted no further puniſhment on him. He uſed the ſame [Clemency] towards innumerable other perſons, as ſhall be particularly related in due place.

* Book 5. Chap. 20.

* Or, *A free Cuſtody.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning Johannes *and* Philippicus Maſters of the Milice, *and the Actions done by them.*

FUrther, *Mauricius* in the firſt place ſent *Johannes*, (a Native of *Thracia*,) Commander of the Eaſtern Milice. Who having been worſted in ſome Engagements, and got the better in others, did nothing worthy of a Narrative. After him [he ſent] *Philippicus*, who was related to him; for he had married the one of *Mauricius*'s two Siſters. He entred the Enemies Country, ruined all things he met with, and poſſeſt himſelf of a vaſt quantity of Plunder. He likewiſe ſlew many [Inhabitants] of the City *Niſibis*, who were of Noble Birth and well deſcended, and of other Cities alſo which ſtood beyond the River *Tigris*. Moreover, he engaged with the *Perſians*: whereupon a great Fight hapned, in which fell ſeverall *Perſians* of the greateſt Note, and he took many * Priſoners; he likewiſe ſent away a † Body of *Perſians* unhurt, who had fled to a certain * Eminence conveniently enough ſcituated, when 'twas in his power to have taken them; after they had made him a promiſe, to perſwade their own King, forthwith to diſpatch away [an Embaſſy] to Treat about a Peace. He alſo behaved himſelf very well in relation to ſeverall other matters, during his command of the *Roman* Forces; for he freed the Army from all things that were ſuperfluous, and which opened a way to Luxury; and the Souldiers were by him reduced to Modeſty, tractablen ſs, and obedience. But theſe matters muſt be left to thoſe who have written, or do now write, according as they may either receive information from Report, or are lead by opinion: whoſe Relation, in regard it either ſtumbles and is lamed by ignorance, or is ſoftned by Affection and Partiality, or [Laſtly] is blinded by * Hatred, does [uſually] wander from the Truth.

* Or, *Alive.*
† Or, *Troop.*
* Or, *Hill.*

* Or, *Antipathy.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning Priſcus's Maſterſhip of the Milice, *and what he ſuffered from the Army who raiſed a Mutiny againſt him.*

AFter this *Philippicus*, *Priſcus* is preferred to the *Maſterſhip of the Milice*; a perſon to whom acceſs was not eaſily obtained, and one who came not abroad but upon affairs † of conſequence. For, it was his Sentiment, that he could tranſact every thing better and with more eaſe, if for the moſt part he continued retired: as if the Souldiery, induced by fear this way rather, would yield a more ready obedience to his Commands. At the time therefore of his firſt arrivall in the *Roman* Camp, his looks were ſupercilious and haughty, and his garb too gorgeous; when he [a] publiſhed ſome [Edicts] alſo, concerning the Souldiers * perſeverance in undergoing hardſhips in the Wars, in reference to their being compleatly Armed, and in relation to the *Annona* which they were to receive out of the publick Treaſury. They having had ſome intimation of theſe matters before hand, at that time broke forth into an open rage; and by a joynt conſent made an Attack upon that place where *Priſcus*'s Tent was pitch't, and in a barbarous manner make plunder of his magnificent Furniture, and of his richeſt and moſt valuable Treaſure. Moreover, they miſt but little of killing him; had he not mounted one of his [b] *Led-Horſes*, and made his eſcape to *Edeſſa*. To which City the Souldiers ſent a Detachment of their own Body, and laid Siege to it, demanding *Priſcus* to be Surrendred up to them.

† Or, *Neceſſary.*

[a] Πρωτίθει πνὰ. Theſe words are to be underſtood concerning the Edicts publiſhed by *Priſcus*. For the word προτίθενται ſhows that; which term has that import and ſignification I have mentioned. *Theophylactus* confirms our Expoſition, *book* 3, *chap.* 1; whom by all means conſult. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Patient ſufferance.*

[b] Τινὶ τῶν παρόχων ἵππων. *Muſculus* renders it, *equum Vehicularem, an Horſe belonging to the Carriages. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it, *Veſtarium, a Chariot-horſe.* Theſe Horſes the *Latines* termed *Veredos*, becauſe they conveyed the *Redæ*, as *Feſtus* tells us. *Evagrius* uſes this word again, at the *fifteenth chapter of this book*. Where ſee what I have obſerved at *note (a.)* Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Germanus's *being forced againſt his will to undertake the Imperial dignity.*

BUt when the Inhabitants of *Edeſſa* refuſed to do that; they left *Priſcus* there, and by force lay hands upon *Germanus* Commander of the *Militia* [a] in *Phœnice Libanenſis*, whom they create their Leader, and, [b] as much as they were able to do it, their Emperour.

[a] Ἐν φοινίκῃ λιβανησίας. In *Nicephorus* (chap. 11. book 18.) the reading is, ἐν λιβανησίᾳ τῆς φοινίκης, with a miſtake on the other hand. For, it muſt be written, ἐν φοινίκῃ λιβανησίᾳ. For, there were two *Phœnice*'s that were Provinces, the one termed *Libanenſis*, the other *Maritima*. Valeſ.

[b] Τὸν γε ἐπ' αὐτῷ. I doubt not but it ſhould be written, τὸ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, that is, *quantum in ipſis erat, as much as they were able to do it. Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation, who inſtead of the foreſaid words of *Evagrius*, hath ſubſtituted theſe; τὸ γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἧκον, *as much as in them lay*. In the *Tellerian* M. S, I found it plainly written, τὸ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, &c. *Valeſ.*

But,

But, upon *Germanus*'s refusall of that, and their urging it with a greater degree of heat and fierceness, a contention was raised on both sides; he [striving] that he might not be compelled, and they [contending] to bring about [what they desired:] and when the Souldiers * threatned him with death, unless he would voluntarily undertake [that dignity they conferred on him;] and *Germanus* with a willing mind embraced death: at length, after they saw he could not be terrified, nor was to be abashed, they betook themselves to scourging him, and maimed the members of his body, supposing he would in no wise indure those Tortures: for they judged him not more hardy than Nature and his age would bear. Having therefore set about this matter, they made tryall of him with a kind of Reverence and Compassion, and in fine forced him, though unwilling, to consent, and to swear [in a set form of words,] that in future he would † continue faithfull unto them. In this manner therefore they compelled him their Subject to become their Ruler, him whom they governed to turn their Governour, and him a Captive to be their Sovereign. Then they displaced all other Officers in the Army, the *Præfects* of the Troops, the *Tribunes*, the * *Centurions*, and *Decurions*; and put whom they pleased into their places, casting forth reproaches in publick upon the Empire. And, for the most part they behaved themselves towards the Provincialls, with more of †Modesty indeed, than *Barbarians* usually do: but were far from being [c] Fellow-Souldiers and Servants of the State. For, they neither received the *Annonæ* by appointed Measures or weights, nor were they contented with the [d] *Mansions* or *Quarters* assigned them. But every one's Sentiment was his Law, and his will his set Measure.

* Or, *Pretended they would kill him.*

† Or, *Preserve a fidelity to them.*

* Or, *Those who commanded an hundred, or ten.*

† Or, *Moderation.*

[c] The Translatours understood not this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus: *Et erga Municipes quidem multò moderatius quàm Barbari faciebant; Erga socios verò belli & Reipublicæ Ministros, admodùm alieno erant animo; And towards free-denizons [or, those of the same Country,] they behaved themselves with much more of Moderation than the* Barbarians *did; but towards their Companions of War, and Ministers of the State, they were of a mind quite different. Christophorson* has also rendred it in the same manner. But *Johannes Langus*, who turned into Latine *Nicephorus Evagrius's Compilator*, has expounded this place far better, thus; *Et mitiores quidem illi in vectigales*, &c; *and they were indeed more mild towards the people who paid Taxes and Tributes, than the* Barbarians *are wont to be. But they were very far from being Maintainers, or Defenders of the Republick, or what ever else I may stile them. Nicephorus*, instead of these words συμμάχων δὲ ἢ πολιτείας δούλων *Fellow-Souldiers and Servants of the State*, had substituted these, φρουράχων δὲ πολιτείας ἢ συμμάχων, ἢ πῶς ἂν ἄλλως εἴποιμι, παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίως διέκειντο, *But they were very far from being Maintainers*, &c. Whence it appears, that *Nicephorus* understood not the meaning of these words of *Evagrius*, πολιτείας δούλων, *Servants of the State*. The *Militia* amongst the *Romans*, from the times of *Augustus*, was a kind of temporary servitude. Whence also the Souldiers were marked with brands on their skin, in manner of Servants, as *Vegetius* informs us. Moreover, the *Missio Militaris*, or, *Military discharge*, does plainly answer the *Manumission*, or, *making free of Servants*. *Suidas* (or rather a certain *old Writer* in *Suidas*,) in the word βεξιλλάριοι, tells us, that Souldiers were under Servitude, as long as they were in Pay. So also *Petrus Chrysologus* in *his fifteenth Sermon de Centurione*. Valesius.

[d] Οὐ δὲ μόναις πᾶς ἀπενεμημοίραις. I agree with *Musculus* and *Christophorson*, who have mended it thus, μοναῖαις. For *Musculus* renders it in this manner; *nec deputatis Mansionibus contenti erant, nor were they contented with the appointed Mansions.* As often as the *Roman* Army was about making a long march, an Edict was published long before, wherein all the Mansions, in which the Souldiers were to stay, were set forth; as *Lampridius* informs us, in *Alexander Severus*: *Itinerum dies publicè proponebantur*, &c; *The daies of the Marches were publickly set forth, in such a manner that an Edict was hung up two months before, wherein 'twas written: on such a day, at such an hour I shall go out of the City, and, if the Gods please, shall stay in the first Mansion. Then, at the Mansions in order, then at the Fortified or standing Camps, then when the Annona is to be received, and that also. Till such time as we are arrived at the Borders of the* Barbarians. The Inns also, or Houses, wherein the Souldiers, either going to or returning from an Expedition, were to stay, were set out by the *Mensores*, or *Quarter-masters*; as *Vegetius* informs us in *book* 2. *chap.* 7; and the Emperours likewise in the *Theodosian Code*, *Tit. de Metatis*. Valesius.

CHAP. VI.

How the Emperour sent Philippicus *again, but the Army refused to receive him.*

IN Order to the Composure of these [disturbances,] the Emperour sends *Philippicus*. Whom the Souldiers not only received not; but if they suspected [a] any one to have an inclination towards him, he was in great danger of his life.

[a] Τινὰ ἐκείνῳ προσηκειν, *any one to be a friend to him.* The same likewise is the reading in *Nicephorus*; save that he, for perspecuitie's sake, hath added these words, ἢ φίλει, ἢ διαθέσει *either by descent, or affection.* Yet *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have rendred it, *favere, to favour him*; though the word προσήκειν has not that signification. Therefore, I had rather read, προσέχειν, *to have an inclination towards him.* Valesius.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Gregorius [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch, *and the Calumny framed against him; and in what manner he evinced it to be false.*

WHilst affairs were in this posture, *Gregorius* Bishop of * *Antioch* makes his return from the Imperial City, having now been Conquerour in a certain Conflict, which I will here give a Narrative of. Whilst *Asterius* was *Comes* of the East, a difference had risen between him and *Gregorius*, wherein all the eminentest Citizens of † *Antioch* had betaken themselves to *Asterius*'s || side. The Commonalty also and Artificers of the City sided with *Asterius*. For all of them affirmed, that they had received some injury or other from *Gregorius*. At length, even the Populacy were likewise permitted to cast reproaches upon the Bishop. [a] Both parties therefore, [as well the eminenter Citizens, as the Artificers,] agreed in one and the same opinion with the Populacy; and both in the Streets, and in the Theatre, exclaimed against the Patriarch in a reproachfull manner: nor did the *Players* abstain from [loading him with] such contumelies. In the interim, *Asterius* is deprived of his Government, and *Johannes* undertakes it; who was ordered by the Emperour to make an enquiry into that disturbance. This *Johannes* was a person unfit to manage the most triviall affairs, much less [to compose] a matter of such consequence. Having therefore filled the City with Tumults and Disturbances, and by a publication of his Edicts declared, that any one that would, might accuse the Patriarch; He receives

* Or, *Theopolis.*

† Or, *That City.*

|| Or, *Part.*

[a] Ἄμφω τοιγαροῦν τὼ δήμω. *Christophorson* has explained this place thus; *Ambo igitur, & Optimates & Populares*, &c; *Both parties therefore, as well the Eminenter Citizens as the Ordinary sort, agreed in the same Opinion with the Commonalty.* But *Musculus* expunged these words, τὼ δήμω, as appears from his Verse. For thus he renders it: *Utrique igitur in eandem sententiam conspirarunt, Both parties therefore agreed in the same Opinion*: that is, *as well the eminenter Citizens as the Plebeians*; or rather, *as well the Citizens as the Artificers.* For so *Evagrius* has distinguished both Parties a little before. Valesius.

a Libell againſt him, preſented by a certain perſon who was *Preſident of a money-Table*; wherein 'twas ſet forth, that *Gregorius* had had to do with his own Siſter, who was given in marriage to another man. He receives likewiſe [Accuſations] from other men of the ſame kidney, [b] which related to the peace and repoſe of the City [*Antioch*,] as if that had been frequently diſturbed by *Gregorius*. As to [the Crime he ſtood charged with for diſturbing] the Repoſe of the City, *Gregorius*'s anſwer was, that his defence was ready. But, in relation to other matters objected againſt him, he appealed to the Emperour and a Synod. [c] Having me therefore his Aſſeſſour Councellour and Companion, he went to the Imperial [City, *Conſtantinople*,] in order to the making his defence againſt theſe [Accuſations.] And, the Patriarchs in all places, partly in perſon and partly by their Legates, having been preſent at the Examination hereof, as likewiſe the Sacred Senate, and many of the moſt pious *Metropolitans*; when the matter had been thorowly ſifted; at length, after many * Actions, *Gregorius* carried the Cauſe: in ſo much that, his Accuſer was ſcourged with *Nerves*, lead about the City, and puniſhed with Exile. From thence therefore *Gregorius* returns to his own ſee, at ſuch time as the *Roman* Army in the Eaſt was in a Mutiny; *Philippicus* then making his Reſidence about the Cities *Beræa* and *Chalcis*.

[b] Περὶ τῆς εὐϛηνείας πόλεως. *Muſculus* renders it, *the abundance and plenty of the Annona*. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlate it, *the peace and ſelicity*. The word εὐϛήνεια ſignifies both, as *Suidas* atteſts. *Valeſ.*

[c] What is now a days uſually done amongſt us in Criminal Suits and Proſecutions, that Councill ſhould by the Judges be aſſigned to the Party accuſed; the ſame was heretofore in uſe in Eccleſiaſtick Courts of Judicature alſo, as this place of *Evagrius* informs us. For *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, when he went to the Imperial City, to make his defence concerning his Accuſation of Inceſt before a Synod of Biſhops and before the Senatours, carried *Evagrius Scholaſticus* along with him, who might be his Councellour and Aſſeſſour, and might give him advice where there was need. For that is the import of the word παρεδρεύον[τα] at this place. Further, in this Relation of *Evagrius*'s, many things are obſervable. Firſt, his ſaying that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, when accuſed of Inceſt by a Lick before a Secular Judge, appealed to the Emperour and a Synod. (Concerning an appeal to the Emperour, *the Letter of the* Roman *Councill to Gratianus Auguſtus* is to be conſulted, which was firſt publiſhed by *Jacobus Syrmondus*.) Secondly, it is to be obſerved that *Evagrius* ſays, that *Gregorius*'s Cauſe was tried before the *Patriarchs* and *Metropolitanes*, and before the *Senatours*. So in the *Chalcedon Synod*, after the Biſhops and Secular Judges were met together, the Cauſe of *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was diſcuſſed and determined. In which Synod the moſt glorious Judges and Senatours are always named before the Biſhops who were preſent at that Synod: in like manner as in this place of *Evagrius*, the *Senatours* are named before the *Metropolitanes*; but they are mentioned after the *Patriarchs*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Conflicts*.

CHAP. VIII.

That Antioch *ſuffered again by Earth-quakes.*

FOur months after *his return, [a] on the Six hundredth thirty ſeventh year of *Antioch*'s being ſtyled a Free City, Sixty one years after the former Earthquake, on the laſt day of the month *Hyperberetæus*, whereon I had married a young Virgin, and the whole City kept Holiday, and celebrated a publick Feſtivity, both as to Pomp, and alſo round my Marriage-Bed; † about the third hour of the night, hapned an Earthquake accompanied with a dreadfull noyſe, which ſhook the whole City: it overturned very many Edifices, *and tore up their very foundations. In ſo much that, all [the Buildings which ſtood] about the moſt holy Church were totally ruined, only the *Hemiſphære* thereof was preſerved, which *Ephræmius* had built of Timber fell'd in the *Daphnenſian* Grove, when it had ſuffered by an Earthquake in *Juſtinus*'s Empire. In the Earthquakes which hapned afterwards, the ſame *Hemiſphære* had been ſo bowed towards the Northern-ſide, that [b] it had *Timber-Props* wherewith 'twas ſupported. Which Props having been thrown down by the violent concuſſion of the Earth, the *Hemiſphære* returned to the other ſide, and being directed by a certain rule as 'twere, was reſtored to its proper place. Moreover, there fell many Buildings of that [Region] termed the *Oſtracine*, the *Pſephium* alſo, of which we have made mention || before, and all thoſe places called the [c] *Bryſia*, the Edifices likewiſe about the moſt venerable Church of the *Theotocos*, only its middle *Porticus* was miraculouſly preſerved. Further, all the [d] Towers in the *Campus* were ruined, but the reſt of the Building continued entire, excepting only the Battlements of the Walls. For ſome Stones of thoſe Battlements were * driven backward, but they fell not. Severall other Churches ſuffered likewiſe, as did alſo the one of the publick Baths, to wit, [e] one of them which was divided according to the Severall ſeaſons of the year.

[a] This was the year of Chriſt 589. For the years of the *Antiochians* p ecede the Nativity of Chriſt eight and fourty years, as I have obſerved above. Now, that which *Evagrius* adds, (*viz.* that this Earthquake happned at *Antioch* Sixty one years after the former Earthquakes which had afflicted *Antioch*,) agrees exactly with our accounts. For, that former Earthquake, in *Juſtinus*'s Reign, had hapned on the year of Chriſt 528, as I have remarked at the *Fourth Book of Evagrius*, *Chap. 6*, *note (b.)* Further, from hence may be gathered the year of the *Conſtantinopolitane Synod*, which was convened in the Cauſe of *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. This Synod *Baronius* places on the year of Chriſt 587. But, from *Evagrius*'s authority, I doubt not of its having been aſſembled two years after. For, whereas *this Synod* was celebrated four months after that Earthquake whereby *Antioch* was ſhaken, and whereas that Earthquake hapned on the Sixth hundredth thirty ſeventh year of the *Antiochians*, as *Evagrius* atteſts; what I have affirmed is neceſſarily made out, *viz.* that the *Conſtantinopolitane Synod* was convened on the year of Chriſt 589. *Valeſ.*

† Ἀμφὶ τρίτην τῆς νυκτὸς ὥραν.

* Or, *Made their very foundations boyl.*

[b] Ἀμϕιϐεϐλῆσθαι ξύλα βαλεῖν. I think it muſt be written, λαϐεῖν, *received*, or, *had*. Our Emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and by *Nicephorus*, who has worded this place of *Evagrius* thus: ἀνὰ μέσον ἀντεῖδοντα ἔχε τὰ ξύλα, &c; that is, as *Langus* renders it, *eâque de cauſâ, tigna quæ id ſuſtinebant, habuerat, and on that account it had Props which bore it up*. The *Greeks* call theſe Props ἀνϑηρίδας, in one word, as *Heſychius* atteſts. Which term I lately found *Philo Mechanicus* to have made uſe of, *when I turned his books de Machinis into Latine*. In *French* we call them, *Des étais*. In *Latine* they are termed *Fulturas*, *Props*, or *Shoars*. Which term *Fultura* is made uſe of by *Livy*, in *his deſcription of the Siege of Ambracia*. Valeſ.

|| *Book* 1. *Chap.* 18.

[c] Τὰ καλούμενα βρυσία. In the *Tellerian manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*, 'tis Θρυσία, *Bryſia*, which I rather approve of. Certain pleaſant and flouriſhing places ſeem to have been ſo termed, ἀπὸ τοῦ θρύπτειν, which ſignifies, *florere*, *to flouriſh*; as *Suidas* atteſts, and the *Authour of the Etymologicon* in the word Θρίσσα. Valeſ.

[d] Οἱ πύργοι τοῦ πεδίου. The Tranſlatours, *Langus*, *Muſculus*, and *Chriſtophorſon*, underſtood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Verſions. For they have rendred it thus: *Omnes quoque turres in plano Conſtitutæ, disjectæ ſunt; Alſo all the Towers, placed in the Plain, were thrown down*. I think πεδίον to be *the Campus*, which was without the Gates of the City *Antioch*, wherein the Souldiers were wont to be exerciſed. *Athanaſius* makes mention of this place, in a *Supplicatory addreſs*, which the *Arians* had preſented againſt him to the Emperour *Jovian* then reſiding at *Antioch*: πρώτη ἐνλυχία ἦν ἐποιήσαλο ἀπερχομένῳ τὸ Βασιλέως εἰς κάμπον ἐν τῇ ῥωμαϊσιᾷ πύλῃ, that is, *the firſt Congreſs they had with the Emperour [was] in the Gate Romanenſis, when the Emperour went forth into the Campus*. Valeſ. See *Athanaſ. Works*, *Tom. 2. pag. 27. Edit. Paris.* 1627.

[e] Ἐκάτερον τὸ πρὸς τὰς ὥρας διηρημένον. *Nicephorus* adds ſome few words here, in this manner: πρὸς τὰς ἐν διαμέτρῳ ὥρας, &c. The whole place is thus rendred by *Langus*: *Et utrumque publicum Lavacrum, ex pulcherrimo ſtatu ad eam quæ ex diametro eſt deformitatem, collapſum; And each publick Bath, fala from a moſt beautifull condition to that deformity which is Diametrically oppoſite*. Which rendition is by no means to be born with. Nor is *Muſculus*'s tranſlation much better, who renders it thus: *Et ex publicis Balneis alterum iiſdem*

iisdem horis dirutum est, And the one of the publick Baths is ruined in the very same hours. Christophorson has expounded this place thus: *Et utrumque publicum Balneum, quod duobus distinctis temporibus inservit, eadem oppressit Calamitas; And the same Calamity ruined each of the publick Baths, which served for two distinct times.* But my Sentiment is, that the meaning of these words is this. There were at *Antioch* two publick Baths, divided according to the Seasons of the year. The one a Summer-Bath, the other a Winter-one. Of these Baths, says *Evagrius*, the one was ruined by that Earthquake. *Vales.*

An innumerable company of people perished also in this Earthquake; and, as some have made a [f] Conjecture from the publick *Annona*, this Calamity destroyed about Sixty thousand persons. But, the Bishop was beyond all expectation preserved, although the house wherein he sate fell, and no person escaped, save only those who stood about him. Which persons, when another shaking of the Earth had rent that place, [g] took [up the Bishop] on their shoulders, and let him down by a rope, and so made their escape from danger. There hapned another thing also, which was Salutary to the City, in regard our Compassionate God sharpned his Menaces with Lenity, and chastized the Sin [of the people] with the Rod of commiseration and mercy. For, no part of the City hapned to be burnt, notwithstanding there was so vast a quantity of flame every where in the City, [which arose] from the Hearths, from the publick and private Candles, from Kitchins, Furnaces, and Baths, and from innumerable other places. Further, many persons of great note and eminency perished in this Earthquake; amongst which number was *Asterius*. And the Emperour administred comfort to this Calamity of the City, by [a supply of] money [out of his Exchequer.]

[f] Τῷ ἄξονι πεκμαιρόμενοι. *Christophorson* has explained this place thus: *Et ut quidam conjecturam ex pane, qui in totâ civitate consumi solet, faciunt, hæc lues Sexaginta hominum millia extinxit; And as some make a conjecture from the bread, which is wont to be spent in the whole City, this common destruction destroyed Sixty thousand persons.* But, I am not pleased with this Rendition. For 'tis my Sentiment, that the number of the dead could not be made out that way. Wherefore, I had rather explain this place thus. As at *Rome*, *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*, the *Annona* was distributed to the Citizens, out of the publick stock; so in my opinion, the practise was at *Antioch*. For *Antioch* was one of the four greatest Cities of the *Roman* Empire. From this bread therefore, which they were wont to distribute daily, 'twas easie to collect the number of the dead. Nevertheless, if any one had rather follow *Christophorson*'s Exposition, I shall not much resist him. Especially, in regard there is extant no evidence of any Ancient Writer, concerning the publick *Annona* of the City *Antioch*. Vales.

[g] Φορέμλω ἀνελόμενοι. *Nicephorus* has added some few words here, in this manner, φορέμλω σὺν τῷ σκίμποδι ἀνελόμενοι, *took up* [*the Bishop*] *together with his Bed, or, Couch, on their Shoulders.* I know not whether he added this by conjecture, or found it so written in his own Copy. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

That the Barbarians *taking Courage from the Defection of the Army from the Emperour, set upon them, and were worsted by* Germanus.

But the Army * persisted in their Defection: in so much that the *Barbarians* made an irruption into the *Roman* Territories, being fully perswaded that no person would hinder them from doing such actions as are usually perpetrated by *Barbarians*. But, [a] *Germanus* marches out against them at the head of the *Roman* Army, and gave them such a totall Rout and overthrow, that not so much as a Messenger was left remaining, to carry the *Persian* news of their Calamitous Defeat.

* Or, *Continued in the same posture they were in.*

[a] Concerning this Victory of *Germanus*'s, *Theophylactus* speaks briefly, as his usage is, in book 3, chap. 3. *Vales.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Emperour's Clemency towards the Mutineers.

Moreover, the Emperour rewarded the Army with money. But, he recalled *Germanus* with some other persons from thence, and brought them to Tryall. And though all of them were condemned to undergo a capital punishment, yet the Emperour would not permit them to suffer any thing of trouble or inconveniency; yea he bestowed honours and rewards upon them. Whilst these affairs proceeded in this manner, the *Abares* made two Excursions as far as that termed *the Long Wall*, [possest themselves of] *Singidunum*, *Anchialus*, and all *Achaia*, and took severall other Cities and Castles, and reduced [the persons they found there] to slavery, destroying all places with Fire and Sword; [no resistance being made against them,] in regard the greatest part of the *Roman* Army made their residence in the East. The Emperour therefore sends [a] *Andreas*, a personage of eminentest note amongst the Imperial **Satellites*, who might perswade the Army to receive their former Leaders, and the rest [of their Commanders.]

* Or, *Guards.*

[a] *Theophylactus* seems to call this person *Aristobulus*, in *his third book* and *third Chapter*. He says also, that he was *Curator of the House Antiochus*. Vales.

CHAP. XI.

That Gregorius [*Bishop*] *of* *Antioch *was sent to pacifie the Army.*

* Or, *Theopolis.*

But when the Souldiers would not endure so much as to hear this order, the management of that whole affair is † committed to *Gregorius*; not only because he was a person fit to negotiate matters of the greatest importance, but also in regard the Army gave him a deserved deference, and paid him the highest respect and honour. For some of the Souldiers had had money bestowed on them by him: and [he had supplied] others of them with Clothes, Provisions, and other Necessaries, [a] at such time as, when registred in the Muster-Roll, they had marched thorow his [Grounds.]

† Or, *Cast upon.*

[a] This place is not a little difficult and obscure. *Musculus* renders it thus: *Quando ad Militiam conscripti ex Catalogo, per ipsum sunt admissi, when having been enrolled to the Militia by Catalogue, they were admitted by him. Christophorson* translates it almost in the same manner; thus: *Alii vestitu, cibo, & aliis rebus adjuti tum cùm in album militum adscripti & per eum admissi fuerant; Others were assisted with Clothes, Provision, and other things, then when they were registred in the Muster-Roll, and had been admitted by him. Nicephorus* also seems to have followed the same sense, who has expressed this place of *Evagrius* thus: Ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ καταλόγου στρατολογηθέντες ἦσαν, δι' ἐκείνου παρήεσαν. Which words *Langus* renders thus: *tum autem quicunque delectu habito per sacramentum Militare in Catalogum adscripti erant, per ipsum id consecuti fuerant; then also whoever, when an Election was made, by the Military Oath had been registred in the Muster-Roll, had obtained that by his means.* But this rendition does not please me. For the *Roman Militia* was not at that time so desirable a thing, that there should be need of any persons favour and assistance for this matter to procure any one to be enrolled amongst the number of the Souldiers. Wherefore, I rather think that these words, ὅτε στρατολογηθέντες ἐκ καταλόγου δι' αὐτοῦ παρήεσαν, are to be expounded thus, *Tunc cum Militaribus numeris adscripti, per ipsius agros transirent, at such time as, when registred amongst the Military Companies, they had passed, or, marched through his Grounds. Evagrius* at this place sets forth the Munificence of *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had not only given entertainment to the Souldiers passing thorow his grounds, but had also bestowed on them Clothes, Provisions for eating, and money. Indeed, *Justinian* uses the term παρέναι in this sense, in *his* 130th *Novell*,

Novell, concerning the passage of Souldiers; ὥστε τοὺς τῆς ἡμετέρας στρατεύματος ἐν ἁπάσῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ παιδούλως ἀμέμπτως διαφέροντας, *in so much that without making complaints* [or, *without fault*] *he nourished those of our Army in their passage in every Province.* In the *Tellerian Manuscript* I found this place thus written; ὅτε στρατολογοῦντες ἐν χαλκηδόνι δι' ἀυτῆς παρήεσαν. Vales.

Having therefore sent Messengers all about, he calls together those who were accounted the principall persons of the Army, to a place termed [b] *Litarba*, distant from *Theopolis* about Three hundred Furlongs. To whom, after he was come amongst them, notwithstanding he lay on his Bed, he spake these words.

[b] Ἐν Λιτάρβοις. 'Tis a Village in the Territory of *Chalcis* a City of *Syria*, whereof the Emperour *Julian* makes mention in *his* 27th *Epistle*. Near this Village were the Winter-Quarters of King *Antiochus*, the remains whereof were visible in his age, as *Julian* does there attest, in these words: μεχρὶ μὲν Λιτάρβων ἦλθον· ἔστι δὲ ἡ κώμη χαλκίδος, κἀ ἐνέτυχον ὁδῷ λείψανα ἔχουσι χειμαδίων ἀντιοχικῶν. Which place *Martinius* renders thus; *Ad Litarbos veni, quod oppidum est in Chalcide: & casu incidi in viam quandam quæ reliquias adhuc Antiochensium Hibernorum habebat, I came to* Litarbi, *which is a Town in* Chalcis; *and by chance I light upon a certain way which as yet had the remains of the* Antiochian *Winter-Quarters.* But I translate it thus; *Litarba adveni, qui vicus est in agro Chalcidico. Et viam offendi quæ reliquias habebat, Hibernorum Regis Antiochi; I came to* Litarba, *which is a Village in the Territory of Chalcis. And I found a way which had the Remains of the* Winter-Quarters *of* King Antiochus. *Theophanes* mentions the same Village, in *his Chronicon*, pag. 151; where he says, that *Alamundarus* depopulated *Syria prima*, as far as the Borders of *Antioch*, and unto *Litarga*, and *Scaphata*. But in my judgment, it must be written thus in *Theophanes*, τῶν λεσομβῶν λιτάρβων καὶ σκαφάτων κλημάτων, *those possessions termed* Litarba *and* Scaphata. Which emendation is confirmed by his following words. For he adds, καὶ ἔκαυσε τὰ ἔξω τῆς καλχίδος, *and he burnt the places without* Chalcis. *Vales.*

CHAP. XII.

Gregorius's Speech to the Army.

I Was indeed of Opinion, (*Ye Men truly* Romans, *as well by Name, as for Your Actions!*) that *You would have long since come to Me, both to* * *Conser with Me about the present Juncture, and to take that Advice also, which My Benevolence towards You doth abundantly promise. Which* [*kindness of mine*] *has indubitably been confirmed by former Good Offices, at such time as, by sending You supplies of Necessaries, I Asswaged* [a] *Your* Navall Tumult, *and the Storm which arose from thence. But, in regard That has been neglected till now, (an inducement thereto having peradventure not hapned from above,) both that the* Persians, *vanquished by persons without a Leader, might perfectly understand the Valour of* Romans; *and also, that Your sincere kindness* [*towards the State,*] *having been accurately tried by opportunity, and attested by Actions themselves, might every way receive confirmation: (For You have evidently demonstrated, that although You have had Cause of Trouble and Offence against your Leaders given you, yet nothing is more of value to You than the State:) Come on therefore, Let us now consider what is to be done. The Emperour invites you, and has promised an* * Amnesty *of all that is past, having received your Benevolence toward the State, and your fortitude in Battell, in* † *place of the Boughs and Olive-Branches of Suppliants; and having given you these securest pledges imaginable of his Pardon, in regard he says thus: if God hath given* ‖ *Victory to your Benevolence* [*towards the State,*] *and (your Offences being dispelled,) your Courage has shined forth, which is a most certain argument of Pardon granted;*

* Or, *Communicate.*

[a] Τὸν νηΐτων ὑφ' ἡμῶν κλόνον. *Christophorson* dream't I know not what here, concerning a *Navall Fight* of the *Romans*. A *Navall Fight* had not been begun at that time by the *Romans*, but they had engaged with the *Persians* in a *Land-Fight*. Our *Evagrius* therefore has made use of a Metaphor at this place; and compares the *Roman* Camp to a Ship: and the Mutiny they had raised, he compares to a Tempest. *Vales.*

* *Oblivion.*

† Or, *Instead of a Supplication and Olive-Branches.*

[b] *How shall not I follow the Divine Judgment?* The heart of a King is in the Hand of God, and he inclines it which way he pleases. *Obey me therefore, ye* Romans! *with all imaginable speed. And let us not* * *loose the present opportunity, nor frustrate it by letting it slip: for it hates to be taken after it has escaped, and, vex't as 'twere because it was* [c] *neglected, never suffers it self to be taken twice. Be ye Heirs of your Ancestours obedience, as you have been Inheritours of their Valour; that you may every way show your selves* Romans, *and that no infamous brand may be fixt upon your name, or demonstrate you to be a spurious Issue. Your Ancestours, when under the Government of* Consuls *and* Emperours, *by Obedience and Valour possest themselves of the whole World.* Manlius Torquatus † *Crowned his own Son by beheading him; who though he had behaved himself valiantly, had notwithstanding disobeyed Command. For, by the prudent conduct of Commanders, and the Obedience of the Malice, great* ‖ *things are wont to be performed. But if the one of these two be* * *separated from the other, it Halts, Staggers, and Stumbles; in regard these most excellent pair of Virtues are disjoyned. Make no longer delays therefore: but* † *be perswaded by Me, (the Sacerdotall Function does now mediate between the Emperour and his Army:) and give a demonstration, that what you do is not* ‖ *Rebellion, but a just indignation* [*entertained*] *for some short time against those your Commanders by whom you had been injured. For if you will not flie* [*to the Emperour*] *with all imaginable speed, I indeed shall have* * *done what is requisite, both in discharge of that Benevolence I owe the State, and of my friendship also towards you: but I would have you consider, what the* † Exits *of Tyrants are. For, in what manner will you terminate the present State of affairs? 'Tis altogether impossible that you should continue together in a Body. For whence shall the fruits of the Earth be brought into you, or those conveniences which the Sea affords the* * *Continent for a supply; unless you wage War with Christians, and on the other hand be involved in Wars brought upon you by them, whereby you will commit and suffer the horridest Mischiefs, Villanies, and Reproaches imaginable? And what will be the end hereof? Being dispersed into all places, you will spend the residue of your lives. Revenge will forthwith overtake you, and not suffer any Pardon to be granted you in future. Give therefore your right hands, and let us consider what is advantagious, both to Our Selves and to the Government; in regard we have the Festivall Days of the Salutary Passion, and of the most Holy Resurrection of* Christ *our God, to give us assistance in that affair.*

[b] Πῶς ἐχ' ἕλωμαι τῆ θείᾳ ἀν δίκη. At this place, there was this whole line wanting, λείπει· καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ὅ, *judgment? The heart of a King is in the Hand of God, &c*; which I have supplied from the Incomparable *Florentine Manuscript*. There seems to have been the same imperfection also in that Copy which *Nicephorus* made use of. For he would never have omitted that brave Sentence which *Mauricius* had made use of, *The heart of a King is in the hand of God*; had he found it in his own Copy. *Vales.*

[c] Παρεώθη ῥᾳδίως. In the excellent *Florentine Manuscript*, this whole place is read thus; καὶ ὥσπερ ἀγαναικῶς ὅτι γε παρεώφθη, δυσλήπτου εἴ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀνέχεται. Incomparably well, provided we read δυσλήπτως, in two words, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 18, chap. 15. and we have rendred it accordingly. Away therefore with *Christophorson*'s and Sr *Henry Savil*'s conjecture; who at this place have made it, εὐλήπτως, *easily taken.* Vales.

‖ Τὸ πλέον, or, *the Better.*

† Στεφανώσας ἀνεῖλεν; see the story at large in *Livy*, Book 8. pag. 377, *Edit. Paris.*

‖ Or, *Goods.*

* Or, *Bereaved of.*

† Or, *Obey me.*

‖ Or, *Tyranny.*

* *Expited*, or, *made satisfaction.*

† *Ends*, or, *conclusions.*

* Or, *Land.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

That, after Gregorius's *Speech, the Souldiers changed their minds, and received their Generall* Philippicus *again.*

HAving uttered these words, and shed many Tears, by a certain Divine impulse as 'twere he altered all their minds in a moment. And they forthwith requested, that they might go out of the * Convention, and consult apart by themselves concerning what was to be done. Not long after which they returned, and surrendred themselves to [the arbitrement and will of] the Bishop. Who having nominated *Philippicus* to them, that they should request him for their Leader; their answer was, that as to that matter they and the whole Army were oblieged by great Oaths. Whereto *Gregorius* made this return without any the least hesitancy or delay, that by divine permission he was a Priest, and had power to loose and bind, upon earth and in heaven; and he put them in mind of the Divine † Oracle. When therefore they had acquiesced in this matter also, he appeased God with [a] Prayers and Supplications. And having distributed to them the immaculate Body [of Christ;] (For it was [b] a most solemn day, the *Second Feria*, which is near the Holy passion:) He entertained them all at a supper, in number about two thousand persons, ordering Beds, whereon they might eat, forthwith to be laid for them on the Grass; and on the morrow returned home. But, 'twas thought good that the Souldiers should meet together at what place they pleased. *Gregorius* therefore sends for *Philippicus*, who made his residence at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, [c] and was preparing for his journey to *Constantinople*. Further, he dispatcht away a *Relation* to the Emperour concerning these affairs, wherewith he likewise sent the Petition of the Army, in which they requested *Philippicus* might be their Commander. Wherefore, when *Philippicus* was arrived at *Antioch*, the Army met him there; and having taken out those persons who had been vouchsafed Divine Regeneration, to make an Address in their behalf, they fall prostrate before him. And when they had received his right hand, in confirmation of an * *Amnesty* of what was past, they made an † Expedition under his Command. In this manner proceeded these affairs.

* Or, *Assembly.*

† *See Matt.* 16. 19.

[a] These Prayers and Supplications may be referred, either to the reconciliation of the penitents, and to the absolution from that Oath wherein the Souldiers had bound themselves; or else to the solemn Prayers, which *Gregorius* then celebrated before the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* of the *Roman* Army, to whom also he distributed the sacred Communion, as *Evagrius* attests. So indeed *Nicephorus* expounds this place: λιταῖς, says he, ἐξωσιῶτο τὸ θεῖον· καὶ πᾶν θείαν τελέσας μυσταγωγίαν, τὰ ἀκίνητα σώμασι θεοῦ ἅπασι μεταδιδοὺς; *He appeased the Deity with Supplications. And having performed the divine Prayers, He imparted the immaculate Body to them all.* Vales.

[b] Ἡ πανσπέρου ἡμέρα. In the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuscripts*, the word δευτέρα is added; that is, *the Second Feria* [or, *Monday*] of the *Great Week*, or *Passion Week*. I found the same Emendation also written in the margin of *The Vulcobian Copy*. Vales.

[c] Ἐπεισόδιόν τε καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως. I assent to *Christophorson* and Sr *Henry Savill*, who have put a point after these words. For 'tis wholly necessary. Moreover, before them, *Nicephorus* had distinguished this place thus. But the reading in *Nicephorus* is better, thus, πρὸς πόλιν βασιλέως, *to the Emperour's City*, or, Constantinople. *Vales.*

* *Oblivion.* † Or, *Expeditions with him.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the taking of Martyropolis.

[IN the interim,] one *Sittas* a [a] *Decanus* in *Martyropolis*, vext at an injury he had received from one of the Military Commanders there, betrays the City [to the Enemy,] observing the time when the Garrison [b] lodged in that City was marched out of it: and having brought in a *Persian* [c] *Cohort*, as if it had been a *Roman* one, he possest himself of that City, which was a * place of great consequence to the *Romans*. He kept most of the younger women within the City; but turned out all other persons, except some few servants. Immediately therefore *Philippicus* made his march thither, and having invested the City, besieged it, although he had none of those provisions necessary for a Siege. Nevertheless, he made use of what came next to hand in his Attacks, and having wrought some Mines, ruined one of the Towers: but was not able to make himself Master of the City, in regard the *Persians* sate up all night, and * repaired what had been beaten down. When therefore the *Romans* had made frequent Attacks against the wall, they were as often beat off. For, the Darts thrown upon them from an higher place, very seldome mist the Mark they were designed against; in so much that, they were more damnified, than they could do hurt to the Enemy within; and therefore brake up the Siege. And having marched off at some small distance, Encamped; but took particular care of this, that no other supplies of Forces should be † let in to those *Persians* Besieged. But by the order of *Mauricius*, *Gregorius* makes a journey to the Camp, and perswades them to return to the Siege. Nevertheless, they were unable to effect any thing more than what they had done before, in regard they were wholly destitute of warlike Engines commonly made use of in the Siege of Cities. On which account the Army was sent into their Winter-Quarters. But in the adjacent Castles, several Garrisons were left, that the *Persians* might not by stealth get into the City. And on the Summer following, when the *Roman* Army was got into a body, and the *Persians* had made an Expedition against the *Romans*, there hapned a great Fight about *Martyropolis*. In which Engagement *Philippicus* got the better, and many of the *Persians* fell, amongst whom was * slain one † valiant Prince; but no small number of *Persians* got into *Martyropolis*, which was the chief thing they designed to effect. From thence forward the *Romans* resolved not to lay Siege to that City: for it was impossible for them to take it by Force. But they built another City at seven furlongs distance [from *Martyropolis*,] upon mountainous and ‖ more inaccessible places; that from thence they

[a] Τῶν ἐν μαρτυρόπολει δεκαδάρχων; as also *Vulcobius* and Sr *Henry Savil* had mended it in their Copies. *Nicephorus* (book 18. chap. 17.) has expounded this place of *Evagrius* thus; δεκάδος ἄρχων στρατιωτικῆς τάγματος καθεστηκώς, *having been made Commander of Ten Souldiers amongst the Military Forces.* These Officers were by the *Latines* termed *Decani*, not *Decuriones*, as *Musculus* and *Christophorson* do render it. *Vegetius* attests this book 2. chap. 8. speaking concerning the *Centuriones* or *Ordinarii*; Erant, says he, *Decani denis militibus præpositi qui nunc Caput Contubernii vocantur*, The Decani *were Commanders of ten Souldiers, which Officers are now called the head of a File.* Vales.

[b] Τῶν ἐγκαθημένων αὐτῇ. Without doubt it must be αὐτῇ, *in that City.* For so the Rule of Grammar requires. *Vales.*

[c] Λόχον περσικόν. *Four hundred armed men*, as *Theophylactus* relates, book 3. chap. 5. *Vales.*

* *Fortified*, or, *secured.*

† Or, *Advised.*

* Or, *Vanquished.* † Or, *Hero.*

‖ Or, *Better fortified.*

they might infeſt it with Stratagems and *Excurſions. And theſe things [the *Romans*] performed during the Summer ; but in the Winter the Army was diſmiſt.

* Or, *Contrary Attacks.*

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Comentiolus's Maſterſhip of the Milice, *and the taking* [*the Caſtle*] Ocbas.

AFter this, *Comentiolus*, by deſcent a *Thracian*, is ſent ſucceſſour [to *Philippicus*] in the *Maſterſhip of the Milice*. He Engaged the *Perſians* in a moſt couragious manner, and wanted but little of looſing his life, (having been beaten down together with his horſe,) had not one of his Guards mounted him on [a] one of his *Led-Horſes*, and conveyed him out of the Fight. Nevertheleſs, [b] the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed and fled, having loſt all their Commanders ; and made their eſcape to *Niſibis*. And being afraid to return to their own King ; (For he had threatned them with death, unleſs they brought back their Commanders ſafe and unhurt :) they enter into a conſpiracy there againſt * *Hormiſda*, the Chief Authour whereof was *Varamus Maſter of the* Perſian *Milice*, who not long before had made his return together with the Forces about him, from an Engagement with the *Turks*. In the interim *Comentiolus* inveſted *Martyropolis*, and leaves the greater part of his Forces there : but he himſelf, together with ſome choice Souldiers which he had choſen out man by man, makes an Excurſion to [c] *Ocbas*, a Caſtle almoſt inexpugnable, ſcituate over againſt *Martyropolis*, on the oppoſite Bank [of the River *Nymphius*,] and placed upon a ſteep and craggy Rock ; from whence the whole City was eaſily to be ſeen. And having laid Siege thereto, and left nothing unattempted, and beaten down ſome part of the wall with * *Catapults*, he brake in that way, and takes the Caſtle by force. Therefore, the *Perſians* in future wholly deſpaired of holding *Martyropolis*.

[a] Τινὶ ἵππῳ παρόχῳ ἵππων. *Evagrius* has made uſe of this word above, at *chap.* 4. *of this book* ; where, as alſo here, the Tranſlatours render it *Vehiculārem* and *Vectarium equum*. But *Nicephorus* (book 18, chap. 18,) writing out this place of *Evagrius*, explains the term παρόχων thus ; ἐνὶ γὰρ ὑποζυγίῳ ἵππων ἐπιβιβάσας, τῆς μάχης ἐξῆγε, that is, *having mounted him on one of the Horſes lead after him, carried him out of the Fight.* For Generalls when they went to an Engagement, were wont to lead with them ſeverall horſe, that if that whereon they rode were by chance killed, they might mount another. *Valeſ.*

[b] Οἱ σεσωσμένοι Ῥωμαῖοι. In my judgment, I have reſtored this place very happily, thus ; οἱ πέρσαι ἐνικηθέντες Ῥωμαίων, &c. *the* Perſians *were vanquiſhed and fled*, &c. 'Tis certain, the word σεσωσμένοι *being preſerved*, is in no wiſe agreeable here. For, they that are preſerved or ſaved, flie no more. Nor could the *Perſians* be termed σεσωσμένοι, *preſerved*, or, *ſaved*, till they were come to *Niſibis*. Therefore *Evagrius* adds, χὰ τὴν νίσιβιν διασώσαι, *made their eſcape to Niſibis*. Inſtead of the word Ῥωμαίων, *Nicephorus* has put σωθεῖσι Ῥωμαίων, which is a more common word. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Hormiſdes.*

[c] Κατὰ τὸ ὄκβας. It ſeems to be the ſame which by *Theophylactus* is termed *Acbas*, a Caſtle very ſtrongly fortified. *Theophylactus* deſcribes the ſite hereof, *book* 1. *chap.* 12, altogether in the ſame manner, wherein *Evagrius* deſcribes the ſite of the Caſtle *Ocbas*. Therefore, as well from the likeneſs of the name, as from the ſite, it appears, that *Ocbas* and *Acbas* were one and the ſame Caſtle ; ſcituate near the River *Nymphius* and the City *Martyropolis*. Our conjecture is fully confirmed by *Theophylactus*, in *book* 4. *chap.* 13 where that Caſtle *Ocbas*, which our *Evagrius* ſays was taken by *Comentiolus*, is by *Theophylactus* himſelf termed *Acbas*. Valeſ.

* *Engins for Battery.*

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Murder of Hormiſda.

WHilſt theſe Actions were performed in this manner, the *Perſians* Murdered *Hormiſda*, who was the unjuſteſt of all Kings, not only becauſe he had oppreſſed his Subjects with exactions of money, but alſo for [his inflicting on them] various ſorts of deaths.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Flight of Choſroes Junior *to* * *us.*

* Or, *The Romans.*

[a] THen, in his room they Conſtitute his Son *Choſroes* their King, againſt whom *Varamus* undertakes an Expedition together with thoſe Forces he had about him. *Choſroes* marches out to meet him accompanied with an Army not very numerous, and flies, becauſe he perceived his own Forces were engaged in a treacherous deſign againſt himſelf. And at length he arrives at *Circeſium*, having firſt called upon the God of the *Chriſtians*, (as he himſelf affirmed,) that his Horſe might go to that place, whither he ſhould be lead by * him. Being come † thither, together with his Wives, two children newly born, and ſome *Perſian* Nobles who voluntarily followed him ; from thence he diſpatches away an Embaſſy to the Emperour *Mauricius*. *Mauricius*, as in other affairs, ſo in this alſo conſulted for the beſt ; and being convinc't, by taking his meaſures even from this inſtance, of the inconſtancy and mutability of this life, and of the ſudden Turns ebbings and flowings || of Humane affairs ; readily admits of *Choſroes*'s humble addreſs, and inſtead of an Exile [entertains him as] his Gueſt, [b] and in place of a Fugitive makes him his Son ; having

[a] Ἐγκαθιστῶσι μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα χοσρόην. From the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* M. SS. we have made good this place thus, ἐγκαθεζῶσι δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν, &c. *Then, in his room they Conſtitute*, &c. Further, *Choſroes* was made King of the *Perſians* in the year of *Chriſt* 592, as *Baronius* writes in *his Annals*. Which was the tenth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire, not the ſeventh, as *Baronius* relates. For the years of *Mauricius*'s Empire proceed almoſt in an equall pace with the years of the *Indiction*, as do likewiſe the years of *Juſtinus Junior*'s Empire. Wherefore, whereas on the year of *Chriſt* 592 it was the *tenth Indiction*, as *Baronius* himſelf atteſts, it muſt then alſo neceſſarily have been the tenth year of the ſame *Mauricius*'s Empire. Yet, the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* places the Inauguration of *Choſroes*, and his flight to the *Romans*, one year before this account. For thus he writes ; *In the ninth Indiction, on the ninth year of* Mauricius's *Empire, on the ſeventh year after the Conſulate of the ſame* Mauricius Tiberius : τότῳ τῷ ἐναυτῷ, &c, *On this year* Choſroes *Emperour of the* Perſians *came to the* Romans, *having had a Rebellion raiſed againſt him by* Baram [*or*, Varamus] *his kinſman* ; *and by the aſſiſtance of the* Romans *he was reſtored to his own Kingdome.* But *Johannes Biclarienſis* in *his Chronicon*, relates this to have been done a year ſooner. For theſe are his words at the *Eighth year of the Emperour* Mauricius, *wherewith he cloſed his Chronicle. A vigeſimo ergo Conſtantini Imperatoris anno*, &c. *From the twentieth year therefore of the Emperour* Conſtantine, *at which time the* Arian *Hereſie took its beginning, untill the eighth year of* Mauricius *Emperour of the* Romans, *there are two hundred ſixty ſix years. In theſe times therefore, wherein the omnipotent God (the venome of poyſonous Hereſie being deſtroyed,) has reſtored Peace to his Church, the Emperour of the* Perſians *embraced the Faith of Chriſt, and made* [*or, confirmed*] *a Peace with the Emperour* Mauricius. Where, that is to be taken notice of, which *Biclarienſis* ſays, *viz.* that the King of *Perſia*, having thrown off the worſhip of Idolls, came over to the Faith of Chriſt. Indeed, *Theophylactus* atteſts the ſame, *book* 4. *chap.* 10, and *book* 5, *chap.* 2. Valeſ.

[b] *Theophylactus* (book 5. chap. 3.) ſays *Choſdroes* was only termed Son by the Emperour *Mauricius*. But *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, pag. 224, affirms in expreſs words, that *Choſdroes* was a Son adopted by the Emperour *Mauricius* : τότῳ τῷ ἔτει τεκνοποιηθεὶς μαυρικίῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς χοσρόην τὸν βασιλέα περσῶν, &c. *On this year the Emperour* Mauricius *having adopted* Choſroes *the Emperour of the* Perſians, &c. *Valeſ.*

given

given him a Reception [whereat he was presented] with Imperial Gifts. By which [presents] not only the Emperour himself declared his own kindness to *Chosroes*, to whom he sent them in a manner befitting an Emperour; but the Empress also did the same towards *Chosroes*'s Wives, and the Emperour's Children to those of *Chosroes*.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Emperour sent Gregorius *and* Dometianus *to meet* Chosroes.

MOreover, he sent all his Imperial Guards, and the whole *Roman* Army together with their Commander in Chief, who were to follow *Chosroes* even whither he would. And, to show him greater honour, [he sent to him] *Dometianus* Bishop of *Melitina* his own kinsman, a person Prudent and Sagacious, most compleatly accomplish't both for Action and Discourse, and every way fit for the management of affairs of the greatest consequence. He sent likewise *Gregorius*, who in all things struck *Chosroes* with amazement, by his discourses, with his presents, and with the advices he gave him, seasonable and accommodate to his affairs.

CHAP. XIX.

That Chosroes *recovered the Empire of the* Persians, *by that assistance given him by the* Romans.

FUrther, when *Chosroes* was come as far as *Hierapolis*, which is the *Metropolis* of the [Province] *Euphratensis*, he went back again, in regard *Mauricius* also lookt upon that as expedient, who contributed more to the [advantage of the] Suppliant, than to his own glory. Moreover, he pleasured *Chosroes* with a vast sum of money, a thing never recorded [to have been done] before. And when he had raised an Army of *Persians*, the whole charge whereof he paid out of his own Treasury, he sends *Chosroes* with a double Army, one of *Romans*, another of *Persians*, out of the confines of the *Roman* Empire; *Martyropolis* having before that been Surrendred to * him, together with *Sittas*. Which person was [a] Stoned by the *Martyropolites*, and afterwards crucified. *Daras* also was surrendred [to the *Romans*,] the *Persians* having been drawn out thence. After this, when *Varamus* had been vanquished in a single Engagement by the *Romans* only, and had ingloriously fled away alone, *Chosroes* was brought back to his own Pallace.

* To *Mauricius*.

[a] *Theophylactus*, book 4. chap. 15, says, that *Sittas* was burnt to death by the Command of *Comentiolus* the *Magister Militiæ*. Vales.

CHAP. XX.

* Or, *Was*. *That the holy Mother* Golanduch * *lived in those Times.*

IN those Times also lived the Martyr *Golanduch*, and was conversant amongst us. Which woman, after many conflicts, was crowned with Martyrdome, (the *Persian Magi* being her Tormentours,) and became a Worker of great Miracles. *Stephanus* the *Former*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, hath written her Life.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning those Sacred Presents, which Chosroes *sent to the Holy Martyr* Sergius.

MOreover, *Chosroes* being repossest of his own Kingdome, sends to *Gregorius* a Cross, adorned with much Gold and pretious Stones, in honour of the Victorious Martyr *Sergius*. Which [Cross] *Theodora* Wife to *Justinian* had Dedicated: but * *Chosroes* had made plunder of it, together with other Sacred Treasures and Gifts, as has † already been related by me. Further, the same *Chosroes* sent another Cross of Gold, whereon he set this Inscription in *Greek* Letters. *I* Chosroes *King of Kings, Son of* Hormisda, [*sent*] *this Cross, at such time as by the Diabolick Force and Malice of the most unlucky* Varamus *and the Horsemen with him, We betook Our Self to the Empire of the* Romans: *and in regard the Wretched* Zadespram *came* * *with an Army to* Nisibis, *in a treacherous manner to Sollicite the* Nisibene *Horse to* [b] *Revolt from and oppose Us; We also sent* [*a Body of*] *Horse with a Commander to* [*the Town*] Charchas. *And because we had heard, that the Venerable and Illustrious* Sergius *was a Giver of those things requested from him; in the first year of Our Reign, on the seventh day of the month* January, *We made a request by the* Genius *of the said Saint,* [*promising*] *that if Our Horsemen should kill* Zadespram, *or could take him alive, We would send a Cross of Gold set with Gems to his* * *Church, in honour of his Venerable Name. And on the ninth of the month* February, *they brought Us the head of* Zadespram. *Having therefore obtained our desire; that we might put every thing out of doubt, we have sent to the house of the Venerable* Saint Sergius, *this Cross made by Us in honour of his Venerable Name, together with that Cross sent to his house by* Justinian *Emperour of the* Romans, *which in the Times of War between the two Empires, was brought hither by* Chosroes *King of Kings Son of* Cavades, *our* † *Father, and was found amongst our Treasures. Gregorius* having with the consent of the Emperour *Mauricius* received these [Crosses,] with great pomp Dedicated them to, and deposited them in, the Sacred house of the Martyr. Not long after, the said *Chosroes* sent other presents also to the same Sacred Church, and on a Bason made of Gold, ordered this Inscription to be set in the Greek Tongue. *I* Chosroes *King of Kings, the Son of* Hormisda, [*have ordered*] *this Inscription to be set upon this Bason, not that it might be seen by men, nor that by my words the Greatness of Your Venerable Name might be made known; but, on account of the truth of what is inscribed, and by reason of those many Favours and Benefits which I have received from You. For, 'tis my happiness, that my Name is extant on Your Sacred Vessells. When I was at a place* [*called*] Beramais, *I requested of You (Holy Man!) that You would come to my assistance, and that* Sira *might conceive. And in regard* Sira *is a*

* *He was Grandfather to this* Chosroes. † *Book 4. chap. 28, where see note (a.)*

[a] Μετὰ στρατῶ. In *Theophylactus Simocatta*, book 5, chap. 13, the reading is, διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης ἐν δυσχερεῖ ζαδέσπρην ἐν τῷ στρατῷ, &c. *in regard the Wretched* Zadespranes *came out of the Army*, &c; which reading I like best. *Vales.*

[b] Καταῤῥάξαι. In *Theophylactus* the reading is, καταταράξαι, *to disturb.* Vales.

* *Or,* House.

† *Or,* Grandfather. See book 4. chap. 28. *note (a.)*

Christian, *and I a* ‖ Gentile, *Our Law allows Us not to have a* Christian *Wife. On account therefore of my Benevolence towards You, I disregarded this Law, and have had a kindness for this Woman above my other Wives, and doe Love her every day more and more. Wherefore, I have taken a resolution, at present to desire of Your Goodness, (Holy Man!) that She might conceive. I have requested therefore, and solemnly vowed, that if* Sira *shall conceive, I will send the Cross worn by her to Your Venerable house. And on this account, I and* Sira *have this design, that we will retain this Cross in Memory of Your Name, Holy Man! And we have resolved instead thereof (in regard its value exceeds not Four thousand four hundred* [c] Miliaresian Staters,) *to transmit Five thousand* Staters. *And from such time as I conceived this Request within* [d] *my self, and entertained these thoughts, untill we came to* [e] Rosumchosrum, *ten days had not fully past. And Thou (Holy Man!) not that I deserved it, but because of Thine own goodness, appearedst to me in a dream by night, and didst affirm thrice to me, that* Sira *should be with child. And in the same Vision I answered Thee thrice, saying, 'tis well. And because Thou art a Giver of what is requested of Thee, from that day* Sira *was not sensible of the Custome of Women. But I might perhaps have doubted in relation to this matter, had I not given credit to thy words, (because thou art an holy person, and a Granter of requests,) that* [Sira] *should not in future be sensible of the Custome of Women. From hence I understood the* * *Virtue of the Vision, and the truth of what was predicted by thee. I have therefore forthwith transmitted the Cross it self, and its value, to your Venerable house, with order, that of its price one Bason and one Cup be made, to be used at the holy Mysteries: moreover, that a Cross be made, which is to be fixed upon the* † *Sacred Table, and a Censor; all of Gold: and Further,* [f] *an* Hunnick Veyle *adorned with Gold. And,* [*our order is,*] *that the remaining* Miliaresians *of the price shall belong to thine holy house; that by thy* Genius *(Holy Man!) thou wouldest give assistance in all things to me and* Sira, *but especially in relation to this Request; and, that what hath hapned to us from thine intercession, by the mercy of thy Goodness may arrive at perfection, agreeable to the will of Me and* Sira. *To the end that I, and* Sira, *and all persons in the world, may place our hope in thy power, and in future believe in Thee.* These are the expressions [contained] in the Sacred Presents [transmitted] by *Chosroes*, which disagree in nothing from *Balaam*'s Prophecy; the compassionate God having wisely disposed [all things in such a manner,] that the tongues of Gentiles should [some times] utter salutary words.

‖ Or, Pagan.

[c] Στατήρων μιλιαρησίων.

[d] Ἑαυτῷ. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἐν ἑαυτῷ: but in *Theophylactus* the reading is ἐν ἐμαυτῷ, *within my self*; which reading I do rather approve of. *Valesius.*

[e] Τὸ ῥόσην χόσρεην. In *Theophylactus* and *Nicephorus*, 'tis read in one word, ῥοσωχοσρεών. So also I found it written in the *Tellerian Manuscript.* Valesius.

* Or, Power.

† Or, Pretious.

[f] Ἀμφίθυρον ὑνικὸν. The Translatours understood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Version. For they both render it in this manner; *Et unicum utrinque apertum.* So also *Rader*us translated it, who rendred *Theophylactus* into Latine, save only that he has made it *Hunnicum*, agreeable to the reading in the *Greek Text* of *Theophylactus.* But *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s *Translatour*, has retained the Greek word, thus, *& Amphithyrum Hunnicum.* And, by adding a *Scholion*, has explained this term thus: *Judicio meo carceres, sive cancelli sunt,* &c; *In my judgement, they are the Bars or Rails, either surrounding the more Sacred Table of the Altar, or keeping the people from it; in each part whereof there is a door, and a passage leading to it, of Hunnick Work.* But, by the favour of that Learned man, he has not hit the signification of this word. The *Greeks* termed *Veyles* or *Curtains which hung before doors*, ἀμφίθυρα. So *Chrysostome* in *his* 84th *Homily on* St *Matthew*, speaking concerning *Zacheus*, who entertained our Lord at a Banquet: ὅτε ἔμελλεν εἰς αὐτὸν εἰσέρχεσθαι ὁ χριστὸς, πῶς αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησε ἐκεῖνος. οὐ γὰρ ἔδραμε πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας, ἀμφίθυρα αὐτῶν καθάρσας, &c; [*Consider,*] *when Christ was about to enter into his house, how he adorned it: for he ran not to his neighbours,* [*to borrow*] *their Curtains and Chairs,* &c. So, in the Churches of the *Christians*, there were Curtains before the doors, as *Epiphanius* attests in *an Epistle which* Saint Jerome *has done into Latine.* And, that we may come nearer to the business, at the very Altar there were Curtains, where with the doors of the *Altar* or *Choire* were covered. And when the Priest was about to celebrate the Eucharist, those Curtains were wont to be drawn, that the people might behold the Mysteries a far off. This is attested by St *Chrysostome*, in *his third Homily on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, in these words: ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἐκπαιδα ἐκφερομένη τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὸ χερουβικὸν τεθυμιάθῃ, ὅταν ἀκούσῃς, ἐνταῦθα πάντες κοινῶς, ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα, &c; *so also here, when the sacrifice is offered, and Christ is sacrificed, when you shall hear* [these words] *Let us all pray together, when you see the Curtains drawn, then think that heaven is opened from above,* &c. Where you see, that the word ἀμφίθυρα is taken for the Curtains which were placed at the doors of the Altar. There is also mention of these *Veyles* or *Curtaines*, in an *old paper of the Donation* of the *Cornutianensian Church*, which was first published by *Johannes Suaresius*. *Et pro aræ ora vela Tramoserica Alba auroclava 2, vela blattea auroclava paragaudata 2,* &c: and afterwards, *vela linea paragaudata perfectâ clavaturâ collomelina prasina 2, vela Linea paragaudata perfectâ clavaturâ leucorhodina duo.* And again afterwards. *Item ante Regias Basilicæ vela tinea plumata majora fissa numero tria. Item vela linea pura tria, ante consistorium velum lincum purum unum. In pronao velum lineum purum unum; & intra Basilicam pro porticibus vela linea rosulata sex. Et ante secretarium vel curricula vela linea rosulata pensilia habentia arcus 2.* Which place I have transcribed entire, for this reason, that the studious Reader may understand, how manifold the use of Curtains was heretofore in the Church; and that we might know, what was the *Hunnick veyle* or *Curtain* in this place of *Evagrius*. For, as *this paper of Donation* informs us, that the *Persian Curtains* were heretofore highly valued, so the *Hunnick Curtains* were also chiefly commended. Further, the *Persian Curtains* are mentioned by *Aristophanes's Scholiast ad Ranas*: ὡραιοτάσματα τοῖς σκηναῖς τοῖς περσικοῖς βήλοις, ἢ βηλοθύραις. For these Curtains were termed ἐηλόθυρα, *because they were hung before doors*, as I have said. *Gulielmus Bibliothecarius in the life of* Stephanus *Sextus* has this passage. *Contulit in eadem Basilica Apostolorum cortinam lineam unam, velothyra serica tria in circuitu altaris.* Whence it appears, that ἐηλόθυρον and ἀμφίθυρον signifie the same thing. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Naamanes *the* Saracen.

AT the same time, *Naamanes* also, the Chief of a Tribe of those *Saracens* that were Enemies, a *Pagan* so wicked and abominable, that with his own hand he sacrificed men to his *Dæmons*, came to Holy Baptisme; and having melted down a [Statue of] *Venus*, which was nothing else but a reall Mass of Gold, he distributed it amongst the poor, and brought over all those persons about him to [the worship of] God. But *Gregorius*, after *Chosroes*'s Crosses had been presented, by the Emperour's order went a Circuit to the Solitudes of those termed *The Limits*, wherein *Severus*'s Tenets [a] were highly prevalent; [in which places] he set forth the Ecclesiastick *Dogmata*, and brought over to the Church of God many Castles, Villages, Monasteries, and whole Tribes.

[a] In the *Greek Text* of *Valesius's Edition*, at this place we found these words wanting, κατεκράτει, τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ περιέθει δόγματα, *were highly prevalent*; [*in which places*] *he set forth the Ecclesiastick Dogmata*, or, *Opinions*: which we have inserted from *Robert Stephens's Edition*. *Valesius* has expreſt them in *his Latine Version*, and so have all the other Translatours.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Death of Saint Symeon Junior *the* Stylite.

BUt in the interim, Saint *Symeones* fell sick of a diſtemper whereof he died; and, upon my giving *Gregorius* notice thereof, he made all the haſt he could to him, to pay him his laſt Salutes. But *Gregorius* obtained not what he deſired. Further, this *Symeones* for Virtue far excelled all perſons of his own time; having from his tender years lead an auſtere Courſe of Life upon a Pillar: [a] in ſo much that his teeth were changed in that Station upon the Pillar. He went up upon a Column, on this account. Whilſt he was yet very young, he wandred up and down over the Tops of the Mountain, * playing and leaping. And by chance hapned upon a wild Beaſt [termed] a *Libard*, about whoſe neck he caſt his girdle, and as with the rein of a bridle as 'twere, lead the Beaſt who † forgat his naturall ferity, and brought him to his own Monaſtery. Which when *Symeones*'s Inſtructer, (a perſon who kept his Station upon a Pillar,) beheld, he asked the Boy what that was. *Symeones* made anſwer, that it was an *Ælurus*, which they uſually term *a Cat*. From hence [his Inſtructer] conjectured how eminent a perſon *Symeones* would prove [in the Study of] Virtue, and therefore carried him up into a Pillar. In which Pillar, and in another that ſtood upon the very top of the Mountain, he ſpent Sixty eight years, being vouchſafed all manner of Grace; both as to the caſting out of Devills, as to the curing every diſeaſe and all manner of languiſhing diſtempers, and in relation to the foreſeeing things future as if they had been preſent. He foretold *Gregorius*, that he ſhould not ſee him die; but [ſaid,] that he was ignorant of what would happen after his own death. And when I my ſelf was ‖ troubled with various thoughts at the loſs of my children, and doubted within my own mind, why the ſame [troubles] befell not the *Pagans* who had many children; although I had not opened my mind to any perſon whatever, yet he wrote to me, to abſtain from ſuch thoughts as thoſe, [b] in regard they were diſpleaſing to God. Moreover, when the wife of * one of my *Amanuenſes* had her milk ſtopt after her delivery, [by reaſon whereof] the Infant was in imminent danger; [the ſame *Symeones*] put his hand upon her husbands right hand, and ordered him to lay it upon the breaſts of his wife: which when he had done, immediately the milk ſprang out as 'twere from a fountain, in ſuch a manner that it † wetted the garment of the woman. Further, a child having been left upon the Road in the dead of the night, through the forgetfullneſs of thoſe who travelled with him, a Lyon laid it on his back, and brought it to [*Symeon's*] Monaſtery, and by *Symeones*'s order, thoſe who miniſtred to him went out, and brought in the child, which had been ‖ preſerved by the Lyon. The ſame perſon performed many other things *highly memorable, which require an eloquent tongue, much time, and a peculiar Treatiſe; [all which actions of his] are celebrated by the tongues of men. For, perſons of almoſt all Nations of the Earth, not only *Romans*, but *Barbarians*, came frequently to him, and obtained their requeſts of him. Certain branches of a ſhrub which grew on that mountain, * were made uſe of by him in ſtead of all ſorts of meat and drink.

[a] Ὡς ϗ τοὺ ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ διήλλαξεν. *Nicephorus* has explained this place incomparably well, by inſerting one word, thus; λέγεται μὲν ἔχειν τότον ϗ τοὺ πρώτους ὀδόντας διαλλάξαι ἐν τῇ τάσει τῦ κίονος. That is, as *Langus* renders it, *perhibetur ſane primos dentes in columnæ ſtatione mutaſſe, 'tis indeed reported, that he changed his firſt teeth in his Station on the Pillar.* In the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuſcripts*, 'tis written ὠυτῦ, not αὐτοῦ. where the word αὐτῦ is uſed inſtead of ἐκεῖ, *there.* Valeſ.

* Κωϊζων, *behaving himſelf like a child.*

† Or, *Forgat his Nature.*

‖ Or, *Diſtracted into.*

[b] Ὡς ϗκ ἀρέσκον τῷ Θεῷ. The Rules of Grammar require, that we ſhould write ἀρεσκόντων. For ἐυρῆναι τότων precedes. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *One of thoſe who wrote under me.*

* Or, *Filled.*

‖ Or, *Guarded.*

* Or, *Above mention.*

* Or, *Were to him.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Death of Gregorius *Biſhop of* Antioch, *and the Reſtauration of* Anaſtaſius.

NOt long after [a] dyed *Gregorius* alſo, after he had been ſeized with a *Gouti*ſ diſtemper, wherewith he was much troubled, and had drank a potion [made of the herb] termed [b] *Hermodactylus*, which was adminiſtred to him by a Phyſitian. He ended his life, at ſuch time as *Gregorius* was Biſhop of the *Elder Rome*, who had ſucceeded *Pelagius*; *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* on the year of Chriſt 594. But *Baronius* doubts at the ſame place, whether it ought not to be placed on the year following; eſpecially in regard *Gregorius Magnus, in the Regiſter of the Letters of the thirteenth Indiction*, congratulates *Anaſtaſius*, becauſe he had been reſtored to the See of *Antioch*. But the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*, (who lived almoſt in the ſame times with *Gregorius*,) places *Gregorius*'s death in the tenth year of the Empire of *Mauricius*, on the *tenth Indiction*; his words are theſe: ἰνδ. ι'. τότῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀναστάσι Θ, &c; *In the tenth Indiction; on this year* Anaſtaſius *Patriarch of* Antioch *returned to* Antioch, *after the death of* Gregorius *who had been Patriarch, who had alſo before ſucceeded the ſame* Anaſtaſius. Where you may note that *Anaſtaſius* is called Patriarch even before his Reſtoration; becauſe, having been depoſed illegally and by force, he had always retained the title of *Patriarch*. 'Tis certain *Pope Gregorius*, in the *three Letters he wrote to him at the beginning of his Epiſcopate*, does always acknowledge *Anaſtaſius* to be a Patriarch. But, he is never found to have accounted *Gregorius* (who had illegally taken poſſeſſion of *Anaſtaſius*'s Chair whilſt he was yet alive,) amongſt the number of Patriarchs. *Valeſ.*

[a] *Baronius* does indeed place the death of *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch* and the Reſtauration of *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* on the year of Chriſt 594. But *Baronius* doubts at the ſame place, whether it ought not to be placed on the year following; eſpecially in regard *Gregorius Magnus, in the Regiſter of the Letters of the thirteenth Indiction*, congratulates *Anaſtaſius*, becauſe he had been reſtored to the See of *Antioch*. But the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*, (who lived almoſt in the ſame times with *Gregorius*,) places *Gregorius*'s death in the tenth year of the Empire of *Mauricius*, on the *tenth Indiction*; his words are theſe: ἰνδ. ι'. τότῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀναστάσι Θ, &c; *In the tenth Indiction; on this year* Anaſtaſius *Patriarch of* Antioch *returned to* Antioch, *after the death of* Gregorius *who had been Patriarch, who had alſo before ſucceeded the ſame* Anaſtaſius. Where you may note that *Anaſtaſius* is called Patriarch even before his Reſtoration; becauſe, having been depoſed illegally and by force, he had always retained the title of *Patriarch*. 'Tis certain *Pope Gregorius*, in the *three Letters he wrote to him at the beginning of his Epiſcopate*, does always acknowledge *Anaſtaſius* to be a Patriarch. But, he is never found to have accounted *Gregorius* (who had illegally taken poſſeſſion of *Anaſtaſius*'s Chair whilſt he was yet alive,) amongſt the number of Patriarchs. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Hermodactylus* was a plant unknown to the Ancients, 'Tis certain, neither *Dioſcorides*, nor *Galen* have made any mention of it. But, the *Arabians* after *Serapion*, confounded it with *Colchicum* and *Ephemeron*. Whom our *Apothecaries* have followed, and in their Shops ſubſtitute *Colchicum* inſtead of *Hermodactylus*. But *Andreas Matthiolus* (in *his comments on the fourth book of* Dioſcorides,) hath long ſince taken notice of this miſtake; and after him others, who have written concerning plants. When *Matthiolus* publiſhed the *Former Edition* of *his Comments*, he himſelf did not then fully know what *Hermodactylus* was. But afterwards, when he had procured that plant from the *Illuſtrious perſonage Augerius Busbequius*, who had brought it him at his return from *an Embaſſy at Conſtantinopole*; he gave us the Type or Cut of that plant at pag. 1109 of *his Latter Edition*. The Roots of this plant repreſent the likeneſs of fingers, with the addition of nails alſo. Whence the plant had its name. For *Hermodactylus* ſignifies *the finger of Mercury*. Further, the root hereof was heretofore given to thoſe that were troubled with the *Gout in the joynts or fingers*, at ſuch time as the humours iſſued out: for, of it ſelf, and by a decoction of it, it has a purgative quality, as *Paulus Ægineta* relates in *his ſeventh book*. But now a days *Hermodactylus* is given to thoſe troubled with the *Gout in their feet*, not at that time when the humours iſſue forth, but rather when the diſeaſe is grown ſtrong and come to its height. For, when Modern *Phyſitians* had found by the uſe of this medicine, that it was noxious in the approach or augmentation of the diſeaſe, they corrected the practiſe of the Ancient *Phyſitians* in this particular; as the *moſt famous and moſt Learned Toſſinus de Fontaine Doctor of Phyſick and Regius Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Paris* informed me, a perſon to whom I profeſs my ſelf highly obliged, for his ſingular kindneſs towards me, and for his care and diligence in curing my diſtemper. *Valeſ.*

and

and whilſt *Johannes* [preſided over the Church of] * *Conſtantinople*, and *Eulogius* over that of *Alexandria*, (perſons whom I have mentioned before ;) and during *Anaſtaſius*'s preſidency over the *Antiochian* Church, [c] who had been reſtored to his own Chair [d] after three and twenty years. *Johannes* [was then Biſhop] of *Jeruſalem* ; who died ſoon after, and as yet no body has undertaken the Government of that Church. And here ſhall my Hiſtory be cloſed, namely, [e] on the twelfth year of *Mauricius Tiberius*'s Government of the *Roman* Empire ; the following [affairs of the Church] being left to be collected and written by ſuch as are deſirous [of employing themſelves that way.] If any thing be either omitted, or not accurately ſet forth by us ; let no perſon aſcribe it to us as a fault ; but let him conſider with himſelf, that we have Collected into one Body * a diſperſed and ſcattered Hiſtory, and have made it our buſineſs [to conſult] the advantage of men, in favour of whom we have † undertaken ſo many and ſuch vaſt Labours. *Another Volume* has likewiſe been compoſed by us, which contains *Relations*, *Letters*, *Decrees*, *Orations*, *Diſputations*, and *ſome other things*. The foreſaid *Relations* contained in *that Volume* were all written in the Name of *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. By reaſon whereof we have obtained two dignities ; [the one] from *Tiberius Conſtantinus*, [f] who inveſted us with the [Dignity] of *Quæſtorius*, [the other] from *Mauricius Tiberius* who ſent us the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture*, [g] on account of that [Oration] we had compoſed, at ſuch time as (having wiped away the reproach of the Empire,) he brought into the light [his Son] [h] *Theodoſius*, who gave a beginning of all manner of felicity, both to [*Mauricius*] himſelf, and to the State.

* Or, *The Junior Rome*

[c] Τῷ ὁικείῳ ἐπισκοπείῳ θρόνῳ. From theſe words 'tis evidently concluded, that *Anaſtaſius* was reſtored to the See of *Antioch* a little before *Gregorius*'s death. For *Evagrius* ſays, that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch* dyed, after *Anaſtaſius* had been reſtored to his own Chair. Yet, *Nicephorus* thought, that nothing elſe was meant by theſe words, but that *Anaſtaſius* had been reſtored to his own See after *Gregorius*'s death. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Anaſtaſius* had been depoſed on the year of Chriſt 570, as I have obſerved above, in *my notes* on *book* 5. *chap.* 5. From this year to the tenth of *Mauricius*'s Empire, (whereon he was reſtored to his See, as the *Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us,) that is to the year of *Chriſt* 592, there are three and twenty years. *Valeſ.*

[e] From theſe words ſome one might prehaps conjecture that which *Baronius* has alſo ſuppoſed, that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch* dyed on the twelfth year of the Emperour *Mauricius*. For why ſhould *Evagrius* ſay, that he had cloſed his Hiſtory on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire, unleſs he had related ſome thing before, which had been done on the twelfth year of the ſame *Mauricius* ? Notwithſtanding, after a more diligent inſpection into the thing, *Evagrius* ſeems not in my judgment, to have deſigned to mean that by theſe words. for *Evagrius* ſays, that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch* had ended his life, at ſuch time as *Gregorius* Governed the *Roman*, and *Eulogius* the *Alexandrian* Church ; and whilſt *Johannes* preſided over the Church at *Jeruſalem*. Which *Johannes* having ended his life not long after, *Evagrius* ſaith no body was as yet put into his place. *Evagrius* therefore cloſed not his Hiſtory with the death of *Gregorius*, in regard he relates, that after *Gregorius*'s death, *Johannes* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyed ; and that after his death no perſon was yet put into his See, at that time when he wrote theſe things. Wherefore *Evagrius* by theſe words means only this, that he wrote theſe things on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *A wandring Hiſtory.*

† Or, *Suſtained.*

[f] Τῇ τῆς κοιαισωρίας θειαλόγῳ. I like not the Rendition of *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus*, who think that the honour of *the Quæſture* was conferred upon our *Evagrius* by *Tiberius*. But *Evagrius* does not ſay, that he had the dignity τῆς κοιαίσωρος of *Quæſtor* given him, but only τῆς κοιαισωρίας of *Quæſtorius*. Now, there is a great difference between *Quæſtor* and *Quæſtorius*. For he is *Quæſtor*, *who bears the Office of Quæſtor*. But, *Quæſtorius* is he *who has already born that Office*. In regard therefore *Evagrius* ſays, that he had the honour *Ex-Quæſtore* given him, he means that the *Codicills Ex-Quæſtore* were conferred on him by the Emperour : altogether in the ſame manner, wherein (as he adds immediately,) the *Codicills Ex-Præfectis Prætorio* were beſtowed on him by the Emperour *Mauricius*. Further, ſuch perſons as by their deſerts had procured theſe *Codicills*, enjoyed all thoſe priviledges, which belonged to the *Honorati* who had born thoſe dignities, to wit, of *the Quæſture* and of *the Præfecture*. But, in my opinion the reading at this place ought to be, τὸ τῆς κοιαισωρίας (the term ἀξίωμα being underſtood,) *the* [*dignity*] *of Quæſtorius*. Valeſ.

[g] Ἐφ' ᾧ σωσθεὶς ἀνέφηνε. Tranſlatours underſtood not this place. For *Muſculus* renders it thus ; *unde iſta compoſuimus, cum ille imperii ignominiam ablaturus, Theodoſium in lucem produxit, whence we compoſed thoſe things, when he about to take away the ignominie of the Empire, brought* Theodoſius *into the light*. *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner : *Quo regnante eas Relationes Compoſuimus ; idque eo ipſo tempore quo Theodoſium in Lucem edidit, during whoſe Reign we compoſed thoſe Relations ; and that at that very time wherein he brought to light Theodoſius*. *Chriſtophorſon* was of opinion, that the reading here ought to be, ἐφ' ἅ. But this emendation is not to be endured. For *Evagrius* had not compoſed *that Work of Relations* during the Reign of *Mauricius*, but whilſt *Tiberius Conſtantinus* was Emperour, as he himſelf affirms a little above. Therefore, I had rather retain the common reading here, by underſtanding the word ἀναφορᾷ *Relation*, or διαλέξει *Diſcourſe*. For when the Emperour *Mauricius*'s Son *Theodoſius* was born, *Evagrius* wrote an Oration to the Emperour *Mauricius*, wherein he congratulated with him on account of the Birth of his Son, and foretold the higheſt felicity both to *Mauricius* and the *Roman* State, becauſe *Mauricius* had aboliſhed the old Reproach of the *Roman* Empire, and had at length begotten a Male-child. For, none of the *Roman* Emperours, who had Reigned in the Eaſtern parts ; even from the times of *Theodoſius Junior*, had begotten Male-children. *Evagrius* therefore ſays, that on acconnt of this Oration, he had been rewarded by *Mauricius* with the *Codicills* of a moſt ample *Præfecture*. Valeſ.

[h] The *moſt noble Theodoſius* was born *in purple* on the *third year* of *Mauricius*'s Empire on the *twenty ſixth* of the month *September*, and therefore on the *fourth Indiction*, which had begun from the *Calends* of the *September* of this year. The ſame *Theodoſius* was afterwards Crowned *Auguſtus* by his Father *Mauricius*, in the *eighth Indiction*, on the *twenty ſixth* of the month *March*, when he was four years and an half old, as *Theophanes* relates in *his Chronicon*, *pag.* 225. Valeſ.

Six Books of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Evagrius Scholaſticus Epiphanienſis *and* [*one*] *of the* Ex-Præfects.

THE END.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

CONSTANTINE,

IN FOUR BOOKS.

Written in GREEK, by *Euſebius Pamphilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*; done into ENGLISH from that Edition ſet forth by *Valeſius* and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the ſaid LIFE, which are made ENGLISH, and ſet at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereto is alſo annext the Emperour CONSTANTINE's ORATION to the CONVENTION OF THE SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS's SPEECH CONCERNING THE PRAISES OF CONSTANTINE, Spoken AT HIS TRICENNALIA.

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed by *John Hayes*, Printer to the Univerſity. 1682.

VALESIUS's Advertiſement to the READER.

IN My Annotations *on* Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *I have remarked, that the* Titles *or* Contents of the Chapters, *which are prefixt before each Book, were compoſed by* Euſebius *himſelf. And this, in my judgment, I have proved by moſt evident Arguments. But, in theſe* Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine, *the matter is otherwiſe. For the* Contents of theſe Books *were not made by* Euſebius *himſelf, but by ſome other more modern Authour. Now, I make this conjecture from hence, both becauſe the* Contents of theſe Chapters, *are for the moſt part uncooth, inſipid, and barbarous; and alſo in regard they always ſpeak of* Euſebius *in the third perſon; whereas, in the* Contents of the Chapters of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, Euſebius *always names himſelf in the firſt perſon. Beſides, the diſtinctions of the Chapters are two thick, and occur too often; and one* Letter *and* Conſtitution *of the Emperour, is divided, and torn aſunder as 'twere, into many Chapters. Which thing is wont often to beget a loathing and nauſeouſneſs in the Reader. I forbear mentioning the barbarous words and terms, which occur frequently in* theſe Contents. *For, in them you diverſe times meet with* παλάτιον, κόμιτες, νοτάριον, *and* ἀυγούστος. *All which conſiderations make me of this opininon, that I ſhould believe any one elſe, rather than* Euſebius, *to have been the* Authour of theſe Contents. *Nevertheleſs, whoever the perſon was, he was ancient, and lived not at any great diſtance from the Age of* Our Euſebius. *And this is chiefly Collected from the* Contents of the Fourth Book; *wherein you may read ſome paſſages, which could not have been known, but by a Writer Contemporary with thoſe times, of which ſort is that concerning* Marianus *the* Tribune *and* Notary, *in the* Contents of Chapter 44. Book 4; *the name of which Notary we might at this day have been ignorant of, had not* that Authour of the Contents, *and after him* Sozomen, *given us information thereof. I have ſometimes conjectured, that* Acacius, *(he, who ſucceeded Our* Euſebius *in the Chair of the Church of* Cæſarea, *in regard he publiſht theſe Books of* his Maſter *after his death,) Compoſed theſe Contents. But, this is but a meer conjecture, which any one that will, may follow. Laſtly, the Reader is to be Advertiſed, that in all our* Manuſcript Copies, *the Titles of theſe Chapters are written without the* * Numerall Notes. *And in* The Old Sheets belonging to the Kings Library, *they occur præfixt before each Book. But in the* Fuketian Manuſcript, *they are not only ſet before each Book; but are alſo added to every Chapter, in the Body of each Book.*

* That is, *Without ſetting forth what Chapter it is*, viz. *the* 20th, 30th, &c.

THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS [a] CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE[b].

[a] Εἰς τὸν βίον τῦ μακαρίτ κωνσταντίνυ. So *Græcians* are wont to inscribe their Books written concerning any one's Life: *Philostratus* gave *his Books concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* this Title, φιλοστράτυ εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλωνίυ τῦ τυανέως βίον λόγοι ἡ, *Philostratus's eight Books concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus.* So also *Marcus Antoninus* entitled the Books concerning his own Life, βιβλία εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιϛ', *twelve Books of* [*Remarks*] *upon himself.* 'Tis further to be noted, that although *these Books* have this Title, *concerning the Life of the Emperour Constantine*, yet all things are not contained therein, which were performed by that Emperour, but those matters only are described, which relate to true piety, and the Glory of the Christian Religion. Whereof *Eusebius* gives an express advertisement in the beginning of this book, chap. 11. *Vales.*

[b] At this place *Robert Stephens* has added these words, λόγοι πέντε, *five Books*; what Copies he followed, I know not. For these words occur not, either in the *King's Copy*, or in the *Old Sheets*. Neither are these words to be found in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. 'Tis certain, this Work concerning the Life of the Emperour *Constantine* consists only of four Books; which is also attested by *Photius*. But, because *Eusebius* had added three small Pieces, to wit, *the Emperour* Constantine's *Oration to the Convention of the Saints, the description of the Church at* Jerusalem *together with the Sacred Presents there Dedicated by* Constantine, and *a Panegyrick spoken at* Constantine's *Tricennalia*; hence it came to pass, that *this Appendix* was by some taken for a *Fifth Book*. Indeed, the *Index of the Chapters* which is prefixt before *Constantine's Oration to the Saints*, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this Title, κεφάλαια τῦ πέμπτυ λόγυ, *the Chapters of the Fifth Book*. But in the *Kings Copy*, the *Indices* of the Chapters are omitted, and this Title is written at the side, though in a more modern hand, ἀρχὴ τῦ ἐ βιβλίυ, *the beginning of the Fifth Book*. Vales.

The Preface.

Concerning the Death of Constantine.

ALL Mankind have not long since celebrated the recurring periods of our great Emperour's compleated * *Vicennalia* and *Tricennalia*, with Festivities and publick Banquets. We our selves also, [a] by a *Panegyrick* spoken in his *Vicennalia*, have lately venerated the same Glorious Conquerour environed with a Synod of God's Sacred Ministers. Moreover, [b] we have platted him Crowns of *Tricennalian Orations*, wherewith we lately encircled his Sacred Head within his own Imperial pallace.

* Δεκαέτηρον δὶς καὶ τρὶς τὸ τελεσθὲν, *Second and Third Decade of years.*

[a] Εἰκοσαέτηρικοῖς ὕμνοις, *with Vicennalian Hymns. This Oration* spoken by *Eusebius* in *Constantine's Vicennalia* is not now extant. We can only affirm this of it, that it was spoken in the *Nicene Synod*, in the presence of the Emperour *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* attests in the following words: but he tells us this very thing much more plainly in book 3, chap. 11. *Vales.*

[b] Τειαχοντατρικηρικὰς αὐτῷ λόγων πλέξαντες στεφάνυς, *we have platted him Tricennalian Crowns of Orations.* He means *The Tricennalian Oration concerning the praises of* Constantine, which *Eusebius* had annexed at the close of *his books concerning the Life of* Constantine, as he himself attests book 4. chap. 46. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian Manuscripts this Oration* is prefixt before *Eusebius's Books of the Life of the Emperour Constantine*. Which is very right indeed, if we respect the time wherein *this Oration* was spoken; but 'tis Contrary to the opinion of the *Writer himself*, who ordered *that Oration* to be placed at the close of these books. *Vales.*

But now * I am doubtfull and at a ſtand, deſirous indeed to utter ſomething according to the uſuall manner, but ignorant which way to turn my ſelf, and amazed at this only miracle of a new and ſurprizing † ſpectacle. For, which way ſoever I look with a fixt and ſteady eye, whether to the Eaſt or Weſt, upon the whole Earth or to Heaven it ſelf, I behold the bleſſed [Emperour] preſent || every where and in all places, [c] converſing with *Imperiall Majeſty* her ſelf. And I ſee his Sons, like ſome new Luminaries, filling the whole Earth with their Father's Rays, and [I behold] himſelf as yet living in Power and Authority, and managing the whole affairs of the world better and more potently than before; in regard he is diffuſed and enlarged by the ſucceſſion of his Sons. Who before had * been inveſted with the *Cæſarian Dignity*: but having now clothed themſelves with *their whole Father*, on account of their eximious † Virtue and Religion are proclaimed *Supream Soveraigns, Auguſti, Adorable, Emperours*, being illuſtrated with [all] their Fathers Ornaments.

* Or, *Our Oration is*, &c. See chap. 2. note (c.)

† *Aſpect*, or, *Sight.*

|| Πάντη καὶ παντα χοῦ. [c] αὐτῇ σωόντα βασιλέα θεωρεῖ. Sr *Henry Savil hath noted at the margin of his Copy*, that perhaps the reading ſhould be αὐτῷ, underſtand τῷ λόγῳ, *with our Oration it ſelf.* The ſame thing came alſo into my mind, before I had procured Sr *Henry Savils Copy* 'Tis the ſame with what *Euſebius* ſays in the following chapter, ἀνθοῖς θ' ἡμῖν σωόντα, φιλαδόξοτατα; *and converſt with us, our ſelves, in a moſt admirable manner.* But, after a more diligent inſpection into the thing, I am now of another opinion. Nor do I doubt but *Euſebius* wrote thus, αὐτῇ σωόντα Ϛαπλεία, *accompanied*, or, *converſing with Imperial Majeſty her Self*: which is a moſt elegant expreſſion. For he makes *Imperial Majeſty* a kind of Goddeſs as 'twere, whoſe inſeparable Companion, he ſays, *Conſtantine* was after his death: in regard he converſed above with God the ſupreameſt of Kings; but reigned on the earth in his Sons. Queſtionleſs, whoſoever ſhall read the following words with attention, will never doubt of this Emendation. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Partook of the honour of Cæſars.*

† Or, *Virtue of Religion.*

CHAP. II.

The Preface yet.

AND when I behold him (who a little before was ſeen [a] in a Mortall Body, and [b] converſt with us our ſelves,) in a moſt admirable manner enjoying the ſame Imperial Pallaces, honours, and commendations, even after the end of this life, when Nature rejects as forreign whatever is ſuperfluous; I am ſtricken with an incredible amazement.

[a] Καὶ ἢ ἐν σώμαπι δὲ ὄντῳ. The reading in the *Old Sheets* is truer, thus, καὶ ἐν σώμαπι δὲ ὄντῳ; and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the four former words are wanting, and there is a blank ſpace left, capable of one or two words only. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἀυτοῖς θ' ἡμῖν σωόντα φιλαδόξοτατα. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* this place is written thus, αὐτοῖς θ' ἡμῖν ..... ὠδόξότατα, &c. But I had rather retain the ordinary reading, only I would alter the punctation. For, I am of opinion, that a *Comma* is not to be placed after the word φιλαδόξοτατα *in a moſt admirable manner*, (as *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have done,) but after the word σωόντα, thus, *converſt with us our ſelves*, as we have pointed it. For *Euſebius* ſays this was the greateſt Miracle and φιλαδόξοτάτον *moſt admirable*; that although *Conſtantine* was dead, yet he had the ſame honours and obedience paid him as when alive. *Valeſ.*

But now, when with an acuteneſs of mind I reach up to the very Arches of Heaven it ſelf, and there Contemplate his thrice-happy Soul converſing with God; wholly diveſted of its Mortall and Terreſtriall Garment, and beautified with a moſt * Splendid *Stole* of Light: and when I perceive it not any more involved in the ſhort periods of Time, within theſe † fading Habitations; but honoured with an ever-flouriſhing Diadem, and [endowed] † with an endleſs life and a bleſſed immortality: [c] I am dumb, and wholly deprived of the uſe of my Tongue and Reaſon. And being unable to utter one word, but paſſing ſentence my ſelf upon mine own weakneſs, and decreeing ſilence againſt my ſelf, I give place to one more potent, who may declare his * praiſes in a manner correſpondent to his deſerts; to him namely, who being † Immortall and *God The Word*, is only able to confirm and ratifie his own expreſſions.

* Or, *Reſplendent.*

† Or, *Reſidencies of Mortalls.*

† Or, *With an Immortality of an endleſs*, &c.

[c] Ἀχανὴς ἔσηκεν οἷα ϰὴ ὁ λόϛος. from the *Fuketian Manuſcript* and Sr *Henry Savil's Copy* I have mended this place thus, ἀχανὴς ἔσηκεν οἷα ϰὴ ἄλοϛος, *I am dumb*, &c. Λόϛος ἄλοϛος is an elegant expreſſion, as perſons ſkillfull in the Greek Tongue do very well know. Further, whereas all theſe expreſſions in this and the foregoing chapter, are ſpoken by *Euſebius* in the *third perſon*, concerning *his Speech* or *Oration*, we choſe rather to change the perſon, and put it in *the firſt*, becauſe the propriety of the Latine Tongue ſeemed wholly to require that. *Valeſ.* For the ſame reaſon here given by *Valeſius* in relation to the *Latine Tongue*, we have likewiſe altered the perſon in our *Engliſh Verſion.*

* Or, *The dignity of his equall praiſes.*

† Or, *The Immortall God and The Word.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning God who honoured the Pious Emperours and deſtroyed the Tyrants.

FOr whereas he has predicted, that they who glorifie and honour him, ſhall by him be * compenſated with reciprocall Gifts and Rewards; but, that thoſe who have † profeſt themſelves his Enemies and Adverſaries, ſhall procure to themſelves a deſtruction of their ſouls; long ſince [even from this life] he hath aſcertained || the Truth of theſe his own words and promiſes. For he hath evidently ſet before our eyes the deteſtable * *Exits* of impious and God-oppoſing Tyrants; but hath demonſtrated not only the Life of his Servant, but his death alſo to be deſirable and worthy of the higheſt commendations: [a] in ſo much that, even † this deſerves a commemoration, and is egregiouſly worthy not of Mortall but immortall Sepulchrall Monuments. The || wit of men hath indeed found out a comfort and preſervative againſt a Mortall and frail End, and by Conſecrations of Statues, as 'twere by immortall honours, have thought good to Reverence the Memories of their Anceſtours. And ſome have framed Repreſentations of men with the ſhadowed Colours of [b] *Encauſtick Painting*; others, with the Sculptures of inanimate matter;

* Or, *Subjected to.*

† *Made*, or, *conſtituted.*

|| Or, *The true promiſes of theſe his words.*

* *Concluſions of Life.*

† *His Death.*

|| Or, *The Nature of Mortalls.*

* Καὶ τῆτόν τε σηλῶν. I am not pleaſed with the reading in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* and in *Gruter's Copy* which reading I found ſet at the margin in *Moreus's Copy* alſo; it is this, ϰὴ τῆτόν γε, &c. By a tranſpoſition of one particle I mend the place thus, ὡς ἀξιομνημόνευλον ϰὴ τῆτον, σηλῶν τε ἐ ὄντῳ, *in ſo much that*, &c. as we have rendred it. And I dare lay any wager, that *Euſebius* wrote ſo. Further, σῆλαι imports here *Titles* or *Sepulchrall Monuments*, as I have at large remarked on *Euſebius's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.* Valeſ.

[b] Κηρωτὴ γεγραῆς. He means *Paint of Encauſtum*, or, *Ceruſs*, which was made *by wax melted in the fire.* This was the moſt ancient ſort of Painting, as *Pliny* tells us, *book* 35, *chap.* 11. *Ceris pingere ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitaverit, non conſtat; 'tis not known who firſt found out Painting with wax and burning the Paint.* The ſame *Pliny* reckons up three ſorts of this Painting; to wit, *with wax, with the Ceſtrum* [*a kind of Peircer to bore with*] *in Ivory*, and *with the Pencill in wooden Tables: Encauſto pingendi duo fuiſſe antiquitùs genera conſtat, cera, & in ebore ceſtro, donec claſſes pingi cœpere. Hoc tertium acceſſit, reſoluris igni ceris penicillo utendi.* By which words 'tis very obſcure what *Pliny* means, in regard he ſays, that the firſt ſort of Painting with *Encauſtum* was with wax. For 'tis not to be underſtood, that there was no wax in the other ſorts of *Encauſtick*

Encauſtick Painting. The meaning therefore is this, that that firſt ſort of *Encauſtick Painting* was performed with wax only, no other inſtrument beſides wax being made uſe of to Paint. *Procopius* (in *his firſt book de Ædificiis Juſtiniani,*) ſpeaking concerning the Roof of a Church, deſcribes this ſort of Painting thus; ἐναβρύνεται δὲ ταῖς γεγραφαῖς ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, ὅ τῷ κηρῷ ἐντακέντι τε καὶ διαχυθέντι, *the whole Roof was adorned with Paintings, not with wax made liquid* [or, *burnt,*] *and diffuſed.* 'Tis apparent, that by theſe words *Procopius* means κηρόχυτον γεγραφὴν, *Encauſtick Painting.* 'Tis certain, κηρόχυτος γεγραφὴ occurs in *John Chryſoſtome* alſo, as 'tis recorded in the *ſecond Nicene Councill, pag.* 542. And in *Pope Gregorie's Letter to Germanus Biſhop of Conſtantinople, at page* 535 *of the ſame Nicene Councill*; where *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* renders it, *imaginem cerâ perfuſam, a Picture beſmeared with wax.* The ſame term occurs hereafter in *our Euſebius,* at *book* 3. *chap.* 3, and in the *Hiſtory of Nicephorus Patriarch of Conſtantinople,* about the end. Concerning this Painting *Apuleius* ſpeaks, *in defenſione ſuâ,* in theſe words: *Enim verò quod luto ſictum, vel ære infuſum, vel lapide inciſum, vel cerâ inuſtum, vel pigmento illitum.* And *Nazarius* in *the Panegyrick he ſpoke to Conſtantine,* ſpeaking concerning his Images thrown down by *Maxentius,* writes thus; *Aboleri hic vultus non poteſt: univerſorum pectoribus infixus eſt, nec commendatione ceræ aut pigmentorum fuci renitet: ſed deſiderio efflorescit animorum. Paulinus* likewiſe, in *his eighth Epiſtle to Sulpicius Severus*; at which place ſee *Fronto Ducæus's notes.* There is alſo an eminent paſſage of *Boethius's* concerning this matter, in *his Preface to his Books of Arithmetick,* which he Dedicated to *Symmachus* the *Patricius. At Picturæ, manibus tabulæ commiſſæ fabrorum; ceræ ruſticâ obſervatione decerptæ; colorum ſuci mercatorum ſolertia perquiſiti; Lineæ operoſis elaborata textrinis, multiplicem materiam præſtant.* For ſo that place is to be corrected from an *old Manuſcript* of *Thuanus's Library.* Laſtly, *Anaſtaſius* in *his Sermon de Sabbato,* which is recorded in the *Seventh Synod,* τῆς εἰκόνος ὕδεν ἕτερον ὕσης, ἢ ξύλον καὶ χρώματα κηρῷ μεμιγμένα καὶ κεκραμένα, *the Image being nothing elſe but wood, and colours mixt and tempered with wax.* Valeſ.

[c] Μνήμας ὑπέβαλον διωνύσους. I think it ſhould be written, ἐπέλαβον, *have taken occaſion:* and ſo the reading is in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library.* Sr *Henry Savil* had likewiſe remarked at the margin of his Copy, that in his judgment the reading was to be thus. But in *Moræus's Copy* at the margin 'tis mended thus, ὑπέβαλον; with which reading I am beſt pleaſed. *Valeſ.*

otherſome have cut deep Letters on wooden or ſtone Tablets, wherewith they have [c] taken occaſion of conſigning to Eternall Memory the Virtues of thoſe whom they honour. But all theſe things were mortall, and conſumed by length of time; in regard they expreſt the proportions of mortall bodies, not the * *Idea's* of an immortall † mind. However, theſe things ſeemed to content thoſe perſons, who, after the concluſion of this mortall life, had conceived in their minds an hope of no other thing that was good. But God, God [I ſay] the Common Saviour of all things, who hath treaſured up with himſelf greater Goods than Man can have a conception of, for the Lovers of Piety; gives as a foregoing pledge even in this life, the Firſt fruits of future Rewards, and in a manner repreſents and confirms immortall hopes to mortall eyes. The ancient Oracles of the Prophets, which are committed to writing, do plainly foretell theſe things. The Lives of perſons dear to God, who heretofore have ſhined with all manner of Virtues, whoſe [Lives] are as yet celebrated by poſterity, do give atteſtation hereto. The ſame is clearly evinced to be true by the Teſtimony of this our preſent Age, wherein *Conſtantine,* the only perſon of all thoſe who ever yet Governed the *Roman* Empire, having been made the friend of God the ſupream King, is propoſed to all men as a powerfull and illuſtrious inſtance of a Religious life.

* *Forms,* or, *figures.*

† Or, *Soul.*

CHAP. IV.

That God honoured Conſtantine.

LAſtly, God himſelf, whom *Conſtantine* worſhipped, confirmed this with effectuall ſuffrages, [a] by affording him his favourable and benigne preſence and aſſiſtance, at the beginning, procedure, and end of his Reign: which perſon God propoſed to mankind as an † *Exemplar* for their information in relation to the divine worſhip. Indeed, of all the Emperours, whom we ever yet heard of, he was the only one, whom God, by thoſe Bleſſings of all ſorts which he conferred on him, demonſtrated to be the greateſt Luminary and Loudeſt Proclaimer of ſteady Piety and true Religion.

[a] Αὐτῷ δεξιῶς ὑφηγεῖτο. I read αὐτῷ δεξιὸς ὑφηγητὴς. And a little after, inſtead of διδασκαλίαν, it muſt be written, εἰς διδασκαλίαν, *for their information.* Valeſ.

† *Pattern,* or, *Inſtance.*

CHAP. V.

That he Reigned upwards of Thirty years, and lived above Sixty.

* HE honoured the Time of his Reign with three compleated periods of Ten years, and [a] ſomething more; but he circumſcribed the whole Life he lead amongſt men, with a ſpace of time double as much. Further, becauſe † He would propoſe him as the portraicture of his own Monarchicall power, [b] He made him the Conquerour of the whole *Tyrannick Brood,* and the Deſtroyer of the * Impious Giants: who, [inſtigated] by a deſperation and madneſs of mind, took up Arms of Impiety againſt God himſelf the ſupream King. But, having made their appearance [c] even during a ſhorter time than is required to ſpeak, they were extinguiſhed. But God, who is one and the ſole God, when he had fortified his Servant, one oppoſed to many, with divine Armour [d], and by his means had cleared the world of the multitude of impious perſons, conſtituted him the Teacher of his own Worſhip to all Nations: who in the [e] hearing of all men atteſted with a loud voice, that he acknowleged the True God, but abominated the Errour of falſe Deities.

* *God.*

[a] Καὶ ὡσεὶπερ λῶον. A new and unuſuall expreſſion; λῶον, inſtead of that which others would term πλέον. *Euſebius* ſays, that *Conſtantine* reigned thirty compleat years and ſomething more. Which is true. For, beſides thirty years, he reigned almoſt ten months. Further, at the beginning of this period, the reading muſt be, χρόνον μὲν βασιλείας, *the time of his Reign*; not as the common reading is, χρόνων. *Valeſ.*

† *God.*

* Or, *God-oppoſing.*

[b] Νοητὴν ἀπέδειξε. Write τυχὴν ἀπέδειξε, *He made him the Conquerour*; as I found it mended in the margin of the *Moræan Copy.* which reading *Chriſtophorſon* has followed. The ſame reading occurs in the *old Sheets,* in the *Savilian,* and in the *Fuketian Manuſcripts.* Valeſ.

[c] Ὅσον εἰπεῖν. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it *prope dixerim, I had almoſt ſaid*; as if it had been written ὡς εἰπεῖν. I doubt not but *Euſebius* meant another thing. For, being deſirous to ſhow how ſhort a time the Tyrants flouriſhed, he ſays they were viſible a ſhorter time than is required to ſpeak. 'Tis the ſame which *Gracians* term λόγου σᾶσσον, *in the twinkling of an eye*; a ſort of *Hyperbole* familiar with *Gracians.* Valeſ.

[d] Παναοπλία παντελῆ. The one of theſe words is redundant, and therefore we have left it out in our Verſion. The former of them ſeems to me to be a *Scholion!* in the *Fuket. Manuſcript,* the latter is wanting. A little after, inſtead of δ' αὐτοῦ τ' ὄντων, &c, the reading muſt be δι' αὐτοῦ, &c, *by his means,* &c; as 'tis in the *Kings Sheets,* and *in the Savil. and Fuket. Manuſcripts.* Further, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis τ' ὄντως. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ταῖς πάντων ἀκοῖς, *in the virtues of all.* It muſt be made ἀκοαῖς, *in the hearing,* &c; which *Chriſtophorſon* perceived not. In the *old Sheets* 'tis over written ἀκοαῖς in the ſame hand. Alſo, Inſtead of μαρτυρόμενον, I write μαρτυρόμενον, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuſcripts.* Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

That he was the Servant of God, and a Vanquisher of Nations.

AND, like a faithfull and good servant, he practised and asserted this; openly styling himself a servant, and owning himself a worshipper of the supream King. But God rewarded him forthwith, by making him Lord and Master, and the only Conquerour of all the Emperours that ever were, alwaies invincible and insuperable: [a] and [he advanced him to be] so great an Emperour on account of his Victories and Trophies, as no one is ever recorded to have been in former ages: so happy and dear to God; so pious and every way fortunate, that with all facility imaginable he reduced more Nations to a Subjection under himself, than the former [Emperours had vanquished;] and continued possest of his Empire, free from disturbance and disquietude, to the very moment of his Expiration.

[a] Νικῶντα τροπαίοις. I read, νικῶν τε τροπαίοις βασιλέα τοσοῦτον, *and* [*He advanced him to be*] *so great an Emperour*, &c. In the *Kings Sheets* this place is supplied at the margin in this manner, εἰσαεὶ νικῶντα, τροπαίοις τε τοῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν διὰ παντὸς φαιδρυνόμενον, *always vanquishing, and continually made joyfull with Trophies against his enemies.* The *Fuket. Manuscript* has no variation, only adds a conjunction in this manner, καὶ εἰσαεὶ νικῶντα, *and always vanquishing.* Vales.

He march't on through bloud and slaughter, being a person that may be compared to thunder, and incompassionately enslaved Nations and whole Cities without any respect had to Age. But when he was scarce arrived at [c] the flower of his Age, and whilst he bemoaned his *Catamite*, Death approach't him * on a sudden, and took him off Childless, without any Stock or Kindred, before he had raised a family, and in an Enemies Country far remote; that he might not any longer be the Ruine of Mankind. His Kingdom was immediately rent insunder, each of his Servants [striving to] pull and tare off some part for themselves. And yet this person is extolled for such mischiefs as these.

* Or, *Cruelly.*

Reigned twelve years and above, which make up something more than the third part of two and thirty years, if we go to an accurate computation. But Oratours, whose businesses it is to amplifie things, don't usually speak so exactly. Therefore *Eusebius* says well, ὁ πλέον, *not much more.* Vales.

[c] Ἀνθούσης αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας. Every body sees it should be ἄνθῳ τῆς ὥρας, *the flower of his Age*, as 'tis also remarked in *Moræus's Copy.* In the *old Sheets* the reading is ἀνθῷ; but in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis ἄνθῳ. Further, a little after this it must be δεξαπόντων ἐκάστῳ, not ἑκάστῳ. And at the close of the chapter I read, ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀνυμνεῖται κακοῖς, *is extolled for such mischiefs as these*; although the *Manuscript Copies* varie not. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* I found it written, μοιρῶν τινα παρασπῶν\Θ, which is truer than ἀσπῶν\Θ, as 'tis in the common Editions. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

[Constantine] *compared with* Cyrus *King of the* Persians, *and with* Alexander *the* Macedonian.

ANcient History relates *Cyrus* [King] of the *Persians* to have been more renowned and glorious, than all [the Princes] that ever were. [a] But, the conclusion of his life, 'tis said, was in no wise fortunate, but reproachfull rather, and ignominious; in regard he was slain by a woman.

[a] Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα τέλ\Θ δ' ἐχεῖν μακρῷ. Learned men have attempted to restore this place several ways, as 'tis apparent from their Emendations, which are set at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, and written in the *Moræan Copy.* For some have conjectured it should be written thus; ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα, τέλ\Θ δὲ χρὴ σκοπεῖν μακρεῖν, φασὶν αὐτὸν, &c, others have mended it thus; ἀλλὰ τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς βίου εἶχε μὴ ταῦτα κοσμοῦντα. τέλ\Θ γὰρ ἔχ ὡς ἐχεῖν, ἐδὲ ἐπὶ μακρὸν, ἀμφὶν δ' αἴσιον φασὶν αὐτὸν, ἀισχεῖν δὲ, &c. Which reading *Christophorson* has followed, as appears from his Rendition. But in the *Moræan Copy* this place is mended something otherwise, in this manner: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα εἶχε κοσμοῦντα, τέλ\Θ γὰρ ὡς.....δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν, ἀμφὶν δ' αἴσιον αὐτὸν φάσκει.....κέναι. ἀισχεῖν δὲ, &c. From which imperfections any one would conjecture that this is a reading of some Manuscript Copy. The latter imperfection is easily supplied, in this manner, αὐτὸν φασὶν ἐχηκέναι. But in regard all these readings abound with faults, nor can any thing that is good be extracted out of them, I had rather expunge these words. Indeed, if these words be razed out, the sense is most plain, thus, ἀλλὰ φασὶν αὐτὸν οὐκ αἴσιον, &c; which I have followed in my Version. The same was done before us, by *Johannes Portesius*, who first rendred *these Books* of Eusebius *concerning the Life of* Constantine *into Latine.* In the *Kings Sheets*, after those words τέλ\Θ δ' ἐχεῖν μακρῷ, at the margin these words are added, βίᾳ σκοπεῖν. The *Fuketian Manuscript* represents this place in the same manner with the Copy of *Moræus* and *Turnebus.* Vales.

The *Greeks* tell us, that *Alexander* [King] of the *Macedonians* vanquished * innumerable Nations: but before he had perfectly arrived at man's estate, he ended his life by an untimely death, and was taken off by † Debauchery and Drunkenness. He finished the whole course of his Life within the space of two and thirty years; [b] not much more than a third part of which years determined the time of his Reign.

* Or, *Infinite sorts of all manner of Nations.*

† Or, *Riotous banquetting.*

[b] Οὐ πλέον. I think it must be ἢ πλέον, *not much more*, which reading *Portesius* has followed. But *Christophorson* rendred it so, as if the reading were ἢ μακρῷ πλέον, *or something more.* 'Tis certain, *Alexander the Great* Reigned twelve years and above, which make up something more than the third part of two and thirty years, if we go to an accurate computation. But Oratours, whose businesses it is to amplifie things, don't usually speak so exactly. Therefore *Eusebius* says well, ὁ πλέον, *not much more.* Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

That he subdued almost the whole World.

BUt Our Emperour began to Reign from that year of his Age, whereon the *Macedonian* ended his life: and he lived twice as long as *Alexander* did; but trebled the length of his Reign. Further, having * cultivated his Army with the mild and modest Precepts of Piety, he march't into *Britannia*, and to those who dwell in the very Ocean which is diffused far and wide [a] at the setting of the Sun. He likewise subdued all *Scythia*, [which lyes] under the North it self, and is divided into innumerable Nations of *Barbarians*, differing both in name and manners. Moreover, having extended his Empire to the utmost confines of the South, to the *Blemmyæ* namely and *Æthiopians*; he look't upon a dominion over them who dwell at the rising Sun, not to be forreign and inconvenient. In fine, [b] having with the brightest rayes of Piety enlightned all mortalls inhabiting within the circumference of the whole Element of the

* Or, *Fortified.*

[a] Τῷ καλαδύοντα ἥλιον. In the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*, 'tis written in two words, πρὸ χθὶ δύοντα ἥλιον, righter without question.

So he expresses himself hereafter, at chap. 41. In the *King's Copy* the reading also is βρεττανῶν, righter than in the common Editions, where 'tis ϐρεταννῶν. Nor is it otherwise in the *Fuketian Manuscript.* But on the contrary, a little after this, where the common Editions make it *Blemmyæ*, the same *Fuketian Manuscript* has it *Blewyæ*; not ill, as I have remarqued at *Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 13. Vales.

[b] Τῶν ϑειοκύκλῳ. It must be written thus; ἅπ κύκλῳ ϑειοίκων τῆ παυλὸς τῆς γῆς στοιχεῖα, τῷ βίῳ, φοβὸς εὐσεϐείας ἀκτῖσιν ἐκλάμπων. *Portesius* referred these words, ἅπ κύκλῳ ϑειοίκων, &c, to the *Indians*: for he has rendred it thus; *Indos extremos usque terræ undique circumjectos.* But I don't suppose this to be *Eusebius's* meaning. For the *Old Geographers* never affirmed that the *Indians* inhabited round the Circuit of the World. The *Spaniards* indeed, in the memory of our Grandfathers, have named a part of the Earth newly known to them and found out, *West-India*: but they did this according to their own arbitrement. Therefore, in this place of our *Eusebius*, I think it must be written ἅπ τε κύκλῳ ϑειοίκων, &c; or rather, no alteration to be made. For the meaning is, that *Constantine* Preached Christ every where to all men, from South to North, and from West to East. *Vales.*

Earth,

Earth, even to the utmoſt bounds of the * Continent, that is, as far as the Outermoſt *Indians*, and the Nations inhabiting round on every ſide; he brought all the *Reguli*, *Ethnarchs*, ° and *Satrapæ* of the Barbarous Nations under a ſubjection to himſelf; all which gave him voluntary and joyfull Salutes, ſent him Embaſſies and ᵈ Preſents, and put an high value upon his knowledge and friendſhip. So that, each perſon within his own Province paid him honour, partly by Pictures, and partly with Statues publickly dedicated to him: and *Conſtantine*, the only perſon of the Emperours, was known and famous over the whole World. Even as far as theſe Nations therefore he Proclaimed his own God by his Imperial Acclamations, with all the freedome and liberty Imaginable.

* Or, *Whole World.*

° Σαλεύπας καὶ Σατράπας. Many faults are made in theſe books by the tranſpoſition of words, as we have formerly ſhown. At this place ſuch a fault occurs. Write therefore, καὶ σατράπας, &c. *Valeſ.*

ᵈ Τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτῶν δώρεις. In the *old Sheets* this place is thus ſupplied at the margin, τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ξενίοις τε καὶ δώρεις, &c, *and ſent him Embaſſies and Preſents and Gifts.* And a little after this, in the *ſame Sheets*, the reading is, παρ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσι κωρταῖσιον γνωελίεδς, Conſtantine *was known amongſt them all.* Valeſ.

CHAP. IX.

That [*he was*] *the Son of a Pious Emperour, and left his Empire to his Sons who were Emperours.*

NOr ᵃ performed he this by words only, and was * diſappointed in the thing it ſelf: but, proceeding on in all manner of Virtue, he † abounded with the various fruits of Piety; || oblieging his Friends with Magnificent Benefactions; Governing by the Laws of Clemency; and making his Empire eaſie and deſirable to all his Subjects. Till at length, after long periods of years, that God whom he worſhipped, Crowned him (when wearied out by various Conflicts and Exerciſes,) with the Divine Rewards of an Immortality, and from a mortall Kingdome tranſlated him to an endleſs life, which he hath treaſured up with himſelf for holy Souls; after * he had raiſed him up † three children, who might ſucceed him in his Empire. In this manner therefore, the || Imperiall Dignity deſcended to him from his Father; and by the Law of Nature is reſerved for his Children, and for their deſcendants; and, like ſome paternall Inheritance, ſhall henceforward be forever propagated and prolonged. And indeed God himſelf, who hath exalted this moſt bleſſed Emperour (as yet * converſant amongſt us,) to divine Honours, and hath adorned his Death with ſingular advantages [proceeding] from himſelf, can only be a fit Writer of his Life; in regard he has ᵇ Recorded his Glorious Actions and Conflicts on Celeſtiall Tables and Monuments.

ᵃ *The Kings Copy* begins a Chapter at theſe words, which we have readily followed. The *Fuketian Manuſcript* alſo, which uſually prefixes the Titles or Contents before each Chapter, begins the Chapter from theſe words. And I found the ſame diviſion in the *old Sheets of the King's Library.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Defrauded.*

† Or, *Was adorned.*

‖ *Enſlaving.*

* *God.*

† Or, *An iſſue of three children.*

‖ Or, *Throne of the Empire.*

* Viz. *In his Sons*; ſee chap. 1.

ᵇ Κατορθωμάτων ἆθλους. The word ἀναπθείς, *recorded*, is wanting, which I found written at the margin of the *Moræan Copy*. But in the *Kings Sheets*, after the word ἆθλους *Conflicts*, theſe words are added in the margin, εἰς μακρὰς ἐγχαράξαν αἰῶνας, *inſcribing them to laſting Ages.* Which words, whether added by conjecture, or taken out of ſome other Copy, ſeem to me in no wiſe to be rejected. The *Fuketian Copy* has the word ἀναπθείς. Valeſ.

CHAP. X.

That this Hiſtory is neceſſary, and advantagious to the Souls and Mindes [*of Men.*]

BUt, though I am convinc't of the difficulty of ſaying any thing * befitting the Bleſſedneſs of ſo great a Perſon, and, that to be ſilent is ſafe and without danger: nevertheleſs [I count it] neceſſary to conſecrate to eternall Memory the Portraicture of a moſt pious [Emperour,] drawn [in the Colours of] words, in imitation of † mortall Paint; to the end I may ª clear my ſelf of the imputation of ſloth and negligence. For, ᵇ I ſhould be aſhamed of my ſelf, ſhould I not confer the utmoſt of my abilities, though they are ſlender and mean, on him who with a tranſcendency of piety honoured God. Further, 'tis my Sentiment, that this work will prove both advantagious to the life of man, and neceſſary to my ſelf alſo; wherein are contained the Actions of a Great-minded Emperour, which are highly acceptable to God the Supream King. For, how can it be otherwiſe than diſgracefull, that the Memory of a *Nero*, and of ſome other Impious and Atheiſticall Tyrants far worſe than he, ſhould not have wanted indefatigable Writers, who have adorned their Subjects, which were ill Actions, with a politeneſs and elegancy of Style, and made them up into voluminous Hiſtories: but, that we ſhould be ſilent, for whom God himſelf hath vouchſafed to procure ſuch an Emperour as no ᶜ Age hath ſeen, and to whom he has allowed a liberty of coming into his preſence, to His knowledge, and converſe?

* Or, *Writhy of.*

† Or, *A mortall Picture.*

ª Ἀφωσιωμένους. In the *Kings, Savilian* and *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis written ἀφοσιωμένους. But this expreſſion ſeems to be a *Solœciſme.* For he ought to have ſaid ἀφοσιωμένος, if he would have ſpoken correctly. In the *old Sheets* the reading is ἀφωσιωμένος and νω is written over it. *Valeſ.*

ᵇ Αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν ἐμαυτόν. The word ἐμαυτὸν ſeems to be tranſpoſed, and muſt be placed lower, in this manner; αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν, εἰ μὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν, &c. *For I ſhould be aſhamed, ſhould I not conſer the utmoſt of mine own abilities*, &c. A little after this, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the reading is, τῷ ὑπερβολῇ εὐλαβείας θεὸν τεπμηκότι, or, if you had rather have it ſo, τῷ δι' ὑπερβολὴν, *on him who with a Tranſcendency*, &c. In the *old Sheets of the Kings Library*, this place is thus ſupplied in the margin, τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐλαβείας Θεοῦ, τεπμηκότι, *on him who hath honoured us all, in reſpect of his Tranſcendency of piety towards God.* Which reading I approve of highly. *Valeſ.*

ᶜ Οὐχ ἱστόρησεν αἰών. In the *Kings Copy* the reading is, οὐχ ἱστόρησε χρόνος, *no time hath ſeen.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XI.

That he will at preſent relate only the Pious Actions of Conſtantine.

ª WHerefore, * 'tis certainly incumbent on us, rather than on any other perſon, to give a full Narrative of all the good things we have heard, to thoſe whoſe minds, by an example of good works, are raiſed to a Love and deſire of God. Now, ᵇ thoſe Authors (who have put into writing the lives of men in no wiſe grave and ſober, and [have Recorded] Affairs wholly unuſefull for the improvement of manners, either out of favour or hatred to ſome perſons, or elſe to make a ſhow of their own Learning;) † with a magnifick furniture of words have, otherwiſe than was fitting,

ª *The King's and Fuketian Manuſcripts*, and the *King's Sheets* begin the *Eleventh chapter* at theſe words. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *If to any other perſons, it certainly belongs to us.*

ᵇ He means thoſe Writers who had Recorded the Affairs of *Nero* and other Tyrants; concerning whom he had ſpoken a little before. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore renders it well, *Nam illi*, &c. *For thoſe*, &c. But, *Porteſius* tranſlates it, *Nam alii quidem*, &c. *For others*, &c; which is inſufferable. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *With a pride of elegancy of words.*

ting, enlarged the Relations of most reproachfull Villanies, and thereby have rendred themselves the Teachers of vile Actions, and such as deserved to be buried in perpetuall oblivion and darkness, to those who by Gods favour and impulse have had no hand in mischief. But, our Style, though it is weak and altogether unfit * for the greatness and significancy of what we are to set forth, seems nevertheless to be polish't and illustrated even by the bare [c] Relation of good Actions. Nor, is the commemoration of Works acceptable to God, unusefull, but it affords a very advantagious * Lesson to those who shall have a mind rightly fitted and prepared. [Not to mention] therefore very many of this Thrice-blessed person's [d] Imperiall Actions, his Battells and Military Engagements, his deeds of Valour, Victories, and Trophies [raised] against his Enemies, and what ever Triumphs he Lead; moreover, the Constitutions made by him, conducive to the utility of every person; the Laws also he composed for the profit and advantage † of his Subjects and the Government; in fine, many other of his Labours and Imperial Conflicts, which are kept in memory by all persons; [all these particulars, I say] I think fit to omit; in regard the Scope and Design of the Work under my hand admonishes me to declare and write those matters only which bear a reference to a Pious and Blessed course of life. Further, whereas even these particulars are almost infinite, out of those matters which have come to my knowledge I will choose such passages only as are most sutable and seasonable, and worthiest of being consigned to the Memory of Posterity, and will give a Narrative of them with all possible brevity. In regard the time it self doth henceforward allow us this Liberty, that we may extoll this Thrice-blessed Emperour with all manner of Commendatory Expressions. For, a power of doing this was not permitted before now, because it has been advised, that [e] we should not pronounce any person blessed before his Death, by reason of the uncertain Turns and Changes of Life. Wherefore, I call God to be my Assistant, and his Celestiall Word to co-operate with, and inspire me: and, [taking my beginning] from this Emperour's tender years, I will enter upon my Relation in this manner.

* Or, *For the greatness of the Emphasis of what*, &c.

[c] Ἐπαγγελία. The other reading, which I found in the *old Sheets*, pleases me better, namely ἀπαγγελία, *Relation*. And so the reading is in the *Fuketian and Savilian Manuscripts*. *Vales.*

* Or, *Reading*.

[d] Βασιλικὰ ἀνυγήματα. In the *old Sheets* 'twas *interlired* στρατηγήματα, *Stratagems*, which I like not. For *Eusebius* does here oppose *Constantine's* βασιλικὰ ἀνυγήματα, *Imperial Actions*, τοῖς θεοφιλέσι ἀνυήμασι, *to his works that were pious and acceptable to God*. And he says, that he does designedly omit his *Imperial Actions*: which he divides into two sorts, namely his warlike ones, and those of peace. But, he proposes to himself to set forth only those Actions of his, which bear a relation to Religion. Further, in the *Kings Sheets*, after those words, *and whatever Triumphs he lead*, these are added in the margin, πάντε κατ' εἰρήνην αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν κοινῶν διορθωσιν, πρός τε συμφέρον, &c. *Moreover, the constitutions made by him, in the times of peace, for the regulation of the publick, and conducive*, &c. which words seem to me to be of good note. *Vales.*

† Or, *Of the Government of his Subjects.*

[e] He means that passage which occurs at *Ecclesiasticus* 11. 28. *Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children.* Vales.

CHAP. XII.

That Constantine, *like* Moses, *was educated in the Houses of Tyrants.*

[a] ANcient History relates, that a Cruell Brood of Tyrants did heretofore oppress the people of the *Hebrews*: but, that God, shewing himself propitious to the oppressed, made provision, that the Prophet *Moses*, who at that time was but an infant, should be educated in the very Houses and Bosomes of the Tyrants, and should be instructed in all the wisdom amongst them. But afterwards, when in process of time he arrived at Man's Estate, and Divine Justice, the usuall Defender of the injured, had taken a resolution to prosecute the Oppressours: then this Prophet of God departed out of the Tyrants Houses, and exhibited himself a Minister of the Divine Will. He † abominated, as well in reality as words, the Tyrants by whom he had been educated: but those, who in very deed were his own Brethren and Relatives, he declared to be his Friends and Familiars. After this, God constituted him the Leader of that whole Nation, and freed the *Hebrews* indeed from that Servitude [they were oppress with] by their Enemies; but by his means was revenged on that Tyrannick Brood, by inflicting on them punishments sent from Heaven. This Ancient Story [I say,] which hath been delivered to many persons under the notion of a Fable, has filled the ears of all Mortalls. But now, the same God, who is also our God, hath granted us a power of viewing with our own eyes such Miracles as far surpass all Fables; which manner of Sight is accounted by those who of late have beheld it, to be truer than all sorts of Report or Hear-say. For the Tyrants in our Age, resolving upon waging a War against the supream God, have sorely oppressed his Church. But *Constantine*, a person that not long after became the Tyrant slayer, whilst he was a child, youthfull, and beautified with the Juvenile Down upon his Chin, was in the midst of them, like that Servant of God [*Moses*,] and made his Residence within the very Houses of the Tyrants. Nevertheless, though very young, he communicated not with the impious in the same Moralls and way of living. For, [b] at that very Age, a good disposition [improved] by the Divine Spirit, incited him to a Life that was pious and highly acceptable to God. Moreover, a studious Emulation of his Father added strength thereto, and invited the Son to an imitation of Virtues and good Actions. For, he had for his Father *Constantius*, (whose Memory 'tis fit we should at this opportunity give a Resurrection to,) the Noblest of the Emperours in our Age. [c] Concerning whom 'tis necessary to relate some passages briefly, which bear a reference to the commendation of his Son.

[a] Ἡ παλαιὰ, &c; the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts* write it without an Article, παλαιὰ κατέχει φήμη, *Ancient History relates*; and so it is in the *old Sheets*: which favours more of *Eusebius's* Style. A little after, I read δεινὰ μὲν ἡμῖν, not δεινά τε ἡμῖν. Sr *Henry Savil* has done well to set this note at the beginning of this chapter, *Hucusque proœmium, Thus far the Preface*. Vales.

† Or, *Estranged himself from.*

[b] *Christophorson* and *Portesius* have rendred these words ἐξ ἐκείνε, as if τῆς τρόπης were to be understood; thus, *from that sort of life*. But my Sentiment is, that ἐξ ἐκείνε has the same import with *jam tum, even then, ab eo Tempore, from that very time*. And so *Musculus* renders it. *Vales.*

[c] Αὖ περὶ. Doubtless it must be written, ἃ περὶ, which has the same import with περὶ ἅ, *concerning whom*. And so the reading is in the *Kings Sheets* and in the *Savilian Manuscript*. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis ἅπερ, which is no ill reading. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning his Father Constantius, *who refused to persecute the* Christians, *in such manner as* Diocletianus, Maximianus, *and* Maxentius *did.*

* Or, *Whilst four persons partook of the Imperial Power over the* Romans. † *Constantius.*

* WHilst the *Roman* Empire was Governed by Four *Augusti*, † He was the only person who embraced a course of Life different from his Colleagues, and entred into a friendship with the supream God. For they, by a Siege as 'twere, ruined the Churches of God, and demolished them to the ground, and utterly destroyed the Oratories to their very foundations. But he kept his hands undefiled and clean from their nefarious impiety, nor would he in any wise render himself like to them. They defiled the Provinces Subject to them with the intestine Murders of men and women who were worshippers of God. He preserved his own mind from being polluted with [a] such detestable wickedness. They, by a confusion of the mischiefs of a [b] detestable Idolatry, in the first place enslaved themselves, and then all their Subjects, in the frauds and errours of most impious *Dæmons*. He being the Authour and Preserver of a most profound Peace * within the Limits of his own Empire, permitted his Subjects to prosecute their Worship and Service to God without any the least trouble or molestation. [Lastly,] they imposed the heaviest sorts of exactions upon all men, and thereby made Life comfortless to them, and far more unpleasant than [any sort of] Death. But *Constantius* was the only person, who rendred his Government inoffensive, calm, and easie to his Subjects, and gave them an assistance from himself in nothing inferiour to a paternall care and sollicitude. Further, because innumerable other Virtues of this person are celebrated amongst all men, I will only commemorate one or two of his brave Actions, from which a conjecture may be made of those that are left unmentioned, and so pass to the proposed scope and design of my Writing.

* Or, *To those Governed by him.*

[a] Ὁ δὲ τῶν μίσους ἀμέμπτων. I think the reading should be, ὁ δὲ τούτων τῶν μύσους. The *Donatists* used almost the very same words, in the *Supplicatory Libell* which they presented to the Emperour *Constantine*: a Copy whereof is recorded by *Optatus*, in *his first book*. *Rogamus te Constantine Imp. quoniam de genere impio es; cujus pater inter Cæteros Imperatores persecutionem non exercuit: & ab hoc scelere immunis est Gallia.* Vales.

[b] Ἐνθέσμους φωνάς. The term θεοσεβεῖς is wanting, or some other such like word. Nor is the conjecture of that Learned man to be omitted, which I found written at the margin of the *Moræan Copy*; to wit, that in his judgment the reading ought to be, διὰ τὰς τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἐνθέσμους φωνάς. But *Turnebus* at the margin of *his Copy* hath mended it ἐνθέσμοις φωναῖς, as hath likewise Sr *Henry Savil*. In the *Kings Sheets*, over the word φωνὰς 'tis mended σφᾶς: which emendation I prefer before the rest. I write thus therefore, καὶ οἱ μὲν συγχώσει κακῶν εἰδωλολατρείας ἐνθέσμοις, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Manuscripts* the reading is ἐνθέσμοις φωναῖς. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

How Constantius *Father* [*to* Constantine] *being reproach't with poverty by* Diocletian, *filled his Treasuries, and afterwards restored the money to* [*the owners thereof*] *who had brought it in.*

WHen a great Report was spread abroad concerning this Emperour, that he was mild and calm, that he was a most excellent personage, that he was a superlative lover of God, and that, by reason of his transcendent clemency and indulgence towards his Subjects, he had hoarded up no money in his Treasuries: that * Emperour who then filled the highest Station in the Empire, sent to him, and blamed his negligence in managing the publick affairs: and he reproach't him with poverty, alleadging this as an argument in confirmation of what he said, that he was possest of nothing laid up in his Treasuries. But *Constantius* entreated those persons who came to him from the Emperour, to stay some little time with him: then he call'd together those men that were possest of the greatest quantity of riches, who lived within all those Provinces under his Empire, and signified to them, that he wanted money, and that this was a fit opportunity wherein every one of them ought voluntarily to give a demonstration of their kindness and benevolence towards their Emperour. When they heard that, [a] as if they had long since made this their desire, that an occasion might be offered them of shewing him their readiness of affection, ['tis said,] that with all imaginable haste and diligence they filled his Treasuries with Gold, Silver, and other Riches; contending earnestly amongst themselves, that in giving they might out-vie one another: and this they performed with countenances full of joy and pleasantness. When this was done, *Constantius* gave order, that those persons sent from the [b] *Senior Augustus* should be Eye-witnesses of his Treasures. Then [c] he commanded them [at their return] to give attestation to what they had seen; [and added,] that at present he had drawn together this Treasure and taken it into his own custody; but, that it had long before been kept for him by the owners of the money, deposited as 'twere with such [d] Guards as are usually appointed to have the custody of Treasure. The Messengers were surprized with the strangeness of this thing: but Report says, that the most Benign Emperour, after their departure, sent for the owners of the money; and having highly commended them for their obedience and good affection towards him, ordered them to take back all their money, and return home. This is one Act of the forementioned Emperour's,

* He means *Diocletian.*

[a] Ὥσπερ ἐν καιρῷ τοῦτο ἐκ μακρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας. *Christophorson* understood not this place; for he has rendred ἐπιθυμίας, *statuentes, resolving.* ἐν καιρῷ θεῖναι has the same import with *vota suscipere, to pray*, or, *desire earnestly.* Which term *Eusebius* uses in another place, as shall be noted hereafter. *Portesius* therefore has rendred this place righter, in this manner: *His auditis, ac si de illâ ipsâ re vota jamdiu suscepissent ut id eveniret, quo se probare possent*, &c. Further, after the word θεοσεβείαν, *readiness of affection*, the verb φασὶν, *it's said*, must be inserted. *Vales.*

[b] Παρ' ἅπαντα βασιλέως. I reade ἅπαντα τὸν μεγάλου βασιλέως, as I found it mended in the Copy of *Moræus*, *Turnebus*, Sr *Henry Savil*, and *Fuketius*. Further, I have rendred μεγάλου βασιλέως *the Senior Augustus*. For so *Diocletian* is called in the *Old Panegyricks* and in *Inscriptions*. Vales.

[c] Τῶν μαρτυρίαν προσέταξε. In the *Kings Sheets* these words are added in the margin; προσέταξεν διακονήσασθαι τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ κατάμεμψαμένων. ὑπιδέντας τὸν λόγον, τὰ μὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῶν μὴ δ' ἐξ ἀδίκου πλεονεξίας εἰσφερόμενα. Which words some Learned man hath added by conjecture, as 'tis sufficiently apparent. I think there is only one word wanting here, παρέχειν, *to give*. I word it thus therefore, εἶτ' ὧν ὅ γε παρέλαβον, παρέχειν τῶν μαρτυρίαν προσέταξε, *Then he commanded*, &c. Which sort of expression is usuall with *Eusebius*. Vales.

[d] Οἷα δ' ὑπασπισὰς ἐθεράπευσε φυλακῇ. At the margin of *Moræus's Copy* 'tis mended thus, οἷον δὴ πιστοῖς. But this emendation is needless. For, amongst the Ancients, money was deposited in Temples, on account of securing it, and there kept by Guards or Watches of Souldiers, as *Juvenal's Old Scholiast* remarks, and *Lipsius* in *his book de Magnitudine Romanâ*. To these Souldiers therefore *Eusebius* alludes. By the term ὑπασπισὰς, the *Palatini* may also be meant here, who guarded the sacred Treasure. In the *Kings Sheets*, 'tis over written in the same hand, ὑπὸ πιστοῖς, *by Faithfull*; which displeases not. In the *Fuketian Manuscripts* 'tis οἷα δὴ πιστοῖς. *Vales.*

which

which gives a demonstration of his Humanity and good Nature. This other Action of his [which followes,] contains an evident Testimony of [c] his piety towards God.

[c] Τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας. Doubtless the reading must be ὁσίας, *piety*, as I found it mended in the margin of *Turnebus's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Persecution [*raised*] *by the other* [*Emperours.*]

BY the Command of the Emperours, the Governours of Provinces in all places persecuted the worshippers of God. And such as were the first of all the pious Martyrs, came out of the very Imperial Pallaces themselves, underwent Conflicts in defence of their Religion, and with all imaginable alacrity endured Fire, Sword, the Depths of the Sea, and all sorts of death whatever. In so much that, within a very short space of time, the [a] Imperial Pallaces in all places were emptied of God's Worshippers. From whence chiefly it came to pass, that the Authours of this wickedness remained deprived of the divine inspection and assistance. For whilst they persecuted the Worshippers of God, by the same means they banished those supplications usually put up for themselves.

[a] Τὰ παντα χῆ βασίλεια. The Adverb παντα χῆ not without reason troubled both the Translatours, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But they ought to have considered, that *Palatium, a Pallace*, is taken in a twofold sense. For, sometimes it imports *the Court of a Prince*. In which sense there were at that time only Four Pallaces, to wit answerable to the number of the Emperours. But sometimes *every House wherein an Emperour does usually dwell, is termed a Pallace.* And in this sense there were very many Pallaces in the *Roman* Empire. For there was scarce a City which had not a Pallace. Such Pallaces, or Imperial Houses, as these, were under the dispose of certain Officers, who were termed *Curæ Palatiorum*; concerning whom there is mention in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. *Eusebius* therefore means these Pallaces. I am of opinion, that the *Publick* or *Royall Villæ* are likewise meant, which the *Cæsariani* look't after. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVI.

How Constantius *Father* [*to* Constantine,] *pretending himself a worshipper of Idolls, turned out those who were willing to offer Sacrifice; but retained within his own Pallace such as chose to profess themselves* Christians.

* Or, *Only into* Constantius *entred a wisedome of thought.*

* ONly *Constantius* entred upon a [a] Prudent and Pious Course. And the thing he performed was wonderfull to be heard, but much more admirable as to its performance. For, having given all the [b] *Palatines* that belonged to his Court, even as far as the Judges that were invested with the supreamest powers,

[a] After this word, in the *King's Sheets*, the term Εὐσεβὴς, *Pious*, is elegantly added in the margin, thus, σοφίᾳ τις εὐσεβὴς ὑπεισῆει λογισμῷ. *Vales.*

[b] Τοῖς γὸ ὑπ' αὐτὸ βασιλικοῖς. I reade ὑπ' αὐτῷ, as 'tis in the *Fuketian*, and in *Moræus's Copy*. That is, *to all the Palatines who bore Office under him, and also to the Judges themselves who were placed in power.* *Power* is a term properly attributed to the *Greater Judges*, of which sort were the *Præfecti Prætorio*. So *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter; and *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 16; where he speaks concerning *Philippus Præfectus Prætorio*. Moreover, in the *Gesta purgationis Cæciliani, Agefilaus Official* to the *Proconsul Ælian* says thus, *Potestas tua*, &c. *Your power*, &c. See what I have remarked above, at book 5. chap. 1. of *Eusch. Eccles. Histor.* note (c.) *Vales.*

a free Liberty of Choice; he proposed this Condition to them, that if they would Sacrifice to *Dæmons*, they might stay at Court with him, and enjoy their usuall Places and Honours; but if they would not do that, they should be excluded from accesse to him, thrust out, and removed from his knowledge and familiarity. After [His Courtiers] therefore had been hereupon divided into two parties, and some had betaken themselves to this, others to that side, and the Sentiment and purpose of every one of them was laid open: then this admirable Prince discovered his own design, which hitherto he had concealed, and condemned their timiditie and self-love: and to these he gave a kind Reception, on account of their Conscience devoted to God: but then he pronounced those, in regard they were betrayers of God, to be unworthy of their Prince's favour. [c] For how [said he] will it be possible they should preserve a fidelity towards their Emperour, who have been detected of perfidiousnes towards God? Wherefore he made an Establishment by a Law, that such persons should be removed far from the Imperial Houses. But he declared openly, that those men who by the Testimony of Truth it self were manifested to be * acceptable to God, would render themselves like-minded towards their Emperour, and therefore he made them the *Protectours of his Body*, and the Guards of his Empire: and affirmed, that such persons as these ought to be made use of and accounted [d] as the chiefest and neerest of friends, and most intimate Relatives; and, that they were far more highly to be esteemed, than hoards of the most valuable Riches and Treasures.

* Or, *Worthy of.*

[c] In the *King's Copy*, at the side of these words, is set such a mark as this, ωρ. we have taken notice of such a mark as this some where before: but, that Letter which is set before the ϱ, is not open on the top here, but closed on all sides. Whence I am rather induced to believe, that this mark is φ and ϱ, and that it signifies φερόπτον, that is, *attend, consider*. For this mark is added at places which have something of difficulty. For instance, the newness of this expression, πῶς γὸ ἂν φυλάξαι, may put the Reader to a stand here, unless he knows that these words, δίωατὸν εἶη, are to be understood. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐν πρώτοις χῆ. In the *King's Copy* the reading is ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀναγκαίοις, &c. *amongst the chiefest and neerest*, &c. Those words χῆναι δεῖν, *ought to be made use of*, are a redundancy of expression frequent with *Eusebius*. For so he has expresst himself in *his books of History*, as I well remember. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the same [Constantius's] *Love and affection towards* Christ.

[a] WHat manner of person the Father of *Constantine* is recorded to have been, we have in short manifested. Now, what a Conclusion of Life befell him, who had demonstrated himself such a person towards God, and how great a difference was shown between him and his Colleagues in the Empire, by that God whom he honoured, any one will easily discern, who with attention shall apply his mind to consider † the thing it self. For, after he had for a long time given illustrious and approved instances of his Royall Virtue, by [avowing] [b] one only supream God, and by condemning * their Impiety who pay a worship to more Gods than one, and had on all sides fortified his

[a] We have made a division of a new chapter here, from the Authority of the *Kings Manuscript*; whereto agrees the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *old Sheets*. Vales.

† Or, *The Nature of affairs.*

[b] Μόνον μὲν θεὸν τὸν ὅλων πάντων ὁμολογῶν, ἀσε-

* Or, *The Polytheisme of the Atheists.*

his own house with the prayers of holy men; [c] he compleated the remainder of his Life without any thing of Trouble or disquietude: being made Master of that [d] Felicity, which, as 'tis said, consists in this, *neither to be molested by others, nor to give others trouble.* After this manner therefore [he rendred] the whole time of his Reign even, undisturbed, and pacate; and consecrated his whole Family, his wife namely, and children, and all his servants, to one God the supream King. In so much that, that Company which conversed together within the walls of his Pallace, differed in nothing from a Church of God. Amongst whom were Ministers of God also, who performed uninterrupted Acts of worship to the Deity, in behalf of the Emperour's safety; [c] when as commonly amongst the rest, not so much as the bare name of those sort of men that were Religious, was permitted to be mentioned.

knowledging, or some such like word is wanting. In the *Kings Sheets*, after these words, μόνον μὲν θεὸν ὁπιγνὺς *confessing*, or, *avowing*, is added in the margin. *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savill* add εἰδὼς *knowing*, after the words ἐπὶ πάντων. But, that reading which I have produced out of the *Kings Sheets*, is better. For the term ὁπιγνὺς is elegantly opposed to that which follows immediately, to wit, καταγνοὺς, *condemning*. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written εἰδὼς. *Vales.*

[c] Τῆς ζωῆς διαπρέψαι. Sr *H. Savil* has noted at the margin of *his Copy*, that perhaps the Verb λέγει *'tis said* is to be added. But, that emendation is far better, which I found written in the *Kings Sheets*, at the margin; it is this, εὐσταλῆ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀτυφέκτον τῆς ζωῆς διεξήνυε βίον, which reading we have expreſt in our Version. The reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is, εὐσταλῆ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀτυφέκτον πᾶν ζωὴν διαπρέψαι. *Vales.*

[d] He alludes to that saying of *Epicurus* concerning God, τὸ μακάριον, ὅτε πράγματα ἔχει αὐτὸ, ὅτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει; as *Nemesius* relates it, chap. 44; *Cicero*, in *his first book de Naturâ Deorum*; and *Laertius*, pag. 795. *Vales.*

[c] Ὅτε ὤφθη τοῖς πολλοῖς. In the *Kings Sheets*, the last word is undermarked with points, and λοιποῖς is written over, which I like better. Further, in the *same Sheets*, before these words, these are added in the margin, καὶ παῦτα ὤφθη μόνῳ τῷδε συνέλειτο, *and these* [*Acts of worship*] *were performed with him only.* They that will, may follow this conjecture of the Learned Antiquary. To me these words seem not necessary. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVIII.

That after the Resignation of Diocletian *and* Maximian, Constantius *was the first* Augustus, *and was adorned with a Numerous Issue.*

FUrther, in recompense of these things, a reward from God attended him not long after; in so much that he obtained the first and chiefest place of the * Empire. For those † *Augusti* who were *His Seniours*, by what means I know not, divested themselves of their Imperial Dignity: which sudden Change befell them [a] on the first year after the * demolishment of the Churches; from whence forward, only *Constantius* was declared the first and † Chiefest *Augustus*. Who at first was adorned with the Diadem of the *Cæsars* [together with * *Galerius*,] and had obtained precedency: but after [he had given] an Egregious † *Specimen* of his own worth in that dignity of *Cæsar*, he was invested with the highest honour amongst the *Romans*, and was styled the *First Augustus* of those [b] Four afterwards proclaimed. Moreover, he was the only person that excelled all the other Emperours in a numerous issue, being surrounded with a great Quire of Children, as well Males as Females. Lastly, after he had attained to a mature old Age, and, being ready to pay * the Common debt of Nature, was at the point of making his departure out of this life: then did God again demonstrate himself to him the performer of wonderfull Works, and by his providence took care, that *Constantine* the eldest of his Sons should be present with him at his Death, in order to his taking possession of the Empire.

* Or. *Imperial power.*
† Viz. *Diocletian*, and *Maximian.*
[a] This place is highly remarkable. For, from it this conclusion may be made, that the Persecution began on *Diocletian*'s eighth, and *Maximian*'s seventh Consulate; and not on the foregoing year, as *Baronius* will have it. Concerning which matter I have spent many words in *my notes on Euseb. Eccles. History*; see book 8. chap. 2. note (*c.*) For, whereas *Eusebius* affirms, that the Emperours *Diocletian* and *Maximian* divested themselves of their purple on the year after the Persecution was begun; and whereas 'tis manifest, that they did that on the year of Christ 304; what I have said does necessarily follow, to wit, that *Diocletian*'s Persecution was begun on the year of *Christ* 303. *Vales.*
* Or, *Siege.*
† Or, *Adorable.*
* See *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History* book 9. chap. 9. note (*i*;) and *the Excerpta of that unknown Author published by Valesius* at the close of his *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 471.
† *Proof*, or, *tryall.*
* Or, *The debt to common Nature.*
[b] Sr *Henry Savil* has noted at the margin of *his Copy*, that these four were, *Galerius Maximianus*, *Severus*, and *Maximinus*, but the fourth *Maxentius*. As to the three former, I assent to Sr *Henry Savil*. But, I do affirm, that the fourth was not *Maxentius*, but *Constantius* himself. For *Maxentius* seized not the Empire, till after *Constantius*'s death. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning his Son Constantine, *who when a young man, came into* Palestine *together with* Diocletian.

FOr he conversed with the Emperours [who were his Father's] Colleagues; and made his Residence amongst them, agreeable to that ancient Prophet of the Lord *Moses*, as we have already said. [a] And having newly past over his years of childhood, and arrived at those of his youth, he was vouchsafed the highest honour and esteem amongst the foresaid Emperours. At which Age of his we Our Selves saw him, when he past through the Province of *Palestine*, in Company with the *Senior Augustus*. At whose right hand he stood, and appeared a most excellent and glorious person to those who were desirous of seeing him, and such a one as even then gave indications of an Imperial height of mind. For, as to the beautifull shape of his body, and his tallness of Stature, there was no other person that might be compared to him. Moreover, he so far excelled his equalls in strength and courage, that he was a terrour to them. But he was far more illustrious and eminent for the Virtues of his mind, than for his bodily endowments and accomplishments. And in the first place he beautified his mind with modesty; after that, with Polite Literature; and as well an innate prudence, as a wisdome infused from above, [b] adorned him in a most transcendent manner.

[a] Ἦδη ἄχει καὶ παιδὸς. I think the reading should be, ἤδη δὲ ἀρτ ἐκ παιδὸς, &c; which we have expreſt in our Version. Indeed, in *Moræus's Copy* the particle δὲ is written at the margin. *Turnebus*, at the margin of his Copy, had mended it, καὶ ἀπὸ παιδὸς. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, ἤδη δ' ἄχει καὶ παιδὸς. *Vales.*
[b] Διαφερόντως ἐκπρέπων. I read ὑπερέπων, *adorned*, as *Eusebius* does usually speak. And so 'tis mended in the *old Sheets*, at the margin. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written thus, ᾧ πασδότῳ σοφίᾳ διαφερόντως ἐμπρέπων. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The departure of Constantine *to his Father, because of* Diocletian's *treacherous designes* [*against him.*]

FUrther, when the then Emperours perceived, that the Young man was Couragious, strong, and Great, and * endewed with an height and vigour of mind, they were wounded with [a] fear and envy. They watch't therefore in expectation of a fit opportunity, wherein, agreeable to their desire, they might involve him in ignominy and disgrace. Which the young man being sensible of, (for the treacherous designes which had been once and twice framed against him, by the consent and appointment of God were discovered;) He opened a way to his own safety by flying; and herein likewise he * imitated the great Prophet *Moses*. Further, God gave him his assistance in all things, and by his Divine providence disposed affairs in such a manner, that he should be present with his Father, [b] in order to his succeeding him [in the Empire.]

* Or, *Filled.*

[a] After these words an *Asterisk* ought to be placed. For there are some words wanting, which *Christophorson* hath not rightly supplied. For the Emperours *Diocletian* and *Galerius* studied not only to disgrace *Constantine*, but to destroy him utterly. See the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, which are published at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*, and what we have remarked there. I was indeed of opinion formerly, that those Greek words which are written at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, were not taken out of any Manuscript Copy, but were made from *Christophorson*'s Latine Version. But after I had procured the *Fuketian Manuscript* I evidently perceived, that those readings were taken out of Manuscript Copies. 'Tis certain, the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this place written in this manner; φθόνῳ καὶ φόβῳ ἐβάλλοντο· ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινα μόνιμα αὐτῷ διελόμενοι ἐφυλάττοντο, καιρὸν ἔυθετον ἀναμένοντες· ὁ δὲ, &c; which reading we have expresst in our Version. So I found it written also in the Copies of *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savil*. But this reading, though confirmed by the authority of Manuscript Copies, nevertheless seems not genuine to me; both for that reason I have produced above, and on account also of the inelegancy of the words. *Vales.*

* Or, *Preserved the imitation of*, &c.

[b] Τῇ τῆ παλεῖς διαθήκῃ. I had rather write διαθήκη, *Will*, or, *Testament*. For *Constantius* made his Will at that very time when his Son *Constantine* came to him, as *Nicephorus* relates book 7. chap. 18. A little before the reading should be παρεῖναι, *present*, not σωεῖναι. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXI.

The Death of Constantius, *who left his Son* Constantine *Emperour.*

WHen therefore he had avoided these * Treacherous contrivances, he made all imaginable hast to his Father, into whose presence he came, after a long space of time. At that instant of his arrivall, his Father was at the very point of dying. When therefore *Constantius* beheld his Son present with him, whom he did not in the least expect, he leapt from his Bed, and cast his arms about him; and affirming that that only Grief which troubled him now ready to conclude his life, to wit, the absence of his Son, was wholly removed out of his mind, he put up a prayer of thanks to God; and said, that now he accounted Death to be better for him than Immortality. Further, when he had disposed of his affairs in a manner agreeable to his own mind, and [a] had taken leave of his Sons and Daughters, who like a Quire surrounded him on every side: He ended his life in his Pallace, lying on his Royall Bed, after he had surrendred the * Administration of his Empire, agreeable to the Law of Nature, into the hands of [b] his eldest Son.

* Or, *Engines of Treachery.*

* Or, *His allotment of the Empire.*

[a] Τοῖς θ' ἅμα καὶ συγκλεισι σωτακτέα μαι. *Christophorson* rendred this place thus, *in medio filiorum & filiarum se statuens, placing himself in the midst of his Sons and Daughters. Portesius* has translated it in this manner, *Simul Liberis ex commentario distribuit Hereditatem, And also distributed his Inheritance to his children out of a Commentary*, or *Book of Notes*. Neither of these translatours have hit the sense of this word. *Eusebius* uses the same term at book 3. chap. 20; at which place we will at large declare what σωτακτὰς means, as also the import of σωτακτικὸς λόγος. Sr *Henry Savil* has expounded this word excellently well at the margin of his Copy, thus, *Valedicens, taking leave*, or, *bidding farewell*. And so *Athanasius* expresses himself in the Life of St *Antonius*, about the end, σωτακτάμενος τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔξω ὄρει μοναχοῖς, *having taken leave of those Monks in the mountain without*. Vales.

[b] Τῷ τῶ ἡλικίαν προέσοντι. I write τῷ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, &c. So *Eusebius* has expresst himself above, at chapter 18, speaking concerning *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, ὁι μὲν γὰ τῷ χείρονι προέσοντες. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXII.

How * *after the Death of* Constantius, *the Army* † *saluted* Constantine Augustus.

* Or, *When* Constantius *had been carried out to Buriall.*

† Or, *Styled.*

NOr did the State continue deprived of an Emperour. But *Constantine* was adorned with his Fathers Purple; and proceeding forth of his Father's * House, gave all men a demonstration, that, by a resurrection as 'twere, the Father continued as yet to Reign in him his Son. Then he lead out his Father's Funerall, accompanied with the Friends of his Father [a], some of whom went before, others followed; and with all the splendour imaginable celebrated the Obsequies of that Pious Prince. All persons honoured the Thrice-blessed Emperour with Acclamations and Praises, and agreed in an unanimous consent, that the succession of the Son in the Empire was a Resurrection of the dead Father. And forthwith, even at the first word, they * Saluted the young Prince Emperour and *Augustus*, with fortunate Acclamations. Which expressions uttered in praise of the Son, were an ornament indeed to the dead Emperour; but they loudly proclaimed the Son Blessed, who was declared the Successour to so great a Father. Moreover, all the Provinces subject to his Empire, were filled with gladness and a joy that was inexpressible, because they had not, during the smallest moment of time, been deprived of the assistance of an Imperiall † Providence and inspection. Thus in the Emperour *Constantius*, God gave a demonstration to all persons of our Age, that such as this is the conclusion of a Pious and Religious life and conversation.

* Or, *Houses.*

[a] After this clause, in the *King's Sheets* these words are added in the margin; ἢ πατέρα πρὸ πομπῆ. δήμων τε πλήθει μυρίων, σεμνῶ τε δορυφορίᾳ, *brought forth his Father; and with an infinite multitude of people, and a Guard of Souldiers.* Which words (though Sr *Henry Savil* and *Christophorson* found them in their Copies, nevertheless) seem to me very little necessary. Yet they occur in the *Fuketian Manuscripts*. Vales.

* Or, *Styled.*

† Or, *Decency.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

A brief Rehearsall of the Death of the Tyrants.

* Or, *Conclusions of life.*

† Or, *a composition of the contrary.*

|| Or, *Experience of the works.*

BUt what the * *Exits* of those other persons were, who by an open War as 'twere made attacks against the Churches of God, I judge in no wise fit to insert into this present Narrative, nor to defile the Memories of the Good by † annexing a mention of the mischievous. Indeed, the || matters themselves are sufficient to repress and keep within the bounds of duty those persons, who by their own eyes and ears have received an account of that [whole Scene of Calamities] which befell each of them.

CHAP. XXIV.

That Constantine *obtained the Empire by the will of God.*

* Or, *By himself.*

[a] Προσαγωγὴν, *accession.* It ought, as I think, to be made προάγωγὴν, that is, *promotion*, or προκοπὴν, *advancement.* And thus *Turnebus* hath mended it at the margin of *his Copy*, as I afterwards found. *Vales.*

IN this manner, the supream God himself, who is the Governour of the whole World, * by his own arbitrement designed and constituted *Constantine*, begotten of such a Father, Prince and Emperour: in so much that, whereas the rest [of the Emperours] obtained this honour by the approbation and votes of others, he was the only person, of whose [a] promotion no Mortall might boast.

CHAP. XXV.

The Victories of Constantine *over the* Barbarians *and* Britanni.

* Or, *For his Father's allotment.*

[a] Ἐπισκοπῶν ἔθνη. So *Eusebius* is wont to term the Provinces of the *Romans*, as might easily be proved from many places. *Eusebius* says therefore, that *Constantine*, as soon as his Empire was settled, took a progress round all those Provinces that had been under the Empire of his Father. Which *Christophorson* understood not. *Vales.*

[b] Ταῦτα κατὰ λόγον ἔκειτο. At this place κατὰ λόγον seems to have the same import with κατὰ νοῦν, *according to his own mind.* Which *Portesius* perceived also. But *Christophorson* has rendred this place, and the whole chapter, very unhappily. *Vales.*

WHen therefore he was firmly setled in the Empire, in the first place he began to make provision * for those parts of the Empire which had been transferred to him from his Father, and with much humanity and tenderness [a] visited all those Provinces that had heretofore been under his Father's Administration. And, having reduced all those barbarous Nations, (whose habitations were about the River *Rhine* and the *Western Ocean*, who had taken the boldness to raise Commotions,) to an obedience to his own Government; from being intractable, he brought them over to a mild and more civilized Temper. But he was satisfied in repressing others, whom like Savage Beasts he frighted from the confines of his Empire; to wit, those whose minds he perceived were incurable, and despaired of bringing them to a peaceable and quiet course of life. When [b] these things had been performed according to his own mind, he set before his eyes the other parts of the world; then he made a [c] Voyage over to the *Brittish Nations*, situate within the Ocean it self. Whom when he had subdued, he lookt towards other parts of the world, that he might apply remedies to those [Nations] who wanted his assistance.

[c] Concerning this Voyage of *Constantine* into *Britaine*, none of the Ancients have written any thing. Therefore, the memory of this matter we owe to *Eusebius* only; who at this place does not obscurely intimate the time also; to wit, a little before *Constantine* undertook his Expedition against *Maxentius*. Wherefore, this Voyage of *Constantine*'s into *Britaine* hapned on *Maximianus*'s *eighth Consulate*, in the year of Christ 311, as *Sigonius* has rightly remarked in *his Second Book de Occidentali Imperio.* But Sr *Henry Savil* thought *Eusebius* was mistaken here: For this is his remark at this place; *Eusebius ignorasse videtur*, &c. Eusebius *seems to have been ignorant, that the Father of* Constantine *dyed at* York *in* Britaine. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How he took a Resolution of freeing Rome [*from the Tyranny*] *of* Maxentius.

* Or, *Element of the world.*

† Or, *Imperial.*

[a] He means *Galerius Maximianus*, and *Maximinus.* For those he terms τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερους, *his seniours in time*, that is, *Senior Emperours.* For although *Maximinus* was scarce declared *Augustus* as yet, nevertheless, because he had been made *Cæsar* some years before *Constantine*, therefore he may be accounted amongst the Emperours that were Seniours to *Constantine.* *Vales.*

[b] Αἰσχρὸν ὑπόμεινεν τέλος. A twofold sense may be brought of these words. For you may either render them with *Portesius* and *Christophorson*, *fœdum rei eventum nacti sunt, had procured a shamefull event of the affair*; or else, as I have translated them, *turpi exitu perierunt, had perished by an ignominious death.* The former has relation to *Galerius Maximianus.* The Latter interpretation is to be understood of *Severus Cæsar*: who being sent by *Galerius* with an Army against *Maxentius*, when he would have made preparations to lay Siege to *Rome*, he was deserted by his own Forces, (whom *Maxentius* had brought off to his own side by the hope of rewards,) and fled to *Ravenna*: in which City he was besieged by *Maxentius*; and being soon imposed upon by the fraud and perjuries of *Maximianus Herculius*, and carried to *Rome* in the habit of a captive, he was quickly after killed; as 'tis related in the *Gesta Constantini.* See the *following chapter*, where *Eusebius* relates this matter more at large. *Vales.*

* * *

CHAP. XXVI.

How he took a Resolution of freeing Rome [*from the Tyranny*] *of* Maxentius.

AFter this he took into his consideration the whole * world, as twere some vast Body; and perceiving that the Head of the whole Earth, the † Chief City of the *Roman* Empire, was oppressed with a Tyrannick servitude; in the first place he gave place to [a] them to free it, who had obtained the other portions of the *Roman* Empire; in regard they were his Seniours in time. Now, when none of them could give it assistance; but those who had resolved upon making tryall, [b] had perished by an ignominious death; he profest his Life would be uncomfortable, if he should neglect the Imperial City when so sorely afflicted, and therefore made preparations to suppress the Tyranny.

CHAP. XXVII.

That [Constantine] *weighing in his mind the deaths of those who had worshipped Idols, chose rather the* [*profession of*] Christianity.

BUt having well considered with himself, that he wanted some better assistance than his Military Forces, because of the evill Arts and Magick Impostures studiously followed by the Tyrant; he sought for a God to be his Assistant; and accounted his furniture of Arms

and Military Companies † as secondary helps only; but [perſwaded himſelf,] that the aſſiſtance of a Deity was invincible and inexpugnable. He began therefore to conſider with himſelf, what God he ſhould take to be his aſſiſtant. Which whilſt he ſollicitouſly inquired into, * theſe thoughts aroſe in his mind: that of thoſe many who had arrived at the Empire before him, they that had placed their hopes in a multitude of Gods, and had worſhipped them [a] with Sacrifices and conſecrated Gifts; at firſt had been deluded by Prophecies made to pleaſe and flatter them, and by Oracles which promiſed them all things that were proſperous and fortunate; but had at length found an unlucky and diſaſtrous end: nor was any of their Gods ready at hand with them, to † free them from that deſtruction inflicted on them by Heaven. That his Father was the only perſon, who had taken a courſe contrary [to thoſe former Emperours;] and had condemned their errour; who throughout his whole life had heretofore worſhipped one ſupream God, whom he had found to be the Saviour and Keeper of his Empire, and the Beſtower of all good. When he had weighed theſe things with himſelf, and well conſidered, that thoſe who had put their confidence in a multitude of Gods, had likewiſe faln into a multitude of deſtructions; in ſo much that, not the leaſt footſtep either of their Stock, * Iſſue, † Kindred, Name, or Memory was left remaining amongſt men: but [on the contrary,] that the God of his Father had given many and thoſe effectuall demonſtrations of his own power to his Father. And when he had further conſidered, that thoſe who before had lead out their forces againſt the Tyrant, becauſe they had made their Expedition with a multitude of Gods, had undergone a diſgracefull end. For the one of them had retreated ignominiouſly with all his Forces, without effecting any thing. And the other was killed in the midſt of his Army, and ſo became [b] a cheap and eaſie ſacrifice of death. Having, I ſay, muſtered up all theſe thoughts within his own mind, and conſidered them well, he judged it the higheſt pitch of † madneſs to trifle about [the worſhip of] thoſe Gods which are nothing, and, after ſo clear a conviction, ſtill to run on in blind errour: but his Sentiment was, that he ought only to worſhip the God of his Father.

† Or, *In the ſecond place.*

* Or, *This thought.*

[a] In the *Kings Sheets* the word λοιβαῖς, *Libations*, is added here. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Give them warning of.*

* Or, *Nature.* † Or, *Root.*

[b] πάρεργον ἐθύσατο θανάτῳ. 'Tis very hard to tell what *Euſebius* means by this expreſſion. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it thus; *Tanquam ſupervacanea mortis acceſſio factus eſt, was made as 'twere the ſuperfluous acceſſion of death.* And *Porteſius*, before him, had rendred it *fati acceſſionem, the acceſſion*, or, *vantage of Fate.* But I underſtand not, why *Severus* ſhoud be ſtiled *the vantage of death*, when he only of all his Army periſhed. I had therefore rather render πάρεργον, *vilem victimam, a cheap and eaſie Sacrifice.* For *vile perſons* are rightly termed θανάτῳ πάρεργον. Alſo, *what ever happens without Labour and amidſt ſport as 'twere*, is rightly termed πάρεργον. So the death of *Severus Cæſar* may rightly be ſtiled πάρεργον, in regard he was taken, and ſlain ſo eaſily, as if he had had no Souldiers about him. And perhaps it ſhould be written πάρεργον ἐθύσατο πολέμῳ. Indeed, *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*'s words (book 1. chap. 3,) are theſe; εἶλε δὲ καὶ τὸν κρατοῦντα ἤδη ὅπλων τὰ αὐτοῦ βάρβαρα φῦλα, πυρέσσοντα τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὸ ἔργον συγκεκροτημένης; where the Tranſlator has rendred it *the Acceſſion of the War*, which I like not. I had rather tranſlate it in *Gelaſius* thus, *his velut belli proludiis ad bellum ipſum uſus, having uſed theſe preludes of war as 'twere in order to the war it ſelf.* So alſo *Euſebius* expreſſes himſelf hereafter at book 2. chap. 52. Further, at this place there is a figure which *Græcians* term ὕστερον πρότερον. For the overthrow of *Severus Cæſar* preceded that ignominious flight of *Galerius*. Valeſ.

† Or, *Folly.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

*That whilſt he was praying to God, He ſhewed him a Viſion; to wit, a Croſs of Light in the * Heavens, (it being then mid-day,) and an Inſcription thereon, which admoniſhed him, that by* That he ſhould Conquer.

* Or, *Heaven.*

HE called upon this God therefore in his prayers, entreating and beſeeching him, that, who ever he was, he would manifeſt himſelf to him, and reach out his right hand [to his aſſiſtance] in his preſent affairs. Whilſt the Emperour was putting up theſe Prayers and earneſt Supplications, a moſt wonderfull ſign ſent from God appeared. Which [ſign,] had any other perſon given a Relation of it, would not eaſily have been [a] received as true. But ſince the † Victorious Emperour himſelf told it to us who write this Hiſtory, a long while after, namely at ſuch time as we were vouchſafed his knowledge and converſe; and confirmed his Relation with an ‖ oath; who will hereafter doubt of giving credit to his Narrative? Eſpecially, when the ſucceeding * Times gave an evident atteſtation to this Relation. [b] About the Meridian hours of the Sun when the day was declining, he ſaid he ſaw with his own eyes the Trophy of the Croſs in the † heavens, placed over the Sun, made up of Light, and an Inſcription annexed to it containing theſe words, BY THIS CONQUER. And, that at the ſight thereof, an amazement ſeized both him, and all his Military Forces, which followed him as he was making a Journey ſome whither, and were ſpectatours of the Miracle.

[a] Ἀποδεικνύμενος, *demonſtrated.* I think the reading ſhould be ἀποδεξάμενος, *received*, or, *admitted as true*; and ſo *Nicephorus* ſeems to have read, book 7. chap. 29. So alſo I found it written in the *King's Sheets*. In the *Fuk.* and *Savilian Manuſcripts*, the reading is ἀποδεξάμενος, *approved*, or, *entertained*. Valeſ.

† Or, *Victor Auguſtus.*

‖ Or, *Oaths.*

* Or, *Time.*

† Or, *Heaven.*

[b] Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἤδη ὥρας ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης. *Nicephorus* (book 7. chap. 29.) has expounded this place thus; περὶ τὸ μεσημβρίαν ὁδεύοντι σωάμα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιᾷ, τὸ ἥλιος πρὸς δυσμὰς κλίνοντος, *For being about noon on the march with his Army about him, the Sun verging towards the Weſt*, &c. So alſo *Porteſius* has rendred *Euſebius*'s words: *Sub meridiem* (ſays he) *inclinante jam die, about noon, the day now declining.* But perhaps the whole clauſe is to be continued in one breath, and the words of *Euſebius* to be conſtrued in this manner, τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ὥρας, *when the day was now verging towards noon.* Which interpretation is favoured by *Zonaras*, who giving an account of this Viſion in the *Geſta of Conſtantine*, ſays it appeared μεσούσης ἡμέρας, *at mid-day.* Indeed, in the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuſcripts*, there is no *Comma* after the word ὥρας, but only after the word ἀποκλινούσης a *Comma* is ſet. And yet in *Socrates*, (book 1. chap. 2.) who wrote out theſe words of *Euſebius*, after the word ὥρας, is ſet a *Comma*. Therefore *Chriſtophorſon* at both places renders it thus *circiter meridiem, die jam in pomeridianum tempus aliquantulum inclinante, about noon, the day now declining ſomewhat towards the afternoon.* Which to me ſeems fooliſh. For ἀποκλίνουσα ἡμέρα cannot be ſaid, but when the day declines towards the evening, that is, after the ninth hour of the day, as *Nicephorus* rightly took it. But how can that agree with the preceding words ἀμφὶ τὰς μεσημβρινὰς, &c? For 'tis the ſame as if you ſhould ſay, *about noon towards the evening.* Some one will perhaps ſay, that by theſe laſt words ἀποκλινούσης ἡμέρας *Euſebius* would mean, that that Viſion was ſhown to *Conſtantine* a little after noon. For the Sun going from the *Meridian Point*, afterwards by degrees verges into the Weſt. But if *Euſebius* thought ſo, what need was there of ſo many words? For he might have expreſt himſelf with more of brevity, thus μεσούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, *it being now mid-day.* Beſides, *Euſebius* has ſaid in the plurall number, ἀμφὶ τὰς μεσημβρινὰς ὥρας, that it might appear, that he meant not the ſixth hour, but that whole ſpace of hours which is aſcribed to noon, to wit from the fifth hour to the ninth. Wherefore, I am induced to be of this opinion, that that Viſion was preſented to *Conſtantine* about the ninth hour of the day, whilſt he was making a journey in company with his Army. And this is plainly confirmed by the following words. For *Euſebius* adds that *Conſtantine* being amazed after the Viſion, whilſt he was muſing of many things within his own mind, night came on. Whence it appears, that that Viſion appeared to *Conſtantine* and his Souldiers

not

not long before night. In the *Eleventh Book of the Hiſtoria Miſcella.* where this paſſage of *Euſebius* is produced, this rendition of it occurs, *circa meridiem, declinante jam ſole, about noon, the Sun now declining.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXIX.

That God's Chriſt appeared to him in his ſleep, and ordered him to make uſe of a Standard *made in the form of a Croſs, in his Wars.*

MOreover, he began to doubt with himſelf, as he ſaid, what the meaning of this Apparition ſhould be. But whilſt he was revolving it in his mind, and very intent in his thoughts upon it, on a ſudden night came on. At which time [as he ſaid,] the Chriſt of God appeared to him when aſleep, with that ſign which had been ſhown him in the Heavens; and ordered him to get a Standard made in imitation of that he had ſeen in the heaven, which he ſhould uſe as a ſalutary defence in his Engagements with his Enemies.

CHAP. XXX.

The making of that Standard *framed in the faſhion of a Croſs.*

AS ſoon as it was day he aroſe, and declared the whole ſecret to his friends. Then he called together the Workers in Gold and pretious Stones, in the midſt of whom he himſelf ſate, and by diſcourſe gave them a deſcription of that * Standard, and ordered them to expreſs its likeneſs in Gold and pretious Stones. Which [Standard] we our ſelves alſo [a] hapned ſometime to have a ſight of.

* Or, *Sign.*

[a] Ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ παρελαβεῖν. The verb σωθεὶς *hapned* is to be added, which I found written at the margin of *Moræus's Copy.* In the *Kings ſheets* this place is ſupplied at the margin in this manner; αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, Θεῷ δὲ τῷ τὸ χάρισμα δόντι, ἀξίωσε, *the Emperour himſelf, God having beſtowed that alſo, vouchſafed* [*us a ſight of it.*] And ſo Sr *Henry Savil* and *Chriſtophorſon* read. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* this place is written thus, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ σωθὲν παρελαβεῖν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c. as above. But, the one of theſe expreſſions is ſuperfluous. For, either the verb σωθὲν muſt be expunged; or elſe thoſe words αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c. muſt be left out. Unleſs you will read as Sr *Henry Savil* did, αὐτὸς γὰρ βασιλεὺς, &c. *For the Emperour himſelf, God having beſtowed that alſo, vouchſafed us a ſight of it.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXI.

A deſcription of the Standard made in faſhion of a Croſs, which the Romans *do now term The* Labarum.

IT was made in this form. A very long Spear overlaid with Gold, [a] had a piece like a Sail-yard laid overthwart it, framed in faſhion of a Croſs. Above, on the very top of the Spear, was fixt a Crown, made up of pretious Stones and Gold. In this Crown was the Symboll of the Salutary Appellation, to wit, two Letters repreſenting the name of Chriſt, [which they] denoted by the firſt Characters, the letter *Rho* being cut thorow in its middle part. Which two letters the Emperour was wont to wear in his Helmet, though [he embraced that uſage] in the times which ſucceeded theſe matters. Further, from the Croſs-piece fixed athwart the Spear, was hung a kind of a * Flag, to wit, a purple cloth, covered with a variety of pretious Stones joyned one with another, which dazled mens eyes with the Rays of their Light; and being [b] interwoven with much Gold, preſented thoſe that viewed it with an inexpreſſible kind of Beauty. This Flag, hung at the Croſs-piece, [c] had a length exactly equall to its breadth. But, the upright Staff of the Spear, [d] from its Loweſt part was extended to a very great length, and in its upper part, under the Trophy of the Croſs, at the very top of the [e] Flag embroidered with a variety of colours, it bore a Golden Picture of the Pious Emperour, as far as his breaſt, and [a repreſentation] likewiſe of his children. This ſalutary Standard the Emperour always made uſe of as a defence againſt the oppoſed Forces of all Enemies whatever; and he gave order, that other Standards made like to this, ſhould be carried at the head of all his Armies.

[a] Κέρας εἶχεν. *Langius, Porteſius,* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred it *Cornu, a Horn*; whereas they ought to have tranſlated it *antennam,* i. e. *a croſs piece like that whereto a Sail is fixed,* or, *the Sailyard.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Sail.*

[b] Καδυφασμῷ χρυσῷ. Sr *Henry Savil* in his Copy has mended it καδυφασμῷον *interwoven.* Indeed, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* I found it written καδυφασμένον; and a little after, the ſame Copy and *Turnebus* read παρεῖχε, not παρέχον. Valeſ.

[c] Σύμμετρον μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους. By theſe words *Euſebius* ſhews, that that *Flag* or *Sail* was ſquare. For an equall meaſure of length and breadth, does neceſſarily make a ſquare figure. Indeed, in the *old Coyns* of *Conſtantine* and the following Princes, this Flag is to be ſeen in that figure I have mentioned. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore has rendred this place ill, in this manner, *Iſtud igitur velamen ad cornu affixum, longitudinis latitudiniſque crucis menſuram penitus exæquavit.* Valeſ.

[d] The meaning is, that that Spear from its *baſis* to the *Antenna,* or *Croſs-piece* fixed athwart it, was far longer, than from the *Antenna* to its very top. And this alſo may be diſcerned in the Coyns. This place may likewiſe have another meaning, *viz.* that that Spear was of a very great length from its bottome to the top. Valeſ.

[e] Τῷ διαγεγραμμένῳ ὑφάσματι. It muſt be written τῷ διαγεγραφότι, that is, *Painted* or *Embroidered with a variety of colours.* For, that purple Flag which hung at the *Antenna,* was adorned with Gold and various ſorts of Stones. But, I can't imagine what *Chriſtophorſon* meant, who has rendred theſe words of *Euſebius* in this manner, *ad texturæ diſcurrentis ſimbrias:* unleſs he read διαγεγραμμένον instead of διαγεγραφότι. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXII.

That Conſtantine *becoming a* Catechumen, *read the Sacred Scriptures.*

BUt theſe things [were done] a little afterwards. But being then amazed at that wonderfull Viſion, after he had taken a reſolution of worſhipping [a] no other God but him whom he had ſeen, he ſent for [b] thoſe perſons that were skilled in the Myſteries of His Doctrine; and enquired of them what that God was, and * what the Viſion of that Sign meant.

[a] Οὐδέτερον. It muſt be written two words, οὐδὲ ἕτερον, or οὐδένα ἕτερον, *no other.* Sr *Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it οὐδ' ἕτερον θεὸν: the *Fuketian Manuſcript* has it οὐδέτερον θεὸν. Valeſ.

[b] Τοὺς περὶ αὐτῷ λόγων μύστας. At this place *Euſebius* ſeems to have made uſe of μύστας inſtead of μυσταγωγοὺς. For there is no doubt but he means the Biſhops: becauſe a little after he adds theſe words, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς τῷ Θεῷ ἱερέας παρέδρους αὐτῷ πεποιημένος, &c. *and having made thoſe Prelates of God his Aſſeſſours,* &c. Valeſ.

* Or, *What was the meaning of that Sign of the Viſion which appeared.*

They affirmed that he was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: but that that ſign which had been ſhown him, was the Symboll of immortality, and the Trophy of that Victory, which he, when heretofore converſant on the earth, had obtained over death. They likewiſe taught him the cauſes of his Advent, and expounded to him the accurate account of his [c] Incarnation. He gave them attention, being deſirous of information in thoſe matters. But he was taken up with an admiration of that appearance of God which had been exhibited to his ſight. And when he had compared that Celeſtial Viſion with the interpretation given of it by the diſcourſes of the Biſhops, he was ſtrengthened in mind; and became fully perſwaded, that the knowledge of theſe matters was delivered to him by the miniſtration of God himſelf. From thence forward he reſolved to apply himſelf to the reading of the Divine Books; and having made thoſe Prelates of God his Aſſeſſours, was of opinion, that that God whom he had ſeen, was to be worſhipped with all imaginable obſervancy. After this, being fortified with good hopes placed in Him, he undertook to extinguiſh *the fire of Tyrannick fury.

* Or, *The Menace of Tyrannick fire.*

[c] Τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπους οἰκονομίας. What the import of οἰκονομία is in the writings of the holy Fathers, we have ſufficiently noted at *book* 1. *chap.* 1. *of Euſebius's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.* For, whatever Chriſt as man performed in the fleſh, in order to the ſalvation of men, that is comprehended in the term οἰκονομία. Therefore *Chriſtophorſon*'s rendition of this place is not good, who has turned it thus, *Chriſti inter homines œconomiam, the œconomie of Chriſt amongſt men.* Nor does κατ' ἀνθρώπους ſignifie *amongſt men*, but rather *agreeable to men*, that is, *in an humane manner and faſhion.* So *Gregorius Nyſſenus in his Epiſtle to* Euſtathia *and* Ambroſia; ἀλλ' εἰ ὡσαύτως ἔχων, καὶ περὶ τῆς κατ' ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ μὴ τοῦτο. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the adulteries committed by Maxentius *at* Rome.

FOr he who by Tyranny had poſſeſt himſelf of the Imperial City, was arrived at that height of impiety and wickedneſs, that no audacious fact, no filthy and impure practiſes were omitted by him. [a] For he parted the Wives, from their Husbands, to whom they had been legally married; and having debauch't them, in a moſt diſhonourable manner ſent them back to their Husbands. Nor did he in this wiſe inſult over and abuſe obſcure perſons, and thoſe of mean quality, but even ſuch as filled the eminenteſt places in the *Roman* Senate. But although he vitiated almoſt infinite numbers of free women in a moſt ſhamefull manner, yet could he in no wiſe ſatiate the immoderate and intemperate [Luſt of] his own mind. But, after he began [to ſollicite] *Chriſtian* women, [b] He could by no arts of his own bring it about, [that he might enjoy their Embraces.]

[a] Διαζευγνύς γέ τοι ἀφ' ἀνδρῶν. The place is imperfect, as 'tis evident; with *Chriſtophorſon* we have perfected it from the *fourteenth chapter of the eighth Book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory.* In the *Kings Sheets*, this place is ſupplied at the margin in this manner; τὰς κατὰ νόμον γαμετὰς, αὐτοῖς ἐνυβρίζων διαχειρότατος, &c. In the *Fukeſian Manuſcript* 'tis written thus, διαζεύγνυς γέ τοι ἀφ' ἀνδρῶν τὰς γαμετὰς, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, &c. *Moreover, having parted Wives from their Husbands, he ſent them back to their Husbands.* Valeſ.

[b] Καὶ ἐκεῖθ' ὅτου τε ἦν. The firſt word muſt be expunged. But the following words are maimed and corrupted, which 'tis hard to make good without the aſſiſtance of the Manuſcript Copies. Yet it may be read in this manner, ἐκεῖθ' ὅτου τε ἦν ἐυπρεπείαν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπεργάσασθαι, *he was unable to find out a ſatiety or ſatisfaction for his own Luſts.* A little after this, the reading in the *Fukeſian and Sr Henry Savils Copy* is, Πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν, &c. *For they choſe ſooner*, &c. Valeſ.

For they choſe ſooner to expoſe their lives [c] to death, than ſuffer their Bodies to be vitiated by him.

[c] Τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. It muſt, as I think, be written θανάτῳ, *to death.* For ſo *our Euſebius* expreſſes himſelf in book 8, chap. 14; where he treats concerning the wickedneſſes of *Maximinus*; αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ φθορᾷ ἑλκόμεναι, πρῶτον τῷ ψυχῷ θανάτῳ, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδιδῶσιν, *others, haled away to be raviſhed, were more ready to part with their lives, than yield up their bodies to be defiled.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How the Præfect's *Wife, that ſhe might preſerve her chaſtity, laid violent hands on her ſelfe.*

ONe of theſe women, wife to a perſonage of the *Senatorian Order* in that City, who bore the *Præfecture*, when ſhe underſtood that thoſe [Guards,] which the Tyrant made uſe of as his Miniſters in ſuch wickedneſſes, were ſtanding before her houſe, (this woman was a *Chriſtian*;) and knew, that her Husband, out of fear, had given them order to take her, and carry her away [to the Tyrant;] having requeſted that a ſhort ſpace of time might be allowed her, wherein ſhe might adorn her body in her uſuall dreſs, ſhe went in to her Chamber. And being left alone, ſhe ſheathed a Sword in her own Breaſt. And expiring immediately hereupon, ſhe left her dead Body indeed to thoſe that came to conduct her [to the Tyrant.] But, by this act of her's, which reſounds far more than any voice, ſhe has manifeſted to all men that now are and ſhall be in future Ages, that Chaſtity [a Virtue] ſo famous amongſt *Chriſtians*, is the only thing that is invincible, and which cannot be deſtroyed. Thus this woman behaved her ſelf.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Slaughter of the People of Rome *by* Maxentius.

ALL perſons therefore, both the Commonalty and the Magiſtracy, as well the Honourable as the Obſcure, ſtood in great fear of him, [when they beheld] him audaciouſly perpetrating ſuch impieties as theſe; and were ſorely afflicted with his intollerable Tyranny. And although they were quiet, and patiently bore the auſtere ſervitude [they were oppreſt with;] yet none could ſo avoid the Bloudy Cruelty of the Tyrant. For, one time, upon a very trivial pretence, he expoſed the people of *Rome* to the ſlaughter of his own Guards. And ſo, innumerable multitudes of the *Roman* people (not *Scythians*, nor *Barbarians*, but his own Citizens,) were killed with Spears and all manner of Weapons, in the midſt of the City. Moreover, 'tis impoſſible to enumerate how many ſlaughters were committed of thoſe that were Senatours, to the end a ſeizure might be made of each perſons Eſtate; infinite numbers of them being put to death at ſeverall times, for various Crimes framed [againſt them.]

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Maxentius's Magick Arts *against* Constantine; *and the scarcity of Provisions at* Rome.

AT length, as the Complement of his impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [exercise] the delusions of *Magick Art:* sometimes ripping up women great with child; otherwhiles searching into the Bowells of new-born infants: He also † killed Lyons, and performed some other Horrid Rites, to call forth the *Dæmons*, and repell the approaching War. For he hoped, that by these performances he should obtain Victory. Whilst he Tyrannized therefore in this manner at *Rome*, 'tis impossible to relate what mischievous facts he perpetrated, and [how miserably] he enslaved his Subjects: in so much that, they were reduced to such extream penury and want of necessary sustenance, * as ('tis recorded by those of our times,) never hapned at *Rome*, nor any where else.

† Or, *Sacrificed.*

* Or, *As those of our age do record never to have hapned at* Rome, *or any where else.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

The overthrow of Maxentius's *Armies in* Italy.

BUt *Constantine*, moved with compassion at all these [calamities of the *Romans*,] furnished himself with all manner of military provisions against the Tyranny. And when he had procured the supream God to be his Patron, and invoaked His [Son] Christ to be his Saviour and Assistant; and had set up the Victorious Trophy, to wit, the salutary Standard, before his Souldiers and Guards, he began his march with his whole Army, that by his intervention he might restore to the *Romans* the Liberties they had received from their Ancestours. Now *Maxentius*, confiding more in his Magick * Impostures, than in the Love and Affection of his Subjects, durst not so much as stir out of the City Gates; but with a multitude of Souldiers, and with innumerable Bodies of men laid in Ambushes, had fortified every place, Region, and City, which were under the pressures of his Tyranny. But the Emperour [*Constantine*] depended upon Divine assistance, and having attacked the Tyrant's first, second, and third Body, and with ease routed them all at the very first charge, he opened himself a passage into the greatest part of the Country of *Italy*.

* Or, *Devices.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Maxentius's *Death on the Bridge of the River* Tiber.

AND he had now made his approaches very near to *Rome* it self. But least he should be constrained to assault all the *Romans* for the Tyrant's sake only, God himself drew the Tyrant (as it were with Cords) a great way out of the Gates: and effectually confirmed the truth of those Miracles ([a] Recorded in the everlasting Monuments of the Sacred Scriptures, which though they are accounted fabulous by many persons, and are not credited, are nevertheless believed by the Faithfull;) he had wrought in times past against the wicked, to all in generall, Believers as well as Infidells, who with their own eyes saw this Miracle we are about to relate. For, as heretofore in the days of *Moses* and the old religious Nation of the *Jews*, God cast the Chariots of *Pharaoh* and his Army into the Sea, and drowned his Chosen Captaines in the Red-Sea: after the same manner *Maxentius* with the Souldiers and Guards that were about him, were cast into the deep like a stone; at such time as, having been put to flight by that Divine power which gave assistance to *Constantine*'s Arms, he would have past the River that was in the way before him. Over which he having laid a Bridge of boats well fastned together, had thereby framed an Engin of destruction against himself, being in hopes that the [Emperour] beloved by God might have been caught in this snare: but the God whom he worshipped was present with, and gave him his assistance. But the wretched *Maxentius*, [b] deprived of his aid, framed these secret machines against himself. On which account these words may be pertinently spoken of him; wherefore, * *He he hath graven and digged up a pit, and is fallen himself into the destruction that he hath made. His travell shall come upon his own head, and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.* Thus therefore, by God's assent, the Machines framed upon the Bridge of Boats, and the *Ambuscade* placed in them [being disjoyned] at a time in no wise expected, the passage began to sink, and the Boats together with the men in them descended on a sudden to the bottom [of the River.] And in the first place the Wretch Himself, then the *Protectors* and Guards that were about him, as the Divine Oracles have predicted, sank down like Lead into the deep waters. So that [*Constantine*'s Souldiers] who by Divine assistance then obtained the Victory, in such sort as the *Israelites* heretofore did who were lead by that eminent servant of the Lord *Moses*, might deservedly have sung and repeated (though not in words exactly the same, yet in reality) [some of] those expressions which they heretofore did against that impious Tyrant [*Pharaoh*,] in this manner: * *We will sing unto the Lord, for he hath been magnificently glorified. The Horse and his Rider hath he thrown into the Sea.* [My] *helper and defender is become my salvation.* And again, *who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods? Thou hast been glorified in the Saints, admirable in glories, doing wonders.*

[a] In *Robert Stephens's Edition* there was a whole line wanting here, which we have supplied from the *Fuketian*, *Savilian*, and *Turnebian Copies*. But 'twas easie to have made up this defect, without Manuscript Copies, from book 9. chap. 9. of *Eusebius's Eccles. History*. Vales.

[b] Ὁ δὲ ἀνὸ. In *Morau*'s Copy the last word is expunged, as superfluous. But I am afraid that some words are wanting here. Sr *Henry Savil*, at the margin of his Copy, notes that 'tis to be made good thus, τῆς τότε βοηθείας *of his aid*, or some such like expression. In the Copy of *Hadrian Turnebus* 'tis mended in this manner, ὁ δὲ ἄτης, *But that madman*; but this emendation is written in a more modern hand, to wit, the hand of *Odo Turnebus*: For *Hadrianus* had expunged the word ἀνὸ as superfluous. *Vales.*

* Psal. 7. 15, 17.

* Exod. 15. 1, 2, 11.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Constantine's *Entry into* Rome.

AFter *Constantine*, who at that time imitated that Great servant of God *Moses*, had in reality sung these and other such like Hymns as these, in praise of God the Governour of all things, and the Authour of Victory; he made his entry into the Imperial City in Triumph. And immediately all persons, as well those of the *Senatorian* as them of the *Equestrian Order* in that City, being freed from the confinement of a Prison as 'twere, together with the whole *Roman* Populace, received him with a joy in their * Countenances that proceeded from their very Souls, with acclamations and a gladness insatiable. And the men, together with the women, children, and infinite numbers of servants, stiled him a Redeemer, a Saviour, and a Benefactour, with Voices that could not be silenced. But he, possest of a piety towards God naturally implanted in him, was neither swelled with pride at these Shouts, nor elevated at these commendations. But being sensible of that assistance which God had given him, he forthwith rendred a Thanksgiving to the Authour of his Victory.

* Or, *Eyes.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning the Statue of Constantine *which held a Cross; and concerning its Inscription.*

[a] AND with a Loud Voice and by Inscriptions He made known to all men the Salutary Standard; by erecting this Great Trophy against his Enemies in the midst of the Imperial City, [b] and by plainly Engraving this Salutary Standard, which is the preservative of the *Roman* Government and of the Empire of the whole world, with indelible Characters. He issued out therefore an immediate order, that an high Spear made in the form of a Cross, should be placed under the hand of his own likeness expresst in a Statue set up in the most publick and frequented place of the City *Rome*, and that this very inscription in the Latine Tongue should be cut upon it: [thus Englished;]

BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN WHICH IS THE ‖ COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT. AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANCIENT SPLENDOUR AND DIGNITY.

[a] Γραφῇ τε μεγάλῃ, *with a great Picture.* In *Eusebius's Panegyrick on Constantine's Tricennalia*, the reading is φωνῇ τε μεγάλῃ *and with a Loud Voice*; which in my judgment is to be preferred. Further, at these words I began a new chapter, following the Authority of the King's and *Fuketian Manuscripts*; to which agree the *old Sheets*. Valesius.

[b] Διαῤῥήδην δὲ. The reading is truer in the *Panegyrick*, διαῤῥήδην τε, *and by plainly Engraving*, &c. A little after this, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts* add a word in this manner, φυλακτήριον ἀποδέδειχεν, *which he hath demonstrated to be the preservative*, &c. Valesius.

‖ Or, *True Cognizance of Valour.*

CHAP. XLI.

The rejoycings over the Provinces, and Constantine's *Acts of Grace.*

THE Pious Emperour having in this manner adorned himself with the Confession of the Victorious Cross, with all imaginable freedom of Speech made known the Son of God to the *Romans*. And all persons inhabiting the City, as well the Senate as the people, in regard they had been eased of a bitter and Tyrannick Government, seemed in their own judgments to enjoy purer Rays of light, and to * enter upon a certain new life as 'twere. All those nations also which are bounded with the Western Ocean, freed from those mischiefs wherewith they had been before oppressed, celebrated Festivalls with the greatest cheerfullness, and continued to applaud [*Constantine*, and give him the Titles of] *Victour*, *Pious*, and *The Common Benefactour*. And with one voice and one mouth, all persons acknowledged he was a Common Good * bestowed on men by God's favour and benignity. Moreover, the Emperour's ‖ Letters were fixt up in all places, which allowed an enjoyment of their own Estates to those who had had their Goods taken from them, and recalled to their own Houses such as had undergone an unjust Exile. And those persons were freed from Bonds, all manner of danger, and fear; who by a Tyrannick Cruelty had layn under these sufferings.

* Or, *Partake of a Regeneration of a fresh and new life.*

* Or, *Shown to.*

‖ Or, *Edict was.*

CHAP. XLII.

The Honours conferred on the Bishops, and the Building of the Churches.

MOreover, the Emperour personally invited God's Ministers to himself, and vouchsafed them the highest [a] Veneration and Honour; to whom he gave a kind and courteous Reception, as well by deeds as words, in regard they were persons consecrated to his God. There were admitted therefore to his own Table, men who as to their outward [b] Garb indeed and Dress seemed despicable, but they were not accounted such by him: For he was not for viewing the outside of a man, which is visible to the eyes, [c] but was pleased to look upon God himself.

[a] Θεραπείας ὡς διὰ πολλῶν. I think it must be made, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς, *Veneration and honour.* Turnebus in the margin of his *Copy* had mended it, θεραπείας καὶ τιμῆς, &c; and so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. In the *Kings Sheets* the adverb ὡς is blotted out, and in its place αὐτοὺς *them* is written above. *Valesius.*

[b] Τῇ τοῦ σχήματος ὀφθῆναι πολυτελείᾳ. At this place σχῆμα signifies not the *countenance* and *form*, as *Christophorson* thought, but the *Garb* and *Dress*. Wherefore I have expresst both in my Rendition; which I afterwards found had been done by *Portesius* also. The Garb and Dress of Prelates was at that time very mean, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests in his 27th Book, where he speaks concerning *Damasus* and *Ursinus*. *Gregory Nazianzen* also, in the *Funerall Oration he wrote concerning the praises of Basilius*, says that he, whilst he was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, was clad in a mean Cloak, which he terms ῥάκος. *Valesius.*

[c] Τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει. In the *Kings Sheets* this place is supplied in the margin, in this manner, τὸν δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῳ πιῶνον ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει θεὸν, *but was pleased to behold God honoured in each person.* But the reading is shorter in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts* thus, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει αὐτὸν, *but was pleased*, or, *thought good to look upon God himself.* Valesius.

And

And these persons he carried along with him, which way so ever he made a journey; being fully perswaded, that that God whom they worshipped, would [d] for this very reason be propitious to him. Moreover, he gave very * large and plentifull † Benefactions to the Churches of God out of his own Treasury; partly enlarging the Oratories, and raising them to an height; and partly adorning the august || *Sacraria* of the Churches with many consecrated Gifts.

[d] Κὰν τούτῳ. I had rather write κ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ, that is, *for this Reason.* Valesius.

* Or, *Rich.*

† Or, *Assistances.*

|| Or, *Chappells*, or, *Vestries of the Church.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Constantine's *Beneficence towards the Poor.*

[a] In the *King's* and *Fuketian* M. SS. and in the *old Sheets*, the Chapter begins at these words. *Valesius.*

[a] HE likewise made various distributions of money to the indigent. Besides, he shewed himself humane and beneficent even to [b] Extraneous persons who made their addresses to him. And to those Wretches and Abjects, who beg'd in the *Forum*, he [gave] not only money, and necessary food; but provided them decent garments also to cover their Bodies. But, on those, who had heretofore lived well, and by a change of * Fortune had afterwards faln into great Calamities, he bestowed larger and more plentifull allowances. And with a mind truly Royall, conferred on such persons as these, magnificent Benefactions; to some of whom he gave possessions of Lands; and honoured others of them with various dignities. He took a care, nothing inferior to that of a Father, of those fal'n into the calamities of † *Orphancy*: and relieved the destitute and forlorn condition of widdows, by cherishing them with his own patronage and protection. Moreover, he match't young Virgins made Orphans by the loss of their Parents, to rich men and such as were known to himself. And this he did, when he had before hand bestowed on the Virgins [c] marrying, whatever it was fitting they should bring to such persons as took them to wife. [In fine,] [d] as the Sun, when it rises upon the earth, does liberally impart the Rayes of its Light to all men: in the very same manner *Constantine*, going out of his Imperial Pallace early in the morning, || and rising as 'twere together with that celestiall Luminary, imparted the Rayes of Light of his own [e] Beneficence to all those who approacht his presence. Nor did ever any person come near to him, who gained not something of good: neither were they ever frustrated of their good hope, who had expected to receive assistance from him.

[b] Καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν. He means *the Heathens*, who were ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας *without the Church.* And this is confirmed from the following Chapter, where his words are these; Κοινῶς μὲν ἦν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμῖν τοιοῦτος. ἐξαίρετον δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, *such was his behaviour towards all persons in generall. But his*, &c. The like expression we meet with in Book 2, at the close of the 21, and beginning of the 22 chapters. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Life.*

† Or, *Wanting Father and Mother.*

[c] Τὰς γαμουμένους. *Christophorson* renders it ill, *nuptas*, *married*: for, not those that are *married*, but them who are *marrying* bring a Portion to their Husbands. The same *Christophorson* has committed the like mistake, in rendring the word τελευτῶντας *dead*, as we have noted at *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 10. chap. 8. note (c.) *Valesius.*

|| Ὥσανεὶ σωματοειδῶν τῷ κατ' ἐφοδὸν φωτὶ; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *ac cum cælesti soli subare quodammodo exoriens, and rising in a manner with a celestial beam of the Sun.*

[d] In the *King's Manuscript*, at the side of these words, this mark is set, ὡρ. which mark seems to me to denote, ὡραῖον λόγον seu τόπον, *an elegant expression*, or, *place.* Valesius.

[e] Καλοκαγαθίας. *Eusebius* uses this term to signifie *benignity* or *beneficence.* So he has also used this word in the *tenth book of his Hist.* Valesius.

CHAP. XLIV.

How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

SUch was his behaviour towards all persons in generall. But his care of the Church of God was signal and eminent: [For] when some persons in several Provinces differed one with another; like some Common Bishop constituted by God, he convened Synods of God's Ministers: Nor disdained he to be present and sit with them in the midst of their Congress; but made himself an Associate in reference to the matters inquired into, and ministred to all persons those things which have relation to the peace of God. Further, he sate in the midst of them, as one amongst many; and would send off his *Protectours*, his Armed men, and all the Guards of his Body; but he was covered with the fear of God, and surrounded with the dearest affection of his [a] Faithfull friends. And when he perceived any persons inclinable to acquiesce in an opinion that was sounder and better, and disposed to a quiet and agreeing temper of mind; he approved highly of such men, and shewed himself extraordinarily pleased at the unanimous consent of all. But he had an aversion for those that were opinionative and not to be perswaded.

[a] Πιστῶν ἑταίρων. At this place *Eusebius* does not term them faithfull, who were true-hearted and well-affected towards the Emperour, as the Translatours thought: but he styles the *Christians* so. For *Constantine*, in regard he was a most Religious Emperour, when ever he was present at the Councills of Bishops, was wont to send off all his Guards, and took with him only those of his Courtiers, who had been instructed in the mysteries of the *Christian* Faith. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XLV.

In what manner he bore with the * *Madmen.*

* That is, The *Donatists.*

MOreover, he patiently bore with some persons who were exasperated [a] against him; commanding such men in expressions that were sedate and mild, to behave themselves with prudence and modesty, and not to raise Seditions. Some of these people, revering his admonitions, desisted [from being obstinate and perverse.] But he let alone others of them, who were incurable in reference to their being brought to a soundness of mind, and committed them to God; having at no time designed any thing of severity against any one of them. Hence it hapned, (as 'tis probable,) that [b] those who had raised a Sedition in the Region of the *Africans*, proceeded to such an height of wickedness, that they attempted some audacious facts; [c] the Devill (as 'tis likely,) envying that plenty of the present blessings, and inciting those men to absurd practises, that he might incense the mind of the Emperour against them.

[a] Κατ' αὐτοῦ τεχνωμένους, *exasperated against them.* Doubtless it must be written κατ' αὐτῶν *against him*, as the reading is in the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*: which emendation I found written also in *Moræus's Copy.* In the *old Sheets* likewise 'tis mended in the same hand. *Valesius.*

[b] He means the *Donatists*, of whose boldness and insolence many passages occur in *Optatus* and *Augustinus.* Concerning the beginning and progress of which Schism throughout *Africa*, we have made many remarks not taken notice of by others, and have designedly placed them *at the close of these notes.* Valesius. See *Valesius's notes on Eusebius, pag.* 289, &c.

[c] In the *Kings Sheets*, this place is thus supplied in the margin, πονηρὸς πρὸς ὡς ἔοικε δαίμων, *some wicked devil (as 'tis likely;)* which is more elegant. *Valesius.*

But he reapt no advantage by his envy; in regard the Emperour accounted what was done to be [d] ridiculous, and affirmed that he acknowledged it the incitation of the Devil. For [he said] that those were not the actions of sober persons, but of such as were either altogether mad men, or stimulated by the wickedest of Devils: which sort of people ought to be pitied, rather than punish't. [For it would not be such an height of justice to be incited] [e] against the fury of mad men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their condition.

[d] *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by the *Donatists* in *Africa*, were such, as not to deserve laughter, but animadversion rather. For, both the sanctity of Religion, and the authority likewise of the Emperour himself, were most insolently trampled on by those persons. But perhaps *Eusebius* at this place meant only those matters which had a reference to the contempt of the Imperial Majesty. For *Constantine* could dissemble those things, and might think them worthy of laughter, rather than trouble of mind. But he was resolved most severely to revenge what those *Donatists* did against God and the observancy of the Catholick Law, and on that design determined to pass over into *Africk*, as he himself writes in *his Letter* to *Celsus Vicar* of *Africa*. Vales.

[e] Περὶς τῆς ΔΔ ἀφεγνόντων. Before these words is to be set an *Asterisk*. For some words are wanting, which in my judgment may be supplied in this manner: ἃ γὰρ τοσοῦτον δικαιοσύνης ὑπερβολὴ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐρεθίζεσθαι περὶς τῆς ΔΔ, &c. which we have expreſt in our Version. *Chriſtophorſon* and S^r *Henry Savil* made good this place otherwiſe. In the *Kings Sheets* this place is thus made up in the margin; αὐτὸν δὲ κατ' μηδένα τρόπον ζημιῶσαι περὶς τῆς ΔΔ ἀφεγνόντων μανίας. *But, that he would in no wiſe inflict puniſhment on the fury of mad-men.* But the words immediately following do reject this conjecture, In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* this place is written thus; ὅσον γὰρ τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβολὴ φιλανθρωπίας τοσοῦτο τὸ κολάζειν, ἀνδρῶν ἀφεγνόντων ἀνοίας ἂν εἴη, καὶ ὑ φρενούντων ὀρθῶς. The ſame alſo is the reading in *Turnebus's*, and S^r *Henry Savils Copy*. But this reading ſeems to me to have iſſued from the conjecture of the Tranſcriber. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLVI.

His Victories over the Barbarians.

THus the Emperour in all his Actions worſhipped God the Inſpectour of all things, and [a] with an indefatigable ſollicitude made proviſion for his Churches. But God rewarded him, and ſubdued almoſt all Barbarous Nations under his feet; in ſo much that he erected Trophies in all places againſt his Enemies. He proclaimed him Conquerour amongſt all men; and rendred him formidable to his Enemies and adverſaries; although naturally he was no ſuch man; [b] but rather the mildeſt, meekeſt, and moſt compaſſionate perſonage of all Mortalls what ever.

[a] Ἀτρωτον ἐπιεῖτο τῷ ΔΔ ἐπιμελείαν αὐτῶ προνοιαν, *made an invulnerable proviſion for his Churches.* Although th's term ἄτρωτον may be fitly made out concerning *Conſtantine*, whoſe mind could never be exulcerated and provok't by the madneſs of the *Donatiſts* and other Hereticks of the ſame ſtamp; yet at this place I had rather write ἄτρυτον. For, in my judgment, it cannot well be ſaid, ἄτρωτον ἐπιεῖτο τῷ προνοιαν, *he made an invulnerable Proviſion.* But on the contrary, the term ἄτρυτον will be uſed moſt elegantly: that is, *he made an indefatigable Proviſion*, &c. So in book 2. chap. 14. ἄϋπνον ἐπιεῖτο τῷ ὑπὲρ ΔΔ κοινῶν φροντίδα, *he exerciſed a ſleepleſs or watchfull care over the publick.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἡμερώτατόν τε. It muſt be written ἡμερώπαλον δὲ, *but rather the mildeſt*; as 'tis in the *King's* and *Fuk. Manuſcripts*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Death of Maximin *and others, whoſe Plots* Conſtantine *diſcovered, God making them known to him.*

IN the interim that he was doing theſe things, the [a] ſecond of thoſe two perſons who had reſigned the Empire, framed a deſign to cut off *Conſtantine*; and being diſcovered, ended his life by a moſt ignominious death. And [b] this was the firſt perſon, whoſe Pictures, Statues, and what ever other Monuments are uſually erected in honour of the Emperours, were defaced and thrown down in all parts of the world, in regard he was an impious and wicked wretch. After this man, other perſons alſo related to him, who were contriving ſecret Plots [against *Conſtantine*,] were detected; God himſelf in a moſt miraculous manner being the diſcoverer of all their deſigns to his ſervant, by Viſions. For he frequently vouchſafed him his own preſence, the Divine Likeneſs appearing to him in a moſt wonderfull manner, and ſuggeſting to him all manner of foreknowledge in relation to future affairs. Indeed, the Miracles [ſhown him] by divine Grace, are inexpreſſible; nor is it poſſible for a Narrative to comprehend, what great bleſſings God himſelf vouchſafed to afford his Servant. With which he was ſurrounded, and ſpent the reſidue of his life in Repoſe and Safety; highly pleaſed at the benevolence and good affection of his Subjects; rejoycing becauſe he ſaw all thoſe under his Government leading peaceable and chearfull lives; but above all, extraordinarily delighted with the ſplendour and flouriſhing condition of God's Churches.

[a] He means *Maximianus Herculius*. For he had obtained the 2^d place in the Empire; and when he had framed Plots againſt *Conſtantine*, being detected, he ended his life with an halter. Beſides, the following words, wherein *Euſebius* tells us his Pictures and Statues were thrown down and defaced, do evidently ſhew, that *Maximianus Herculius* is meant here. Which if true, *Euſebius* hath committed a moſt foul miſtake here, in relating *Herculius's* death after the Victory over *Maxentius*: when as 'tis certain, that *Maximianus Herculius* ended his life two years before the defeat and deſtruction of *Maxentius*, on the year of Chriſt 310. But who can believe, that *Euſebius*, who was contemporary with theſe times, could have been guilty of ſo great a miſtake? Beſides, the Title of this chapter gives us the name, not of *Maximianus*, but of *Maximinus*. Therefore, I am eaſily induced to believe, that this place is corrupted, and that it ought to be mended thus, ΔΔ εἰς βασιλείαν προχειρισθέντων ὑπὸ ΔΔ τῶν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένων ὁ δεύτερος, *the ſecond of thoſe perſons that were choſen into the Empire by thoſe who had reſigned the Government*: that ſo, *Maximinus* may be meant here, who together with *Severus* was made *Cæſar* by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, at ſuch time as they reſigned their purple, as *Idatius* writes in *his Faſti*. And thus the order of the times will proceed right in *Euſebius*. For *Maximinus* ended his life after the overthrow of *Maxentius*, and by a moſt ignominious ſort of death too, as *Euſebius* relates, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 9. chap. 10. *Valeſ.*

[b] Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ. I read πρῶτος δὲ τούτῳ, *this was the firſt perſon*; from book 8. chap. 13. of *his Eccleſ. Hiſtory*; where this whole place occurs almoſt in the ſame words. Further, what *Euſebius* ſays hapned firſt of all to *Maximianus Herculius*, that his Pictures and Statues ſhould in all places be thrown down, ought not to ſeem ſtrange to any one. For we muſt underſtand this in the ſame manner, as where he tells us that *Conſtantius Chlorus* was the firſt Emperour that was deified. He means he was the firſt of thoſe Emperours which he had ſeen. But if any one had rather underſtand theſe words concerning *Maximinus*, he has *Euſebius* to defend his Opinion, who in the laſt chapter of *his ninth book* atteſts in expreſs words, that all *Maximin's* Statues and Pictures were broken after his death. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Celebration of Conſtantine's Decennalia.

WHilſt he was in this condition, the Tenth year of his Empire was compleated. On which account he celebrated publick and ſolemn Feſtivalls, and put up Thankſgivings, like ſome pure ſacrifices without fire and ſmoak, to God the ſupream King. With which [Holy Exerciſes] he was highly delighted; but [he was not ſo well pleaſed] with the account brought him by thoſe Meſſengers, from whom he received advice, concerning the Ruine of the Provinces in the *Eaſt*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

In what manner Licinius *afflicted the East.*

[a] At these words a chapter is begun in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and in the *old Sheets*. Valef.

FOr, [a] a certain Savage Beast, he was told, had beset both the Church of God there, and the rest of the Provincialls also; the most impure Devil, enraged with emulation as 'twere, striving to do the quite contrary to those things performed by the pious Emperour. In so much that, the *Roman* Empire, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to be like the night and the day. For, a darkness involved the Inhabitants of the East: but a most bright day enlightned those who dwelt in the * Western parts. Whose enjoyment of those innumerable Blessings procured them by God, was an intollerable spectacle to the Envy of the Devil that hater of good: nor did the Tyrant, who oppressed the other part of the world, think that fit to be born with. Who seeing the affairs of his Empire succeeding prosperously, and being vouchsafed an affinity by marriage to so great an Emperour as *Constantine* was, relinquished the imitation of that pious Prince, and strove to embrace the instructions and wicked Moralls of the Impious. And he made it his business, rather to follow their advices, whose calamitous end he had been an eye-witness of, than [b] to continue in a friendship and amity with him that was his Better.

* Or, *Other part.*

[b] This place must be made up from *chapter* 8. book 10, *of his Eccles. History*; whence also the following chapter is to be mended. *Valef.*

CHAP. L.

In what manner Licinius *attempted to frame Treacheries against* Constantine.

* Or, *Traiterous.*

HE raises therefore an * irreconcileable War against his Benefactour; without calling to mind the Laws of friendship; not considering his Oaths, his affinity, or the Leagues [that were between them.] For, the most Benigne [*Constantine*,] that he might give him the surest evidence of his sincere Benevolence and affection, made him partaker of his own paternall Lineage, and of that Imperiall bloud he drew from his Ancestours, by matching his Sister to him; and permitted him to enjoy the Colleague-ship of the whole *Roman* Empire. But *Licinius*'s thoughts were contrary hereto, being taken up in contriving Machinations and ill-designes against his Better; inventing various sorts of * Treacheries successively, that with mischiefs he might reward his Benefactour. And at the beginning he pretended friendship, and performed all things with deceit and fraud; hoping that his audacious designs might be kept concealed. But God discovered those Treacheries of his, hatch't in darkness, to his Servant [*Constantine*.] Whereupon *Licinius*, because detected in his first attempts, betook himself to second frauds; sometimes pretending friendship; at others, procuring himself belief [by the Religion] of Oathes and Leagues: then on a sudden he would violate what he had agreed to; and again, would crave pardon by an Embassie; after which he would render himself infamous by Lyes. But at length he proclaimed open War; and, instigated by a desperate madness of mind, took a resolution in future to bear Arms against God himself, of whom he well knew the Emperour [*Constantine*] was a Worshipper.

* Or, *Menaces.*

CHAP. LI.

Licinius's Treacheries against the Bishops, and his prohibitions of Synods.

AND in the first place, with great closeness and subtlety he made a strict inquiry into those Ministers of God that lived under his Dominions, who had never committed any Crime against his Government; by hunting out Various Calumnies against them. And when he could not furnish himself with any the least offence of theirs, nor had [any pretext] wherewith he might blame these men; he issued forth a Law, whereby he commanded, that the Bishops should in no wise * confer one with another in any place what ever, nor should it be Lawfull for any one of them to go into the Church of his neighbour; nor to convene Synods, nor Councills; or to consult about matters that were usefull and advantagious. Now, this gave him an occasion of vexing and disquieting us. For, if those of our Religion transgrest that Law of his, they were oblieged to undergo punishment; but, if they paid an obedience to this his Order, of necessity they must enervate the Laws of the Church. For, 'tis impossible that the more momentous † Controversies should by any other means be composed and rectified, than by Synods. And thus this [Tyrant] highly odious to God, because he studied in all things to contradict the pious Emperour, issued out such Orders as these [in reference to us *Christians*.] For *Constantine* called together God's Priests, in [a] honour to those consecrated persons, and for the promoting of mutuall Peace and Concord. But *Licinius*, attempting to abrogate whatever was well constituted, endeavoured to || disturb the harmonious agreement [of the Churches.]

* Or, *Hold communication.*

† *Matters of consideration*, or, *debates.*

[a] Τῇ περὶ τὸ ἱερωμένον τιμῇ. *Turnebus* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it, τῇ περὶ τὸ ἱερωμένον. And this reading I found in *Moræus's Copy* also. But I had rather write, περὶ τῇ τῶν ἱερωμένων τιμῇ, *in honour to those consecrated persons*. For *Eusebius* gives reasons, why the Emperour *Constantine* would ever and anon convene Synods of Bishops. The first reason, says he, was, that he might give honour to Gods Priests when assembled together. Secondly, that he might establish Peace and Concord amongst them. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* does usually term *The Priests* τοὺς ἱερωμένους, as it frequently occurs in *these books*. But if, with *Turnebus*, we would rather read περὶ τὸ ἱερωμένον, then it must be made τῆς τιμῆς, that the discourse may agree with what follows; and τὸ ἱερωμένον must be taken *for Religion it self*; which is more uncouth. For I had rather express it thus, τῇ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νόμου τιμῇ, *in honour to the sacred Law*. Valef.

|| *Dissipate*, or, *tear insunder.*

CHAP. LII.

The Banishments and Proscriptions of the Christians.

AND because *Constantine*, who was God's friend, vouchsafed the servants of God admission into his Imperial Pallaces; the Enemy of

of God *Licinius*, whose Sentiments were quite contrary hereto, [a] drove all God's Worshippers, who lived under his Dominions, from his Imperial Pallaces; and sent into Banishment those persons in his Court that were faithfullest and best-affected to him. And such persons as for their former brave actions had received from him honour and dignities, them he ordered to serve others, and to perform servile Offices. And when he had seized upon the Goods of every one of them, as if they had been some unhop't-for Gain; at last he threatned [to punish] those with death, who assumed to themselves the salutary name [of *Christians.*] [b] Further, whereas he himself possest a mind that was incontinent and lustfull, and committed infinite Adulteries, and the most infamous Acts of obscenity; [c] it was his Sentiment that no man could be chast and continent; * and thus, from his own distemper he past an ill judgement upon the Nature of mankind in generall.

[a] *Eusebius in his Chronicon*, at the fourteenth year of *Constantine*, says thus; *Licinius drives the Christians from his own Pallace. Orosius* says the same in book 7. but in a disturbed order of affairs and times, in regard he relates that before the *Cibalensian War*, which War happned on the *eighth year* of *Constantine*'s Empire. For there were two Civil Wars between *Constantine* and *Licinius*. The first War, wherein *Licinius* was vanquished at *Cibalis* in *Pannonia*, hapned on the year of Christ 314. The reasons of which War are Recorded by no other Writer, that I know of, but the *Authour of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, which I have long since published at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*; see pag. 473. But the latter War was that, wherein *Licinius* was routed near *Hadrianople*, and at length compelled to a surrendry of himself on the year of Christ 324. *Eusebius* has made no mention of the former War; for this reason perhaps, because *Licinius* as yet had not raised Persecution against the *Christians*. For *Licinius* undertook to persecute the *Christians* long after that first War, to wit, on the fourteenth year of *Constantine's* Empire, as 'tis Recorded in *Scaliger*'s and *Miræus's Edition* of *Eusebius's Chronicon*, that is on the year of *Christ* 320. The same year occurs in *Cedrenus's Chronicon*. But *Baronius* relates, that *Licinius* raised Persecution against the *Christians* on the year of Christ 316. But in *Baronius's Annalls*, the History of both the Wars against *Licinius* is very much confused, and must be amended, partly from *Idatius's Fasti*, and partly from the *Gesta Constantini* heretofore published by me. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 7.) attests in expres words, that *Licinius* undertook to persecute the *Christians* after the *Cibalensian War*. Valesius.

[b] From these words a new Chapter ought to have been begun. For these words belong to *Licinius's second Law*. Further, the expression εἰς ἐκκλήμψον, which occurs in the Contents of *Chap.* 53, seems to be faulty, and put instead of εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, *in the Church*. And yet 'tis strange, that both in the *King's Manuscript*, and in the *old Sheets*, the reading is constantly, εἰς ἐκκλήμψον συναίξεως. Although in the *old Sheets* 'tis mended in the same hand, εἰς ἐκκλησίας μὴ συναίξεως. But in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis excellently written thus, εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνδράσιν ἅμα μὴ συναίξεως, *should not meet in the Churches together with the men.* Valesius.

[c] Or, *He despaired of finding the Ornament of Chastity amongst men. Valesius* thinks it should be written and pointed thus, τῆς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἀπεγίνωσκε φύσεως, ἐλέγχῳ κακῷ χρώμενος; *He despaired of the nature of men, making use of an ill argument.*

* Or, *He Himself making use of himself as the Brand and Reproach of Nature.*

CHAP. LIII.

[Licinius's] Edict, that Women should not meet in the Churches together with the Men.

WHerefore, he made a second Law, wherein he gave Command, that the men should not be present at prayers [in the Church] of God together with the women: nor should womenkind frequent the Venerable Schools of Virtue: Lastly, that the Bishops should not deliver the Divine Precepts of Religion to women; but, that women should be made choice of, to be the Teachers of women. But whereas these things seemed Ridiculous to all persons, he invented another device for the subversion of the Churches. For, he ordered, that the solemn Assemblies of the people should be held without the Gates, in the open fields; affirming, that the fresh air without the Gates was far more commodious for crouds, than the Oratories situate within the City.

CHAP. LIV.

That he Cashiered from the Militia *those who refused to Sacrifice; and forbad, that such as were shut up in Prisons should have any nourishment given them.*

BUt when he perceived they would not obey him even in this; in future [he went to work] *bare-fac't* [as we say,] and gave order, that the [a] *Civill Milice* shou'd be removed from their attendance upon the * *Præsidial Office*, unless they were willing to sacrifice to *Dæmons*. [b] The *Offices* therefore of Magistrates throughout every Province, were emptied of pious and religious persons. And he himself, who made this Law, was deprived of the prayers of holy men, which he had bereaved himself of. What need we, [c] besides these things, make mention, in what manner he gave order, that no person should shew compassion to those afflicted in Prisons, by ministring food to them; nor, that any one should take commiseration of such as perished with Famine in their Bonds: (that is, that not so much as one good man should exist:) nor, that those who by nature it self are drawn to a compassion of their neighbours, should do any thing of good? Indeed, this was clearly the most impudent and unjustest of Laws, and far out-did the utmost ferity of Nature. To which Law there was a penalty also annext, that they who shewed compassion, should suffer the same Inflictions with those to whom they shewed it; and that such as performed Offices of Humanity, should be lyable to punishment.

* *See note (b.)*

[a] See what I have noted at *chap.* 8. book 10. of *Eusebius's Eccles. History*; whence these passages are transcribed almost word for word. *Vales.*

[b] Τῶν κατὰ πᾶν ἔθνος ἀξιωμάτων αἱ τάξεις. So the words are to be construed; which *Christophorson* perceived not. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, after the word τάξεις is placed a *Comma*. Τάξεις or τάγματα are *Offices of Magistrates*. For each Magistrate had *his Office* or *Attendants*. *This Office was a certain Body of Officials or Souldiers, who attended on the Judges*, as may be seen in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*. *These Offices* the *Greeks* termed τάξεις, as I have long since remarked at the 26th book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *pag.* 318 *of my notes*. The *Old Glosses* therefore are right, in explaining τάξις ἀρχοντος, *officium, apparitio*. So *John Chrysostome* in *his first Homily on the Epistle to the Corinthians*; ὃς ὁρᾶτε τοὺς παῖδας, ὅταν παίζοντες τάξιν ποιῶσι καὶ στρατιώτας, &c. *Don't you see children, how when at play they make a company of Apparitours or Attendants, and Officials*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Τῶν ἐκτὸς μεμουσεύειν. *Johannes Morinus*, a Learned person who has rendred *these Books into French*, thought that by ἡμῖν ἐκτὸς here, *the Gentiles* or *Heathens* were meant; as if *Eusebius* had said, *What need we make mention of the Heathens*. See *chap.* 43, *note (b.)* But *Christophorson* renders ἡμῖν ἐκτὸς *præterea, besides*; as if it 'twere the same with τῶν ἐκτὸς, in which manner *Eusebius* expresses himself at chap. 43. *Vales.* *Valesius* renders it in the same manner with *Christophorson*.

CHAP. LV.

Concerning Licinius's *Improbity and Avarice.*

SUch were *Licinius*'s Constitutions. But, what need we reckon up his Innovations concerning Marriages? Or his new Laws in relation

tion to such as are ending their lives? Whereby he presumptuously abrogated the ancient, good, and wisely establisht *Roman* Laws, and instead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane [Ordinances.] Besides, he found out a thousand sorts of Exactions towards his Subjects. On which account, he invented * *New Surveys* of Lands, that he might compute a small field to be greater in measure, because of his insatiable desire after unequall Exactions. For this reason, he enrolled in his *Censuall Tables* the names of countrymen who were not alive, but had been dead long before; procuring to himself from hence a filthy and ignominious gain. For his sordidness had no measure; nor was his unsatiableness to be circumscribed by any Limit. Wherefore, when he had filled all his Treasuries with Gold, Silver, and immense quantities of Riches, he sighed and lamented his Poverty; his mind being disquieted with the disease of † *Tantalus*. [Why should I mention] what punishments of Exile he inflicted on Innocent persons? What proscriptions of Goods? What Imprisonments of men well-descended and of eminent quality; whose young wives he delivered to some impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? How many married women, virgins, and young maids he himself attempted to force, though his Body was now rendred decrepit by age? 'Tis needless to enlarge upon these things, in regard the exorbitancy of his last Actions hath evinced his former to be triviall and in a manner nothing.

* Or, *Remeasurings.*

† The punishment allotted him was, as we are told, to starve in the midst of plenty.

CHAP. LVI.

That at length he undertook the raising a Persecution [*against the* Christians.]

IN fine, he proceeded to that height of madness, that he armed himself against the Churches; and sets upon the Bishops, whom he accounted to be his chiefest Adversaries; and look't upon them as Enemies, who were friends to the Pious and Great Emperour. On which account he sharpned his fury most especially against them, having forsaken [a] the way of sober and right reason. Nor did he take into consideration the memory of them, who had Persecuted the *Christians* before him, nor of those, whose Destroyer and Punisher he himself had been appointed, because of the height of those impieties at which they had arrived. Neither [did he reflect upon] what he had been an eye-witness of; then, when with his own eyes he beheld the [b] chief Authour of [our] mischiefs, whosoever he was, smitten with a scourge sent from Heaven.

[a] Τῆ σώφρονϑ. After these words, an Asterisk is to be placed. For there is an imperfection; which nevertheless may be made up from book 10. chap. 8. in this manner; τῆ σώφρονϑ ἐκτεραπεῖς λογισμῆ, *declining from the way of sober reason.* In the *Fuk. Turneb.* and *Savil.* Copies, the reading is τῆ σώφρονϑ παρεννεσμόϑ. *Vales.*

[b] He means *Galerius Maximianus*, who was the first Authour and Ringleader of the *Christians* Persecution, as *Eusebius* relates in *book* 8. *of his Eccles. History. Cedrenus* writes, that on the eighteenth year of *Diocletian, Maximianus* had raised a Persecution against the *Christians*, by the perswasion of one *Theotecnus* an Impostour. Who having forged *Acts of Pilate* stuft with impiety against Christ, *Galerius* made an establishment by an Edict, that Masters should give them to their Schollars to be learned by heart. But any one may perceive, that *Cedrenus* is out here, who attributes that to *Galerius Maximianus*, which was performed long after by *Maximinus*. This is an usuall mistake amongst the *Greeks*, to confound *Maximianus* with *Maximinus*. Vales.

CHAP. LVII.

That Maximianus *having been afflicted with a* Fistulous Ulcer that bred worms, *wrote* [*a Law*] *in favour of the* Christians.

FOr, whereas he had begun a Siege of the Churches, and was the first that had defiled his own soul with the bloud of just and religious persons; a punishment sent from God seized him: which, having made its beginning in his very flesh, proceeded even to his soul. For on a sudden an Impostume arose upon him about the midst of the privy parts of his Body; after that *a Fistula in ano:* and both these diseases spread incurably, and did eat into his inmost bowells. From them bred an unspeakable multitude of worms, and a most *noysom stench proceeded therefrom. For, the whole mass of flesh upon his body, by reason of that abundance of food he devoured, was grown to an immense fatness: which being then putrified, became ('t is said) an intollerable and most horrid spectacle to those that approach't him. Whilst therefore he was strugling under these many and great afflictions, at length, though late, he began to be sensible of the Villanies he had audaciously committed against the Church. After which, having made his confession to God, he stops the Persecution against the *Christians*; and by Laws and Imperial Edicts orders that their Churches should with all expedition be built: and commanded that the *Christians* themselves should perform their usuall Solemnities, and make Supplications [to God] for him.

* Or, *Deadly.*

CHAP. LVIII.

That Maximinus *being a Persecutor of the* Christians, *fled away in a servile habit and hid himself.*

SUch was the punishment, which the Beginner of the Persecution underwent. But this [*Licinius*,] concerning whom we now speak, who had been an eye-witness of these things, and by experience had had an accurate knowledge thereof; nevertheless, on a sudden forgat all; neither did he call to mind the punishment inflicted on the Former, [a] nor the revenging judgment [divine justice executed] on the Latter. Who, because he strove with the greatest earnestness imaginable, to out-do the Former in a Combat of mischiefs as 'twere, gloried in his invention of new punishments against us. For he was not satisfied with Fire, Sword, and the *Fastnings with Nails; nor with the wild-beasts and depths of the Sea. But besides all these, he himself contrived a certain new sort of punishment, and by a Law gave order, that those members whereby we perceive the light, should be destroyed. Immediately therefore, vast numbers, not only of men, but of children and women also, having had the Sights of their right eyes, and the Junctures of their feet rendred useless, partly by Iron, and partly by † *Cauteries*, were thrust into the Mines, there to be afflict'd with daily Labour. On which account, the just judgment

[a] Οὔτε πῃ ἐπὶ τῆ ἐσχάτῃ πτωχῇ δίκην. The *Preposition* must be expunged. Further, this person termed *the Latter* is *Maximinus* Tyrant of the East. *Vales.*

* Περονῶν λαγόνες.

† Or, *Scathring-Irons.*

ment of God not long after ſeized this perſon alſo; at ſuch time as, putting his truſt in *Dæmons*, whom he thought to be Gods, and confiding in innumerable *Myriads* of Armed men, he began an Engagement. For, being at that time † Or, *Hope.* deprived of the divine † aſſiſtance, he deveſted himſelf of the Imperial Habit, which in no wiſe became him; and having in a cowardly and moſt unmanly manner ſhrowded himſelf in the common crowd, * Or, *Invented,* * purchaſed his own ſafety by flight: after this, he abſconded in the Fields and Country Villages [clothed] in a ſervile habit, and ſuppoſed he might have kept himſelf concealed. But he could not thus avoid † Or, *Of univerſall providence.* the great Eye † of Providence which inſpects all things. For when he hoped his life was now in ſafety, being ſtruck with God's fiery dart, he fell proſtrate on the ground; and his whole body was in ſuch a manner conſumed by a blow given him from Heaven, that the entire * Or, *Figure.* * ſhew of its Priſtine beauty vaniſhed; and only his parch't bones, turned into a perfect Skeleton, like ſome Ghoſt, were left remaining to him.

CHAP. LIX.

That Maximine, *blinded by* [*the acuteneſs of*] *his Diſeaſe,* * *iſſued out a Law in favour of the* Chriſtians. * Or, *Wrote.*

FUrther, when this Diſeaſe, wherewith God had afflicted him, was arrived at a greater degree of acuteneſs and vehemency, * his eyes leap't out; and falling from their proper place, left him blind: thus, by a moſt juſt ſentence he underwent the ſame puniſhments, which he had been the firſt Inventer of againſt God's Martyrs. Breathing nevertheleſs ſtill after theſe ſo calamitous miſeries, at length, though late, he alſo made an open confeſſion to the God of the *Chriſtians*, and declared his own oppoſitions of the Deity. He likewiſe compoſed a Retractation, in ſuch manner as the former perſon had done, and by Laws and Edicts in writing confeſt his own errour in reference to thoſe whom he thought to be Gods; atteſting, that by experience it ſelf he had found, the *Chriſtians* God to be the only true God. Notwithſtanding *Licinius* knew all this, not by the information he received from others, but from the very facts themſelves; yet wrapping up his mind within ſome thick darkneſs as 'twere, he † reſolved upon a performance of the very ſame things they had done. * See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 9. chap 10. note (a.) † Or, *Adhered to, or, cloſed with thoſe very Actions, or, perſons.*

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS* CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

Licinius's Clandestine Persecution, and his Murder of the Bishops at Amasia [*a City*] *of* Pontus.

IN this manner the forementioned [*Licinius*] plunged himself into the pit of the * impious. And, imitating their example to his own destruction, whose ruines by reason of their Impiety he had beheld with his own eyes, he re-kindled the Persecution against the *Christians*, like some raging fire long since extinguished; and blew up the flame of impiety to a greater fierceness than his predecessours had done. Moreover, (like some outragious wild-beast, or crooked Serpent rolled together about himself,) breathing forth Rage and Hostile Menaces against God, he durst not as yet commence an open War against the Churches of God within his own Dominions, because of his fear of *Constantine*: but concealing the venome of his malice, he contrived secret Plots, and those in some particular places only, against the Bishops; and † by calumnies framed by his Governours of Provinces, destroyed the eminentest and most approved amongst them. And the manner of murdering them was new, such as never was known before. [a] Indeed, the Facts perpetrated at *Amasia* [a City] of *Pontus*, far exceeded the most superlative Cruelty.

* Or, *Rebells against God.*

† Or, *By the treachery of his Governours in each Province.*

[a] Ταῦτ' ἴσν. It must be made τὰ γ ἴσν, from book 10. chap. 8. of *his Eccles. History*; where these passages occur almost word for word. Further, 'tis strange that *Eusebius* should have made no mention, either in *his Ecclesiastick History*, or in *these books*, of *Basileus* Bishop of the *Amaseni*: which Prelate nevertheless, as all Greek Writers do agree, was slain by *Licinius*'s order. But *Philostorgius*, in the *first book of his Eccles. History*, writes in expres words, that *Basileus* Bishop of *Amasea* in *Pontus* was present at the *Nicæne Councill*. Further, the *Nicæne Councill*, as 'tis manifest amongst all men, was convened the year after *Licinius*'s deposition. Besides, *Athanasius* in *his first Oration against the Arians*, (where he makes mention of the eminent Bishops who were either present with him at the *Nicæne Councill*, or had approved of his opinion;) together with others, names *Basileus* Bishop of *Pontus*. Nor does he style him Martyr, although he there terms *Hosius* Confessour. The *Acts also of Basileus*, which are extant in *Metaphrastes*, seem to me foolish and fabulous. And most of the passages which occur at the beginning of them, are word for word taken out of *Eusebius*. But that little story concerning the Virgin *Glaphyra* was, in my judgment, framed by some idle people. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

The demolishments of the Churches, and Butcheries of the Bishops.

WHere some of the Churches, after that former * demolishment of them, were thrown down to the ground from their vast height; others were shut up by the Governours in their severall districts, least any one of those persons who usually frequented them, should meet there, or least they [a] might render

* Or, *Siege.*

[a] Ἀποδῶσιν ἀλιτηρίας. In the *Vat. Manuscript*, and in Sr *Henry Savils Copy*, 'tis written ἀποδοθῶσιν; in book 10. chap. 8. of *his Eccles. History* 'tis ἀποδοθῶ. *Vales.*

a due worshipp to God. For that person who issued out these orders, was of opinion, that prayers were not made there for him, being induced to entertain such thoughts as these from a consciousness of his own impieties. But he had perswaded himself, that all we did was in behalf of *Constantine*, and to render God propitious [to him.] Now, those [Presidents] who were his flatterers and soothed him up, being fully perswaded they should do what would be gratefull to the impious [Tyrant ;] subjected the eminentest Prelates of the Churches to capitall punishments. Therefore, harmless and innocent persons were haled away, and without any the least cause punished as if they had been Murderers. But some of them underwent a new sort of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces : and after this barbarous spectacle far more horrid than any Tragicall representation, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for Fishes. After this therefore, persons that were worshippers of God began to flye again, in such manner as they had done a little before. And the Fields and Solitudes were again become the Receptacles of Gods servants. When the Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained thoughts of raising a generall Persecution against the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle which might in future have hindred him from effecting it, had not [God] the defender of his own [servants,] (that he might prevent what would have ensued,) caused his servant *Constantine* to appear like some great Light in darkness and in a most obscure night, and led him by the hand as 'twere into these parts.

CHAP. III.

In what manner Constantine *was moved in behalf of the* Christians, *when* [Licinius] *made preparations to Persecute them.*

* *Constantine.* † Or, *Account.* || Or, *Defence.*

* WHo perceiving, that the † complaint he had received of the foresaid proceedings was not any longer to be endured, musters up a soberness and prudence of mind ; and having mixt an austerity of disposition with his own innate clemency, hastned to the || assistance of the oppressed ; judging, that that ought to be accounted a pious and holy Action, when by the taking off of one person, the greatest part of mankind is preserved. For [thus he thought with himself,] if he should make use of [a] much clemency, and should shew compassion to him who deserved no pity, it would not advantage him in the least, for he would in no wise desist from his practise of mischiefs, but would rather increase his Rage and Fury against his Subjects : nor could there be any hopes of safety in future remaining to those persons who had been afflicted by him. The Emperour having considered these things with himself, without any dilatorines resolved to stretch forth a salutary right hand to those who had faln into the bittereſt of calamities. He made therefore a * vast provision of Military Forces ; and his whole Army, as well Troops of Horse as Companies of Foot, were drawn together. But before them all were carried † the *Insignia* of his confidence in God, to wit, the forementioned Standard.

* Or, *usuall.*

† Or, *The signs or Marks of his good hope in God by the* &c.

[a] Πολλῆ. In book 10. chap. 9. whence this passage is transcribed, instead of πολλῆ, the reading is μόνη, *clemency only* ; which seems truer. I had also rather write αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ ; unless the *Dative case* may be taken for the *Ablative put absolute*. Valesius.

CHAP. IV.

That Constantine *made provision for the War with Prayers ; but* Licinius, *with Divinations and Prophecies.*

AND well knowing, that, if ever before, he now stood in need of prayers, he carried God's * Prelates along with him : it being his Sentiment, that these persons [a] like some good Guards of his Soul, ought to be always present and conversant with him. Whereupon, when he that Headed the Tyranny was informed, that *Constantine* obtained Victories over his Enemies by no other means than by God's assistance ; and, that the foresaid persons were alwaies present and conversant with him ; also, that the Symboll of the Salutary passion went before himself and his whole Army : he judged these things to be deservedly ridiculous ; and at the same time mock't *Constantine*, and revil'd him with opprobrious expressions. [b] But he himself got the Diviners and Soothsayers of the *Egyptians* about him, the Sorcerers and Impostours, the Sacrificers and Prophets of such as he look't upon as Gods. And when he had with sacrifices appeased those [c] whom he thought to be Gods, he enquired of them, what manner of end he was like to have of the War. They made answer with one consent, that [d] without controversie he would be the Conquerour of his Enemies, [e] and should get the better in the War ; the Oracles every where promising him this in long

* Or, *Priests.*

[a] Ὡσπέρ τινας ψυχῆς ἀγαθὲς φύλακας. He alludes to the word σωματοφύλακας, *Guards of his Body*. As therefore the Emperours had always some Souldiers with them to guard their bodies ; so *Constantine* would have some Bishops, who were the guards of his soul as 'twere, always present with him. Further, after the Verb ἐπείγεσθο must be placed a point, from the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts* ; which *Chistophorson* perceived not. But, in the *Fuketian*, *Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies*, 'tis truer written ἐπήγετο, *he carried along with him*. A little after, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, πυθόμενος κωνσταντῖνον τὰς κατ' ἐχθρῶν νίκας μὴ ἄλλως, ἢ τῶν θεῶν συμπρεσβευόντων ποιεῖσθαι, *was informed, that Constantine*, &c. which is truer in my judgment, *Valesius*. The reading in *Robert Stephens* is, πυθόμενος κωνσταντῖνῳ τὰς κατ' ἐχθρῶν νίκας μὴ δ' ἄλλως ἢ τῶν, &c.

[b] Αὐτός τε διατρέφεις. It must be αὐτὸς δὲ, *But he himself*. Although *our Manuscript Copies* have no alteration here ; save that instead of διατρέφεις, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis διατρέφεις ; but in the *old sheets*, διατρεπεῖς. Valesius.

[c] Οὓς δεῖν αὐτὸ θεὸς. It must, I think, be, ὃς δεῖ, or rather in one word, ὃς δίεγνοεῖτο, *whom he thought*, &c. *Valesius*.

[d] Ἀδειλήπτως. In the *Kings Manuscript* 'tis ἀνδηλήπτως. I write ἀδηλεήτως, that is, *without controversie*. In the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis ἀναντρρήτως, *without contradiction*. Valesius.

[e] It must, as it seems, be written, καὶ πολέμου κρατῆσαι πρόλεγον, συμφώνως αὐτῷ ταῦτα μακραῖς τε ἐπῶν χαλκειρείαις ἅμ' ἀπαντα χῶ χρησμείων περιεχομένων. So this whole place is to be restored. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis thus written, καὶ τῶ πολέμου κρατῆσαι συμφώνως εἶπον μακραῖς ἐπῶν χαλκειρείαις ἅμ' ἀπαντα χῶ χρησμείων τῶτο περιεχομένων : which is the best reading, and we have therefore followed it in our Version. *Valesius*.

and

and elegant Verses. Moreover, † the Interpreters of Dreams predicted, that success was portended to him by the flying of Birds; and the † Or, *Sacrifices.* *Auspices* affirmed the like was signified by the motion of Entrail's. Elevated therefore by the fallacious promises of these persons, with great confidence he proceeded forth [g] to the Camp, and made preparations for an Engagement.

[f] Ὀνειροπόλοι δὲ. After these words, these following, διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀρνίθων πτήσεως σημαίνειν ὤμπω τὰ αἴσια προλέγον. ἢ δύτα, are wanting in the *Kings Manuscript*, and are added in the margin in a very modern hand. If I may have leave to conjecture, I think it should be written thus, ὀνειροπόλοι δὲ ἢ δύτα τὰ ὄμοια, &c. *The Interpreters of Dreams* and *Auspices* [or, *Sacrificers*] *affirmed the like was*, &c. *Turnebus* in *his Copy* had mended it ὀιωνοπόλοι *the Augures*. In the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* 'tis written ὀνειροπόλοι δὲ διὰ τῆς, &c. *Moreover, the Interpreters of Dreams predicted*, &c. *Vales.*

[g] Ταῖς παρεμβολαῖς. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* this place is written thus; σὺν πολλῷ θράσει προῆει. τὰς παρεμβολὰς ὡς οἷ τε ἦν, ἐξεπάτηδον. *He proceeded forth with great confidence; pitching his Camp as well as 'twas possible.* Which reading and punctation displeases not; τὰς παρεμβολὰς παρεκπάτειν signifies *castrametari, to pitch a Camp*, or *lodge an Army*. Vales.

CHAP. V.

What Licinius *spake concerning Idolls and concerning* Christ, *whilst he was sacrificing in a Grove.*

* Or, *The War.*

BUt when he was just about beginning * a fight, he called together the choicest of his *Protectors* that were about Him, and those of his Friends for whom he had an higher value, into a certain place which by them was accounted sacred. It was a well-watered and shady Grove; but in it were erected various Statues, carv'd out of Stone, of those whom he thought to be Gods. To whom after he had [a] lighted Tapers, and offered the usuall sacrifices; 'Tis reported, that he made this speech [to those that stood by him.]

[a] It was the usage of the Heathens to light Tapers before the Statues of their Gods, as may be observed from the 22 book of *Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 226, *of Valesius's Edition.*

Friends and [b] *Fellow Souldiers! These, whom we Honour, whose Adoration hath been handed down to us from our Remotest Ancestours, are our Country Gods. But he who Leads the Army opposed against us, having violated the Usages and Institutions of his Fore-fathers, has made choice of their impious opinion who believe no God; and hath erroneously embraced a certain strange God* [procured] *from I know not whence: And with his most filthy sign* [c] *disgraces his own Army. In whom having put his confidence, He comes forth and takes up Arms, not so much against us, as against those very Gods whom he hath* * Or, *Time.* *abused. This present* * *day therefore will evidently shew, which of Us two have erred in Opinion: and will give a judgment concerning those Gods who are worshipped by us, and of them* [honoured] *by the other side. For, either it will declare us Conquerours, and so most justly demonstrate our Gods to be the Saviours and true Assistants. Or else, if this one God of* Constantine's *who comes from I know not whence, shall get the better of our Gods, which are many, and at* [d] *present do exceed in number; no body in future will be in doubt, which God he ought to worship; but will betake himself to the more powerfull God, and attribute to him the Rewards of Victory. And, if this strange God, who is* [e] *now a Kidicule to us, shall appear to be the Victor, it will behooove us also to acknowledge and adore him, and to bid a long farewell to those, to whom we light Tapers in vain. But, if our Gods shall get the better, which no person can entertain a doubt of; after the Victory obtained in this place, we will proceed to bring a War upon those impious contemners of the Gods.*

[b] Καὶ σύμμαχοι. A term improperly used by *Eusebius*, instead of συστρατιῶται. *Vales.*

[c] Καταμιαίνει. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis καταισχύνει; and a little after, the reading there is, ὀφθῆναι τὰ νῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. πολυπειρότερον δὲ, &c. *He comes forth now against us; but much rather takes up Arms against those very Gods*, &c. Which reading is truer, if I mistake not. *Vales.*

[d] Καὶ τέως τῷ πλήθει πλεονεκτοῦντων. *Christophorson* omitted the word τέως *at present*; in which term lies the whole force of the Sentence. For *Licinius* shews, that his Gods exceed in number *at present*; but in a short time will be superiour in force and power. *Johannes Portesius*, otherwise a silly Translatour, has not omitted the rendition of this word. For he translates it thus, *Numero quidem adhuc potiores, as yet do exceed in number.* A little before, I reade εἷς τις ἐστὶ, *this one God*; as *Turnebus* has mended it at the margin of *his Copy*. Vales.

These are the words *Licinius* spake a little before the Engagement, to those persons who stood round him. Which very Speech of his was not long after imparted to [f] us who have been called to this History, by those who had been ear-witnesses of his very expressions. After therefore he had made this Speech, he commanded his Forces to begin the Fight.

[e] Καὶ νῦν γελώμενος. 'Tis the same as if he should have said, ὁ χθὲς καὶ πρώην γελώμενος, *who is of yesterday or the day before.* The impious *Licinius* derides *Constantine's* God, because he was a strange and new God. For amongst the Gods, some were accounted *patrii, Gods of the Country*, others *peregrini, strange Gods.* The *dii patrii* were commended for the ancientness of their worship. But *the perigrini* were new Gods, in regard they were lately procured or chosen. *Ciccro's* words in *his* 2d *book De Legibus*, are these: *Novos verò deos, & in his colendis nocturnas pervigilationes sic Aristophanes facetissimus poeta veteris comœdiæ vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius & alii quidam dii peregrini judicati è civitate ejiciantur; But the new Gods, and the watchings all night long in the worship of them, have in such a manner been disquicted by* Aristophanes *the pleasantest Poet of Old Comedie, that* Sabazius *and some other Gods having by him been judged strange, are ejected out of the City.* The passage of *Aristophanes*, which *Ciccro* means, was extant in *his Comedie Lemnii*, as *Suidas* informs us in ὦ νὺν θερμοὶ βωμοί. There was indeed at *Athens* a vast multitude of new and strange Gods, whom they termed ξένους or ξενικοὺς θεούς. *Apollophanes* the Poet had put together their names and Series *in his Cretensibus*, as *Hesychius* attests in θεοὶ ξενικοί. *Menander Rhetor* or rather *Alexander in methodo generis demonstrativi pag.* 1612, observes; that *some Gods were termed ancienter, others more modern*, οἱ μὲν δὲ παλαιότεροι, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι λέγονται ἥδ' ἐσῶν. But *Portesius* and *Christopherson* who has followed him, have rendred this place ill; their mistake arose from hence, because they perceived not, that the Adverb νῦν does sometimes signifie the same with *nuper, lately*, as I have noted at book 4. *of the Ecclesiastical History chap.* 8. *note* (*d.*) These remarks I had made here formerly, having followed the *Geneva Edition*: but afterwards I understood, that in *Robert Stephens's Edition* and in the *Manuscript Copies* the reading was, ἢ νῦν γελώμενος, *who is now a Ridicule to us.* Which reading the Translatours have followed, and therefore are in no wise to be blamed. *Vales.*

[f] Τοῖς τῶν ἱστορίαν γεγραφόσιν, *to us who have been called to this History.* In *Moræus's Copy* at the margin 'tis mended ποιησάσιν *who compose*; in which manner *Eusebius* expresses himself at chap. 8. A little before, in the same *Copy of Moræus* 'tis well mended μακρὰ χαίρειν τοῖς εἰπόντας, *and to bid a long farwell to those:* [In *Robert Stephens* 'tis μακρὰ χαίρειν ὕπως, &c.] In the *Fuketian Manuscript* I found it written, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο ἱκνουμένοις τῶν γεγραφόσιν, *to us who have been called to this History*; which reading is right. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

The Apparition seen in the Cities under Licinius's *Government, of* Constantine's *Souldiers pursuing the Forces of* Licinius.

WHilst these things were doing, a most wonderfull Apparition ('tis said) was seen in the Cities subject to the Tyrant. For, they thought they saw various Companies of *Constantine's* Souldiers, passing at noon day thorow the Cities, as if they had obtained the Victory. And these things were seen, when in reality no Body appeared; but the Divine and Superiour power, by that Vision shown to the eyes of men, foreshewed that which was ready to happen. Further, after the Armies had made ready to engage, he that had broken the League of Friendship, began the Fight first. Then *Constantine*, having called upon God the supream

Saviour, and given this Signall to the Army about him; got the better in the [a] first Engagement. Not long after, he was superiour in a [b] second Fight, and obtained a far greater Victory; in regard the Salutary Trophy was carried before his Army,

[a] The first Battel between *Constantine* and *Licinius* was in *Pannonia*,

at *Cibalæ*; which *Zosimus* describes excellently well in *his Second Book*: as also *The Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, pag. 473. This Fight hapned when *Volusianus* the second time and *Annianus* were Consuls; on *the eight of the Ides of October*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*. To whom agrees *Sigonius* in *his third Book de Occidentali Imperio*. In *Eusebius's Chronicon* the *Cibalensian Battel* is ill placed on the seventh year of *Constantine*, in regard that Action hapned on the eighth year of his Empire. Yea, if you compute the matter exactly, it was now the ninth year of *Constantine*'s Empire. For, his ninth year began on the eighth of the *Calends of August*, *Volusianus* the second time and *Annianus* being Consuls. *Aurelius Victor* writes thus concerning the Wars between *Licinius* and *Constantine*. *Ita potestas orbis Romani duobus quæsita. Qui quamvis per Flavii Sororem nuptam Licinio connexi inter se erant, ob diversos mores tamen anxiè tricennium congrucre quivêre*, &c. *Thus the power of the* Roman *world was gotten by two. Who though by* Flavius's *Sister married to* Licinius *they had been joyned together, yet because of their different dispositions, for three years space they could ill agree*, &c. Which passage does manifestly confirm *Idatius's Fasti*: Otherwise, from the opinion of the *Eusebian Chronicon* it ought to be said, *Biennium, for two years space*. A passage in *Eutropius's Tenth Book* must also be corrected, which is commonly Printed thus. *Ac primo eum in Pannonia, Secundò ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instruentem, repentinus oppressit*, &c. Doubtless, the word *Secundò* must be expunged, which was added by some unskilfull Transcriber. For first, *Constantine*'s first Battel against *Licinius* was at *Cibalæ*, as we have shown above. Then, it would be ridiculous to say, that the first Battel was in *Pannonia*, the second at *Cibalæ*; in regard *Cibalæ* is a City of *Pannonia*. Moreover, *Pcanius* who rendred *Eutropius* into Greek, acknowledges not that word *Secundò*, as appears from *his Rendition*. Yet *Orosius* (as also the *Author of the Historia Miscella*,) hath followed the vulgar reading in *Eutropius*. For his words are these; *Constantinus Licinium Sororis suæ virum in Pannoniâ primùm vicit, deinde apud Cibalas oppressit*. Vales.

[b] This second Fight of *Constantine* against *Licinius*, hapned in *Thracia*, as *Zosimus* informs us. But *Zosimus* mentions not the very place: but the *Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini* pag. 474. says 'twas fought in the *Campus Mardiensis*: which place is equally unknown to us. Further, this Battel hapned on the same year with that at *Cibalæ*, as 'tis concluded from the Relation of *Zosimus*, and of *that unknown Author*. Which may also be demonstrated by this argument. After this Battel a Peace being made up between *Constantine* and *Licinius*, on the year following *Constantine* and *Licinius* were made Consuls; and in *the West* that year is inscribed, *Constantine the Fourth and Licinius the fourth time Consuls*; but in *the Eastern parts Licinius*'s name is set first, in this manner, *Licinius Augustus the Fourth and Constantine the fourth time being Cos*; as it occurs in the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*. Vales.

CHAP. VII.

That in the Battels, where-ever the Standard, made in the form of a Cross, was, there a Victory was obtained.

INdeed, where-ever that [Standard] appeared, hapned a Rout of the Enemies, and a pursuit [was made] by those who had gotten the better. Which when the Emperour perceived, in what ever place he saw any party of his Army prest hard upon, thither he ordered the Salutary Trophy to be carried, as some most efficacious * *Amulet* to procure a Victory. After the doing whereof, a Victory followed immediately; in regard Strength and Courage was by a divine act of providence insused into those who fought.

* Or, Remedy, or, help.

CHAP. VIII.

That fifty persons were made choice of, to carry the Cross.

WHerefore, out of the *Protectours* that were about him, he made choice of such persons as excelled for strength of body, courage of mind, and exemplarines of piety; on whom he imposed only this of duty, that they should take an assiduous care of this Standard. [a] These persons were in number no less then fifty: on whom nothing else was incumbent, but to surround, defend, and guard the Standard; which each of them by turns carried on his shoulders. These things the Emperour himself related to us who compose this History, whilst he was in Peace and Repose, a long time after [the Transaction] of these affairs; and to his Relation he added a matter highly worthy to be recorded.

[a] These Guards to whose care *Constantine* committed the *Labarum* in Battels, *Gretserus* (book 2. *de Cruce*, chap. 40.) says are the same with those who in the *Theodosian Code* are termed the *Præpositi Laborum*, that is, τῶν λαβδρων. For the *Greeks* termed it λάβρον, *because it was an assistance to the Labouring Companies*, as *Sozomen* attests. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

That one of the Cross-bearers who fled, was killed; but he that by Faith stood his ground, was preserved.

FOr he said, that a dismal noise and sudden disturbance having one time put the Army into a consternation during the very heat of an Engagement, he who bore the Standard on his shoulders, was in an agony by reason of his fear; whereupon he delivered the Standard to another, to the end he might make his escape out of the fight. That other person had no sooner taken it, [a] but he who slipt away, being got without the protection of the Standard, was stuck into the belly by a Dart cast at him, and was deprived of his life. Thus this man underwent the punishment of his cowardise and infidelity, and lay dead upon the Spot. But the Salutary Trophy became the preservative of his Life who bore it. In so much that, though Darts were frequently cast at him who bore the Standard, yet he was preserved unhurt: but the Spear of the [Salutary] Trophy received the Darts. And this was a thing which far surpassed every miracle, [to see] in what manner the Enemies Darts fell upon the smallest circumference of the Spear, whereon they were fixt and stuck fast; but the Standard-Bearer was preserved from death: yea, none of those employed in this Office did ever receive a wound. This is not our relation, but the Emperour's own, who amongst other matters declared this also to us. Who, when by the power of God he had obtained the former Victories, afterwards marched forward, and moved his Army in a Military order.

[a] Ὁ δ' ὑποδὰς. The *Fuk. Manuscript* has opened to us the true writing of this place; wherein the reading is ὁ δ' ὑφδὰς. For I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ὑπεκδὰς, *he who slipt away*. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Various Fights, and the Victories of Constantine.

But the *Van* [a] of the adverse party, not able to † stand his first Attack, cast away their Arms with both their hands, and fell prostrate at the Emperour's feet. He * saved them all, being one that was highly pleased with the preservation of men. But others of them, who continued in Arms, prepared themselves for an Engagement. To whom when the Emperour had proposed overtures, and had [b] treated them with expressions of kindness and friendship; perceiving they were not to be perswaded, he sent his Army against them. They turned their backs immediately, and betook themselves to flight. And some of them, taken in the pursuit, were slain by the Law of || Arms: but others ran one against another, and so were cut off by their own swords.

[a] Τῆς ἐναντίας ὁρμήν. The words are transposed, and are thus to be restored, τότε δὲ τῶν πρώτων ὁρμὴν οἱ τῆς, &c. as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuscript*; and so we have rendred it. *Valesius.*

[b] Πρὸς φιλικὰς λαλήσεις. I think it must be written, φιλικὰς προσπαλήσεις προσιόχμενον, that is, *blandis & amicis verbis eos compellans, treating them with kind and friendly words.* Further, what *Eusebius* relates in this chapter, seems to belong to the first Battel in the field of *Cybalæ*, whereof I have spoken before. And this is confirmed by what follows. *Valesius*

† Or, *Endure.*

* Or, *Received them all safe.*

|| Or, *War.*

CHAP. XI.

Licinius's *Flight, and Inchantments.*

After this, when their Prince saw himself deprived of an assistance [a] from his servants, and that the vast numbers as well of Souldiers as Auxiliaries which he had gotten together, were vanished; and was experimentally convinced that the hope he had placed in those whom he thought to be Gods, was vain; he forthwith betook himself to a most inglorious flight. And in this manner he made his escape, and * secured himself from danger; because the most pious Emperour ordered his own men not to make a close pursuit after him, to the end by flying he might obtain safety. For 'twas his hope, that *Licinius*, made sensible of the unhappy posture of his own affairs, might at length desist from his mad boldness, and would change his opinion for thoughts that were sound and better. These were *Constantine*'s thoughts, suggested to him from that transcendency of Humanity wherewith he was endowed; and he took a resolution patiently to bear injuries, and to give Him pardon who deserved it not. But so far was *Licinius* from abstaining from his pristine improbity; that he heap't mischiefs upon mischiefs, and attempted more nefarious and audacious Facts. Moreover, he betook himself again to the evill Arts and practises of Conjurers, and was more insolently emboldened. But, that saying might have † fitly been applied to him, which was spoken of that old Tyrant, to wit, *God had hardned his heart.*

[a] Παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. *Eusebius* uses the term οἰκέτας in a new sense, to signifie *Souldiers.* Indeed, the *Militia* was a kind of Temporary servitude. Which *Suidas* tells us also, in the word βετρεάνω. Hence 'tis, that the *Tyrones* were marked, like Servants, with certain marks in their skin. The *Missio* likewise, or *Military-discharge* answers the *Manumission* or *making free* of Servants. With good reason therefore *Eusebius* terms the *Roman* Souldiers οἰκέτας. But if any one be displeased herewith he may easily make it τῶν οἰκείων *his own men.* Valesius.

* Or, *Was in safety.*

† Or, *In like manner.*

CHAP. XII.

In what manner Constantine, *praying in a Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.*

Licinius having therefore involved himself in such [impieties] as these, was thrust headlong into the pit of destruction. But the Emperour, when he saw there was a necessity of a [a] second Battel, diligently † applyed himself to [the worship of] his Saviour. And pitch't a [b] Tabernacle of the Cross without [his Camp,] and at a good distance from it: where he || lived chastly and purely, and poured forth his prayers to God; agreeable to the practise of that old Prophet of God; concerning whom the divine Oracles give this attestation, that * *He pitch't the Tabernacle without the Camp.* Some few persons, of whose Faith piety and [c] benevolence he had the most assured proofs, were continually present with him. And this he was always wont to do, as often as he was about to begin a fight. For he was slow, because he would be secure: and 'twas his constant usage to act all things by the advice of God. Further, when with great earnestness he made Supplications to his God, he was always vouchsafed the Divine presence. After which, moved as 'twere by a more Divine inspiration, he was wont to leap out of the Tabernacle, and would forthwith give order for the immediate march of his Army; and that without delay, yea even in that very hour, they should draw their Swords. His men would fall on pell-mell, and cut down all before them without any distinction of age; till such time as (having gotten a Victory [d] within a very short space,) they had erected Victorious Trophies against their Enemies.

[a] Hence it appears, that what I have noted at the *tenth chapter* is true; *viz.* that *Eusebius* speaks there concerning the former Battel, which was fought at *Cybalæ.* Valesius.

† Or, *Dedicated his leasure to his Saviour.*

[b] Concerning this Tabernacle which *Constantine* carried about with him in his expeditions, *Sozomen* writes in book 1. chap. 8. *Valesius.*

|| Or, *Made use of a chast and pure diet.*

* *Exod.* 33. 7.

[c] Εὐνοίᾳ. perhaps it should be εἰλικρινείᾳ, *sincerity.* Valesius.

[d] Εἰς ὥρας ἀκμαζεῖ ῥοπῆ. in the *Kings Copy* 'tis ἐς ὥρας. I write ἐν ὥρας ἀκμαζεῖ ῥοπῇ, *within a very short moment of an hour*; so I found it mended in *Morus's Copy*, and in the *Fuketian Manuscript.* A little before, instead of ἔς' ἂν, I read εἰς ὅτ' ἂν, *till such time as*; in which manner *Eusebius* does usually express himself. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XIII.

His Humanity towards the Souldiers that were taken Prisoners.

In this manner was the Emperour long before wont, both to behave himself, and to order his Army, before they engaged in a Battel: for he always preferred God before his own Life; and studied to perform all things by his advices; and used all imaginable caution to prevent the slaughter of many men. On which account, he consulted the safety of the Enemies no less, than

that of his own Souldiers. Wherefore, he admoniſhed his own men, when they had been Victors in a Battel, to ſhew compaſſion to the vanquiſhed: and, that being men themſelves, they ought not to forget the ſame Nature which they were of. But if at any time he perceived, that the mindes of his Souldiers were greedy of ſlaughter, he repreſſed them by a Largeſs of Gold; giving order, that whoever took one of the Enemy alive, * ſhould have a certain weight of Gold beſtowed on him. And this inticement for the preſervation of mens lives, was found out by the Emperours prudence. Inſomuch that, very many even of the Barbarians themſelves were ſaved, the Emperour's Gold being the Ranſome of their Lives.

|| Or, *Should be honoured with*, &c.

CHAP. XIV.

Again concerning his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

THeſe, and infinite other ſuch like actions as theſe, the Emperour was wont at other times frequently to perform. But at that preſent, before he joyned Battel, he retired alone into the Tabernacle, where, as his uſage was, he was earneſt in prayers to God; abſtaining from all manner of divertiſement, and delicious food; and * macerating himſelf with faſtings, and † bodily auſterities. And in this manner he appeaſed God with Supplications and Prayers, that he might have him for his benign and propitious Aſſiſtant, and might perform thoſe things which God had ſuggeſted to his mind. Moreover, || his care in behalf of the Republick was watchfull and diligent; and he poured forth prayers, not more for the ſafety of his own Forces, than for that of his Enemies.

* Or, *Afflicting.*
† Or, *Vexation of body.*
|| *Conſtantine's.*

CHAP. XV.

Licinius's * *diſſembled Friendſhip, and his Worſhip of Idolls.*

* Or, *Deceit in relation to friendſhips.*

BUt becauſe *Licinius* (who had fled a little before,) practiſed diſſimulation, and entreated, that an amicable League might be again renewed; [the Emperour] ſuppoſing a Peace would be of uſe [to the Government,] and advantagious to mankind in general, vouchſafed to grant him even this, upon certain [a] Terms and Conditions. *Licinius* ſpeciouſly pretended a ready compliance with the Terms offered him, and with oaths confirmed his * adherence thereto. But he ſecretly got together another † Army of men, and reſolved to renew the War, and begin a Fight. He alſo called in the *Barbarians* to be his Auxiliaries; and went up and down in queſt of other Gods, becauſe he had been deceived by the former. He did not in the leaſt remember, what he himſelf had ſaid a little before, in his Speech concerning the Gods. Nor would he acknowledge that God who had been *Conſtantine*'s Defender: but in a moſt Ridiculous manner began to enquire out for himſelf, more and thoſe newer Gods.

[a] The conditions of Peace were theſe, that *Licinius* ſhould continue poſſeſt of the Eaſt, *Aſia*, *Thracia*, *Mœſia*, and *Scythia Minor*; but that *Dardania*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Pannonia*, *Mœtia*, and *Dacia* ſhould be added to the Dominions of *Conſtantine*: this Information we have from *Zoſimus*, *Sozomen*, and the *Autbour of the Excerpta de Geſtis Conſtantini*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Faith.*
† Or, *Proviſion of Forces.*

CHAP. XVI.

In what manner Licinius *Commanded his Souldiers, not to make an Attack againſt the* [*Standard of the*] *Croſs.*

AFter this, knowing for certain, that there was a certain divine and ſecret power in the Salutary Trophy, by which power (be underſtood) *Conſtantine*'s Army obtained Victory; he warned his Souldiers, that they ſhould by no means engage againſt it, nor by chance or [a] raſhly caſt their eyes upon it. For, that Standard (he ſaid,) was of a force incredible, and an Enemy and Adverſary to him in particular: wherefore they were to uſe great Caution, not to begin a Fight againſt it. Having given out theſe Orders, he prepared for an Engagement with * Him, who by reaſon of his † innate Clemency made delays, and deferred that Ruine which hung over him. The || *Licinians*, placing their confidence in a Multitude of Gods, marched forth with vaſt numbers of Forces, carrying before them, as their defence, Images of dead perſons, and inanimate Statues. But *Conſtantine*, ſurrounded with the * Armour of piety, againſt the multitude of his Enemies oppoſed the Salutary and Vivifick Standard of the Croſs, as ſome affrightning ſpectacle and potent preſervative againſt miſchief. And at firſt he † made *an Alt*; in which interim he forbore the uſe of his Arms, that he might not begin the fight firſt; which thing he did, on account of the League he had made.

[a] Ἀπροσκέπτως. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is ἀπρεπῶς, *incircumſpectly*, or *inconſiderately*; in which manner 'tis mended in *Turnebus*'s Copy at the margin. And ſo the Reading is in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. Valeſ.

* *Conſtantine.*
† Or, *Humanity.*
|| Or, *Licinius's Army.*
* Or, *Coat of Mail.*
† Or, *Stop'd.*

CHAP. XVII.

Conſtantine's *Victory.*

BUt when he ſaw the Enemy perſiſting in an obſtinacy of mind, and perceived that they drew their Swords; moved with indignation, [a] with one Shout and in a moment he Routed all the Forces of the Enemy, and obtained a Victory at the ſame time, both over his Eenemies, and over the *Dæmons*.

[a] Βοῇ τε μιᾷ ῥοπῇ. I think it ſhould be, βοῇ τε μιᾷ ῥοπῇ, *with one Shout and in a moment*. And ſo 'tis in the *Fuketian* and *Savil.* Copies. Further, this ſignal Victory of *Conſtantine's* hapned in *Criſpus*'s and *Conſtantine*'s third Conſulate, on the fifth of the *Nones* of *July*, near *Hadrianople*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Faſti*. But *Baronius* places this *Hadrianopolitane Battel* on the year of Chriſt 318, whereon *Licinius the fifth time*, and *Criſpus* were Conſuls. Whoſe opinion we overthrow by theſe arguments and Teſtimonies of the beſt Writers. The firſt is *Idatius*, who in *his Faſti* writes thus; *Criſpo* III. *& Conſtantino* III. *Coſſ.* &c. Criſpus *and* Conſtantine *being Conſuls the third time*, *the* Hadrianopolitane *Battel* [hapned] *on the fifth of the* Nones *of* July, *and the* Chalcedonenſian *Battel on the fourteenth of the Calends of* October. The ſame words occur in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but they are erroneouſly aſcribed to the year following, when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were Conſuls. With *Idatius* agrees *Aurelius Victor*, who writes thus concerning the Fights between *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*: *Quo ſanè variis prœliis pulſo*, &c. *Who having indeed been beaten in many Battels; in regard it would have ſeemed dangerous wholly to cruſh him; on account of Affinity; the children of them both being received into a Colleague-ſhip, and elected to the Empire of* Cæſars; Criſpus *and* Conſtantinus *begotten by* Flavius: Licinianus *by* Licinius. *Which* [*Colleague-ſhip*] *was ſcarce laſting, nor proved it happy to thoſe who were aſſumed into it, being publiſhed in that ſame month on a day defiled with an Eclipſe of the Sun. Therefore*

fore six years after, the Peace being broke, Licinius, *Routed amongst the* Thracians, *went to* Chalcedon. *Crispus, Licinianus,* and *Constantinus* had been created *Cæsars* in the Consulate of *Gallicanus* and *Bassus,* on the *Calends* of *March,* (as *Idatius* relates in *his Fasti,* and the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle,*) that is, on the year of Christ 317. On the year following there hapned a darkness in the day time, at the ninth hour, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti.* Wherefore *Aurelius Victor* is mistaken, who places the promotion of the *Cæsars* on the same year whereon the Eclipse of the Sun hapned. For, there hapned indeed an Eclipse of the Sun on the year of Christ 318. But *Crispus* (together with *Licinianus* and *Constantinus,*) had been made *Cæsar* on the year of our Lords Nativity 317. Yet, *Aurelius Victor* does rightly compute the intervalls of the times. For, from the Eclipse of the Sun, which hapned on the year of Christ 318, to the *Hadrianopolitane Battel* there are full Six years. Hereto agrees *Cedrenus,* who on the nineteenth year of *Constantine's* Empire, says, that *Constantine* undertook an Expedition against *Licinius.* For *Constantine's* nineteenth year falls on *Crispus's* and *Constantine's* third Consulate, which was the year of Christ 324. *Sigonius* differs not much from this account, who assigns the *Hadrianopolitane Fight* to the year of Christ 323, when *Severus* and *Rufinus* were Consuls. There is mention of the same *Hadrianopolitane Fight in Lege* 1. *Cod. Theod. de Veteranis,* where *Constantine* says thus. *Veteranis qui ex die quintâ nonarum Juliarum,* &c. *To the Veteranes, who from the fifth day of the* Nones *of* July, *when the first Victory in* Thracia *shined upon the whole world, and who afterwards deserved a Mission* [or, *Discharge*] *at our Nicomedia, we have indulged certain priviledges by an Edict,* &c. For the *Hadrianopolitane* Battel was fought *on the fifth day of the* Nones *of* July, as *Idatius* has recorded in *his Fasti,* and the *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle.* But the subscription of this Law is faulty. For, 'tis said to be published, *Licinius* the fifth time and *Crispus* being Consuls that is, on the year of Christ 318. Which gave occasion of mistake to *Baronius.* But, who sees not that it should be written, *Paulinus and Julianus being Coss?* For when they were Consuls, *Constantine* came to *Nicomedia,* after *Licinius* was Routed and totally vanquished. But, when *Licinius the fifth time, and Crispus were Consuls, Nicomedia* obeyed *Licinius,* and was the seat of his Empire. When they were Consuls therefore *Constantine* could not indulge a *Mission and Priviledges* to his own *Veteranes,* in the City *Nicomedia,* in regard that City was in no wise subject to his Government. Whereas therefore in *that Law Constantine* does term it *Our Nicomedia,* we must of necessity say, that *that Law* was dated in the Consulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus.* Vales.

CHAP. XVIII.

Licinius's Death, and the Triumphs celebrated over him.

* *Licinius.* THen he inflicted on that * Enemy of God, and on those about him, a condign punishment; to which he adjudged them by the Law of War. What persons soever therefore had been his Advisers to a War against God, were lead away, together with the Tyrant himself, and underwent a deserved punishment. And they, who [a] a little before had been puft up with a vain hope, did in reality embrace the God of *Constantine,* and profest that at length they acknowledged him to be the true and only God.

[a] Μικρὸν ὕστερον. I write, μικρῷ πρότερον, *a little before.* Unless we should say, that the words are transposed, which frequently occurs in *these Books.* And so *Christophorson* seems to have mended this place; μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἔφη ἡ κωνσταντίνου θεὸν οἷός ἦν παρελάμβανον, *a little after, did in reality discern the God of* Constantine, *what a God he was;* which reading is very good. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and in the *old Sheets,* from those words, *But when he saw,* to these, *only God;* 'tis but one chapter, not two, as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition.* Vales.

CHAP. XIX.

The publick Rejoycings and Festivities.

* Or, *Taken away.* MOreover, when the Impious were quite * destroyed, the Rays of the Sun in future appeared bright and pure, [the cloud as 'twere] of Tyrannick power [being dispersed.] And all parts of the world which paid obedience to the *Roman* Empire became conjoyned; those Provinces in the East were united to them in the West; and the whole Body of the Empire was adorned with * one universall Monarch, as with one Head; the Dominion and Authority of one person † comprehending all men whatever. And the bright Rays of the Light of Piety bestowed joyfull days on them, who before sate in darkness and the shadow of death. Nor did there remain any remembrance of the past Evills; in regard all persons every where adorned the Conquerour with praises, and profest they acknowledged the only God his preserver. Thus, Our Emperour, embellisht with all the virtues of Religion, *Constantinus Victor* (for he procured himself this [a] most agreeable and proper Surname and Title, on account of those Victories granted him by God over all his Enemies and Opposers:) received the East; and reduced under a Subjection to himself the entire *Roman* Empire, conjoyned as heretofore it had been. He was the first [Emperour] who publisht to all men the Dominion of one God: and he himself, posses of the sole Dominion over the *Roman* world, governed the whole Body of Mankind. All fear of those mischiefs wherewith all men had been heretofore oppresst, was now taken away. And they who in times past had been dejected and sorrowfull, then lookt one upon another with smiling countenances and chearfull eyes. In Dances also and Songs they first of all glorified God the King of Kings, ([b] for thus they were instructed to do;) and in the next place *The Victor Augustus,* and his most Modest and Pious Sons *The Cæsars,* with * uninterrupted Acclamations. There was an oblivion of past Afflictions, no remembrance of impiety; but an enjoyment of the present † Blessings, and an expectation of more in future.

* Or, *One Government of the whole.*

† Or, *Arriving at.*

[a] Κυριότητα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. In *Moræus's Copy* and the *King's Sheets* 'tis mended κυριώτατα. But I had rather write κυριωτάτην ἐπωνυμίαν, *this most agreeable and proper Surname. Constantine* used the *Prænomen* of *Victor,* as 'tis apparent from *his Constitutions and Letters.* In the *Gesta purgationis Cæciliani,* some of his Letters have this Inscription, *Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus. Eusebius* says therefore, that this was his proper name as 'twere. For the *Greeks* term a *proper name* κύριον ὄνομα. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ κυριώτατα ἐπωνυμίαν ἔθεντο. *Vales.*

[b] Ὅτα δὴ τοῦτον ἐδίδασκον. Make it ὅπη δὴ τοῦτο ἐδιδάσκοντο, *for thus they were instructed,* from the close of the *Tenth Book of his Ecclesiastical History,* where all these passages occur almost in the same words. A little after, write παῖδάς τε ἅμα κοσμιωτάτους, and *his most modest Sons* as 'tis in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts,* and in the *Kings Sheets.* Vales. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is παῖδα, *Son.*

CHAP. XX.

How Constantine *made Laws in favour of the Confessours.*

MOreover, the Emperour's Constitutions full of Clemency, were then * published amongst us also, as they had been before amongst those who inhabited the other part of the world: and Laws, breathing forth Piety towards God, gave various promises of all manner of Goods; in regard they bestowed [a] on the Provincials

* Or, *Opened.*

[a] In the *Alexandrian Chronicle* these words occur concerning *Constantine's* Liberality and Indulgence towards the Provincials; *on the twentieth year of his Empire,* ἀφῆρε τεχνιτῶν καὶ σωμπελεκτῶν τὰ ὀπτάσματα ἀφιείλεν, *he took off the Burthens of Artificers and Collators* (that is, *those of the Provincials who paid Tribute.*) Vales.

throughout each Province, what was usefull and of advantage to them; and assigned to the Churches of God those things that were congruous and convenient. And first of all, * they recalled home those persons, who, because they would not sacrifice to Idolls, had been banished by the Governours of Provinces, and compelled to remove out of their own Country. Then, they freed from publick Functions, those who for the same reason had been [b] adjudged to the *Curiæ*: and ordered, that such as had been deprived of their Goods, should have them restored to them again. Besides, they who during the time of Persecution, [having been strengthened] by God, had given a signall proof of their fortitude and constancy of mind; and were either condemned to the Mines, there to be tortured with daily Labour; or adjudged to a *Deportation* into the Islands; or had been forced [c] to a slavery in the *Publick Works*; these persons, freed on a sudden from all these disquietudes and troubles, enjoyed their Liberty. Further, such as, by reason of their egregious resoluteness in retaining their Religion, had been despoyled of the honour of the *Militia*, were recalled from this ignominy by the Emperour's Munificence: who gave them [d] a free Liberty of choice, either of recovering their proper Offices, and of flourishing in their Pristine dignities; or, if they were in love with a quiet and retired Life, of continuing in future exempt from the troubles of all publick Functions. Lastly, whatever persons in order to their being reproacht and disgrac't, had been condemned to a slavery in the [e] *Gynæcia*, them [the Emperour] set at Liberty as well as the rest.

* *The Laws.*

[b] Τὰς βουλὰς εἰσεδέντας. *Christophorson* understood not this place; but *Portesius* has rendred it, not unhappily, in this manner; *Qui eâdem de causâ translati erant ad Curias, who for the same reason had been removed to the Curiæ.* Valesius. *The Curiæ were the Offices of Corporations, the bearing whereof was generally very chargable and burthensome;* the persons who bore these Offices were termed *Curiales.*

[c] Δημοσίοις ἔργοις δουλεύειν. *Christophorson* renders this place ill, thus, *ad publica imperii opera obeunda vi compulsi, by force compelled to undergo the publick Works of the Empire. Eusebius* terms *the Mines, publick Bake-houses, Work-houses wherein they Wove,* and *Gynæcia*; δημόσια ἔργα: *to which works* who ever had been condemned by a sentence of the Judge, lost their Liberty. For this was termed a servitude of punishment. Now, 'twas usuall to condemn the *Christians* to such works as these, because of their confession of Christ's name. And, as to the *Mines* the matter is notorious. But, of a condemnation to the *publick Bake-house*, we have an instance in the *Acts of the Passion of Pope Marcellus.* Valesius.

[d] Ἐπ' ἐξουσίας. Two words seem to have grown into one, which are, thus to be disjoyned, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας. A little after, where the reading is, τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολαμβάνειν, *of recovering their Houses*; I think it must be, τὰς οἰκείας τάξεις ἀπολαμβάνειν, *of recovering their proper Offices.* For they had not been despoyled of their Houses, but of their Employments in the *Militia.* Valesius.

[e] Γυναικείοις δ' ἔργοις. Concerning the *Gynæcia* there is frequent mention, as well in both the *Codes*, as in the *Notitia of the* Roman *Empire.* See *Brissonius's Lexicon.* Further, persons condemned to the *Gynæcia*, were clothed in a short coat made of Linnen, which was a servile habit. We learn this from the *Passion of* Romanus *the Martyr, which is published by* Mombritius, and occurs in the *Musciacensian Copy. Eadem vero die Maximianus jussit,* &c. *But on the same day* Maximianus *commanded, that the Christians who were in the Pallace should be ungirt.* Maximianus *therefore took notice to himself of many passing by, whilst they were loosing their Girdles: and he saw* Isitius *of Blessed Memory; and being in a rage, called him to him, and stript him of the garments wherewith he was clothed, and clothed him* in a Linnen-short-coat, *and put him into the* Gynæceum *to the Wool-Workers, in order to his reproach.* Further, the *Fuketian Manuscripts* has this place written thus, ἐφ' ὕδατι ἢ ἀπιμία δουλεύειν κελεύσας ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἠλευθέρω, which is the truer reading no doubt, and we have followed it in our Version. *Valesius.* The *Gynæcium* or *Gynaiceium* (says *Brissonius* in *his Work de Verbo. Significat. book 7. fol. 254, Edit. Paris. 1596,*) signifies *the Weaving-House appointed for making the Garments of the Emperour.* The Emperours had Slaves of both Sexes employed in their *Gynæcia.* They had likewise Weaving-Houses for *Linnen Garments*, termed λινύφια *Linyphia*, which we find mentioned in *Chap. 34 of this Second* Book.

CHAP. XXI.

How [he made Laws] concerning the Martyrs, and concerning the Estates of the Churches

And these were the Establishments which the Emperour made in written Laws, concerning such persons as had undergone those sufferings. But in relation to their goods, a most full and ample provision was made by a Law of the Emperour's. For he commanded, that the Goods and Estates of God's holy Martyrs, who had ended their lives in their Confession, should be enjoyed by their nearest Relatives. But, if no Relation of their's could be found, then the Churches were to have their Estates. And, the [Imperial] Letter of Indulgence ordered, that the Goods which had been heretofore transferred to others, out of the Treasury, either by a Sale, or by donation; and which remained still in the Treasury, should be returned back to their Owners. Such were the favours which the Emperour's benignity conferred upon the Church of God, by his Laws transmitted into all the Provinces.

CHAP. XXII.

In what manner he refreshed and cherish't the People also.

But, his Imperial Munificence bestowed more, and far greater Favours than these, upon the people that were strangers to our Religion, and upon all the Provinces. Wherefore, all the Inhabitants of our [*Eastern Countries,*] [b] who having before this received an account of what had been done in the other part of the *Roman* Empire, had styled them happy because they were possest of such Blessings; and who fervently prayed, that they themselves might at length enjoy the like: beholding these things with their own eyes, * doubted not of terming themselves blessed now; and confest, that some new Miracle, and such a one as no Age under the Rays of the Sun had ever beheld before, so great and gracious an Emperour [namely,] had † appeared to mankind. And these were their Sentiments.

[a] Δήμοις τε τοῖς ἐκτὸς. It must be, Δήμοις δὲ, *But,* &c. and from these words the twenty second chapter is to be begun, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuscripts* and the *Old Sheets.* Valesius.

[b] Ὅσα τὸ πρὶν. I mend it, ὅσοι τὸ πρὶν, *who having before this*: which *Christophorson* saw not. I write also, πυθανόμενοι τὰ ἐν δευτέρῳ, *received an account of what,* &c. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Thought good to style.*

† Or, *shined upon.*

CHAP. XXIII.

That he publickly Proclaimed God the Authour of Good; and concerning the Copies of his Laws.

But, when the Emperour, by the power of God his Saviour, had reduced all places under a Subjection to himself, he himself made known to all men that God who had bestowed these Blessings upon him: and attested, that He

* *God.*

* He, not himself, was to be accounted the Authour of his Victories. And this he declared by his Letters, written as well in the *Latine* as *Greek* Tongue, and sent throughout every Province. Further, the [a] powerfullness of his Language will easily be perceived by him, who shall apply himself to the perusall of his Letters, They were two: the one directed to *the Churches of God*; the other, *to the people in every City that were Strangers to our Religion.* [b] Which Latter, in regard 'tis accommodate to our present Subject, I think fit to insert here; both, that the Copy of this Letter may be recorded in the Monuments of History, and consigned to posterity; and also, that the truth of our Relation may receive confirmation. It was transcribed from an Authentick Copy of the Imperial Law, which is in our Custody. A subscription whereto in the Emperour's own * hand, does, like some Seal, † assert the verity of our Narrative.

[a] *Eusebius* praises the Emperour *Constantine*'s Eloquence. For that is the meaning of these words. But *Christophorson* seems to have read τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων πῶς ἀληθείαν, *the truth of our discourse.* It must also be written μάθοις δ' ἄν, as *Turnebus* has mended it at the side of *his Copy*; and the same is the reading in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts.* Besides, from these words the 24th *Chapter* is begun, both in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and in the *Old Sheets.* Vales.

* Or, *Right hand.*

† Or, *Record the evidence of the confirmation of our discourse.*

[b] Ὁ δὴ τῇ παρούσῃ. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis ἃ τῇ παρούσῃ; which reading the *Geneva-men* have taken notice of, as occuring in some Copies. But, this way of writing is not to be born with. For φερσῆκον in the singular number follows. Besides, *Eusebius* produces but one Constitution of *Constantine*'s here; to wit, that which had been sent by *Constantine* to the *Provincials.* He does indeed attest, that two Laws had been issued forth together in favour of the *Christians*; the one *to the Catholick Church*, the other *to the Provincials.* But he annexes the Copy but of one of them, namely of that which had been sent to the *Provincials of Palestine.* The other, sent *to the Churches*, is omitted by *Eusebius*, either because it had been drawn according to the same Copy with *that to the Provincials*; or for some other reason. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Constantine's Law concerning Piety towards God, and concerning the *Christian Religion.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,

[a] To the Provincials of Palestine.

[a] Ἐπαρχειώταις παλαιστινοῖς. In the *Medicæan Manuscript* I found it written, ἐπαρχιώταις παλαιστινοῖς, *to the Palestinian Provincials.* Further, from these words I began the 24th *Chapter*, following the authority of the *Kings* and *Fuketian Manuscripts.* Vales.

* *Distinction*, or, *diversity.*

[b] Πᾶσαν ἀνείρυσαι. From the *Medicæan Manuscript* make it κἀν πᾶσιν, &c. *And such as*, &c. And a little after, from the same Manuscript it must be read τῷ χειστιανισμῷ θρεπτείαν, *worship of Christianity*; and the same is the reading in the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Manuscript.* Vales. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis χειστιανισμῷ θρεπτείαν.

[c] καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντας. The *Medicæan Manuscript* has it καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ἐθέλοντας, *desirous of contemning it*; which reading seems to me much truer. *Vales.*

Amongst those whose Sentiments concerning the Deity are right and prudent, it has long since been made apparent by a manifest * *Evidence,* [b] *and such as is sufficient far to remove all scruple whatever; how great a difference there hath been between an accurate observancy in reference to the most venerable Worship of Christianity, and those who are its Opposers* [c] *and desirous of contemning it. But now, by far evidenter Actions and more illustrious Exploits, as well the absurdity of the doubt hath been demonstrated, as also, how great the power of the Supream God is. In as much as, to those who faithfully revere the venerable Law, and dare not violate any of its precepts, a plenty of* * *Blessings is presented, and an incomparable strength with good hopes to effect what they have attempted. But, to them who have embraced an impious Opinion,* [d] *even the Events were correspondent to the designes. For, who ever obtained any thing of good, that would not acknowledge God to be the Authour of Goods, and refused to pay Him a due Worship?* [e] *Indeed, the things themselves give confirmation to what we affirm.*

* Or, *Goods.*

[d] Καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα. The reading in the *Medicæan Manuscript* is far truer. For thus it runs, ἀκόλουθα ἦ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἦν. τὶς γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθῶν τύχοι τινὸς, &c. *even the Events*, &c. And after the word *Worship*, it has a point, which is the mark of an interrogation. *Vales.*

[e] Πίστιν τῷ. The reading in the *Medicæan Manuscript* is far more elegant, thus, πίστιν δὲ τῷ ῥηθέντι, *Indeed, the things*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXV.

An Example from ancient Times.

IF therefore any one does in his thoughts run over the [a] *former Times derived down as far as these days of ours, and in his mind contemplates the Affairs heretofore transacted; he will find all those, who laid Justice and Probity as the foundation of their Actions, both to have brought their attempts to an happy issue, and (as from some root of sweetness) to have likewise gathered the pleasantest fruit. But [he will perceive] them, who have audaciously attempted unjust Facts; (and have either [broken out] into a foolish madness against God himself; or have entertained not one good thought* [b] *towards mankind; but have inflicted Exiles, Infamies,* * *Proscriptions, Slaughters, and many other such like [punishments;] and who never repented at any time, nor recalled their mindes to a better Temper:) to have received rewards of the like nature. And these things do happen* [c] *not ill and unseemly, nor contrary to reason.*

[a] Ἀναδὺν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο. The particle καὶ is wanting in the *Medicæan Manuscript*; nor is it very necessary. Presently, where the reading is τὰς πρὸ τοῦ γεγονυίας, *heretofore transacted*; the same *Manuscript* has it, τὰς πώποτε γεγονυίας, *at any time transacted.* Also, instead of ἐπιχειρήσεως πέρας *the Issue of their attempt*; 'tis written, τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις πέρας, *their attempts to an issue*; in which manner I found it written in the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Manuscript.* Vales.

* Or, *Publications of Goods.*

[b] This place is imperfect, and ought thus to be restored from the *Medicæan Manuscript*; καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀνοήτως ἐκμανέντας, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἦθος λογισμὸν ὅσιον μηδένα λαβόντας, &c; which reading we have expresst in our Rendition. *Vales.*

[c] Οὐκ ἀπεικότως. In the *Medicæan Manuscript* 'tis written, οὐκ ἂν ἀπεικότως, οὐδ' ἂν ὑπὸ λόγῳ συμβαίνοι. In the *King's Manuscript* also 'tis συμβαίνοι. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Persecuted, and the Persecutors.

[a] *FOr, what ever persons proceed to Action with a just [purpose of] mind, and have the fear of God continually in their thoughts, preserving their Faith towards Him firm and unshaken; and who do not prefer present fears and dangers before the hopes of those future things: although they may have had experience of some Troubles and afflictions for a time, yet they have not born what befell them with heaviness, because they believe, that greater Rewards are treasured*

[a] At these words I began the 26th *Chapter*, from the *Fuk. Manuscript*, and the *King's Sheets.* Vales.

treasured up for them. But, by how much more pressing the Calamities were, wherewith they have been tryed; by so much more shining was the Glory they obtained. [b] But, such as have either dishonourably contemned what is just; or not acknowledged God themselves, and have dared to inflict on those who faithfully * worship Him, Contumelies and the cruellest of punishments; and who have not judged themselves wretched, because they have [c] punished [men] upon such Pretexts as these; nor [accounted the persons thus punish't] happy and blessed, who amidst so great sufferings have preserved their Piety towards God inviolate: Many of these mens Armies have been ruined, and many routed. In fine, their whole Military Forces have ended in a totall Overthrow.

[b] Ὅσοι δὲ τὸ δίκαιον ἀτίμως. The reading in the Medicæan Manuscript is truer, thus, ὅσοι δὲ ἢ τὸ δίκαιον ἀτίμως παρεῖδον ἢ τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, But such as have either dishonourably, &c. see note (b.) Vales.

* Or, Follow.

'Tis much like what he had said above, at chap. 25, where

[c] Ἐκόλαζον. In the Medicæan Manuscript the reading is κολάζοιντο, which is truer if I mistake not. A little after, the same Copy has it, εἰς αἰσχίστην ἔληξεν ἧτταν, have ended in a most reproachfull Overthrow. Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

That Persecution hath been the Occasion of Mischief to those who waged War.

* Or, Heavy.

FRom such [impieties] as these, * Bloudy Wars have risen, and dismall devastations. Hence [hath been occasioned] a want of necessaries for daily use, and a multitude of [a] impendent Mischiefs. Hence, the Authours of so great Impiety, fallen under the pressures of the extreamest calamities, have either perished by an [b] unhappy death; or, leading a most reproachfull Life, have acknowledged that more afflictive than Death it self; and have received punishments in a manner equall to their unjust Actions. For, each of them hath met with Mischiefs so much the more Calamitous, with how much more of vehemency he had through madness resolved to assault (as he hoped,) and put a force upon the Divine Law. In so much that, they were not only disquieted with the Troubles of this present Life, but most acutely tortured with a fear and expectation of the Infernall punishments.

[a] Ἐπιζημιούντων κακῶν. In the Medicæan Manuscript 'tis ἐπηρτημένων δεινῶν, impendent Miseries. And a little before, in the same Copy, the reading is, ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἀναφύονται, &c. From such [impieties] as these, bloudy Wars arise. Vales.

[b] Παιωλεθρον. The Medicæan Copy adds a word, in this manner, θάνατον παιωλεθρον ἐδυσχήσας, perished by an unhappy death. A little after, in the same Manuscript the reading is, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔκαστος ἐυρεθῆ συμφορῶν, For, each of them hath found, or met with, &c. which doubtless is truer. Vales.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That God chose *Constantine* to be the Minister of Blessings.

FUrther, when so great and sore an impiety had seized [a] Mankind; and the Republick, as 'twere by the rage of some Pestilentiall distemper, was infected with the imminentest of dangers, and therefore wanted a Cure that was salutary and great; what solace, what Remedy did God find out, to free us from these evills? (Now, when I speak of God, [b] He must always be meant, who really is the only God, and is possest of a perpetuall power in every Age. [c] Nor will it in any wise be arrogancy for him, who acknowledges the Benefits [received] from God, to speak magnificently.) [d] God himself hath required and determined to make use of our assistance as fit in order to [the Completion of] his own will. Who having begun from that Brittish Ocean, and those parts where, by a determined Necessity, the Sun is ordered to set; and having [e] by a certain divine power expelled and dissipated [f] all those mischiefs which had possest [the world;] both, that Mankind, instructed by My Ministery, might be recalled to an observancy of the most Venerable Law; and also, that the most Blessed Faith might be increased and propagated, by God Himself being the Leader:

[a] Τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis τὰ ἀνθρώπεια. And a little after, θεραπείας σωτηρίας πολλῆς, a great salutary Cure; without the Conjunction. Vales.

[b] Ἐννοητέον. In the Medicæan Copy, the simple term occurs instead of the compounded, thus, νοητέον; which has less of roughness. A little after, the reading in the same Copy is, ὃ μόνον τε καὶ ὡς ὄντως ὄντι. Vales.

[c] Πάντως δὲ κόμπος ἂν εἴη. The reading in the Medicæan Manuscript is truer, πάντως δὲ ἂ κόμπος τὸ πῶ παρὰ τοῦ, &c. Nor will it in any wise, &c. which emendation Zosimus confirms book 1. chap 8. where he has epitomized this Law of Constantine. Vales.

[d] Τὴν γὰρ ἐμὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, For God Himself hath required, &c. In the Medicæan Copy the particle γὰρ is wanting, which to me seems altogether superfluous. Vales.

[e] Κρείττονί τινι δυνάμει, by a certain divine power. The two last words are wanting in the Medicæan Copy, and the term κρείττονι is referred to the word ἀνάγκην which went before; in this manner, by a divine necessity, the Sun is ordered to set; and having expelled, &c. Vales.

[f] Τὰ κατέχοντα πάντα δεινά. After these words, the Fuketian, Turnebian and Savil. Copies adde these two, ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, hath wholly taken away. And so Christophorson read, as 'tis apparent from his Version, which at this place is very intricate. But I am of opinion, that those words [ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς βρεττανοῖς ἑκείνης θαλάσσης ἀρξάμενος, &c. Who, having begun from that Brittish Ocean, &c.] are spoken concerning Constantine himself, and not concerning God, as Musculus and Christophorson thought. Wherefore, there is no need of those words ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, which occur not, either in the Medicæan or King's Copy, or in the Old Sheets: especially, in regard it follows in the next chapter, μέχρι καὶ ἧδε ἐώων πρόειμι, I am come as far as the Eastern parts. Vales.

CHAP. XXIX.

Constantine's Pious Expressions towards God; and his praise of the Confessours.

([a] FOr I could never have been ingratefull in reference to the Benefit wherewith I am obliged; in regard I firmly believe [b] this most excellent Ministery to have been conferred on Me as a Gift of the highest value;) at length I am come as far as the Eastern Parts. Which [Countries,] because they * groan under heavier Calamities, call for a greater Cure from us. Further, I do most firmly believe, that My whole Soul, all that I breath, and what ever dwells within the inmost recesses of my mind, is entirely owing from Me to the Supream God. I know accurately well indeed, that they who have rightly pursued † an hope of Celestiall things, and have [c] peculiarly and firmly placed this Queen in the divine ‖ dwellings; do in no wise stand in need of the Benevolence of men: in regard they enjoy

* Or, Are seized with.

† Or, The Celestiall hope.

‖ Or, Places.

[a] Οὐκ ἂν ἀγνώμων. In the Medicæan Copy the reading is, οὐκ ἂν ἀγνώμων; right, if you make it ἀγνώμων; For I could never have been ungratefull. Further, these words from for I could, to highest value, must be understood as spoken by a Parenthesis. In the Fuketian and Turnebian Copies the reading is, οὐκ ἂν ἀγνώμων. Vales.

[b] Τῷ δείσῳ. In the Medicæan Copy this whole place is written far truer, thus, πάντῳ δείσῳ διακονίαν, τοῦτο καιρεισμῷδο ἑαυτῷ δῶρον πιστεύσας, μέχρι καὶ ἧδε ἐώων πρόειμι, &c. in regard I firmly believe this most excellent, &c. as we have rendred it. Further, with these words the whole period is concluded, which begins from those words of the preceding chapter, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς βρεττανοῖς. who having begun from that Brittish, &c. which the Translatours perceived not. Nor could I my self ever have found it out, without the assistance of the Medicæan Copy. Vales.

[c] Ἐξαίρετόν τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς. The Medicæan Manuscript has it written, ἐξαίρετόν τε καὶ βασιλίδα ἀσφαλῶς, and have peculiarly and firmly placed this Queen. The Emperour Constantine terms the hope of the Sons of God, a Queen, because it excells all humane things Vales.

so

so much the Greater Honours, [d] *by how much farther they have removed and separated themselves from* * *the vices and impieties of Mortality. Nevertheless, I account it as belonging to Me, at the greatest distance now to remove, from persons void of all fault and reprehension, those necessities imposed on them for a time, and those misbecoming tortures. Otherwise, it would be most absurd, that these mens fortitude and stability of mind, should have been made apparent under their Reign, who were desirous of persecuting them, on account of their Worship of God: but, that under a servant of God [swaying the Imperiall scepter,] their Glory should not have been raised* [c] *to an higher degree of Resplendency and Blessedness.*

* Or, *Terrene defects.*

[d] Ὅσῳπερ ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῦ. Before I had gotten the *Medicæan Copy*, I perceived the reading was to be, ὅσῳπερ σφᾶς αὐτοῦ, *by how much farther they have removed and separated themselves from*, &c; which conjecture the *Medicæan Manuscript* hath plainly confirmed. In which also the reading is, τοσούτῳ τε *so much the greater*; but γ is overwritten, thus, τοσοῦτῳ γε. *Valesi.*

[c] Εἰς λαμπρότερόν τι. In the *Medicæan Copy* I found it written, εἰς λαμπρότερον ἢ μακαριότερον χῆμα τὴν δόξαν, &c. *to a more resplendent and more blessed Scheme or Figure.* Valesi.

CHAP. XXX.

A Law setting [men] free from Banishment, from *The Curia*, and from Proscription of Goods.

LEt all those therefore, whether they be such as have changed their Country for a strange Soil; because they would not * *betray their Honour and Faith towards God, to which with their whole souls they had consecrated themselves, at what time soever each of them have been condemned by the cruell* [a] *Sentences of the Judges: or, whether they be such as have been enrolled within the Catalogues of the* Curiales, *when as before they did not fill up their Number: be now restored both* [b] *to their paternal Estates, and to their wonted leasure, and return thanks to God the Deliverer of all. Also, whoever have been deprived of their Goods, and,* [c] *stricken with a* * *Mulct of their whole substance, have hitherto led a most miserable and sad life; let them likewise be restored to their Pristine habitations,* [d] *Families, and Goods; and may they with gladness enjoy the Beneficence of God.*

* Or, *Contemn.*

[a] Γνώμας δικαστῶν. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis γνώσεσι; and a little after, the reading is συνκατηριθμησαν καταλόγοις, *have been enrolled together within*, &c. In the *King's Sheets* and *Fuketian Copy* 'tis συνηριθμησαν, *have been enrolled within.* Valesi. The same with this last is the reading in *Robert Stephens.*

* Or, *Loss.*

[b] Χωρίοις τοῖς πατρίοις. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is righter, thus, χωρίοις τε πατρώοις ἀποκαταστάντες, *be now restored both to their*, &c. In the *King's Copy* the reading is also ἀποκαταστάντες: in *Robert Stephens* 'tis ἀποκατασήσωντες. Further, *Eusebius* here calls *their paternall Lands or Estates*, πατρῶα χωρία. For those that were lyable or bound to serve in the *Curiæ*, (into which the richest persons were wont to be enrolled;) their Farms or Lands were enslaved to the *Curiæ*; [that is, were burthened with such Services and Offices as belonged to the Courts of Corporations.] Therefore, although they withdrew themselves by flight, it availed them nothing, in regard *The Curia* seized their Farms. *Constantine* therefore appoints by *this Constitution*, that those who had been bound to *the Curiæ* on account of the *Christian* Faith, (provided their paternall Farms, which the *Curia* had made seizure of, were not of a *Curial original*;) should recover those their paternall Farms. Wherefore *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, thus, *Patriis sedibus, to their Fathers seats.* *Turnebus* in *his Copy* hath mended it, ἀποκαταστάντες. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written ἀποκαταστήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς; as 'tis also in Sr *Henry Savil's Copy*, and in *Christophorson*. Valesi.

[c] Καταπονηθέντες, *oppress.* In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is καταπεπληγότες, *stricken*, which pleases me better. For, 'tis a *Civill-Law Term.* So, *ferire mulctâ, to be stricken or smitten with a mulct*, occurs frequently in the Constitutions of the Emperours. *Valesi.*

[d] Γενέσεσι, *Generations.* In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis χρέσει, *Families.* And a little after, the reading there is χαίροντες ἀπολαύοιεν, *and may they with gladness enjoy.* Valesi. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis χαίροντες ἀπολαύσουσιν, *and they shall with gladness enjoy.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Those in Islands likewise.

MOreover, we Command, that what ever persons are detained in Islands [a] *against their wills, shall enjoy [the benefit of] this provision* [b]: *to the end that they, who hitherto have been inclosed, both within the impassable Craggs of Mountains, and within the surrounding Sea, being freed from their sad and inhumane Solitude, should restore themselves to their dearest Relatives, and fulfill their wishes and desires. And, that such as for a long time have lived a miserable and necessitous Life in a most* [c] *detestable filthiness, having obtained their return as some prey given to them, and being in future freed from Cares,* [d] *should without fear live with us. For, for any one to live in fear under us, who both boast and believe our selves to be the servants of God, would not only be a very absurd thing to be heard, but also much more to be believed. For our* * *usage is such, that we would correct the faults of others.*

* Nature, or, *disposition.*

[a] Not without reason he has added the words ἄ βουλομένους, *against their wills*; because of the Monks, who lived a solitary life in Islands. *Valesi.*

[b] Ὅπως οἱ μέχρι νῦν. The *Medicæan Manuscript* gives us a different reading, in this manner; ὅπως μόλις ποτὲ ὁρῶν τε, &c. *to the end that they who at any time have with some difficulty been inclosed*, &c. And a little after, αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦεν, *may restore themselves.* Also, οἱ πανιχρὸν, *that such as for*, &c; not ὅ τι πανίχρων, *And, that such*, &c. Valesi.

[c] Ἀποτροπαίᾳ ῥύπῳ, *detestable filthiness.* In the *Medicæan Copy* I found it written προστοπαίᾳ ῥύπῳ. Which perhaps is truer. The import whereof is *cum invidioso quodam squalore, with an hated nastiness.* Valesi.

[d] Μὴ μετὰ φόβου σὺν ἡμῖν βιῶσιν. This place is written far otherwise in the *Medicæan Copy.* For, that *Manuscript* hath a full point after these words καὶ τῆς φερομένων εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπαλλαγῶσι, *and being in future freed from cares.* Then, it words the following passage thus; μὴ φόβῳ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν βιῶσι, οἳ Θεοῦ θεράποντες εἶναι αὐχοῦμεν τε καὶ πιστεύομεν. καὶ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἐλθεῖν μόνον εἴη ἂν αἰσχρὸν, ἂν μὴ γε μὴν ἢ μοχθηρείας, ἢ τὰς περὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δημοσίοις ὑπηρεσίας πλεῖν. That is; *For, to live with fear under Us, who both boast and believe we are the servants of God; would be a most absurd thing even barely to be heard; much more, that any one should undergoe either the sore Labours [at the Mines,] or the services in the publick works.* Which reading, in my sentiment, is purer, and more plain than the common one. *Valesi.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Also, Those who have been * condemned to the Mines and Publick Works.

* Or, *Disgrac't in the*, &c.

ALso, what ever persons have been condemned either to work in the sore Labours of the Mines, or to undergo the Services in the Publick Works; Let such men exchange their continual Toyls for a [a] *sweet leisure, and in future lead a more easie life agreeable to their own minds, and conclude* * *the Troubles of their immoderate Labours with a pleasing rest.* [b] *And although some of them may have* † *lost their common Liberty, and may have been so unfortunate as to have been marked with infamy; nevertheless, let them with a becoming joy recover their Pristine dignity separated from them by some long voyage as it were, and hasten to return into their own Countries.*

* Or, *The immoderate Troubles of their Labours.*

† Or, *Exiled from.*

[a] Τὴν γλυκεῖαν σχολήν. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis γλυκείαν. In the *Fuketian* 'tis γλυκίω. *Valesi.*

[b] Εἰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it, εἰ δὲ καὶ; which is far truer. *Turnebus* in *his Copy* had mended it, καὶ εἰ τῆς κοινῆς; but the reading of the *Medicæan Manuscript* is truer, which is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy.* Valesi.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Confessours who have been employed in the *Militia*.

FUrther, *to those who have heretofore been* * *adorned* [a] *with Military dignities, and have lost them upon this cruel and unjust pretence, to wit, because professing the knowledge of God,* [b] *they preferred that before the dignity they were* * Or, Eligible according to their will. *possest of; it shall be* * *free to choose, whether they will embrace their Military Employes, and continue in the same figure they were in;* [c] *or live in freedome with an honourable discharge. For it will be fit and agreeable to reason, that he who hath demonstrated such a greatness of mind and Constancy in undergoing* † *torments inflicted on him, should, according to his own choice, enjoy either Repose, or Honour.*

† Or, Dangers.

* Or, *Approved in.*

[a] Ἐπὶ στρατηγικαῖς ἀξίαις. The *Medicæan Copy* has it ἐν στρατηγικαῖς, &c; *in Military dignities:* and a little after, διὰ τῶν ἀπηνῶν, *upon this cruell*, &c. *Valesi.*

[b] Περιήμησαν. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, περιμόρτερον ἧς εἶχον ἀξίας ἦγον, ἔστω σφῶν βούλησιν, *they accounted that more valuable then the dignity they had; let it be according to their will. Valesi.*

[c] Ἐλευθερίαν ἄγειν. From the *Medicæan Copy* it must be written ἐλευθέραν ἄγειν σχολὴν, *leade a free Leisure.* Which reading *Sozomen* confirms book 1. chap. 8. where he has epitomized this Law of *Constantine.* In the *Fuketian Manuscript* I found it written, ἐντίμως ἐλευθερίαν ἄγειν, *live in freedome honourably.* But the *Medicæan Copy* has it written, ἔντιμον ἐλευθέραν ἄγειν σχολὴν, *lead an honourable free Leisure.* Valesi.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The setting at Liberty those free persons in the *Gynæcea*, or them delivered over to Slavery.

[a] *ALso, whatever persons, by force deprived of their Nobility, have from the Judges received some such like sentence as this, that being thrust into the* * Gynæcea *or* Linyphia, *they have endured* [b] *Cruell and miserable Labour, or were accounted Servants of the Treasury, their Pristine splendour of Birth* [c] *being of no advantage to them: Let such men (rejoycing both at the honours they formerly enjoyed, and at the* † *priviledge of their Liberty,) recover their usuall dignities, and in future live in all manner of gladness. And let him (* [d] *who has changed his Liberty for Slavery, by an unjust and inhumane madness of the* [e] *Seller, and hath often* [f] *lamented his unusuall servile offices, perceiving himself on a sudden as 'twere made a servant from being a free man;) receive his former freedome according to this our command, and restore himself to his Parents, and undergo those Labours that befit a Freeman; having cast out of his memory those misbecoming servilities,* [g] *which he had before Laboured under.*

* See chap. 20. note (e.)

† Or, Goods.

[a] Καὶ μὴν ὅσοι. The *Medicæan Copy* has it καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅσοι, *moreover, whatever persons*, &c. *Valesi.*

[b] Ἀπηνῆ τε καὶ ἄθλιον. In the *Medicæan Copy* I found it written λύδη καὶ; from which, though a corrupt word, I presently smelt out the true and genuine reading of this place. I write therefore ἀΐδη καὶ ἄθλιον, *an unusuall and miserable Labour.* For, such servilities in the *Gynæcea* and *Weaving Houses* were unusuall to free men. The *same Copy* has πόνον, not κόπον. *Valesi.*

[c] Οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐπαρκούσης. The reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, thus, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, &c. *being of no advantage to them.* And a little after, from the *same Copy* I write χαλοῖς ἐνδοξαζομένοις, *rejoycing*——*at*, &c. Valesi.

[d] Καὶ ὁ δουλείαν τῶν ἐλευθερίας. The *Medicæan Copy* adds a word, in this manner, καὶ ὁ δουλείαν μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας, &c. which is truer, if I mistake not. For the Emperour distinguishes two sorts of men: some of which, being nobly born, were enslaved to the *Gynæcea*, or made servants of the *Fiscall Farms*, which was a nobler servitude: others of them, whose extraction was meaner, were sold to private men. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, καὶ ὁ δουλεία τῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἀλλαξάμενος. *Valesi.*

[e] Πολίτης ἀπορροία. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis written δόπτε ἀπορροία. He means the boldness and immanity of the Judge, who had despoiled a free man of his Liberty, on account of his confession of the true God. In the *Kings Sheets* I found it written πωλήτης; the *Fuketian Copy* has it πωλητῆ. *Valesi.*

[f] Ἀποδυρόμενον, *lamenting:* in the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is truer, thus, ἀποδυρόμενον, *hath*——*lamented.* Valesi.

[g] Ὡς πρότερον ἐμόχθησεν In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis more elegantly expresst, ἃς προεμόχθησεν; and a little before, ἐκβαλὼν τῆς μνήμης, *having cast out of his memory.* And the same is the reading in the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Copy.* Further, from these words 'tis sufficiently apparent, that what I have said is true, *viz.* that in this latter place *Constantine* speaks of the viler and meaner sort of people, who had been sold by the sentence of the Judge. For, concerning the former sort who were eminent for the splendour of their Birth, *Constantine* says that they may now recover their Pristine dignity. But he sends away these latter to the Services and Labours usually undergone by Freemen. *Valesi.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the succession in inheriting the Goods of Martyrs and Confessours, and of such persons as had been banished, and of them whose Goods had been brought into the Treasury.

BUt, *we must not omit mentioning those Estates,* [a] *whereof severall persons have been deprived upon various pretences. Wherefore, if any persons, undergoing the eximious and divine Combat of Martyrdom with a fearlesness and confidence of mind, have been deprived of their Goods;* [b] *or, if any men, made Confessours, have procured themselves the* * *hope of Eternall Goods; also, whatever persons (forc't to remove out of their Country, because by betraying their Faith they would not yield to the Persecutors;) have in like manner been deprived of their Goods: Lastly,* [c] *if any persons, though not condemned by a Capitall sentence, have* [a] Δι' ἃς ἕκαστοι. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it, ᾗν ἕκαστοι καὶ διαφόρως ἐστερήθησαν προφάσεις, *whereof severall*, &c. And a little after, ἢ ἀεισόν τε καὶ θεῖον ἀγῶνα; which we have rendred accordingly. Neither do these words δι' ἃς occur in the *King's Sheets.* Further, I found the beginning of this period variously written in the *old Copies.* For in the *Medicæan Manuscript* 'tis read thus, παρεατέον δὲ ἐδὲ τὸ ἧβι ὅσων, &c. In the *King's Sheets*, παρεατέον δὲ ἐδὲ τὸ, &c. *Turnebus* in *his Copy* had mended it, παρετέον. In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written, παρεατέον δὲ ἐδὲ τὸ ἧβι ὅσων ὧν ἕκαστοι, &c. The *King's Copy* has also παρεατέον. Wherefore, I doubt not but this is the true reading, and do wonder why *Robert Stephens* changed it. *Valesi.*

* Or, Eternall hope.

[b] Καὶ ὁμολογήσαι καταδάντες. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, εἴ τέ τινες ὁμολογηταὶ καταδάντες, *or, if any men*; which, I doubt not, is truer. For, whereas he had before spoken of the Martyrs, he now speaks of the Confessours. A little after, from the *same Copy*, write thus, καὶ λανθανόντες ὅτι μὴ τοῖς διώξασιν εἶξαν παεσδόντες τῷ πίστιν, ἧβι ὄντων ἐσέσωντο, &c. (*forc't*——, *because by contemning the Faith they would not yield to the Persecutors;*) *have*——*been deprived of their Goods*; &c. *Valesi.*

[c] *Christophorson* omitted this Clause, because it seemed nothing else but a superfluous repetition of what went before. But, in regard these words occur in the *Medicæan Copy* also, they are not rashly to be expunged. For, after the Emperour had spoken concerning the Martyrs, concerning the Confessours, and concerning the Exiles, who for fear of a Capitall sentence pronounc't against them, had left their Country; he now treats of those, who though they had not been condemned by a Capitall sentence, had nevertheless been despoyled of their Goods. For these were not in the number of Martyrs, or Confessours; in regard they had not been brought to a Tryall. Nor, had they been Exiles; but staying in their own Country, had by force been deprived of their possessions. 'Tis certain, in the Title or Contents of this Chapter, four sorts of persons are reckoned up. But *Christophorson* omitted the *fourth sort.* Nevertheless, in the following chapter, the Emperour recounts three sorts of persons only, these last being wholly omitted. *Valesi.*

nevertheless

nevertheless had the hard fortune to suffer a loss of their Goods: Our Order is, that the Inheritances of all these persons shall be given to their nearest Relations. Further, [d] whereas the Laws do in express words command, that the nearer of the kindred [shall receive the Inheritance,] 'tis easie to know, to whom the Inheritances belong. [e] And moreover, 'tis agreeable to reason, that they should come to the succession, [f] who would have been the nearer of kin, if those persons had ended their lives by their own and a naturall death.

[d] Διαφθόντων τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀγχιστέων τοὺς ἐγγυτέρω. In the successions of persons intestate, the Law calls the nearest of the *Agnati* [or, *Kindred by the Male line*] to the Inheritance, if their own Heirs be wanting, as *Gaius* informs us in *his Institutions Titulo decimo sexto*. Hence, the *Agnati* are by the Law termed *Legitimi Hæredes, Lawfull Heirs*, because the Law casts the Inheritance upon these only. For, the *Cognati* [*Kindred by the Female line*] could not be Heirs by the *Civil Law*, but were called to the Inheritance by the *Jus Prætorium* only, as Lawyers inform us. Further, amongst the *Cognati*, he that was nearest took the Inheritance, in the same manner as amongst the *Agnati*. But there is a difficulty in this place, who ought to be meant by the word ἀγχιστέων *of the Kindred*, whether the *Agnati*, or *Cognati*. 'Tis certain, if by the term *Laws* we understand the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, it will be necessary that the *Agnati* should be meant. *Sozomen* words it thus, τοῖς ἐγγυτέρω γένους, *to those nearer of Kin*. Valef.

[e] Καὶ ἔτι. In the *Kings Copy* the reading is καὶ ἔτι *and moreover*; which reading I have followed in my Version. At first it had been written in *that Copy*, ὅτι *because*; and afterwards, in a more modern hand, it was mended, ἔτι *moreover*. Valef.

[f] Ὅιπερ ἦσαν καὶ οἰκειότεροι, καὶ ἀυλομάτω χρησαμένων ἐκείνων τῷ τέλει. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, ὅιπερ ἦσαν οἰκειότεροι. The meaning of this place is very obscure. *Christophorson* renders it thus; *Et quod ratione etiam oportet eos succedere, qui sint domesticâ consuetudine conjunctiores, constat: præsertim cùm illi ipsi Martyres, non criminis ullius convicti, sed suâ inducti voluntate, mortem oppetiverint; i. e. And that in reason they ought to succeed, who are nearer by a domestick acquaintance, 'tis manifest: especially, in regard those very Martyrs, not convicted of any crime, but induced by their own will, underwent death.* But, there are many things to be found fault with in this Rendition. For first, αὐτόματον τέλος *a voluntary death or end*, cannot be spoken in reference to the Martyrs. Secondly, the discourse here is not concerning the Martyrs alone, but concerning the Confessours also, and those that had fled their Country, who had dyed by their own death. Therefore, 'tis better to render it here, *suâ & naturali morte, by their own and a naturall death*. For so *Græcians* are wont to express themselves, and particularly our *Eusebius*, if I mistake not. Lastly, he has rendred the term οἰκειότεροι very ill in these words *domesticâ consuetudine conjunctiores, nearer by a domestick acquaintance*; whereas the import of that term is *persons nearer related*. I render therefore this whole place thus, *Rationi consentaneum est, ut hi ad successionem veniant, qui propinquiores erant futuri, si illi suâ morte obiissent. 'tis agreeable to reason*, &c. Our Rendition is confirmed, both by what I have said above, and also from what the Emperour says, ὅιπερ ἦσαν οἰκειότεροι, *who would have been the nearer of Kin*, not εἰσὶν *who are*. Now, by the next words, viz. *those persons*, he means *the Martyrs*. Valef.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That the Church is to be Heir to those who have no Relations; and that the Legacies given by them shall remain firm.

BUt, *if none of the Kindred be left, who, agreeable to reason, may be Heir to any of the forementioned persons, to wit, of the Martyrs, or of the Confessours, or of those who have removed out of their Country on such an occasion as this; we decree, that the Church in every of those places shall always succeed in the Inheritance.*

[a] *Nor will this in any wise be* * *uneasie to the defunct, if they shall happen to have* † *Her their Heir, on whose account they have undergone all imaginable Labours.* [b] *Moreover, 'tis necessary to annex this also; that, if any of the foresaid persons have bequeathed any thing of their Goods to such as they had a mind* [*to give them,*] *the* * *property thereof, as 'tis reasonable, shall remain firm and certain to them.*

[a] Οὐκ ἔστιν πάντως. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ πάντως. A little before, the reading in the *same Copy* is ὑπ' ὁμολογητῶν, *of the Confessours* (truer than ὁμολογησάντων,) as it is in chap. 35. Also, μήτε ὑπ' ματοίκων μήτε τοι, ὑπ', &c. *Valef.*

* Or, *Grievous.* † *The Church.*

* Or, *Dominion.*

[b] Περιττὸν γε μήν. I had rather write περισσεῖως *to annex*, as *Turnebus* and *Sr Henry Savil* have mended it. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. A little after, the reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is, ὡς εἰ ὑπ' περιειλημμένων τινες, *that, if any of the foresaid persons.* Valef.

CHAP. XXXVII.

That those who possess such places, and Gardens, and Houses, shall restore them; but without the * *Mean-profits.*

* Or, *Fruits.*

FUrther, *that no* † *ambiguity may appear in this our Precept,* [a] *but that every one may with readiness understand what the Law is; let all persons know, that if they are possest, either of a Ground, or of an House, or of a Garden, or of any thing else of the forementioned persons Estates, it will be good and advantagious to themselves, both to confess it, and to restore it with all imaginable celerity.* [b] *And although it may be most manifestly apparent, that some persons have received great profits from those* [*Estates,*] *by an unjust possession; yet we judge a* ‖ *demand of those Fruits to be in no wise just:*

† Or, *Mistake.*

‖ Or, *Exaction.*

[a] Ἀλλ' ἔτοιμον τὸ. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμον ἢ τὸ, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

[b] Διὸ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα φανεῖεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τινὲς, *And although*, &c. And a little after, the *same Copy* has it, χρηματώμενοι, καὶ γίνεως τόκων πλὴ ἀπαίτησιν, *have received* —— *profits* ——; *yet we judge a demand*, &c; incomparably well, as I think. For this is the second member of the period. The last member of the period is ὅμως γε μὴν, &c; *Nevertheless*, &c: which in the common Editions is ill divided, and removed to the *following Chapter*. Valef.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

In what manner *Supplicatory Libells* ought to be presented in reference to these persons.

NEvertheless, *let such men of themselves ingenuously acknowledge what profits they have gathered, and whence, and let them supplicate for a pardon of their offence to be granted them from Us; both, that their former Avarice* [a] *may be cured by such an emendation; and also, that the supream God, receiving this satisfaction in place of some repentance as 'twere, may be rendred propitious* [*and remit*] *their offences. But, they who have been constituted Owners of such Estates, (if such men either deserve, or can have this Title given them,) alledging this in defence of themselves, will peradventure say; that it was impossible they should abstain* [*from those things*] *then, when a manifold spectacle of all manner of mischiefs was set before their eyes;* [b] *when men were cruel-*

[a] Λυθείη, *may be dissolved.* The reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, ἰαθῇ, *may be cured.* Valef.

[b] Καθ' ὃν ὑπῆρχον ὑπολύμβαι. In the *Medicæan Copy* this place is written far otherwise, in this manner; ὡμῶς ἀπελαυνόμβοι. ἀφειδῶς ὑπολύμβοι. ἀμελῶς ἐρρίμμβοι. ἡμύσεις ὑπ' ἀδὲν αἰτίων συχναὶ. διώξεις ἀκόρεστοι. ὑπ' ὄντων, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Which reading, as every one sees, is far truer. For those words καθ' ὃν ὑπῆρχον are altogether superfluous. A little after, in the *same Copy* the reading is, εἰ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις διαχειζοιντο λόγοις πνὲς, &c. *But, if any men do insist upon such discourses as these*, &c. So 'tis also in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. Valef.

* Or, Driven away. † Or, Persecutions insatiable. ly * ejected; incompassionately destroyed; carelesly cast forth; when Proscriptions of innocent persons were frequent; the † fury of Persecutors insatiable; and sales of Goods [every where visible.] But, if any men do insist upon such discourses as these, and do persist in their insatiable [c] purposes and intentions; they shall be sensible, that such a practise will not be suffered with an impunity to themselves; especially, in regard on this account chiefly we give our help and Ministery to the supream God. [d] Whatever things therefore a destructive necessity hath heretofore forced || to be received, its now dangerous to keep. And besides, 'tis necessary to lessen Lusts not to be satiated, partly by considerations, and partly by Examples.

|| Or, To receive.

[c] Ἀναιρέσεσιν, admonitions. I corrected this place by the help of the Medicæan Copy, in which 'tis plainly written, αἱρεσιῶσιν, intentions, or, purposes. Vales.

[d] Ὅσα γὲν πρέπτερον. The *Medicæan Copy* has it, ὡς ἃ πρέπτερον, &c. *So that what things a destructive*, &c. and a little after, ἐπισφαλὲς ὑπάρχειν, *it will now be dangerous*, &c. Which I rather approve of. For this period is to be joyned with the foregoing one. Presently, where the reading is ἄλλως τε δὲ, 'tis righter in the *Medicæan Copy*, where the last particle is wanting. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

That the *Exchequer* shall restore to the Churches, Grounds, and Gardens, and Houses.

[a] Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ταμεῖον. In the *Medicæan Copy* the particle γὰρ is wanting; and a little after, in the same Copy the reading is, ἀδὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι. Vales.

[b] Τολμῶσιν I write τολμῆσιν, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Which the *Medicæan Manuscript* confirms, wherein the reading is ἐτόλμησαν. In the same Copy, after the word *Churches*, is added λείπει, that is, *some words are wanting*. Vales.

[a] *Nor shall the* Exchequer, *if it be possest of any of those things forementioned, be permitted firmly to retain them. But, as 'twere not* [b] *daring to utter any thing of Obloquie against the sacred Churches, those things which for a long time it hath unjustly detained, them it shall at length justly restore to the Churches. All things therefore whatever, which* [c] *may rightly appear to appertain to the Churches; whether they be Houses* [enjoyed *as*] *a Possession; or certain Fields and Gardens; or whatever else they be, (no right belonging* [d] *to the Dominion being diminished, but all things continuing firm and entire;) We order to be restored.*

[c] Ὀρθῶς ἀναφανεῖν. The reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, thus, ὀρθῶς ἂν φανεῖν, *may rightly appear*. Vales.

[d] Εἰς τὸν δὲ τῷ πολιτείαν. The emendation of this place is due to the *Medicæan Copy*, where we found it plainly written εἰς τὸν δεσποτείαν, *to the dominion*; excellently well. For the Emperours will is, that all places and Farms, which had been taken away from the *Christians*, should truly and sincerely be restored to them together with their rights. In such a manner that, if service was owing to any Farm or Field, to wit, a drove-way, passage, or highway, it should be restored to the *Christians* with the same right in no part diminished. Therefore, if any one had mortgaged a Farm taken from a *Christian*, or had let it out by Lease to be planted and improved, or by a sale of it had encumbred it with any burthen or service; all these things are by *Constantine*'s Edict rescinded. A little after, where the reading is ἀνδίσασθαι περσάσομεν, from the same Copy we have mended it thus, ἀποδίσασθαι, *to be restored*. Yet, the *Fuketian*, *Turnebian*, and *Savilian Copies* have ἐξίσασθαι *to be yielded up*; which is no ill reading. *Vales.*

CHAP. XL.

The * *Martyria* and *Cœmiteries* † are ordered to be yielded up to the Churches.

* *Places, where the Reliques of any Martyr are.*

† In the *Greek* 'tis, *we order.*

[a] Καὶ μὴν χ. In *Morum's Copy* 'tis mended, ναὶ μὴν χ; which pleases me better. *Vales.*

[a] *Moreover, who doubts but those places, which have been honoured with the Bodies of the Martyrs, and are the Monuments of their glorious departure, do belong to the Churches? Yea rather, who would not even command that? In as much as, there can be no Gift more valuable, nor can there be any other Labour pleasanter, and* [b] *which has in it more of advantage, than that, by the impulse of the divine* [c] *Spirit, a diligent care be taken about these matters; to the end that those places, which with wicked pretexts have been taken away by unjust and* [d] *most flagitious men, being justly yielded up, may be restored again to* [God's] *sacred Churches.*

[b] After these words in the Greek, in the *Medicæan Manuscript* follow these, ἕτερ ἂν γένοιτο, *can there be any other*; which words are wanting in the ordinary Editions. *Vales.*

[c] Πνεύματι, *Spirit.* In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis νεύματι τῷ περὶ ἢ τοιούτων ποιεῖσθαι σπουδὴν, *will, a diligent care be taken about such matters as these.* Also, in the *Fuk. Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies* the reading is ποιεῖσθαι. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens*, 'tis ποιεῖν, *to take a diligent*, &c.

[d] Μοχθηροτάτων. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis πονηροτάτων, *most wicked.* Vales.

CHAP. XLI.

That such as have bought things belonging to the Church, or have received them as a gift, must restore them.

[a] *But, because it appertains to an entire and absolute* * *providence, that they should not be past over in silence, who* [b] *either by a right of Emption have bought any thing of the* Exchequer, *or by a Title of donation have possest themselves of any thing as granted to them, having* [c] *in vain* [d] *extended their insatiable desires to such Goods: Let all such persons know, that although they have attempted to alienate Our Clemency from themselves, by reason of their most notorious audaciousness in making such purchases; nevertheless, that our Benignity shall not be wanting to them, so far as 'tis possible and becoming. But let it suffice thus far to have treated concerning these matters.*

* Or, *Provision.*

[a] From these words I began a new chapter: I also put the Title before it, which was wanting in the *Geneva-Edition*, and in that of *Robert Stephens printed at Paris.* Which defect we made up from the *Fuketian Manuscript* and the *Kings Sheets.* Vales.

[b] Ἡ ὠνῆ δικαία. The *Medicæan Copy* opened to us the true writing of this place; wherein the reading is ἢ ὠνῆς δικαίων. I write, ἢ ὠνῆς δικαίῳ, *either by a right of Emption.* Indeed, to style this Emption just, is contrary to the mind of *Constantine*, who terms these purchases unjust and nefarious presumptions. *Vales.*

[c] Μάτην χ' ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα. I had conjectured long since, that the particle χ' was to be expunged: which conjecture of ours the *Medicæan Copy* does plainly confirm. The Emperour speaks concerning those men, who had petitioned that these places might be given them by the Emperours. Which *Christophorson* perceived not. Presently, in the *same Copy* the reading is, γινωσκέτωσαν ὡς τοιοῦτοι, &c; truer than in the ordinary Editions, ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. In the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis ὅσοι τοίνυν τοιοῦτοι, which is the worst reading of all. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐκπίνοντες. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἐκπίναντες. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLII.

An Earnest Exhortation to worship God.

[a] *Further, whereas it hath been* [b] *made apparent by most evident and most perspicuous demonstrations; partly by the power and might of*

[a] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis ἐπειδὴ δὲ. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐξεφάνη ἢ ἀρετὴ. If I mistake not, the reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, thus, ἐξεφάνη· ἀρετῇ τε τοῦ, &c. and we have pointed and rendred it accordingly. It should, I think, also be τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Θεοῦ, *of the omnipotent God.* Vales.

the

the Omnipotent God, [c] and partly by the Exhortations and Assistances which He desires should frequently be given by Me; that that calamitous grief and disquietude, which had heretofore seized the whole Complex of Humane affairs, hath now been banished from all places under the Sun: all of you in generall, and each person in particular, by a most accurate * inspection do perceive, what and how great that [d] Power, what that Grace is, which hath wholly extinguished and destroyed the Seed (as I may so say) of the [e] most flagitious and wickedest men; but hath recalled the gladness of the Good, and abundantly diffused it throughout all Regions: and which hath permitted all immaginable Liberty to all persons, that they should again both pay a meet worship to the divine Law it self with the highest veneration, and also in a befitting manner revere those who have consecrated themselves to the service of that Law. Who having risen up out of [f] a most profound darkness as 'twere, and received a clear knowledge of [g] Affairs, [h] will in future exhibite a due observancy, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in Our Eastern parts.

* Or, Meditation.

[c] Παρεμφέρεσι δ' ἄμα. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is ἐμῇ παρεμφέρειαν ἅμα. Also δι' ὧν is wanting in *that Copy*, and likewise ἤδη συμβαίνει. All which words were added by those who understood not this Oration. The whole place therefore is to be rendred thus. *Porro cum certissimis ac evidentissimis*, &c. *Further, whereas it hath*, &c. There is nothing clearer than this reading, nothing more certain. Instead of ὑφ' ἐμοῦ *for me*, it must in my judgment be ὑπ' ἐμοῦ or παρ' ἐμοῦ, *by me*, or *from me*. For *Constantine* meanes his own Ministery or Service, which he lent God in the effecting of these things. Concerning which matter he does, not without reason, boast in the beginning of this Edict. *Vales.*

[d] Ἡ ἐξουσία. In the *Medicæan Copy* the *Article* is wanting; and after these words, are added these, τὶς χάρις, *what that Grace is*. Which words cannot be wanting without a great detriment to the whole sentence. For, the term ἐξουσία imports that which he has above termed ἀρετὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the power of God*: but χάρις signifies *the Benefit conferred upon men by the assistance and ministery of* Constantine. *Vales.*

[e] Ἡ τῶν μὴ μοχθηροτάτων. In the *Medicæan Manuscript*, 'tis ἢ τῶν μὴ πονηροτάτων καὶ μοχθηροτάτων, *of the most flagitious and wickedest*. Further, it must be made ἢ; as 'tis in the *King's Copy*, in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and in *the Sheets*. Vales.

[f] Σκότους βαθέως. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is βαθυτάτου *most profound*. Vales.

[g] Γραμμάτων. The *Medicæan Manuscript* has it πραγμάτων *of affairs*. I found the same reading in the *Kings Copy*, in the *Old sheets*, and in the *Fuketian Copy*. Away therefore with *Robert Stephens*'s Emendation. *Vales.* In *Stephens* 'tis γραμμάτων, *of Letters*.

[h] In the *Medicæan Copy* the close of *this Edict* runs thus; διεγράφην τε πᾶσι φανερὰν τὴν λοιπὴν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τιμὴν σύμφωνον ἐπιδείξονται· φροντιεῖτε ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀναλολικοῖς μέρεσιν. i.e. *Will in future exhibit a due observancy, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in Our Eastern Parts.* And this is the Subscription, which (as *Eusebius* attests, *Chap.* 23.) was put to this Edict in *Constantine*'s own hand. For the Emperours were wont, in their own hand to add to the Edicts they sent out, *proponatur, let it be published*; and to give that in Command to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as it appears from the *Novells of Valentinianus* and *Majorianus*. Indeed, even this one word ἡμετέροις *Our*, is a sufficient indication, that this Subscription was added in *Constantine*'s own hand. For 'tis the Emperour himself that speaks, and who calls the Eastern parts *His own*. For so the Emperours were wont to expresse themselves, then especially, when they spoke of any Province lately reduced under their Government. So *Constantine* in *his Letter to Elasius*, and in *that to Probianus Proconsul of Africk*, says, *Africam Nostram Our Africa*; and in the *first Law Cod. Theod. de Veterank, apud Nicomediam nostram, at Our Nicomedia*. So in the *only Law Cod. Theod. de his qui sanguinolentos*, &c. *Imperator Constantinus Italis suis, Emperour* Constantine *to his* Italians. Lastly, *Constantius Cæsar* in *his Letter to* Eumenius, which Letter *Eumenius* records in *His Oration pro scholis*; *Merentur Galli nostri*, &c. *Our Galli are in service*, &c. Further, this Edict of *Constantine* occurs, in the *Medicæan Copy*, after the *Books of Ecclesiastick History*, with this Title, ἀντίγραφον διατάξεως τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως, ἣν τοῦ τυράννους καθελὼν, τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔθνεσιν ἑλληνικῇ συνταξας φωνῇ διεπέμψατο, that is, *a Copy of the Constitution of the Emperour dear to God, which, (after he had destroyed the Tyrants,) he wrote in the Greek Tongue, and transmitted to the Provinces under him.* Vales.

CHAP. XLIII.

That those things which Constantine *had established by Laws, were by him really accomplished and performed.*

THese were the Constitutions contained in the Emperours first Edict sent to [a] us. Immediately therefore the Orders contained in this Law were effectually put into Execution: and all things were transacted, contrary to what a little before had been audaciously perpetrated by Tyrannick Cruelty. And they, to whom the Law granted them, enjoyed the Imperial Indulgences.

[a] Hence it appears, that the Writer of *this History* was a *Palestinian*. Which I was therefore willing to remark, because *Dionysius Gotofredus* thought, that *Eusebius Cæsariensis* was not the Authour of *this Work*: which nevertheless 'tis easie to refute, both by innumerable testimonies of ancient Writers, and also from very many passages of this Work; especially from chap. 45, and 46, of *this Book*. Now, the foresaid Law of *Constantine* was issued out to the *Palestinians* in particular, for this reason, because the persecution had raged most sorely there, and there had been many Confessours and Martyrs in that Province. Notice likewise is to be taken of what *Eusebius* says, *viz.* that this *first Sanction* or *Edict* of *Constantine* had been brought to them. For *that Edict* concerning the Peace and Liberty of the *Christians*, which *Constantine* had sent into the East after his conquest of *Maxentius*, was by *Maximine*'s fraud suppress, as *Eusebius* tells us in the beginning of *his ninth Book*. Vales.

CHAP. XLIV.

That he preferred Christians *to the Government of Provinces; but if* [*any of the Governours*] *were* Pagans, *he forbad them to sacrifice.*

AFter this, the Emperour * put his hand seriously to the work. And in the first place, most of those he sent as Governours of the Nations distributed throughout the Provinces, were persons dedicated to the salutary Faith. But, if any of them seemed addicted to *Gentilism*, it was forbidden them to Sacrifice. The same Law was imposed also [a] upon those, who in dignity preceded the Presidents, as likewise on them that had obtained the highest pitch of honour and the power of the *Prætorian Præfecture*. For either, if they were *Christians*, he gave them permission, that they should perform what was correspondent to their Appellation: or else, if they were otherwise affected, he ordered them not to worship Idols.

* Or, *took in hand affairs of the highest consequence.*

[a] Ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων τοῖς ἡγεμονικαῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀξιωμάτων. He means the *Vicarii*, *Comites*, and *Proconsuls*.

For these dignities were far more eminent than those of the *Presidents*, as every one knows. But *Christophorson*, according to his usuall mistake, translates ἡγεμόνας *Præfects*; than which nothing is more absurd. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning the Laws forbidding Sacrifices, and ordering the Churches to be built.

SOon after, [a] two Laws were issued out at one and the same time. The one whereof forbad the detestable Sacrifices to Idols, here-

[a] Δύο καὶ τὸ αὐτό. *Christophorson* renders it, *duæ Leges in eandem sententiam promulgabantur, two Laws were promulged to the same effect, or meaning*: wherein he seems to have followed *Portesius*, who had rendred it thus; *Duæ postea Leges emissæ non ita dissimili argumento, Two Laws were afterwards issued out of a Subject not unlike.* But I thought καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ to be the same with *simul, uno eodemque tempore, together, at one and the same time.* For so *Eusebius* does usually express himself. *Vales.*

tofore usually performed in every City and Country; so that, no person in future should dare, either to * erect the Statues of the Gods, or to attempt divinations and other such vain † Arts; [b] nor, in any wise to Sacrifice. The other Law ordered the structures of the Oratories to be raised to a vast height, and the Churches of God to be enlarged both in length and breadth; as if all mankind (I had almost said) were about to unite themselves to God, and as if the madness of *Polytheism* had been wholly destroyed. The Emperour's own Piety towards God moved him to entertain such Sentiments as these, and thus to write to the Presidents of each Province. The Law contained this also, that they should not be sparing in the expence of money; but, that the charges [of building the Churches] should be defrayed out of the Imperial Treasures. Moreover, he wrote Letters of this sort to the Prelates of Churches in all places: and such a one he vouchsafed to write to me also, which was the first Letter he sent to me by name.

* Or, *Make erections of Statues.*

† Or, *Curiositics.*

[b] Μήτε μὴν δύεσθαι χαλάσαι. These words of *Eusebius* are to be understood concerning private Sacrifices. For *Constantine the Great* prohibited by a Law, that no one of the Heathens should Sacrifice privately at home, as the *First Law in the Theodosian Code de Paganis* informs us. Therefore, he had prohibited, that the *Aruspices* should be called out to any private house on account of Sacrificing. For *these persons inspected the Entrails of Victims.* But *Constantine* forbad not the going to the publick Temples to Sacrifice, and there to make use of the assistance of the *Aruspices*, as the *first Law in the Theodosian Code de Maleficis, attests.* See *Libanius* in *his Oration pro Templis, pag.* 10, and what *Gotofred has noted there.* Vales.

CHAP. XLVI.

Constantine's [Letter] to *Eusebius* and the rest of the Bishops, concerning the building of Churches; and that the old-ones should be repaired, and built larger by the [assistance of the] *Presidents.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To Eusebius.

WE *really believe and are absolutely perswaded (Dearest Brother,) that, in regard an impious* * *presumption and a Tyrannick Violence hath Persecuted the Servants of Our Saviour even to this present time, the Edifices of all Churches, have either by neglect gone to ruine, or through fear of the imminent iniquity* [of the *Times*] [a] *have been less worthily adorned. But now, since Liberty is restored, and that* [b] *Serpent by Almighty God's providence, and our instrumental endeavours, is forc't out of the Administration of publick affairs; we suppose that the Divine power hath been sufficiently manifested to all men: have been less worthily adorned.* There is also another Emendation, set at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀξίας γεγονῶτας, *have been adorned with less of statelinesse.* Any one might guess likewise, that this place should be read and construed thus, ἀξίως τῆς ὑπαχθείσης ἀδικίας, &c. *or through fear have been made agreeable to the imminent iniquity* [of the *Times.*] But that reading μὴ ἀξίως is truer, and is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales. In *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 9. *Eccles. History*; where this Letter occurs) the reading is ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀξίας, &c. *have been adorned with less of statelinesse.*

* *Desire,* or, *purpose.*

[a] Ἀξίας γεγονότας. In *Moræus's Copy* 'tis mended thus at the margin, μὴ ἀξίως γεγονότας,

[b] I suppose *Licinius* to be meant, whom *Constantine* does thus term, because of his craftiness and age. Indeed, these following words, *forc't out of the administration of publick affairs*, do sufficiently evince this to be spoken of *Licinius.* Whence also it may be conjectured, that this Letter was written a little after *Licinius's* deposition. *Vales.* See *Socrates*, book 1, chap. 9. *note (o.)*

and that those, who [c] *either through fear or unbelief have fallen into any sins, having now* [d] *acknowledged* * *Him that truly is, will in future return to the true and right Course of Life. Do you therefore remind as well* [*all persons belonging to*] *the Churches over which you preside, as also Bishops presiding in other places, together with the Presbyters and Deacons whom you know, that they use their utmost diligence about the structures of the Churches; either about repairing those that are still standing, or about enlarging them, or in building new ones where ever it shall be found requisite. And You your Self, and the rest by Your Mediation, may aske necessaries* [*for that work,*] *both from Our Presidents of the Provinces, and also from the* [e] Office of the Prætorian Præfecture. [f] *For they have already been empowered by Letters, to be diligently observant about* Your Holinesse's *Orders. God preserve You, Beloved Brother.*

* Τὸ ὄντως ὄν. In *Socrates* the reading is τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν, *Him that is truly God.*

[c] Ἡ φόβῳ ἢ ἀπιστίᾳ. In the beginning of this Letter, instead of ἀπιστία *unbelief*, he made use of the term ἀμέλεια *neglect.* By the word *Fear* those *Christians* are meant, who through fear of the Persecution had neglected the Churches, or renounced the Faith: but the word *unbelief* belongs to the *Pagans* or *Infidells*, who had disturbed the sacred Houses, and severall waies molested the *Christians.* Vales.

[d] Ἐπιγνόντας τε. The particle τε must be expunged; which occurs not in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales. See *Socrat.* book 1. chap. 9. *note (p.)*

[e] See book 1. chap. 54. note *(b.)* The ἔπαρχοι are the *Præfecti Prætorio*, so termed because they were ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, that is, *over the Presidents and Governours of Provinces.* Therefore ἐπαρχικὴ τάξις is the *Office of the Prætorian Præfecture*, concerning which the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* is to be consulted. Further, the *Office of the Præfectus Prætorio* was supream to all other Offices of all the Magistrates. For, as the *Præfectus Prætorio* in dignity excelled the rest of the Judges as well *Civill* as *Military*, so also *his Officialls* were more honourable than all other *Apparitors.* Hence, in the *Chalcedon Council, Action* 3, the *Office of the Præfecti Prætorio* is termed μείζων τάξις *the greatest Office.* These things were not understood by the Translatours, whose mistake I had rather pass over in silence, than invidiously refute it. In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχικῆς τάξεως, as 'tis also in S[r] *Henry Savils Copy.* Vales.

[f] Τέτοις γὰρ ἐπεστάλθη. *Christophorson* renders it, *Hisce enim per literas à me significatum est, For they are acquainted herewith by Letters from me:* He has added the words *à me from me*, of his own head; which I like not. For, not the Emperour himself, but the *Præfecti Prætorio* most commonly wrote these sort of Letters. *Vales.*

[g] The same Letters were sent to the Prelates of Churches throughout every Province. And the Presidents of Provinces were ordered to do what was agreeable and consonant hereto. So that, withall imaginable speed the Precepts of the Law were effectually put in Execution.

[g] From these words a new chapter is begun in the *King's Copy.* Further, hence it appears, that *Constantine* wrote Letters after the same Copy to the rest of the Bishops of the East. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVII.

That he wrote against Idolatry.

BUt the Emperour made a further progress in his [a] Piety towards God, and transmitted to the Provincials in each Province, [b] an Oration against the errour of Idolatry,

[a] Τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁσίαν διδασκαλίαν. Translatours have rendred this place extreamly ill, in regard they thought ὁσίαν was an *adjective*; nor could they perceive, that a *Comma* was to be placed after ὁσίαν. ὁσία signifies nothing else but *Piety*, or *an observancy of the Deity.* In this sense 'tis used in chap. 45. of *this book*, and in several other places in *Eusebius.* Vales.

[b] Διδασκαλίαν τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας. It must be written διδασκαλίαν κατὰ τῆς, &c. *an Oration against*, &c; as I found it mended in the margin of *Moræus's Copy.* Διδασκαλία imports here *a speech, Oration*, διδασκαλικὸς λόγος. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is written thus, διδασκαλίαν κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ πλάνης, *an Oration against Idolatry and Errour.* Vales.

latry,

latry, wherein they had been involved, [c] who had Governed the *Roman* Empire before him. [In which Oration] he exhorted His Subjects with an admirable eloquence, to acknowledge the supream God, and openly to assume to themselves his [Son] *Christ* to be their Saviour. Moreover, I judged it necessary to translate this Letter also, written with his own hand, out of the *Latine* Tongue [into *Greek*,] and insert it in to this present work; that we may seem to hear the Emperour himself, crying out in the hearing of all men after this manner.

[c] Τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κεκρατηκότων. *Christophorson* has rendred this place very ill; who, as I think, had not seen *Portesius*'s Version. For *Portesius* has rendred these words right, although he has not hit the sense. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

Constantine's Edict to the Provinces, concerning the Errour of *Polytheism*. The preface, concerning Virtue and Vice.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To the † Provincials of the East.

† Or, *Eastern Provincials.*

ALL things what ever that are contained in the most Authentick Laws of Nature, do give all men sufficient notices of a divine providence over and ‖ *Inspection into the administration of all matters. Nor is there any doubt to those, whose minds are by the right way of knowledge* † *directed to that end, but an accurate comprehension of a sound mind and of the very sight it self,* [a] *by one and the same impulse of true Virtue, may lead to the knowledge of God. Wherefore, no considerate person can ever be disturbed, when he perceives most men following* * *Courses of Life contrary the one to the other. For, the Beauty of Virtue would be* [b] *unusefull and lye concealed, unless improbity should on the other hand* † *set forth a perverse and depraved way of living. Therefore, a Crown is proposed to Virtue; but the Most high God presides in the Judgment* [*and punishment of Improbity.*] *But, I will attempt, with all possible perspicuity, to* ‖ *discourse to you all, concerning those* * *Hopes I have of things future.*

‖ Θεωρίας, *contemplation; Valesius* renders it *Intelligence.*

† Or, *Carried to that scope.*

[a] Μιᾷ ῥοπῇ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀρετῆς. Virtue seems here to be taken for perfection, as well that which is in the sight, as that in the intellect. For each power and perfection tends to the same end, to wit, the knowledge of truth. The sense proceeds to the truth of things sensible; and the understanding to the verity of Intelligibles from the truth it self of things sensible: and hence by degrees it ascends to the knowledge of the supream God. Also at this place ἀρετὴ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς may be termed *the force and virtue of Truth.* Yet, the following words doe assure us, that this place must be taken concerning Moral Virtue. *Vales.* *Valesius* renders those Greek words set at the beginning of this note thus, *veræ virtutis eodem urgente atque inclinante naturâ, the nature of true Virtue verging and inclining to the same end.*

* Or, *Contrary purposes.*

† Or, *Disclose a life of perverse madness.*

‖ Or, *Make a confession.*

* Or, *Hopes within my self.*

[b] Ἀνόητος, *foolish* or *absurd.* I read ἀνόνητος *unusefull*, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and in *Moræus*'s, and *Gruter*'s *Copy.* A little after I write, διὰ τὴν μὴ ἀρετὴν στέφανος προκεῖται, *Therefore a Crown is proposed to Virtue.* But these words are very obscure and intricate; which is partly to be attributed to *Constantine* himself, in regard being ὄψιμαθὴς *a person that began to learn late*, he was more obscure in expressing himself; and partly to *Eusebius*, or whoever else it was, who of obscure Latine words made the Greek more obscure. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is ἀνόνητος, and διὰ τῆς μὴ ἀρετῆς, &c. excellently well. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIX.

Concerning the Pious Father of *Constantine*; and concerning *Diocletian* and *Maximian* the Persecutors.

I Always look't upon the former Emperours, by reason of the Ferity of their dispositions, as persons * *extraneous and forreign. My Father was the only man, who took in hand works of Lenity and Mansuetude; and with an admirable Piety invoaked God the Father in all his Actings. But the rest* [*of the Emperours,*] *not sound as to their Intellectualls, made immanity, rather then mildness, their Business; and this they nourished* † *in a wonderfull manner, subverting the true doctrine during their own times. Further, the fury of their improbity was kindled to such a degree, that* [a] *Civill Wars were raised by them, against all as well Divine as Humane affairs, when in the greatest repose and tranquillity imaginable.*

* Ἀποκλήρους, *men disinherited.*

† Or, *Prosusely.*

[a] He terms the Persecutions of the *Christians*, *Civill Wars.* For there is nothing liker a Civill War, than when the *Christians* were put to flight and murdered in all Cities, not by an incursion of Enemies and Barbarians, but of their own Fellow-Citizens. *Vales.*

CHAP. L.

That by reason of *Apollo*'s Oracle, who could not give forth Responses because of *The just Men*, a Persecution was raised.

IT was reported, that at that time Apollo *gave forth an Oracle out of a certain Den and dark Cavern, not by humane voice; whereby he declared, that* The just men upon earth *were an hindrance to him, that he could not speak the truth: and, that on this account* † *false Oracles were given out from the* Tripods: *and, that for this reason* [a] *his mournfull propheteſs suffered her long hair to hang down neglected; and, the Art of Divination being banish't, lamented that great Evill amongst men. But Let us see, what manner of conclusion these things were brought to.*

† Or, *The Oracles of the Tripods were made false.*

[a] Τοῦτο αὐτοῦ κατηφεῖς. It must be written, τοῦτο αὐτοῦ προφῆτις (or, if you will, ἱερεία) κατηφὴς; which reading we have followed in our Version. *Portesius* also, and *Morinus* understood these words concerning the *Pythia* or *Priestess* of *Apollo.* But, in the excellent *Fuketian Manuscript*, this whole place is written thus, τοῦτο αὐτοῦ κληφεῖς τοὺ πλοκάμους ἀνεῖναι πεποίηκε. τῆς μαντείας τ' ἐλαυνομένης, &c. *For this reason he* [Apollo] *suffered his mournfull long hair to hang down neglected*, &c: whereto agrees S^r *Henry Savils Copy.* Presently, in the same Copies the reading is εἰς ὁποῖον τέλος κατέληξεν, *in what manner of end these things terminated.* Vales.

CHAP. LI.

That *Constantine*, when he was a youth, heard that *the just men* were *the Christians*, from him that had written the [Edicts] concerning the Persecution.

I Now † *appeal to Thee, Most high God! [Thou knowest,] that being then* [a] *very young I heard, how He, who at that time held the chief-*

† Or, *Call upon.*

[a] Κομιδῆ παῖς ὑπάρχων. In the *Greek Title* of *this chapter*, 'tis truer written, νέος *a youth.* For *Constantine* was not then a child, when, as an Hostage, he resided at *Diocletian*'s Court. For, he was delivered by his Father *Constantius* to *Diocletian*, on the year of *Christ* 291; after *Constantius* had been made *Cæsar* by *Diocletian.* At which time *Constantine* was about 15 years old. For he dyed on the year of Christ 337, in the 62 year of his age. *Vales.*

* Or, Deceived in mind by errour.

eſt place amongſt the Roman *Emperours*, (*a perſon wretched, truly miſerable,* * *impoſed upon by the errour of his mind*;) *with a great deal of curioſity enquired of thoſe that were his Guards, who* thoſe juſt men were [*that lived*] *upon the earth: and, that one of the Sacrificers about him made anſwer, that they were* the Chriſtians. *The Emperour,* [b] *having devoured this anſwer like ſome honey, unſheathed the Swords,* * *prepared to puniſh Crimes, againſt an unblamable Sanctity. Immediately therefore he wrote Edicts of Bloud* [c] *with bloudy points of Swords (as I may ſay;) and ordered his judges to* [d] *ſtretch that ſubtilty implanted on them by nature, to an invention of Acuter puniſhments.*

[b] Βεβχθήσας μάλι. In the *Fuk. and Savil. Manuſcripts* the reading is truer, βεβχθίσας; and 'tis the ſame in the *King's Copy.* Valeſ.

* Or, Invented.

[c] Μιαφόνοις ἀκωκαῖς. He alludes to the point of an inſtrument to write with. *Conſtantine* expreſſes himſelf with much of Eloquence, in ſaying, that thoſe Laws concerning the Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, were written with the bloudy points of Swords. So ſome of the Ancients tell us, that *Draco's Laws* were written with bloud, not with ink. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἐκτείνειν *to produce.* I had rather ſay ὀπτείνειν *to ſtretch*; which is an uſual expreſſion with *Euſebius.* Valeſ.

CHAP. LII.

How many ſorts of Tortures and Puniſhments were made uſe of againſt the *Chriſtians*.

THen you might, [*I ſay*] *you might have beheld, with how great a freedom* [*and Licence*] *the* * *venerable worſhippers of God daily underwent the ſevereſt of Contumelies,* [*cauſed*] *by a continuedneſs of Cruelty. For, that modeſty, which even none of the Enemies ever affected with any injury,* [a] *was made the eaſie ſport and paſtime of the contumely of their own enraged Fellow-Citizens. What fire, what manner of Torments, what ſort of Tortures was not made uſe of upon every body, and without diſtinction* [*applied*] [b] *to perſons of all ages whatever? Doubtleſs, at that time the Earth wept; the Heavens, within whoſe circumference all things are contained, being defiled with Bloud, lamented. Alſo, the very* [*light of the*] *day it ſelf was clouded by the ſorrow and horrour of that prodigy.*

* Or, That gravity of piety.

[a] Παρεσνίας παίφερον ἐγίνε]ο. So above, at book 1. chap. 27. *Euſebius* ſpeaking of *Severus Cæſar*, ſays παίφερον ἐχίνε]ο θανάτ] *became a cheap and eaſie ſacrifice of death*; where ſee what we have noted concerning that expreſſion. For the Tranſlatours perceived nothing here. *Valeſ.* In the Greek Text of *Valeſius's Edition*, the term παρεσνίας is left out; but it occurs in *Robert Stephens.*

[b] Καὶ ἡλικία πάσῃ. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἐκ ἡλικία πάσῃ. A little after, in the ſame Copy, and in the *King's Sheets* 'tis written, ἥ γε μὴν ἡμέρα αὐτὴ τῇ πένθει τὸ σύμπα]ον ἐνεκαλύπ]ετο. *Valeſ.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* is the ſame alſo.

CHAP. LIII.

What reception was given to the *Chriſtians* by the *Barbarians*.

BUt why [*do I mention*] *theſe things? On account hereof the Barbarians do now boaſt, who gave reception to the men of our Country that fled at that time, and* * *treated the Captives with all imaginable tenderneſs and humanity. For, they allowed them not only ſafety, but permitted them to retain* † *their religious worſhip with ſecurity. Therefore, the* Romans *do now bear this perpetuall Brand of Infamy, which the* Chriſtians, *at that time driven out of the* Roman *world, and flying to the* Barbarians, *fixt upon them.*

* Kept, or, Preſerved.

† Or, The rites of their Sanctimony.

CHAP. LIV.

What manner of Revenge overtook them, who, on account of the Oracle, raiſed a Perſecution.

BUt, what need I in many words rehearſe thoſe Lamentations, and that common mourning of the whole world? Thoſe Authours of ſo horrid an impiety, periſhed afterwards by a moſt ignominious end, and were thruſt down into the pits of Acharon, *to an eternall puniſhment. For, having been* * *involved in inteſtine Wars, they left no Remains, either of their Name, or Stock. Which doubtleſs had never hapned to them, had not the impious prophecy of the Oracles of* Apollo *had a falſe and depraved force.*

* Or, Mixt together.

CHAP. LV.

Conſtantine's Glorification of God, and his confeſſion in reference to the ſign of the Croſs; and his Prayer for the Churches and people.

NOw, I beſeech Thee, * *Moſt ſupream God! Be mild and propitious to* Thy Eaſterns: *Be* [*merciſull*] *to all thy Provincialls, worn out by a laſting Calamitie: by me Thy ſervant,* † *adminiſter a Remedy. And theſe things I aske of thee not without Cauſe, O Thou Lord of all, Holy God! For, by Thy Guidance and Aſſiſtance, I have undertaken and perfected Salutary Affairs. Every where carrying before Me Thy Sign, I have lead on my Victorious Army. And as often as the publick neceſſity requires, following thoſe very Enſigns of thy* ‖ *Virtue, I march out againſt the Enemy. For theſe reaſons I have dedicated my mind to Thee, purely tempered with love and fear. For I love Thy Name with a ſincerity: but I have an awfull fear for Thy Power, which Thou haſt demonſtrated by many indications, and haſt thereby rendred my faith firmer. I haſten therefore, to put my ſhoulders, may own ſhoulders* [*I ſay to the Work,*] *that I may re-edifie thy Moſt holy* [a] *Houſe; which thoſe deteſtable and moſt impious* [*wretches*] *have ruined by* * *a wicked overthrow.*

* Or, Greateſt.

† Or, Reach forth.

‖ Or, Power.

* Or, *By a wickedneſs of demoliſhment.*

[a] He means *The Catholick Church*, which in the next chapter he terms the *Houſe of Truth.* In the ſacred Scriptures 'tis called *The Pillar and Ground of Truth.* A little after, from the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuſcripts*, and from the *King's Sheets* write, ὃν ὁι μυσαγὸ ἐκεῖνοι, &c. *which thoſe deteſtable,* &c. Valeſ.

CHAP. LVI.

How he prayes, that all perſons may be *Chriſtians*; but forces no body.

I Deſire, that thy people may live in Repoſe, and without Tumult or diſturbance, for the common advantage of the world and all Mortalls.

May

May those involved in the Errour [*of* Gentilism] *with gladness partake of an enjoyment of the same Peace and Quiet with the Believers.* [a] *For, this Reparation of mutuall society will be of great efficacy in leading men to the true way. Let no person molest another.* [b] *Let every one do that which his soul desireth. Yet, it behooves those whose Sentiments are true, to be firmly perswaded, that they only shall live holily and purely, whom Thou calleſt* [*to this,*] *that they should acquiesce in Thy holy Laws. But, let those who withdraw themselves, have their Temples of Lies, since they desire them. We retain the most splendid House of Thy Truth,* || *which Thou hast given us according to Nature. We wish this likewise to them, namely, that by a common consent and agreement, they also may reap a delight of mind.*

[a] Πρὸς τῶν ἐυθείαν ἀγαγεῖν ὁδὸν ἰοῦσι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἰοῦς. But that is the true reading which I found in the *Kings Sheets*, ἰοῦσει. Which indeed is far more elegant; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[a] Ἕκας ὅπῃ ἡ ψυχὴ βάλεται, τοῦτο ἐξῇ πεπόηται. The meaning is, *Let every one follow what religion he has a mind to.* By which words *Constantine* leaves His Subjects an entire Liberty of worshipping the Deity according as every one shall have a mind. For, the Most Religious Prince earnestly desired indeed, that all Mortalls should come to the Faith of Christ: but he never compelled any one to that. He wish't that the Heathens were freed from their Pristine Errour: notwithstanding, he prohibited not the Ceremonies and sacrifices of the Temples, as he himself attests hereafter, at chap. 60. *Valeſ.*

|| Ὅπερ καὶ φύσιν δέδωκας. *Valeſius* renders it, *quam nascentibus nobis donasti, which thou gavest us when born.* I understand neither *the Emperour's*, nor *Valeſius*'s meaning.

CHAP. LVII.

He gives Glory to God, who by his Son has enlightned those that were in Errour.

[a] Concerning the Originall and Antiquity of the *Christian Religion*, *Eusebius* writes the same in the beginning of *his Ecclesiastick History*, and in *his books de Evangelicâ Demonstratione.* Valeſ.

[a] Nor is our Religion new, or of a late date; but, from such time as we believe this beautifull Fabrick of the world to have stood firmly put together, Thou hast instituted this [*Religion*] *with a due observancy of Thy Deity. Further, Mankind seduced by various Errours, hath stumbled. But, least this Evill should increase and grow stronger, Thou by Thy Son hast raised up a pure Light, and hast put all men in mind* * *of the worship of Thy Deity.*

* Or, *Concerning Thy Self.*

CHAP. LVIII

Another Glorification of God, from his * Government of the world.

* *Charge*, or, *Administration.*

† Or, *Way.*

|| Or, *Circuit.*

* Or, *Station.*

[a] Κατὰ τὴ ἐπειταχθέντα καιρόν. I read κατὰ τὸν ἐπιταχθέντα καιρὸν, *according to a set time*; as *Christophorson* seems to have read. And so the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts.* Valeſ.

† Or, *Slides by.*

Thy Works give confirmation to these things. Thy Power makes us innocent and faithfull. The Sun and Moon have their stated and prescribed † *Road; nor are the Stars moved round the* || *Axis of the whole world in an irregular manner. The Vicissitudes of Times recur by a certain Law. By Thy word the firm* * *site of the Earth hath been established. And the wind makes its motion* [a] *according to a set time. Also, the current and carriage of the waters* † *proceeds from the motion of a restless Flux. The Sea is contained within fixt and immovable Bounds. And what ever is diffused therow the Earth and Ocean, every such thing is framed for certain admirable and* || *great Uses. Which unless it were in this manner governed according to the Arbitrement of Thy Will, doubtless so great a diversity, and* [b] *so manifold a division of power, would have brought destruction upon the whole world and humane affairs.* [c] *For they who have waged War against one another, would doubtless have fought with a greater vehemency against mankind. Which questionless they do, although they are not seen with the Eyes.*

|| Or, *usefull advantages.*

[b] Πολλὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας διάκρισιν: that is, so manifold a divinity, to wit, of the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements, concerning which he hath spoken above. For all these, unless they were governed by the Beck and Power of one God, would likewise be Gods. Ἐξουσία therefore imports a power subject to no dominion; which we commonly term *an Independency*, which is proper to God only. *Valeſ.*

[c] He means the Gods of the Heathens, as I have said above: to wit, the Sun, Moon, and the rest of the Elements of the world, which Antiquity worshipped for Gods. Presently, from the *Fuketian Copy* write τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐμάχησε ϑεῷ as the reading also is in the *Kings Sheets.* Valeſ.

CHAP. LIX.

He praises God, in regard he always teaches good things.

We give Thee many thanks, Thou Lord of all, Greatest God! For, by how much the more Humane Nature is known from different * *Endeavours; by so much the more the* † *Precepts of the Divine Religion are confirmed in those, whose Sentiments are right, and* [a] *who are studious of true Virtue. But, whoever hinders himself from being cured,* [b] *let not him impute that to another. For the Medicine, which* † *is of strength sufficient to effect the Cure, is publickly proposed to all men. Only* [*this must be taken care of,*] *that no one should violate that Religion, which the things themselves do manifest to be pure and immaculate. Let all us men therefore make use of the* || *allotment of that Good in common conferred on us, that is, the blessing of Peace; to wit, by separating our Consciences from every thing that is contrary to it.*

* Or, *Studies.*

† Or, *The Discipline — is confirmed &c.*

† Or, *Presides over the Cure.*

[a] Γνησίας ὁπωσοῦν μεμελετηκόσι ἀρετῆς. In the *Fuketian* and *St Henry Savils Copy* the reading is γνησίως, &c. *who are sincerely studious of Virtue.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἀλλ' ᾧ τοῦτο μὴ λογίζεσθω. That is, *whosoever suffers not himself to be cured, or freed from the disease of Idolatry; let him impute it to himself, in regard the Medicine is ready. Christophorson* has rendred this place ill, thus, *alteri qui sanari vult, non vitio vertat, let him not blame another, who has a mind to be cured.* I say nothing concerning *Portesius*, who wanders from the true sense almost every where. But *Musculus* has rendred these words not unhappily. *Valeſ.*

|| Or, *The common Inheritance of that good given us. Valeſius* renders it, *The fellowship.*

CHAP. LX.

An Exhortation at the close of the Edict, that no person should give trouble or disturbance to another.

But, let no person do harm to another, by that which he hath perswaded himself of, [a] *and declared. What one Man hath understood and known, with that let him assist his Neighbour, if it may be. But, if it be impossible, let him omit it. For 'tis one*

[a] Ἀναδέκτω. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis over written in the same hand, ἀναδέκτω *received.* Both reading may be born with. *Valeſ.*

thing, *voluntarily to undertake the Combat for immortality*; another, *to be forc't to it by punishment. These things I have said; these things I have discoursed of more at large than the scope of Our Mansuetude required, because I would not conceal* [b] *the true Faith. Especially, in regard some persons (as I hear,) do assert, that the Rites of the Temples and the* [c] Power *of Darkness are wholly abolished. Which I had indeed perswaded all men to, had not the violent* [d] *Insolency of nefarious Errour been immeasurably fix't on the minds of some persons, to the hurt and damage of the* [c] *Emendation of Mankind.*

[b] Τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας πίστιν, *the faith of the Truth.* That is, *The true Faith.* For 'tis the same as if he should have said, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς πίστεως *the Truth of the Faith.* He expresses himself so again, hereafter. *Vales.*

[c] These words are taken out of St *Paul's Epist. to the Coloss. chap.* 1. *v.* 13. Further, as he here terms *Gentilism the power of darkness*, so lower (at *chap.* 67.) he calls *Christianity the power and efficacy of Light.* Vales.

[d] Ἐπανάστασις. This term does properly signifie *Conspiracy* and *Rebellion:* which is most appositely said concerning the worship of Idols. For *Idolatry* is a defection from the true God. *Vales.*

[c] Τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως, *of the common Resurrection.* It must, as I think, be ἀνορθώσεως, *Emendation* or *Correction.* For the common word seems to have been fetcht out of the foregoing line. Further, at the end of this Edict, this subscription was doubtless placed (concerning which I have spoken at large above,) πρεσβύτου ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι, *Let it be published in Our Eastern parts.* For this subscription is properly agreeable to this Edict, in regard it was sent to the Provincialls of the East. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXI.

How from the City Alexandria * *Controversies were raised on account of* Arius.

* Or, *Questions.*

THese things the Emperour, like a most loud-speaking Preacher of God, by his own Letter † proclaimed to all the Provincialls; || diverting his Subjects from Diabolicall Errour; and exhorting them to the exercise of true Piety. But whilst he was exceedingly joyfull on account hereof, news was brought him, concerning a disturbance of no small consequence, which had seized the Churches. At the hearing whereof he was extreamly troubled, and began earnestly to consider of a Cure. [The Originall of the disturbance] was this. The people of God were in a flourishing condition, and * pleased themselves with the exercises of good Actions. There was no fear without, which might give disturbance: in regard, by the grace and favour of God, a splendid and most profound Peace fortified the Church on all sides. But Envy framed treacherous designes against our Blessings. [At first] it crept in privately; but [afterward] it daunced in the very midst of the Conventions of the Saints. At length it raised Contention between the Bishops, and [a] cast in discord and wranglings amongst them, under a pretence of the Divine † *Dogmata.* From thence, as 'twere from some small spark, a great fire was kindled. Which began from the *Alexandrian* Church, as 'twere from an || Eminence; and afterwards overran all *Egypt*, and *Libya*, and the *Further Thebais.* Moreover, it ruined the rest of the Provinces and Cities: in so much that, you might have seen not only the Prelates of the Churches fighting one with another with words; but the people also rent into factions; some inclining to this party; others, to that. [b] Further, the spectacle of the things performed proceeded to such an height of absurdity, that even in the very Theaters of the Infidells, the vanerableness of the Divine Doctrine * was traduced by a most ignominious and reproachfull derision.

† Or, *Shouted forth.*

|| Or, *Driving away.*

* Or, *Were adorned with, &c.*

[a] Σπάσιν ἐμβαλὼν ἐρεσχελίας. It must, as I think, be ἐν ἐρεσχελίαις *and wranglings.* Further, by φθόνῳ at this place is meant *The envious Devill.* For so *Eusebius* does usually speak in many places. *Vales.*

† That is, *More sublime and hidden doctrines of the Christian faith.*

|| Or, *High place.*

* Or, *Underwent a most, &c.*

[b] Τοσοῦτον δὲ διήλαυνεν. In the *Kings Manuscript* the reading is δὴ ἤλαυνεν, which I like better. This whole place therefore is thus to be written; εἰς τοσοῦτον δὴ ἤλαυνεν ἀτοπίας, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is εἰς τοσοῦτον. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXII.

Concerning Arius *and the* Melitians.

THese persons therefore at *Alexandria* in a childish manner strove about the Sublimest [Points.] But [a] others all over *Egypt* and the *Upper Thebais* were in the interim at difference on account of a controversie which had been started before: so that, the Churches were in all places rent in sunder. And whereas the Body [of the Church] was distempered as 'twere with these [diseases,] all *Libya* likewise fell sick; and the other parts of the Provinces without were seized with the same distemper. For they of *Alexandria* sent Legates to the Bishops in each Province; and these, divided into either side, partook of the like Sedition and disturbance.

[a] He means *the Melitians*, concerning whose Schism *Epiphanius* and *Baronius* are to be consulted. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXIII.

How Constantine *sent a Legate with a Letter in order to a Composure.*

UPon hearing hereof the Emperour was highly perplex't in mind; and looking upon this thing to be his own calamitous Concern, he forthwith dispatches away one of the worshippers of God whom he had about him, (a [a] person whom he well knew to have been approved for his * modesty of Faith, and in the late times to have been ennobled with confessions in defence of Piety;) to *Alexandria*, to make Peace between those that were at difference there. And by him he sends a most usefull and necessary Letter to the Occasioners of that Contention. Which Letter, in regard it containes an illustrious *Specimen* of his Care in reference to the people of God, is fit to be inserted into this our Discourse concerning him, The Contents of it are these.

* Or, *Modest Virtue of Faith.*

[a] He means *Hosius Cordubensis*, as *Gelasius Cyzicenus* relates book 2; and after him *Photius* in *his Bibliotheca*, chap. 127; and *Nicephorus.* And before all these, Vales.

Socrates and *Sozomen.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Letter to *Alexander* the Bishop, and *Arius* the Presbyter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Alexander* and *Arius*.

* Or, *Make God our witness.*

† *Ministery*, or, *Charge.*

WE * *call God to witness, who, as 'tis meet, is himself the Assistant of Our attempts, and the Saviour of all men; that upon a twofold account we were moved to take in hand the* † *management of those affairs which We have in reality performed.*

CHAP. LXV.

That he was continually Sollicitous about Peace.

[a] Τὼ περὶ τὸ θεῖον πρόθεσιν. I had rather write διάθεσιν, or προαίρεσιν, the *affection* or *mind*, or *pre-possest Opinion*. On the contrary, in the beginning of this Letter, instead of διπλῆν μοι πρόφασιν *upon a twofold account*, I had rather reade πρόπεδιν. Presently, I write πρὸς μίαν ἕξεως σύστασιν ἐνῶσαι, from the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies*: or rather, πρὸς μιᾶς, &c. *Vales.*

FOr *first*, [*our design was*] *to unite the* [a] *Opinion of all Nations concerning the Deity, in one Constitution and Form as 'twere: Secondly, We were desirous of restoring to an healthiness the Body of the whole World, afflicted as 'twere with some terrible* [b] *distemper. Which* [*two things*] *having proposed to Our Self as Our aim, we inspected the one with the secret eye of Thought; but we attempted to effect the other by the power of a Military force: well knowing, that if (as 'twas Our desire) We could establish an universall agreement amongst the Worshippers of God, the consequence would be, that the Administration of the publick Affairs would certainly obtaine a change agreeable to the pious minds of all men.*

[b] Καθάπερ χαλεπῷ τινὶ. Some words are wanting here, which in *Moræus's Copy* are thus supplied, χαλεπῷ τινὶ νοσήματι πάσην κακῶς διαθούσῃ, &c. as the reading also is in the *Geneva Edition*; and we have rendred it accordingly. I would willingly have made good this place thus, χαλεπῷ τινὶ νοσήματι τῆς τυραννίδος πεζόμενον ἐλευθεῶσαι πρόθυμήθην, *We were desirous to free* [*the Body of the whole world*] *oppresst with some terrible disease of Tyranny.* But in regard in the excellent *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* this place is so made good as I have set it above, 'tis better to follow that writing. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, the word κοινῆς *whole* is wanting. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXVI.

In what manner he put a stop to the Controversies raised in *Africk*.

[a] Μανίας τὸ δύπτεσθαι. Question[less] it must be written μανίας γὰρ, &c. *When therefore*, &c. A little after, where the reading is ἢ δὲ πού, the particle ἢ is to be expunged. He means *The Donatists*, who after the *Roman Synod* and *that of Orleance*, after *Constantine's* own determination, were as yet tumultuous in *Africa*. *Vales.*

[a] WHen therefore *an intollerable madness had seized all* Africa, *occasioned by some persons, who with a rash levity had dared to rent the Religion of the people into various Sects; We being desirous to put a stop to this Distemper, could find no other remedy sufficient to effect its Cure, than (after we had destroyed the* [b] *Common Enemy of the world, who had opposed his own impious Opinion and Command against your sacred Synods;)* [c] *that we should send some of You as Assistants in order to the making up an agreement between those who were at variance one with another.*

[b] Without doubt he means *Licinius*, as these following words declare, *who had opposed his own impious opinion*, &c. For *Licinius* had prohibited the Synods of the *Christian Prelates*, as *Eusebius* attests in book 1. chap 51. But *Christophorson* by a great mistake thought, that *by the Common Enemy of the world* here was meant *The Devill*. The meaning of this place therefore is this. *We had thoughts*, says *Constantine*, *after our conquest of Licinius, of sending some of you Eastern Bishops into* Africa, *to make up a Peace there between the Donatists and Catholicks. For, when the Bishops of* Italy *and of the* Gallia's *could not effect that, we hop't it would at length be done by your help. But, as we perceive, you your selves do now stand in need of Peace-makers.* Vales.

[c] Ἀποστεῖλαι με. I write ἀποστείλαιμι, from *Gruter's* and *Moræus's Copy*; whereto agree the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

CHAP. LXVII.

That the Beginnings of Religion were from the *East*.

FOr, *whereas the power of* [*the true*] *Light, and the Law of the Sacred Religion, being by the Beneficence of God given forth out of the Bosomes (as I may so say) of the East, hath at the same time illuminated the whole world with its Sacred Light; we upon a very good account believing* [a] *you would prove the Authours as 'twere and Promoters of the Salvation of* [*all*] *Nations, have attempted to find you out, as well by a propensity of our mind, as the* * *sight of our eyes.* [b] *Immediately therefore after our great Victory and our most certain Triumph over our Enemies,* [c] *we had resolved before all things to enquire into that again, which we judged to be the chiefest and most momentous of all.*

[a] Ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ πνας ἀρχηγούς. Question[less] the reading must be ὑμᾶς *you*, as 'tis mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*. Nor is the reading otherwise in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts*. Further, *Constantine* does expresly reckon the *Egyptians* amongst the people of the East, which was not perceived by *Christophorson*. Indeed, *Egypt* was then accounted amongst the Provinces of the East, from the times of *Maximine*, who having been constituted *Cæsar* in the East, had had *Egypt* under him. Hence 'tis, that *Amm. Marcellinus* (in *his fourteenth book* where he reckons up the Provinces of the East,) attests, that *Egypt* and *Mesopotamia* were of their number. The place occurs at *pag.* 19 *of our Edition*. Moreover, the *Comes of the East* had *Egypt* and *Mesopotamia* under his dispose in the times of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, as *this old Inscription* informs us: M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBURIO CÆCILIANO. PLACIDO. C. V. COMITI ORIENTIS ÆGYPTI ET MESOPOTAMIÆ. CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. Further, under the Latter Emperours, although the *Egyptick Diocese* was severed from the *Oriental*, yet 'twas always under the *Præfectus Prætorio in the East*, as 'tis manifest from *The Notitia of the Empire*. A little after, I think it should be written, ξητεῖν ἠπειγόμην, *have hastned to find you out*. Vales.

* Or, *Efficacy.*

[b] Ἅμα γὰρ τῇ μεγάλῃ νίκῃ. 'Tis the same with what he had said in the foregoing chapter, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχθρὸν ὀξελῶν, *after we had destroyed the Common Enemy of the world. Constantine* means the *Hadrianopolitane Battle*, and *that at Chalcedon*. The *Former* of which hapned on the *fifth of the Nones of July*: the *Latter* on the *fourteenth of the Calends of October*, in the year of Christ 324. About the end of which year *This Letter* seems to have been dated. *Vales.*

[c] Τελέσι πρῶτον εἰλόμην. I think the reading should be τῶτ' ἔπ.' perhaps also προσελόμην; that is, *we had resolved again to enquire into and determine that dissention of the Donatists*. In the excellent *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τί ποτ' ὄν τὰ πρῶτα, &c. and so 'tis mended in *Turnebus's* and *Moræus's Copy at the margin*. Some words are doubtless wanting here. But the meaning of the place is wholly the same with what I have said. Further, the reading of all Copies being compared together, the place seems to be restored thus, τί ποτ' ὄν τῶτο πρῶτον, &c. *we resolved upon enquiring what that first thing was, which*, &c. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

That being troubled by reason of the Disturbance, he advises to an Agreement.

BUt (O the most Beautifull and Divine Providence!) what a deadly wound hath been given to our Ears, or rather to [a] our very heart, when 'twas told us, that the dissentions raised amongst you were far more fierce than those which have been [b] left remaining in Africk? In so much that, your parts, from which we hop't a remedy might have been produced for others, do now stand in need of a greater Cure. Indeed, when we seriously considered of the Origine and cause of these [differences,] the Occasion appeared to us very trivial, and such as in no wise deserved so fierce a Contest. Wherefore, being induced to a necessity of [penning] this Letter, and writing to Your [c] Unanimous Sagacity, having also called upon Divine Providence to be Our Assistant in this affair, we do upon a good account interpose Our Self as the * Arbiter of your mutuall dissention, and as an † Administrator of Peace. For, if We Our Self (God giving us his assistance, although there were a greater occasion of discord, yet) by instilling reason into the Pious minds of Our Hearers, could be able without much difficulty [d] to recall each person to more wholesome Counsells; why may not we the same person (in regard the occasion is small and very trivial, which hinders the agreement of the whole Body;) promise Our Self an easier and far more expedite ‖ accommodation of this matter?

[a] Τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς. Every one sees it should be written τῆς καρδίας. Nor is Christophorsons conjecture to be condemned, who read τραῦμα καίριον a deadly wound. For so the Fuketian and Savilian Copies, and the Kings Sheets, do plainly give it us written. Valesius. In Robert Stephens the reading is πρᾶγμα καίριον a deadly thing.

* Umpire.

† Or, Dispenser.

‖ Or, Emendation.

[b] Τῶν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθέντων. Christophorson saw nothing here, nor perceived that this word ἐκεῖ was to be referred to the Schism of the Donatists, whereof Constantine had spoken above. The Emperour says therefore, that this Schism was for the most part appeased, and that only some small Remains of it were left in Africa. Valesius.

[c] Πρὸς τὴν ὁμόψυχον ὑμῶν εὐχήνειαν. Christophorson designedly omitted the term ὁμόψυχον unanimous, because he thought, that Alexander and Arius could not be termed unanimous; in regard they disagreed one with another about matters of so great consequence. But Constantine does nevertheless term them unanimous, in regard he thought well of them both, and believed that they disagreed in words, rather than in reality and in mind. But the term εὐχίνοια seems but little agreeable to Prelates. The Emperours do use this term indeed in their Letters to Governours of Provinces. But when they speak to Prelates, they do more frequently use Sanctity, Gravity, or Prudence. The Old Glosses, εὐχίνοια Solertia, Experientia, Sagacity or Prudence, Experience. Valesius.

[d] Εἰς τὸ χρησιμώτερον ἕκαστον μεταθῆσαι. The word ἕκαστον seems to be used in the Neuter Gender. For 'tis referred to the Article ὅπερ, whereto by and by τοῦτο answers. In the Kings and Fuketian Copy therefore, after the Verb μεταθῆσαι, a distinction is rightly placed. For the sense is not entire. But Christophorson, contrary to his own usage, of one period has made two. Valesius.

CHAP. LXIX.

Whence the Controversie between *Alexander* and *Arius* arose; and, that such matters ought not to be enquired into.

WE understand therefore, that the Ground of the present Controversie arose from hence. For whereas You, Alexander, enquired of your Presbyters, [a] what every particular persons [Sentiment was] concerning a certain passage of those things written in the Law, or rather asked about a part of a fruitless Controversie: and whereas You, Arius, [b] inconsiderately vented that, which you ought either not to have conceived at first, or if you had had such conceptions, it had been your duty, to have let them been buried in silence: [c] hereupon a dissention has been raised between you, [d] communion is denied; and the most holy people, rent into two Factions, are separated from the harmonious unity of the whole Body. Wherefore, let both of you, mutually [e] pardoning each other, accept of what your Fellow-Servant doth reasonably advise you to. But what is that? It was fitting, neither to have asked such questions at first, nor if proposed, to have made any return thereto. For such Questions, which no Law does necessarily order or prescribe, but are proposed by the contentiousness of an unprofitable vacancy from business (although they may be made to exercise and imploy our Naturall parts about, yet) we ought to confine within our Breasts, and not inconsiderately divulge them in publick assemblies, nor unadvisedly commit them to the Ears of the Vulgar. For, what person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified, either accurately to comprehend the full efficacy and nature of things so sublime and profound, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or, should any man look upon this to be an easie performance, how small a part of the Vulgar will he induce to be fully perswaded hereof? Or, [f] what man can without danger of falling into gross errours, insist upon the accurate discussions of such nice Controversies? In questions therefore of this nature, Loquacity must be bridled and restrained, least either through the frailty of our Nature, we being not able to explicate what we propose, or through the slower understanding of the Auditors, (being unable accurately to apprehend those matters discoursed of;) least [we say] [g] from the one of these two Causes, the people be reduced to a necessity either of Blasphemy, or Schism.

[a] Τί δή ποτε αὐτῶν ἕκαστος. The word φρονεῖ is without doubt to be added from Gelasius Cyzicenus book 2. chap. 4. But Nicephorus (book. 8. chap. 13.) has νοεῖ, thought. By and by, where the reading is πωδάνοιο, the Fuketian and Savilian Copies have it written ἐπωδάνε, which is truer. Valesius.

[b] Ἀπερισκέπτως ἐνηχθέντας. The reading in Gelasius is truer, thus, ἀντεχθέντας, that is, opposed or objected. And so Epiphanius Scholasticus had read, as appears from the 19th chapter of the Tripartite History. Valesius.

[c] Ὅθεν τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν διχοστασίας. Nicephorus has expunged the first word as superfluous, which nevertheless all our Copies retain, and Epiphan. Scholasticus also, in his Version. Valesius.

[d] Ἡ μὲν σύνοδος ἐκκήρυκτος. Langus renders it, conventus quidem solemnis quibusdam denegatus, the solemn Convention is denied to some. Christophorson translates it in this manner, Conventus qui in Ecclesia fieri solet, impeditus, the assemblie which is wont to be made in the Church, is hindred. They took σύνοδον therefore here for Synaxis, in which sense 'tis used not infrequently. So again in this chapter, εἰς δημοσίας συνόδους ἐκφέρειν, divulge them in or among publick assemblies. Further, Epiphan. Scholasticus renders it mysteria contemnuntur, the mysteries are contemned. Valesius.

[e] Τὴν συγγνώμην ἀλλαχοῦ. Socrates and Gelasius Cyzicenus and Nicephorus have γνώμην, that is, affording me your ears and mind. But the common reading, which we have followed, is truer. For so Constantine expresses himself below in the next chapter. Epiphanius renders it voluntatem præbens. Valesius.

[f] Ἢ τίς ὁ ταῖς ἡμῶν πίστεσιν. In the Kings, Fuk. and Savil. Copies, the reading is, ἢ τίς ταῖς, &c. In Nicephorus 'tis ἢ τίς ὃς ταῖς, &c. truer than in the common Editions. By and by, from the Fuketian and Savil. Copies I have mended it, ἢ τῇ ἡμῶν ἀκεραιοτάτῃ ἑρμηνέως σωτείσει, or through the slower understanding of the Auditors, &c. Valesius.

[g] Ἐξ ὁποτέρου τρόπου. In the King's, and Fuk. Copy the reading is ποτέρου without the Preposition; which reading may be born with, if you referre the word ποτέρου to those which follow ἢ βλασφημίας, ἢ σχίσματος, either of Blasphemy, or Schism. The one of these two, says he, will beget an occasion either of Blasphemy, or Schism. But Socrates and Gelasius and Nicephorus have it written here ὧνδε ἐξ ἑκατέρου. Indeed, this place is very difficult and obscure by reason of the ill Syntax. Therefore in the Kings Copy at the side of this line is set this mark φρ. that is, φρόνησιν, attend. Valesius.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXX.

An Exhortation to an agreement.

VVHerefore, let an unwary Queſtion, and an inconſiderate Anſwer in both of You mutually pardon each other. For this conteſt hath not been raiſed among you upon an occaſion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: nor have you introduced any new Hereſie concerning the worſhip of God. But both of You hold one and the ſame Opinion; ſo that, You may eaſily cloſe with each other in a [a] conſent of Communion.

[a] Πρὸς τὸ τῆς κοινωνίας σύνθημα. Langus and Muſculus render it *Communionis teſſeram, Mark* or *token of communion*; *Chriſtophorſon, communionis conſenſum, conſent of communion.* I had rather render it *Signum, a ſign.* For, as in the myſteries of the Heathens ſome Signes or Symbols were delivered to the perſons initiated, whereby the *Symmyſtæ* [*companions of the ſame diſcipline*] might know one another: ſo the *Chriſtians* had a ſign of Communion, that is, The *Euchariſt*, or *Baptiſm.* Indeed, *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* renders it *communionis ſignum, a ſign of Communion.* Valeſ. *Valeſius* has tranſlated it *a ſociety of Communion.*

CHAP. LXXI.

That a pertinacious Contention ought not to have been raiſed concerning this matter, on account of ſome light and frivolous Expreſſions.

FOr whilſt you thus pertinaciouſly contend about triſles and matters of no importance, 'tis not decent that ſo numerous a multitude of God's people ſhould be under your Care and Goverment, becauſe of your diſſention with one another: nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis likewiſe judged to be altogether unlawfull. Now, that we may advertiſe your prudence by a ſmaller inſtance, [a] We will tell you: you know even the Philoſophers themſelves, [b] how that they are all united in [the profeſſion of] one Sect; whenas nevertheleſs, they frequently diſagree in ſome part of their Aſſertions: but although they diſſent in the very Perfection of ſcience, yet becauſe of the agreement and union of their Sect, they cloſe again in a mutuall conſent. Now, if it be ſo [amongſt them,] how will it not be much more reaſonable, that [c] You, who are the Miniſters of the moſt High God, ſhould in like manner be unanimous in the profeſſion of the ſame Religion? But, Let us with more accuracy and a greater attention, inſpect and examine what we have now ſaid; whether it be reaſonable, that becauſe of the triviall, vain, and pertinacious Conteſts between you about words, Brethren ſhould be ſet in array as 'twere againſt Brethren; and that the Venerable Aſſembly ſhould upon your account, who contend one with another about things ſo ſlight and in no wiſe neceſſary, be rent in ſunder by an impious variance. Theſe things are poor and mean, and do befit a childiſh ignorance, rather than agree with the underſtanding of Prieſts and prudent men. Let us of our own accord depart from the Temptations of the Devill. Our Great God the common Saviour of all, [d] hath reached forth a Light common to all. By the aſſiſtance of whoſe Providence, give us leave who are his Servant, ſucceſsfully to finiſh [e] this our Endeavour; that by our Exhortation, diligence, and earneſt admonitions, we may reduce you to a Communion of Convention. For in regard, as we have ſaid already, your faith is one and the ſame, and your Sentiment of our Religion is one, and whereas the [f] commandment of the Law doth in each part of it incloſe all in generall in one conſent and purpoſe of mind: Let not this thing, which has raiſed a ſmall contention between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to * the ſum of all Religion in generall,) by any means make any Separation and Faction amongſt you. And theſe things we ſpeak, not to neceſſitate you to be all of one opinion concerning this fooliſh idle Queſtion, of what ſort ſoever it be. For the pretious value of the Convention may be preſerved entire amongſt you, and one and the ſame communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongſt you a great diverſity of Sentiments in things of the leaſt moment. For, we do not all will the ſame in all things; nor is there in us one diſpoſition or opinion. Therefore concerning the Divine providence, let there be amongſt you one faith, one underſtanding, and one † conſent in reference to God. But, as for those ſlender and trivial queſtions, which with ſo much niceneſs you diſpute of and make reſearches into amongſt your ſelves, although therein you do do not agree in the ſame opinion, yet 'tis fit you ſhould confine them to your own thoughts, and keep them within the ſecret repoſitories of your minds. Let therefore that eximious [priviledge] of a common friendſhip, and the || belief of the Truth, and the honour of God, and a religious obſervancy in reference to [His] Law, remain amongſt you firm and immoveable. Return ye to a mutuall friendſhip and charity: reſtore to the whole Body of the people their own embraces. And be you your ſelves (having [g] purified your own ſouls as 'twere,) acquainted again [and renew your familiarity] with each other.

[a] Ὑπομνήσαιμι, λέξω. The laſt word is wanting in *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*, nor does it ſeem very neceſſary. 'Tis certain, *Epiphanius* has omitted it in his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὡς ἐνὶ μὲν δόγματι ἅπαντες συντίθενται. Tranſlatours underſtood not what the import of δόγμα was here; ſome of them have rendred it *Opinion*, or *firm conſent in one opinion*; others, *a profeſſion of diſcipline.* But, there is not one opinion amongſt Philoſophers, as 'tis ſufficiently manifeſt. Therefore I had rather render it *Sect.* For all Philoſophers have ſome Sect to which they are addicted; ſome have the *Sect of the Stoicks*; others, that of the *Peripateticks*. Now, in every Sect there are ſometimes controverſies concerning ſome queſtions between Philoſophers of the ſame Sect. Yet the ſame perſons, on account of the ſociety of their Sect, do eaſily agree one with another. This is the meaning of *Conſtantine*'s words as I think. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἡμᾶς, *that we.* We muſt read ὑμᾶς *that you*; from *Gelaſius, Nicephorus*, and *Epiphanius.* And a little after, ἐν ὑμῖν *between you*, from the ſame Authours; to whom agree the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, and the *Kings Sheets.* Valeſ.

[d] Τὸ φῶς ἐξέτεινεν, *hath produced a Light.* He had better have ſaid ἀνέτεινεν *hath reached forth.* A little before I read ὁ κοινὸς ἁπάντων σωτὴρ *the Common Saviour of all*; as 'tis in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies.* Valeſ.

[e] Ταύτην ἐμοὶ τὴν σπουδήν. That is, *this our endeavour and purpoſe, of eſtabliſhing concord in the Church, and of reducing all men to the worſhip of one God.* Concerning which endeavour and deſign, *Conſtantine* hath ſpoken at the beginning of this Letter, and does boaſt of it every where. *Valeſ.*

[f] For the Law enjoyns us nothing elſe but love; namely, that we ſhould love God with the entire affection of our hearts, and our neighbour as our ſelves. In theſe two conſiſts the whole Law, as our Lord ſays in the Goſpel. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this paſſage; he renders it thus; *unumque Legis ac diſciplinæ inſtitutum*, &c. *and one Decree of the Law and diſcipline, which binds the whole body of the Church with its parts, in one agreeing concord and purpoſe of minds.* *Porteſius* tranſlates it truer, thus; *Præceptumque Legis in id omnibus partibus incumbit, ut in unam animam univerſum concludat, and the commandment of the Law in all its parts earneſtly endeavours at this, that it may include the whole Body in one mind.* Perhaps alſo it ſhould be written τοῖς δυσὶν ὅλῃ μέρεσιν *in both its parts.* For there are two parts of this commandment, the one has a reference to God, the other to our neighbour. *Valeſ.*

[g] Ψυχὰς ἐκκαθήραντες. That is, *having put away the darkneſs of hatred, wherewith the acuteneſs of your mind was clouded and obſcured.* For it follows, ἀλλήλους ὁπάσητε, that is, *be acquainted one with another again, embrace, ſalute.* In which words *Conſtantine* ſeems to allude to the uſage of the *Chriſtians* of of his own time: amongſt whom in their ſacred Conventions, whilſt the people approach't to the participation of the Myſteries, the Deacon often cried out ὅπασώσασθε ἀλλήλους, *take acquaintance one of another*; to wit, leaſt any prophane perſon or Jew might creep to the ſacred Table, as *Chryſoſtome* informs us in *his firſt Oration againſt the Jews*, pag. 440 of the *Firſt Tome.* The ſame word *Marcion* uſed, when

* Or, *The power of the whole.*

† Or, *Covenant of the Deity.*

|| Or, *Faith.*

when on a time he saw *Polycarp*, ὀπτάνωσκε ἡμᾶς *take acquaintance of us*, as *Eusebius* relates out of *Irenæus*, book 4. chap. 14. of *his Eccles. Hist.* The *Latines* also use the verb *recognoscere* in the same sense. So *in the passion of Fructuosus the Bishop: Cùm se excalceasset*, &c. *when he had pulled off his shoes, a Fellow-souldier, our Brother, by name* Felix, *came to him, and took him by the right hand*, recognoscens eum *taking acquaintance of him, and beseeching him, that he would be mindfull of him.* Vales.

For Friendship (when it returns to reconciliation again,) frequently becomes sweeter and more pleasing, after the [h] *removall of the Enmity.*

[h] Τῆς ἔχθρας ὑστέρου, *the occasion of the Enmity.* the reading must be ἀποστέρου *removall*, as 'tis in *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. And so 'tis plainly written in the *Fuk. and Savil. Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

CHAP. LXXII.

That being highly affected with Grief in regard of his Piety, he was necessitated to shed tears; and, that on this account, he put off the Journey he was about to make into the East.

Restore therefore to us peaceable and serene days, and nights void of care; that the pleasure of the pure Light, and the joy of a quiet life may in future be reserved for us also. Which if [*we shall*] *not* [*obtain,*] *we must of necessity groan, and be wholly surrounded with Tears; nor shall we finish the residue of our Life without great disquietude. For, whilst the people of God, (we mean our Fellow-Servants,) are rent in sunder by this unreasonable and pernitious Contention one with another, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of mind? But, that you may be sensible of our excessive Grief on account of this matter,* [* *be attentive to what we shall tell you:*] *when we lately came to the City* Nicomedia, *we had resolved forthwith to have made a journey into the* East. *But whilst we were hastning unto you, and* [a] *by the greatest part were with you,* [b] *the news of this affair* * *quite altered our Resolution: that we might not be necessitated to behold with our eyes those things of which we accounted even the Report to be intollerable. Do you therefore in future, by your unanimity, open a way for us into the East, which by your mutuall Contentions you have stop't up. Give us leave with joy speedily to see you, and all the rest of the people, and that with an unanimous consent of praises we may attribute to God due thanks for the Concord and Liberty of all persons.*

* In *Socrates* the Verb ἀκούσατε *hear*, or, *be attentive*, occurs; but we meet not with it here.

[a] That is, *in mind and thought.* For the mind is the greater and the better part of any one. But *Christophorson* thought the meaning was *the greater part of his journey*; which is not to be endured. *Vales.*

* Or, *Wholly subverted.*

[b] Τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγενημένων ἀγγελία, *the news of this Letter.* It must be made πεφασμένων *affair*, from *Socrates*, *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, and *Nicephorus*. A little after I read θεοσεβεῖς, as 'tis in *Nicephorus* and S^r *Henry Savils Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. LXXIII.

That after this Letter, the disturbance about the * *Controversies continued.*

* Or, *Questions.*

After this manner the Pious [Emperour,] by sending his Letter, made provision for the Peace of the Church of God. Moreover, that good man made use of his utmost diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his will, by whom he had been sent. And he was every way a [a] Pious person, as I have said. But, the affair was greater, than to be accommodated by the help of a Letter. In so much that, the Contention of the persons at variance increased daily; and the vehemency of the mischief overran all the Eastern Provinces. Envy, and the malicious Devil, vext at the prosperity of the Church, † invented these things for our destruction.

† Or, *Wrought these things.*

[a] Θεοσεβὴς ἀνὴρ. In the *Kings Copy* the word ἀνὴρ is wanting, which is not very necessary. Nevertheless, 'tis my conjecture, that the place it to be read in one breath, thus, ἦκουεν δὲ ὁ τῆ γεφύρᾳ μόνον συμπεφθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τὰς καταπεμφθεὶς θεοσεβὴς ἀνὴρ, ὡς εἴρηται, *That Good and every way Pious Person, as I have said, made use of his utmost diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his will, by whom he had been sent. But the affair*, &c. He means *Hosius*; see chap. 63. *Vales.*

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS* CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

A comparison of Constantine's *Piety with the Improbity of the Persecutors.*

IN this manner the Devill, that hater of Good, envying the Felicity of the Church, raised up storms and intestine disturbances in it, during a time of Peace and Joy. [a] In the interim, the Emperour dear-to-God neglected not the performance of what became him: [b] but doing all things contrary to what had been audaciously perpetrated a little before by Tyrannick Cruelty, [by that means] he was made Superiour to every of his Enemies and opposers. In the first place therefore, They, alienated from [his worship] who truly is God, by various methods of force compelled all men to adore those who were not Gods: but He, evincing them as well by words as in reality in no wise to be Gods, exhorted all persons to an acknowledgment of Him who is the only God. Besides, they derided God's Christ with blasphemous expressions: But he [c] assumed to himself as his preservative, that very thing, against which those impious Wretches with the greatest Virulency * belch't forth their Blasphemies; and gloried in the Trophy of the [Salutary] passion. They persecuted the Worshippers of Christ, and drove them from their houses and habitations. He recalled them all [from Exile,] and restored them to their own dwellings. They surrounded them with ignominies; he made them honourable and happy in the opinion of all men. They seized upon the Goods of God's Worshippers, and with the greatest injustice made sale of them: He not only restored their Goods to them, but likewise enricht them abundantly with very many Gifts and Benefactions. They by written Constitutions [d] publisht Calumnies against the Prelates [of Churches:] on the contrary, he raised and advanced those men to Honour [bestowed] by Himself, and by Edicts and Laws made them more renowned than they had been before. They demolished the Oratories to the very Foundations, and from their vast height pulled them down to the ground: He by a Law ordained, that those Oratories which were standing should be raised higher, and that new ones should be magnificently erected, [the

[a] Καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς. In Sr *Henry Savil's Copy* the reading is ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς. In the *Old Sheets* both readings are retained, in this manner, ὁ δὲ δὴ καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Πάντα περάπων τἀναντία. In *Moræus's Copy* 'tis mended in the margin, παρὰ δὲ περάπων, *But doing*, &c. as 'tis also in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies.* A little before, instead of ἧς αὐτῷ προσηκόντων, *of what belonged to him*; *both Copies* and the *Kings Sheets* have it ἧς αὐτῷ πρεπόντων, *of what became him.* Vales.

[c] Ἐγέφετο φυλακτήριον, *he inscribed as his preservative.* It seems to be used instead of ἐπεφέρετο, *he assumed.* But if you had rather take the verb ἐγεφέρετο in it's common signification, that may also be born with. For *Constantine* ordered it to be engraven on the Base of his Statue, which he erected at *Rome* after the Victory gotten over *Maxentius*, that by the Virtue of *this Standard Rome* had been set at Liberty by him. *Vales.*

* Or, *Applied.*

[d] Ταῖς κατ' ἧς, &c. The Rule of *Syntax* requires that we should read πρὸς κατ' ἧς, &c. A little after it must be written τῇ παρ' αὐτῆς τιμῇ, *to honour [bestowed] by himself*; as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies.* Vales.

charges whereof were defrayed] out of the Imperial Exchequer it self. They ordered the divinely-inspired Scriptures to be destroyed and consumed by fire: He made a Sanction, that at the charge of the Imperiall Treasury the [Copies of the sacred Volumes] should be increased, [e] and * adorned with a magnifick furniture. They commanded, that Synods of Bishops should in no wise be attempted to be any where convened: He called together into his own presence the Prelates out of all the Provinces; and vouchsafed them admission not only into his Pallace, and inmost Bed-Chamber; but likewise gave them a reception within his own House, and made them Companions of his Imperial Table. They honoured *Dæmons* with consecrated Gifts: but he laid open their frauds, continually distributing the * unserviceable matter of those consecrated Gifts to such as could make use of it. They gave order, that the Temples [of the Gods] should be adorned with all imaginable splendour: He utterly demolished those very Temples, especially them that were highliest esteemed of by superstitious men. They subjected the servants of God to the most ignominious punishments: He took vengeance on those who had done these things, chastizing them with a [f] condign punishment from God; but he never desisted from honouring the memories of Gods holy Martyrs. They drove men that were worshippers of God from the Imperial Pallaces: He put his chiefest confidence in such persons, knowing them to be of all men the best affected and faithfullest to him. They were overcome with [the love of] money, having enslaved their minds to a * *Tantalick* † *passion:* but he with an Imperial magnificence opened all his Treasures, and made distributions of them with a || Liberality that was bountifull, noble and generous. Lastly, they perpetrated infinite Murders, to the end they might make a seizure of, and expose to sale the Estates of those that were slain: but during the whole Reign of *Constantine*, every sword hung up as useless to the Judges; in regard the people and [g] *Decuriones* were [h] ruled by a paternall power, rather than governed by force and necessity. All which things whoever shall attentively consider, he will have good cause to say, that a certain *new* [i] *Age* seemed just then to have appeared; an unusuall light * after a long darkness having shined upon mankind. And he will confess, that all this was the work of God, who opposed this Religious Emperour, as an Adversary against that multitude of the Impious.

[e] In *Moræus's Copy* these words (which we likewise found in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts,*) are added in the margin, μεταλοπρεπεῖ πρέπουσῃ πολυπαρασκόμῳ, *adorned,* or *augmented, with a magnifick furniture*; which reading *Christophorson* has followed in his version. Indeed, *Constantine* adorned those books which served for Ecclesiastick uses with Gemms and Stones; as *Cedrenus* tells us in *his Chronicon,* where he speaks concerning *Metrodorus the Philosopher.* Vales.

* Or, *Augmented with.*

* Τῶν ἀχρήστων τῆς ἀναθημάτων ὕλην; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *materiam ipsam donariorum nullis usibus dicatam, the matter it self of the consecrated Gifts dedicated to no uses.*

[f] Τῇ πρεπούσῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ κολάσει, *with a condigne punishment of God.* I had rather make it ἐκ Θεοῦ, *from God*; as *Eusebius* does usually express himself *Vales.*

* See book 1. chap. 55.

† Or, *Distemper.*

|| Or, *Rich and noble bounty.*

[g] Πολιτάρχαι. *Christophorson* understood not the import of this word; He hath rendred it *Cives, Citizens.* But πολιτάρχαι are the *Decuriones,* as I have long since remarked at the 22d book of *Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 225 *of my notes.* Vales.

[h] Παλαιονομωμένων, that is, *were ruled by a paternal power.* He says therefore, that *Constantine's* Government, by reason of his mildness and clemency, was wholly like the Government of a Father over his Sons: So that, all the people and *Decuriones,* were not kept within the bounds of duty by force and fear like Subjects, but obeyed on their own accord, like Sons. In the *Fuketian Copy,* instead of ἐπ' ἀνάγκης the reading is ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, *by force and necessity.* Vales.

[i] Νεοπαγῆ αἰῶνα. In mine own judgment, I have rendred this passage very happily, thus, *novum sæculum, a new Age.* So in the *Coyns of Philippus,* 'tis termed *novum sæculum.* The old *Etrusci* affirmed, that every Age was limited by the Gods, by a certain number of years: which number of years being ended, then prodigies were by the Gods shown from heaven, or out of the earth; whereby it might be signified, that a *new Age* was begun. And, that men were born, who would make use of new fashions and customes, and would be more or less dear to the immortal Gods. These signes the *Etrusci* had exactly noted in their *Libri Rituales,* as *Plutarch* has told us *in Sulla*; and *Censorinus* chap. 17. *de Die Natali.* Vales.

* Or, *Out of darkness.*

CHAP. II.

Again concerning the Piety of Constantine, *who made a free and open profession of the Cross of Christ.*

FOr, whereas they were such persons, the like to whom had never appeared at any time, and had dared to act such things against the Church, as * no person from the utmost memory of men ever heard done; with good reason God himself produced a certain new Miracle, [I mean *Constantine,*] by whom he effected such things as had never been known by report, nor represented to view. For, what miracle was stranger and more unusuall, than the virtue of our Emperour, whom the wisdom of God bestowed upon Mankind? For withall imaginable confidence and freedom he continued asserting God's Chr st to all men; nor was he ashamed of the † Salutary Appellation: but gloried in reference to that matter, and shewed himself in order to his being taken notice of and known by all men; sometimes sealing his face with the Salutary sign; at others, boasting in the Victorious Trophy.

* Or, *Are not contained in the hearing of an age.*

† He means the name of a *Christian,* as 'tis manifest from the following words.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Constantine's *Picture, over which was placed a Cross, and under it* * *a wounded* Dragon.

* Or, *A Dragon was wounded.*

MOreover, in an high painted Table placed before the † *Porticus* of the Imperial Pallace, he proposed to the view of all men, the Salutary Sign represented in a Picture, set over his own head; but [he ordered] that Enemy and fierce Adversary [of Mankind,] who by the Tyranny of the impious had || opposed the Church of God, to be drawn [underneath,] in the form of a Dragon * falling into the deep. For the divine Oracles contained in the Book's of God's Prophets, have termed him a Dragon and a crooked Serpent. On which account the Emperour, under his own and his children's feet, in *Encaustick painting* exhibited to the view of all men, a Dragon wounded with a Dart thorow the midst of His belly, and cast into the depths of the Sea; denoting hereby that secret Enemy of Mankind; whom also he declared to have been thrust down into the pit of destruction, by the power of that Salutary Trophy placed over his head. And these things were tacitely shown by the Picture painted with a variety of Colours. But I am seized with an admiration of the Emperour's great knowledge; in regard by divine inspi-

† Or, *Entry.*

|| Or, *Besieged.*

* Κατὰ βυθοῦ φερόμενον; *Valesius* renders it *in præceps ruentem, falling headlong.*

inſpiration he expreſt thoſe very things in paint, which the words of the Prophets had declared before concerning that ſame Beaſt in this manner, ſaying, * *That God would* † *unſheath a great and terrible ſword againſt the dragon the ſerpent that flees, and would ſlay the dragon that is in the ſea.* The Emperour therefore expreſt the Figures hereof, || having in the Picture truly imitated the thing it ſelf.

* See Eſai. 27. 1.

† Or, *Bring forth.*

|| Or, *Having in the adumbration truly ſets forth the imitations.*

CHAP. IV.

Again concerning the Controverſies [*raiſed*] *in* Egypt *by* Arius.

THeſe things he performed with a complacency of mind. But the blackneſs of Envy, which [at that time] in an horrid manner diſturbed the Churches of God at *Alexandria*, and the [a] peſtilent Schiſm of thoſe of *Thebais* and *Egypt*, troubled him not a little. For the Biſhops in each City * Strove with the Biſhops, and the people made inſurrections againſt the people, and, daſht one againſt another like *the* [b] *Symplegades*, were cut in pieces by mutual wounds. In ſo much that, ſpurred on at length by a fury and deſperateneſs of mind, they attempted impious and nefarious Facts, and were ſo audacious as to do violence to the Pictures of the Emperour. But theſe things did not ſo much excite the Emperour's anger, as they grieved and diſquieted his mind; in regard he was extreamly troubled at the madneſs of men that were impaired as to their Intellectualls. Valeſ.

[a] Or, *The Schiſmatical Miſchief.* He means *the Schiſm of the Meletians.* For *Egypt* at that time was ſick of a double diſeaſe; to wit, *the Arian Hereſie*, and *the Schiſm of Meletius.*

* Or, *Were daſhed againſt.*

[b] Συμπληγάσι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is συμπληγάδων, *Symplegades*; in which manner *Turnebus* had mended it at the margin of *his Copy*. Valeſ. *The Symplegades* are two Iſlands or Rocks in *the Boſphorus*; which had this name given them, becauſe (as 'tis fabulouſly reported) they met one time, and fought.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the diſſention on account of [*the Feaſt of*] Easter.

MOreover, before theſe [diſtempers,] there had riſen another moſt ſore diſeaſe, which [a] for a long time had infeſted the Church; [namely] a diſſention about the * Salutary Feaſt. For ſome affirmed, that the uſage of the *Jews* ought to be followed: others aſſerted, that † the time it ſelf was accurately to be obſerved, nor were erroneous perſons to be followed, who were eſtranged from Evangelick Grace [b] even in this matter alſo. Whereas therefore the people in all places had now for a long time diſagreed one with another, and whereas the divine Laws [of our Religion] were diſturbed and ſubverted; (for, in one and the ſame Feaſt, a * diverſity of time begat the greateſt diſſention imaginable amongſt thoſe who celebrated the Feaſt; in regard ſome perſons † afflicted themſelves with faſtings and auſterities; others || indulged to Leiſure and Mirth;) there was no mortall able to find out and adminiſter a remedy to this miſchief; becauſe the [c] controverſie hung in an equall poyze as 'twere between the diſſenting parties. To the only Omnipotent God it was eaſie to cure theſe Evills. Whoſe ſole Miniſter of good things upon earth appeared to be *Conſtantine*. Who, after he had received an account of what we have even now mentioned, and ſaw that his Letter to *Alexandria* proved ineffectuall; himſelf muſtered up [all the Forces of] his own mind, and ſaid, that this * new ſort of a War againſt an inviſible Enemy that had diſturbed the [peace of the] Church, ought to be ended by him.

[a] Ἐκ μακρῆ διενοχλῆσα. In my judgment the reading would be truer thus, ἐν μακρῆ δὴ ἐνοχλῆσα, *which had indeed a long while infeſted.* Valeſ.

* He means *Eaſter.*

† Or, *The accurate hour of the time was to be*, &c.

[b] Κἂν τούτῳ τυγχανῆν. This place is corrupted by an ill punctation. I write thus therefore, τῆς τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀλλοδοίοις χάριτος· καὶ τούτῳ· Τοιγαροῦν, &c. *who were eſtranged from Evangelick Grace even in this matter alſo. Whereas therefore*, &c. *Euſebius* ſays, that the *Jews* were eſtranged from the Grace of the Goſpell, both in other things, and alſo moſt eſpecially in this; becauſe they as yet celebrated *The Paſcha* agreeable to the *Moſaick uſage*, not acording to the verity of the Goſpell. *Conſtantine* confirms our Emendation in *his Letter to the Churches*, the words whereof are recorded below at chap. 18. ἐκεῖθεν ἔν τοίνυν καὶν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῷ ἀληθείαν ἔχ' ὁρῶσιν. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἰσορροπίας τῆς ἔριδος. *Gracians* term that ἰσορρόπιον μάχην, *as often as a fight is ſo maintained, that neither ſide gets the Victory.* In the ſame ſenſe *Euſebius* has here termed it ἰσορρόπον ἔριδα, that is, *paribus utrinq; momentis libratam controverſiam, the controverſie was poyſed by equall weights on both ſides. Chriſtophorſon* therefore has not rendred it well, thus, *præſertim cùm controverſia diſſidentium animos ex æquo exagitaret, eſpecially in regard the controverſie equally diſquieted the minds of the perſons diſſenting.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Change.*

† Or, *Were exerciſed with.*

|| Or, *Aſſigned; or dedicated their Leiſure to a relaxation, or ceſſation.*

* Or, *Other.*

CHAP. VI.

In what manner he gave order, that a Synod ſhould be convened at Nicæa.

IMmediately therefore ſetting in array as 'twere a divine * Army againſt † him, he convened an || *Oecumenicall* Synod; by honourable Letters inviting the Biſhops every where, to the end they ſhould come with all the ſpeed imaginable. Nor was it a ſimple and bare Order; but the Emperour's appointment gave aſſiſtance to the buſineſs it ſelf. For to ſome he allowed a Liberty of making uſe [a] of the *Curſus publicus*: others he ſupplied abundantly with the aſſiſtances of Beaſts of Burden. Moreover, a moſt convenient [place] was aſſigned for this Synod, a City [namely] which *from Victory* has the name *Nicæa*, ſituate in the Province of the *Bithynians*. When therefore the Emperour's Order was brought into all the Provinces, all perſons [ſet out] as 'twere from ſome Goal, and ran with all imaginable alacrity. For the hope of good things drew them, * and the participation of Peace, and [Laſtly] the ſpectacle of a new Miracle, to wit, the ſight of ſo great an Emperour. When therefore they were all come together, that which was done appeared to be the work of God. For they who were at the greateſt diſtance one from another, not only in minds, but in bodies, Regions, places, and Provinces; were ſeen aſſembled together in one place. And one City received them all, as 'twere ſome vaſt Garland

* Or, *Phalanx.*

† That is, *The Inviſible Enemy.*

|| Or, *Generall.*

[a] Δημοσίᾳ δρόμῳ. 'Tis ſtrange that *Euſebius* does here diſtinguiſh τὰ νωλοφόρα, *the Beaſts of burden* from the *Curſus Publicus*. But it may be anſwered, that by the name of the *Curſus Publicus Euſebius* underſtood *the Waggons or Chariots.* In which ſenſe *Nicephorus* took it, book 8. chap. 14. To ſome Biſhops therefore *Conſtantine* ordered *Waggons* or *Chariots* ſhould be allowed; to others, *publick Horſes*, whereon they might be conveyed to the Councill. *Valeſ.*

* Ἥ τε τῆς εἰρήνης μετουσία; *Valeſius* renders it, *and the opportunity of the preſent peace.*

of Priests made up of a variety of beautifull flowers.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Oecumenicall Synod, *at which were present Bishops out of all Provinces.*

* Τὰ ἀκρο-θίνια, *the first fruits, or top.*

* THe most eminent therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which fill'd all *Europe*, *Africk*, and *Asia*, were convened. [a] And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as 'twere by God himself, included at the same time within its walls, *Syrians* and *Cilicians*, *Phœnicians* and *Arabians*; *Palestinians* likewise, and moreover *Egyptians*, *Thebæans*, *Libyans*; those also that came out of *Mesopotamia*. There was likewise present at this Synod a *Persian* Bishop; nor was [b] the *Scythian* absent from this Quire. *Pontus* also, *Galatia*, and *Pamphilia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Phrygia* afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, [there appeared here] *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, *Achaians* and *Epirots*, and such as dwelt far beyond these, were nevertheless present. From * *Spain* likewise it self, that most celebrated person [*Hosius*] was one, amongst the many others who sate in this Synod. [c] The Prelate of the Imperial City was absent indeed, by reason of his age: but his *Presbyters* were there, who filled his place. *Constantine* was the [d] only Emperour of all the Princes since the foundation of the world, who, after he had platted such a Crown as this with the Bond of Peace, dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a Divine present and gratefull acknowledgment for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries; having constituted this [Synod convened] in our days, to be a lively Representation of that Apostolick Quire.

[a] Εἶτ' εἰκὸς εὐκτήριον. I read εἷς τε εἰκὸς, &c. *and one sacred*, &c. from *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, *Nicephorus*, and *Socrates*. Valesi.

p He has put the Scythians instead of the *Goths*. For so *Grecians* are wont to term them; as does *Libanius*, *Themistius*, *Eunapius*, and *Eusebius* himself in book 1. chap. 8. *de Vitâ Constant.* Valesi.

* Or, *The Spaniards themselves.*

[c] *Gelasius Cyzicenus* thought that by these words was meant the Bishop of *Constantinople*. Whom *Nicetas* hath followed in *his Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, book 5. chap. 6. in these words; *Eusebius autem Pamphili*, &c. *But Eusebius Pamphilus, in his third Book of the Life of the Emperour* Constantine, *writes that the Prelate of* Constantinople *was absent from the Synod, but he suppresses his name: in whose stead some Presbyters appeared. But 'tis manifest from the Acts of the Synod, that at that time Metrophanes was Bishop of* Constantinople, &c. So also *Epiphanius Scholasticus* tells us in Book 2. of *his Tripartite History*. But this Explication is not to be born with. For *Constantinople* was not as yet dedicated, nor grac'd with the name of *the Imperial City*, when the Synod was convened in the City *Nicæa*. Therefore these words of *Eusebius* are necessarily to be understood concerning the Bishop of *Rome*. Which *Sozomen* confirms, book 1. chap. 16. (into which Writer the name of *Julius* has corruptly crept, instead of *Silvester*;) and *Theodoret* book 1. chap. 7. *Valesi.*

[d] Μόνον ἐξ ἁπάντων. The same also is the reading in *Socrates*. But I had rather make it μόνῳ, as 'tis in *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. And so *Epiphan. Scholasticus* read in *Socrates*. But whereas εἷς follows, that ought not to trouble any one: For *Eusebius*, hereafter at chap. 26. puts μόνῳ εἷς together. *Valesi.*

CHAP. VIII.

That, like as ['tis said] *in the* Acts of the Apostles, *they met together out of various Nations.*

* See *Acts* 2. 5.

FOr 'tis * said, that in the Apostles times, there were gathered together *devout men out of every nation under heaven*. Amongst whom were *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and the Inhabitants of *Mesopotamia*, *Judæa* and *Cappadocia*, of *Pontus*, and *Asia*, of *Phrygia* and *Pamphilia*, of *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya* adjacent to *Cyrene*: strangers also of *Rome*, Jews and *Proselytes*, *Cretians* and *Arabians*. This only was wanting amongst them, they who met were not all the Ministers of God. But in this present Quire, there was a multitude of Bishops, which exceeded the number of [a] two hundred and fifty. But the number of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* who followed them, [b] of the *Acolythi*, and of the many other persons, was not to be comprehended.

[a] In *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. where this place of *Eusebius* is quoted, the reading is τριακοσίων *three hundred*. The Ancients are not agreed about the number of the Bishops who were present at the *Nicene Synod*. *Eusebius* at this place tells us they were two hundred and fifty. But *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* (in *his Homily* concerning those words which occur in the *Proverbs of Solomon*, *Dominus creavit me*,) says they were about 270; but tells us, that he had not accurately reckoned up their number. But the more constant Report, and which is confirmed by the consent of all the more modern Authours, is, that 318 Bishops sate in that Synod. So amongst the Ancients *Athanasius* in *his Epistle to the African Bishops*, not far from the beginning, *Hilarius* in *his book against Constantius*, *Hieronymus* in *his Chronicon*, and *Rufinus*. *Athanasius* in *his Letter concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Synod*, says, that the Bishops who met at *Nicæa* were three hundred more or less. *Valesi.*

[b] Ἀκολούθων δὲ πλείστων ὅσων δ' ἑτέρων. It must be written, ἀκολούθων τε πλείστων ὅσων ἑτέρων, from *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. and from *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* the reading is ἀκολούθων τε πλείστων, and after the word πλείστων, *a midle distinction* is set in all our Manuscript Copies. *Valesi.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Virtue and Age of the two hundred and fifty Bishops.

[a] MOreover,] of these Ministers of God, some were eminent for their * wisedom and eloquence; others, for their Integrity of life, and patient sufferance of hardships; [b] others, were adorned with modesty and a courteous behaviour. Some of them were highly respected by reason of their great age; others were eminent for their youthfull vigour, both of body and mind. Some were newly initiated into the † Order of the Ministery. To all which persons the Emperour commanded a plentifull provision of food should be every day allowed.

* Or, *Discourse of wisedom.*

† Or, *Course.*

[a] At these words I began a new chapter, having followed the authority of the *Kings and Fuketian Copy*: whereto agree the *Old Sheets*. Valesi.

[b] Οἱ δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ κοσμοῦντο. Severall senses may be given of this passage. For μέσῳ τρόπῳ may be taken *for modesty and a courteous behaviour*; supposing μέσῳ to be made use of instead of μετείῳ. Or, μέσῳ τρόπῳ may be meant concerning them, *who were not the eminentest persons amongst the Bishops for learning and sanctity of life; but did not come much behind them.* So the Ancients termed those *Medios Principes ac duces, middle Princes or Commanders, who were neither the best, nor the worst, but were in a middle place between both.* Lastly, μέσῳ τρόπῳ may be said of them, *who deserved to be praised on both accounts*, to wit, *for their Learning and Sanctity*. So *Sozomen* has expounded this place of *Eusebius*, in *his first book, chap.* 17. in these words: οἱ μὲν νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἱκανοὶ, &c. *Some excelled in understanding and eloquence, and were eminent both for their knowledge in the sacred Scriptures, and for other learning also: others were famous for their integrity and virtue of life: others were well approved of on both accounts.* Those whom *Eusebius* terms τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ κατακοσμουμένους, are by *Sozomen* stiled κατ' ἀμφότερον εὐδοκιμοῦντας, *well approved of on both accounts*. *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, in the *second book of his Tripartite History, chapter* 1, renders this place of *Eusebius* thus: *Ministrorum verò dei, alii sapientiæ sermone fulgebant, alii continentiâ vitæ & patientiâ coruscabant: alii verò medio modo horum virtutibus ornabantur; but of the Ministers of God, some shined with the discourse of wisdom, others glistered with continency of life and patience: but others some were in a middle manner adorned with the virtues of these.* Valesi.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Synod [*was held*] *in the Pallace, amongst whom* Constantine *went in, and sate together with* [*the Bishops.*]

BUt on the day appointed for the Synod, whereon the points in controversie were to be determined; after [a] evrey person concerned in that [determination] was come [b] to the very middlemost * Edifice of the Pallace, which [Edifice] in greatness seemed to exceed all others: and after a great many Seats had been placed in order on both sides of the Room, the persons who had been sent for went in; and each of them took an agreeable Seat.

* *House, Room* or, *Building.*

[a] Παρὴν ἑκάτερ☉ πωΐτω ἄγων. It must be written ἕκαστος *every person*, as *Christophorson* seems to have read. To whom nevertheless I can't assent, as to his having thought, that πωΐτω was to be referred to σωόδον. But I doubt not, but τῷ λύσιν *the determination* (which word precedes immediately,) is to be understood. For 'tis truer Greek, as I take it, to say ἄγειν or ἐπάγειν τῷ λύσιν, than ἄγειν τῷ σύνοδον. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* 'tis plainly written ἕκας☉. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τῆς βασιλείων. Whoever that person was that composed the Greek contents of the chapters, he took these words as meant of the Pallace; and *Christophorson* has followed him in that. *Sozomen* likewise (book 1. chap. 19.) and *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 7.) do write that the *Nicene Synod* was held in the Pallace, where the Emperour *Constantine* ordered Seats and Benches to be prepared for the Bishops. *Nicephorus* also (book 8.) hath written out the words of *Theodoret*. But, with the favour of so many and such great men be it spoken, 'tis in no wise likely, that the *Nicene Synod* should have been held in the Pallace. These persons were deceived, as it seems, by the ambiguous word here made use of by *Eusebius*, τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τῆς βασιλείων. For this term is promiscuously used, as well for the Pallace of the Emperour, as for a Church. 'Tis certain *Eusebius*, in the *Tenth Book of his Eccles. History*, terms a *Church* βασίλειον οἶκον. Indeed, much would be detracted from the authority of that Councill, should we believe it to have been held in the Emperour's Pallace. Besides, *Eusebius* himself does most apparently contradict this Opinion. For above at *chapter* 7, he writes thus in expres words, εἷς τε οἶκ☉ εὐκτήρι☉, &c. *And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as 'twere by God himself, included at the same time within its walls, Syrians and Cilicians*, &c. What can be more manifest than these words? Is it not most evidently declared by this passage, that the *Nicene Synod* was held in the Church? For *Eusebius* affirms, that all the Bishops were contained within the compass of one Church. Moreover, the words which *Eusebius* subjoyns in this chapter, in my judgment do sufficiently shew this. For he writes, ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τῆς βασιλείων, ὃς δὴ καὶ ὑπερέφερεν ἑαυτὸν μεγέθει τοὺς πάντας, *to the very middlemost Edifice of the Pallace, which* [*Edifice*] *in greatness seemed to exceed all others. Eusebius* says, that that House was the greatest and largest of all Houses in any place. But this can't be said of the Pallace of the City *Nicæa*. For, although we grant there was a Pallace in that City, questionless that could not be the greatest of all the Pallaces every where. For the Pallaces at *Rome* and *Millaine* were far greater. Nor do I doubt but the Pallace at *Nicomedia* was far larger and richer than that at *Nicæa*, in regard *Nicomedia* had been the Seat and Habitation of the Emperours from the times of *Diocletian*. Some one will perhaps answer, that *Eusebius* does not say, that that middle Edifice of the *Nicene* Pallace or Church, in largeness exceeded all the Buildings of the whole world; but only, that it was greater than the other Edifices of that Pallace or Church. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter, at book 4. chap. 66. where he describes *Constantine's Funeral*. Indeed, I could willingly grant, that this is the meaning of *Eusebius*'s words. But yet it follows not from hence, that the *Nicene Pallace* is meant by *Eusebius*. For, as well in Churches as in Pallaces, the middlemost Edifice was the largest and most capacious, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, in *his description of the Church of Tyre*. All things therefore being accurately weighed, this is my Sentiment: that the Bishops met first in the Church; and treated there many days concerning the opinion of *Arius* and the Rule of faith; but, that at length, on the day appointed for finishing the business, they came together into the Pallace, that they might declare their Opinion before the Emperour, and might put an end to the Contention. And thus all manner of difficulty is taken away. Indeed, *Eusebius* does plainly confirm that which I have said. For he says, that *the Bishops, on the day appointed whereon an end was to be put to the Controversies, came all into the Pallace*. And the Emperour going forth immediately to the Synod, all things, says he, were established in his presence. From which words it plainly appears, that *Eusebius* does here speak concerning the last day of the Councill, or the last Session, after the matter had been before discussed and sifted, in many Sessions of the Bishops. For so many and such great matters, as were negotiated in that Synod, could not be examined and determined in one days space. The same also had been done before in the *Antiochian Synod* against *Paul* of *Samosata*, as *Eusebius* informs us in the *Seventh Book of his Ecclesiastick History*. Vales.

But when with a befiting decency the whole Synod had sate down, they were all silent, expecting the Emperour's coming forth. Soon after this enters one, then a second, and a third person of those about the Emperour. Others also went before, not any of the [Emperour's] usuall *Protectours* and Guards, but * those only of his friends who profest the Faith of Christ. And when, [c] upon a sign given which declared the Emperour's entrance, they had all risen up, at length he himself [d] came walking in the midst, like some Celestial Angell of God: shining with his bright purple-garment as 'twere with the splendour of Light, glistering with * flaming Rays, and adorned with the clear brightnesses of Gold and pretious Stones. Such was the attire of his Body. But as to his mind, 'twas sufficiently manifest, that he was to an accuracy adorned with a fear and reverence of God. And an indication hereof was given by his cast-down Eyes, by his blushing Countenance, and by † his Gate and motion. Moreover, the rest of his Bodily shape; his tallness of Stature namely, wherein he excelled all persons that were about him, [as he did likewise] in a Comliness of Make, in a magnificent gracefullness of Body, and in an invincible strength and might: all these [accomplishments I say] being mixt with a † sweetness of disposition, and with an Imperial Lenity and Mansuetude, declared the immense excellency of his mind to be superiour to all manner of commendation. After the Emperour was come to the † upper end of the seats, [e] in the first place he stood in the midst. And when a || low chair made of Gold had been placed before him, he sate not down till such time as the Bishops had beckoned to him. As soon as the Emperour [had seated himself,] they all did the same.

* Or, *Those only of his faithfull friends.*

[c] Διὰ σωμάτων ὁ τῷ βασιλέως εἴσοδον ἐδήλου. Concerning this signe whereby the Emperour's coming was declared, *Corippus* speaks in these words;

——————Prænuntius ante
Signa dedit cursor posità de more Lucernâ. Vales.

[d] Διέβαινε μέσ☉. *Christophorson* renders it *per medium consessum intrat, enters through the midst of the assembly sitting together.* He might better have rendred it, *went thorow the middle space which was between the two ranks of the persons sitting.* That's the import of the word διαβαίνειν, that is, διὰ μέσου βαίνειν, *to go between two.* So below at chap. 15. μέσοι δὲ τάτων διέβαινον, &c. *thorow the midst of whom the men of God without fear passed*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Fiery.*

† Or, *The motion of his walking.*

† Or, *Meeknes*, or, *modesty.*

|| Or, *Small.*

[e] Μέσ☉ πρώτ☉ ἕστη. *Christophorson* seems to have read πρῶτον: for he has rendred it thus; *Primùm in medio conventu erectus constitit, in the first place he stood upright in the middle of the Convention.* Vales.

CHAP. XI.

The Silence of the Synod, after Eusebius *the Bishop had made a short Speech.*

THen [a] He of the Bishops, who sate first on the right-hand-side, arose, and addrest himself to the Emperour in a speech of an indifferent length, wherein he gave Almighty God

[a] *Sozomen* attests, book 1. chap. 19. that he

who had the first place on the right side, and who in the name of the whole Councill made a speech to the Emperour, was *Eusebius Pamphilus*. And so 'tis written in the Title of *this chapter*. But *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 7. *of his History*,) says this Oration was not made

made by *Eusebius* but by *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*. *Baronius* has followed *Theodoret's* opinion; whom any one, from *his writings*, will easily find to have been of a mind full of anger and hatred against *our Eusebius*. But *The Authour of the Tripartite History*, (book 2. chap. 5. where he writes out *Theodoret's* words,) says that after *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* made a speech likewise concerning the praises of the Emperour. Which nevertheless occurs not now in the Greek Copies of *Theodoret*; so that it necessarily follows, either that *Epiphanius Scholasticus* had procured more perfect Copies of *Theodoret*, or else that he added this of his own head, as 'tis sometimes his usage. Of this nature is that which we have noted above concerning the Bishop of the Imperial City, whom *Socrates* from *Eusebius* relates not to have been present at the *Nicene Synod*, where *Epiphanius Scholasticus* by a notorius mistake has added the name of *Alexander*, when as he ought rather to have said *Metrophanes*. But to return to our business, there are those who write, that that honour was conferred neither on *Eustathius*, nor *Eusebius*, but on *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, that in the name of the Councill he should make a speech to the Emperour. *Nicetas* in *his Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, book 5. chap. 7. affirms this in these words: *Eusebius de Vitâ Constantini Libro* 3. *se primum verba in Synodo feciſſe teſtatur*, &c. *Eusebius in his third book concerning the Life of Constantine atteſts, that he made the first speech in the Synod. But if we believe Theodoret, Eustathius was the first*, &c. *But as Theodorus Mopsuestenus writes, that honour was freely conferred on Alexander the Pontif of Alexandria.* But in such a diversity of Writers I should more willingly close with that opinion, which affirms that the first Course of speaking was by the Synod conferred on *Eusebius*. First of all, because without controversie *Eusebius* was the Learnedest and most eloquent person amongst them. Secondly, he himself does plainly attest this, at the beginning of this work, in these words: ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ, &c. *We our selves also, by a Panegyrick spoken in his Vicennalia, have lately Venerated the same glorious Conquerour environed with a Synod of Gods Sacred Ministers.* See the *Preface to the first Book*, note *(a.)* Valeſ.

† *The Emperour.*

thanks and praise for † Him. After he had taken his Seat also, Silence was made, all persons having fixt their eyes on the Emperour. When he had lookt upon them all with joyfull eyes and a pleasing countenance, afterwards He made a recollection of his own mind within himself, and with a calm and mild voice uttered these words.

CHAP. XII.

Constantine's [Speech] to the Synod concerning Peace.

* Or, *End.*

THE * *Sum of my Prayers (Dearest Friends!) was this, that I might enjoy the sight of your Convention. Which having now obtained, I render my thanks to* [*God*] *the Supream King; because, besides his innumerable other* [*Benefits,*] *He hath granted Me a sight of this, which is the chiefest of all Goods: I mean, that I might behold all You Convened together, and* † *find one and the same unanimous Sentiment amongst you all. Let no envious Enemy therefore in future* ‖ *disturb the happy posture of our Affairs: and, since that opposition made by Tyrants against the Deity is wholly removed by the power of God Our Saviour, let not the malignant Devill* [a] *by any other methods* * *expose the Divine Law to Blasphemies. For, an intestine Sedition of the Church of God appears to me more grievous and dangerous than any sort of War or Fight whatever: nor do any externall affairs seem more afflictive to Me, than these matters. Indeed, at such time as, by the Will and Cooperation of God, I had obtained a compleat Victory over mine Enemies,* [b] *I was of opinion, that nothing remained to Me, but to give God thanks, and to rejoyce with those whom he by our means had set a Liberty. But when (contrary to all expectation) I had received information of your disagreement, I lookt upon that* † *thing as in no wise to be neglected: but wishing that by our assistance a remedy might be applyed to this* [*mischief*] *also, without any delay I called you all together. And I am highly pleased with the sight of this Your Convention. But shall then judge that I have managed this affair according to my prayers, when I shall behold all of You* ‖ *conjoyned in your minds, and one amicable agreement in common concluded on amongst you all, which it becomes You, who are persons consecrated to God,* [c] *to Preach to others. Delay not therefore, Deareſt Friends, ye Ministers of God, and good Servants of the Common Lord and Saviour of us all! But beginning* [d] *even from hence to take away the Occasions of mutuall dissent amongst you,* [e] *dissolve every knot of controversie by the Laws of Peace. For by this means You will perform both what is most acceptable to the Supream God; and will likewise bestow a transcendent favour on Me Your Fellow-Servant.*

† Or, *See.*

‖ Or, *Ruine our goods.*

[a] Ἑτέρως. *Portesius, Christophorson, and the French Translatour* have omitted this word; notwithstanding that therein lyes the whole *Emphasis* and force of the sentence. For to this word the following period is referred. *Take heed*, says he, *least after the destruction of their Tyranny who brought a War against God, the Devill by some other way should again expose our Religion to reproaches and calumnies.* By *another way* therefore is meant *intestine dissensions.* See the following words. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Invest--with.*

[b] Οὐδὲν τε λείπειν. It must be written, as I suppose, οὐδὲν ἐμοίγε λείπειν ἐνόμιζον. *I was of opinion that nothing remained to me.* And a little after with *Turnebus* and *Gruterus* I read ἐπεὶ δὲ πῶς ὑμεῖς ἔχετε, &c. *But when ——— I had received information of your*, &c. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Report.*

‖ Or, *Mixt together.*

[c] Πρεσβεύειν. *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, *à Deo impetrare, by request to obtain of God*; when as he ought to have rendred it, *Prædicare*, to *Preach*. For in this sense *Eusebius* is wont to use this word, as 'tis apparent from innumerable passages in *his Eccleſ. History*; for instance, book 4. chap 15. In the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* the reading is bad, thus, εἰς βεβαίευεν. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη φέρειν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, this whole place is written far otherwise, thus, τὰ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν διαστάσεως ἄπαντα τῷ λοιπῷ φέρειν ἀνεξοικείτε. πάντα δὲ συγκόσμου, &c. *refuse not in future to take away the occasions of dissent amongst you; dissolve every knot*, &c. And so Sr *Henry Savil* and *Christophorson* found it in *their Copies*. Valeſ.

[e] Ἐπλύσασθε. I reade with *Christophorson* ἐπλύσασθε, *to dissolve*. But the common reading may stand, provided after the words *Saviour of us all*, a *Colon* be placed, as Sr *Henry Savil* hath noted at the margin of *his Copy*: and so 'tis poynted in the *Kings Copy*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIII.

That he reduced those Bishops who were at difference, to an agreement.

HAving spoken these words in the *Latine Tongue*, which were done into *Greek* by some other person, he gave those who presided in the Synod, leave to speak. But then, some of them began to accuse their neighbours; others answered their accusations, and on the contrary made complaints. Many things therefore being in this manner proposed on both sides, and a great controversie raised even at the first beginning [of the debate,] the Emperour heard them all very patiently, and with an [a] intent mind received their proposed Questions; and by turns assisting the Assertions of both parties, by degrees he reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind. And by his gracious Speeches to each person, and his making use of the *Greek* tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language,) He rendred himself most extraordinarily pleasing and delightfull; [b] inducing some to be of his opinion by the force of his arguments; woing others by entreaties; praising those who spoke well; and exciting all to an agreement: till at length he had made them all of the same mind and opinion, in relation to all matters concerning which they had before disagreed.

[a] Σχολῇ τε ἐυτόνως. In *Socrates*, book 1. chap. 8. and in *Nicephorus*, the reading is ἐυτόνῳ, *intent*. But *Gelazius Cyzicenus*, chap. 28. has ἐυσυνοπτότατα *most intent*. With *Socrates* agrees the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

[b] Τὲς μὲν γὰρ πείθων. In *Socrates*, *Gelasius*, and *Nicephorus*, the reading is τοὺς μὲν συμπείθων. But in the *Kings Copy* 'tis τοὺς μὲν πείθων. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

*The Concordant * Determination of the Synod concerning the Faith, and concerning* Easter.

* Or, Exposition.

SO that, there was not only an universall agreement about the [Articles of] Faith, but one and the same time also was generally acknowledged for the celebration of the salutary Feast [of *Easter*.] Moreover, [a] the Determinations ratified by a Common Consent, were engrossed, and confirmed by the Subscription of every person. Which things having in this manner been performed, the Emperour affirmed that he had obtained this second Victory against the Enemy of the Church, and celebrated a Triumphant Feast in honour of God.

[a] That is, the draught of the Creed, the Canons, and the Synodick Letter. For all these were confirmed by the Subscriptions of every one of the Bishops. They who besides these three, think that the *Acts of the Nicene Synod* were put into writing, are very much mistaken. For *Eusebius* says in expres words, that nothing was committed to writing, except those matters which had been Decreed by the common consent of the Councill; and he affirms, that those things were confirmed by the Subscriptions of all. Indeed *Baronius* at the year of Christ 325. chap. 62. says that the Acts were written by the *Nicene Synod*, and has affirmed that that is expresly recorded by *Athanasius in his book de Synodis*. But *Baronius* was imposed upon by the *Latine Version*, which runs thus; Tom. 1. *pag.* 873. *quòd si ad hanc rem usus Synodi desideratur, supersunt Acta patrum, nam neque in hâc parte negligentes fuere qui Nicææ convenerunt, sed ita accuratè scripserunt*, &c. *But if the use of the Synod be wanting to this matter, the Acts of the Fathers are to be had. For those convened at Nicæa were not negligent even in this matter, but wrote so accurately*, &c. But in the Greek Text there is no mention of Acts; for thus it runs, ἔστι τὰ τῶν πατέρων, that is, *the Writings of the Fathers are to be had*; to wit, the Creed, the Canons, and the Synodick Letter. There is another passage of *Athanasius*, in *his Epistle de Decretis Nicænæ Synodi*, pag. 250. whence it may be manifestly gathered, that there were no Acts written. For thus he speaks: *Quandoquidem tua dilectio ea nosse desiderat quæ in Synodo*, &c. *Inas much as your love desires to know those things which were done in the Synod, I have made no delay; but have forthwith signified to you whatever was done there*, &c. Now, if the *Acts* had been taken in writing by the Notaries, *Athanasius* had done enough, had he transmitted those Acts to his friend. *Vales.*

CHAP. XV.

That Constantine *entertained the Bishops at a Feast, it being* His Vicennalia.

AT the same time the twentieth year of his Empire was [a] compleated. On which account publick Feasts were celebrated in all the other Provinces; and the Emperour himself began the Feasts with the Ministers of God, banquetting together with them now reconciled one with another, and by them offering this becoming sacrifice as 'twere to God. Nor was any of the Bishops absent from this Imperial Feast.

[a] These words must be interpreted favourably. For the twentieth year of *Constantine*'s Empire was not yet compleated, nay scarce begun. For the twentieth year of his Reign began on the eight of the *Calends of August*, when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were Consuls, which was the 325th year of *Our Lords Nativity*. But the *Nicene Councill* was celebrated on the twentieth of the month *May*, in the *same persons Consulate*, as *Socrates* writes in the *thirteenth chapter of his first book*, or rather on the 13th of the *Calends of July*, on the 19th day of the month *Desius*, which by the *Romans* is termed *June*, as it occurs in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Councill*, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in the *Collectio Cresconiana*. Which I think to be truer. For if we suppose the *Nicene Councill* to have been convened on the 20th day of *May*, too narrow a space of time will be left for the transacting of those affairs which *Constantine* performed after his Conquest of *Licinius*. *Licinius* was vanquished in the last Battle at *Chalcedon*, on the year of Christ 324, on the 15th of the *Calends of October*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. On the day following *Licinius*, who had betaken himself to *Nicomedia*, surrendred himself to *Constantine* the *Victour*. After this *Constantine* made his Entry into *Nicomedia*; whilst he made his residence in that City, and hastned to take his progress into the Eastern parts, he received the news concerning the dissention of the *Alexandrian* Church and all *Egypt*, on account of the Opinion of *Arius* and the disturbances of the *Melitians*, as he himself writes in *his Letter to Alexander and Arius*. And in the first place he sent *Hosius* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, who by his authority might compose the Tumults there. But after *Hosius* had staid some time at *Alexandria*, he returned to *Constantinople* without having effected any thing. All which businesses could not any wise have been done within less time than three months. Further, when *Constantine* saw the mischief increase daily, he resolved upon convening a Generall Councill of Bishops, that thereby he might restore Peace to the Church. In order thereto he dispatch't away the *Veredarii* (*Couriers*) and *Agentes in Rebus* (*Messengers of the Emperour*) thorowout all the Provinces, who might call together the Bishops to *Nicæa* of *Bythinia*. Let us suppose therefore, that the *Veredarii* had brought the Emperour's Letters to each of the Bishops in the month *March*: 'tis scarce credible that the Bishops could come into *Bythinia* from the most distant Countries as well of the East as West, before the month *July*; especially, in regard they were conveyed thither by Land, not by Sea, as *Eusebius* tells us chap. 6. The Greeks do usually term the seventh Sunday after *Easter*, that namely which immediately precedes *Whitsontide*, κυριακὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων *the Sunday of the holy Fathers*, or τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων τῶν ἐν νικαίᾳ *of the* 318 *holy Divines which were at Nicæa*; as we are informed from *The Typick of the Monastery of Saint Saba*. Vales.

Further, what was then performed, surpasses the bounds of any Narrative. For the [b] *Protectors* and Souldiers, with the naked points of their swords, on all sides guarded the *Porticus*'s of the Pallace; thorow the midst of whom the men of God without fear passed, and went into the inmost Rooms of the Pallace. Then, [c] some of them * lay down together with the Emperour; others rested themselves on *Stibadia* [or, Beds to eat on] placed [d] on both sides. One would have thought, that a representation of Christ's Kingdom was adumbrated, and that the thing it self was a dream, but nothing more.

[b] Δορυφόροι καὶ ὁπλῖται. In the same manner he joyns them both together a little above, where he speaks of *Constantine*'s entrance into the Synod. Δορυφόροι are *the Hastati*, or *the Protectors who carried Spears*. *Themistius* in *his Oration to the Emperour Jovian*, writes that he went an αἰχμοφόρῳ (*a Spear-Carrier*) against the *Persian*, that is a *Protector Domesticus*, as we understand from *Amm. Marcellinus*. The ὁπλῖται were *the Scutati, Shield-Bearers*; to wit, Souldiers who were under the Command of the *Magister Militum præsentalis*, or *Master of the Milice who lived at Court or in the presence of the Prince*. Vales.

* *That was heretofore the usual posture at Feasts.*

[c] Οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ συναναπλίνοντο. It must be made ἅμα τῷ *together with the Emperour*, as *Christophorson* seems to have read; and so 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Theodoret* confirms our Emendation (book 1. chap. 11.) in these words, which do wonderfully explain this passage of *Eusebius*; πολλὰς δὲ στιβάδας ἐντρεπισθῆναι κελεύσας, ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν εἱστίασεν ἅπαντας· τοὺς μὲν ἀξιωτέρους ὁμοτραπέζους λαβών, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διελὼν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας, *and having ordered many Stibadia to be made ready, He feasted them all in one and the same place; the more honourable of them he took to his own Table, but distributed the rest upon other Stibadia*. A better *Scolion* could not have been placed at *Eusebius*'s words. Those which *Eusebius* had termed κλινάδας, (for so 'tis to be read from *the King*'s and the *Fuketian Copy*;) *Theodoret* calls στιβάδας; that is *Stibadia* or *Accubita*. *Nicephorus*'s Translatour renders it *toros*, which is ill done. Nor has *Theodoret*'s Translatour done better in translating it *Sedes, Seats*. *Suidas* interprets στιβὰς, χαμαικοίτιον, ἀκκούβιτον, *a Bed lying on the ground, an Accubitum*. The words of *Juvenal's Scholiast at the fifth Satyr*, are these; *apud veteres Accubitorum usus non erat, sed in Lectulis Discumbentes manducabant, amongst the Ancients there was no use of the Accubita, but they lay down upon little Beds and eat*. Vales.

[d] Ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατέρων. I think it must be written ἐξ ἑκατέρων *on both sides*. Than which Emendation nothing is more certain. *Eusebius* says that the *Stibadia* were placed on both sides of the *Imperial Hall*, whereon the Bishops might lie down; but, that the Emperour's *Stibadium* was in the midst, whereon he lay down together with the more honourable Bishops. After the same manner in the *Nicene Synod*, the Seats whereon the Bishops sate were placed on both sides: but the Emperour himself sate in the midst on a golden chair, between the two rows of the sitting Prelates. The *Tribunal of the nineteen Accubita at Constantinople* was some such like thing, made in imitation of this *Constantinian Feast*, as I think. Vales. See *Evagr.* book 5. chap. 13, *note (a.)*

CHAP. XVI.

The Gifts bestowed on the Bishops, and the Letters written to all.

AFter the Feast had in a most splendid manner been kept, the Emperour received them all, and out of his own magnificence added this also, that he honoured every one of them according to his desert and dignity, with presents from himself. He likewise gave an account of this Synod, even to those who were not present at it, by his own Letter: which I will insert into this very Narrative concerning him [and will publish it fix't] as 'twere upon some pillar. The Contents thereof are these.

CHAP. XVII.

Constantine's [Letter] to the Churches, concerning the Synod [convened] at *Nicæa*.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS
To the Churches.

*HAving sufficiently experienced, by the flourishing posture of the State, how great the benignity of the Divine power has been towards us; I judged it my chiefest concern and aim [to Labour] for the preservation of one Faith, a sincere Love, and one universally-acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God, amongst the most Blessed * Congregations of the Catholick Church. But in regard this thing could not be firmly and stedfastly constituted, unless all, or at least the greatest part of the Bishops were convened in one place, and every particular that concerns the most Holy Religion were discussed: on this account, when as many of the Clergy, as could possibly be got together, were assembled, and I my Self also, as one of You, was present with them, (For I will not deny, what I account my greatest Glory, that I am Your Fellow-Servant;) all matters were sufficiently discussed so far, till such time as an opinion acceptable to God the Inspectour of all things, was brought to light, [a] in order † to an universall agreement and union: so that no place might be left for dissention or controversie in relation to the Faith.*

* *Multitudes*, or, *people.*

† Or, *To a consent of unity.*

[a] Παρὰ τῶν ἐνότητ[ος] & συμφωνίαν. In *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* the reading is truer, thus, περὶ τῆν, &c. *in order to*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVIII.

The same persons [words] concerning the Agreement about the Feast of *Easter*, and against the *Jews*.

WHere also, after a disquisition made concerning the most Holy Day of Easter, *it* [a] *was by a generall opinion thought good to be Decreed, that* [*that Festivall*] *ought to be celebrated by all persons in all places on one and the same day. For what can be more comely, what more grave and decent for us, than that this Festivall, from which we have received the hopes of immortality, should be unerringly kept by all men, in one and the same order, and in a manner apparently agreeable? And in the first place, it seemed* [*to all*] *to be a thing unworthy and misbecoming, that in the celebration of that most Holy Solemnity we should follow the usage of the* Jews. *Who being persons that have defiled their own hands with a most detestable sin, are deservedly impure and blind as to their minds. For,* [b] *their usage being rejected, we may by a truer Order, which we have observed from the first day of the Passion untill this present time, propagate the* * *Rite of this observance to future Ages. Let nothing therefore be common to us with that most hostile multitude of the* Jews. *For we have received another way from Our Saviour. There is proposed to us a* [c] *Lawfull and decent course to* [*Our*] *most sacred Religion. Let us therefore (Dearest Brethren!) with one accord constantly persist in this course, and withdraw our Selves from that most impure* [*Society and*] [d] *their consciousness. For 'tis really most absurd, that they should boast, that we are not sufficient of Our Selves, without their instruction, to observe these things. But, of what are they able to pass a right judgment, who after the Murder of the Lord and that parricide, having been struck with madness, are led, not by the conduct of reason, but by an ungovernable* * impetus, *whithersoever their innate rage shall drive them? Hence therefore it is, that even in this particular they discern not the Truth: in so much that, wandring at the greatest distance* [e] *from a decent and agreeable amendment,* [f] *they celebrate* Easter *twice within one and the same year.* [g] *What reason have we to follow these men,*

[a] Ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ. These words of *Constantine*, *Athanasius* seems to have had a respect to, when (in *his Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*, pag. 873.) he observes that the Fathers of the *Nicene Synod* spake one way in their exposition of the Faith, another in their defining the day of *Easter*. For in this business they made use of the word ἔδοξε *it pleased*, or, *it was thought good*. But in their Exposition of the Faith they did not in any wise say *placuit*, *it pleased*, but *ita credit sancta & Universalis Ecclesia*, *the holy and Universall Church believes thus*. 'Tis certain, the word ἔδοξε which *Athanasius* mentions, is not found in the *Synodick Letter*, but in this Letter only of *Constantine's*; which any one might conjecture, was not without reason taken for the *Synodick Letter*. Vales.

[b] Τῶ ἐκείνε ἔθνες, *that Nation.* I reade ἔθος *usage*, with *Christophorson* and *Gruterus*. We have noted the same fault in *his Eccles. Hist.* In the *Kings Sheets* and Sr *Henry Savils Copy* 'tis ἔθος *usage*. Vales.

* Or, *Completion of this observation.*

[c] Καὶ νόμιμῳ & πρέπων. In *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* the reading is καὶ νόμῳ & πρέπων, *and a decent Law.* But *Socrates* and *Theodoret* defend the common reading. *Vales.*

[d] For they who celebrate the *Lord's Pascha* with the *Jews*, seem to be conscious of that wickedness which the *Jews* committed against the Lord. But *Christopherson* renders συνείδησιν, *Opinion*; with whom I agree not. *Vales.* In *Socrates*, instead of ἀνίχεως *impure*, the reading is ἔχθρας *Hostile* or *Adverse*.

* Or, *Violence.*

[e] Τῆς μετανοίας ἐπανορθώσεως. *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Gelasius*, and *Nicephorus* have ἀντὶ τῆς μετανοίας, &c. which I like not. For 'tis rightly said πλανωμένης τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως *Vales.*

[f] Whereas the *Paschal Neomenia* (or *New-moon*) of the *Jews* began from the fifth day of the moneth *March*, and was ended on the third of *April*, hence it sometimes hapned, that their *Pascha* began before the *Æquinox*. So they kept a twofold *Pascha* in the same year, (if you understand the *Solar* or *Julian year*,) to wit, from the *Vernall Æquinox* of this year to the *Vernall Æquinox* of the year following. *Ambrosius* says the same in *his Epistle to the Bishops of Æmilia*, where he writes, that the *Jews* sometimes celebrated the *Pascha* on the twelfth month, that is, according to the *Latines* or *Orientals*. For the *Jews* never celebrated the passover on that month which amongst them was accounted the twelfth, but on the fourteenth day of the first month. Further, this repetition or doubling of their passover, which *Constantine* objects against the *Jews*, seems to me not at all momentous. For the *Jews* might have retorted against the *Christians*, namely that they celebrated *Easter* twice in the same year, if we understand the year current. For let us suppose, that this year *Easter* was celebrated on the tenth of the *Calends* of *May*; on the year following it must necessarily be kept sooner. And so there will occur two *Easters* amongst the *Christians* within the space of one year current. Which nevertheless will not happen, if you count the year from the *Æquinoctial Cardo* to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the other year. See *Epiphanius* in *Hæres. Audian.* and *Petav. Animad.* p. 294. To whom add *Ægidius Bucherius de Paschali Judæorum Cyclo*, cap. 3. *Vales.*

[g] Τίν & χάριν. In *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* the reading is τίν & ἂν χάριν, *what reason therefore*, &c. so 'tis also in *Socrates* and *Gelasius*.

Iasius. From whom the following words must be amended in this manner, πῶ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγχίνοιαν, *your prudence*. And a little after, ἐν μηδεμία ὁμοιόσει, *in no likeness*. Although in those writers I have mentioned, the reading is ἐν μηδενὸς ὁμοιότητι *in the likeness of any thing*. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἐν μηδεμιᾷ προφάσει *upon no pretence*. Further, the *Author of the Apostolick Constitutions*. (book 5. chap. 16.) seems to allude to these words. Which any one will confess, who compares that place with these words of *Constantine*. Valef.

who, 'tis acknowledged, are distempered with a most grievous errour? For we shall never endure the keeping of two Easters *in one and the same year. But, although what I have said were not sufficient, nevertheless it behooveth your prudence, to make it your greatest care, and the constant matter of your Prayers, that the purity of your souls should not in any thing seem to have communion with the usages of most wicked men. Besides, this also is to be considered, that 'tis a most detestable thing, that there should any disagreement be found in a matter of so great concern, and in such a solemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Festival day of our Liberty, that is the day of His most Holy Passion; and 'twas his will, that His Catholick Church should be one. The members of which Church (although for the most part they are dispersed into many and various places, nevertheless) are cherished by one spirit, that is by the Divine Will. Let the prudence of Your Sanctity consider, how grievous and indecent a thing it is, that on the self-same days some should keep* [h] *strict Fasts, and others celebrate Feasts: and that after the days of* Easter, *some should be conversant in Feastings and a relaxation* [*of their minds*;] *and others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore, 'tis the Will of Divine Providence, that this thing should be redressed by a convenient emendation, and reduced to one and the same form, as I suppose you are all sensible.*

[h] He means the head [or beginning] of the Fast, which by the *Quartodecimani* was begun at one time; by the other Christians, at another. Indeed, the following words concerning the days after *Easter*, do inform us that these words are to be understood concerning the head of the Fast. Otherwise it would be a superfluous Repetition. But if any one had rather understand these words concerning the end of the Lent-fast, I shall not gainsay him. See *Chrysostome* in *his Homily against those who fasted the first day of* Easter, *pag.* 714. Valef.

CHAP. XIX.

An Exhortation, that they would rather follow the greatest part of the world.

Since therefore it was expedient to make such an amendment in this matter, as that we might have nothing in common with the * *usage of those Parricides and Murderers of Our Lord; and since this is the most decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the world, and also some of the Eastern parts, do observe:* [a] *on this account all persons have at present judged it good and expedient,* (*and I my self have promised that it would please your prudence,*) *that that which with one and a concordant mind is observed in the City of* Rome, *and over all* Italy, Affrica, Egypt, Spain, *the* Gallia's, *the* Britannia's, *the* [b] Libya's, *thorowout all* Achaia, *the* Asian *and* Pontick Diœceſis, *and* Cilicia; *Your prudence also would most willingly embrace and receive. Which* [*wiſedom of yours*] *will consider, that not only the number of the Churches in the forementioned places is far the greater; but that 'tis most just and equal, that all men should in common desire that, which* [c] *strict reason seems to require, and should have no communion with the* [d] *perjury of the* Jews. *But that I may speak more summarily and briefly, it has pleased the judgment of all in common, that the most holy Feast of* Easter *should be celebrated on one and the same day. For 'tis indecent, that there should be any difference in so great a sanctity: and 'tis better to follow that Opinion,* [e] *wherein there is no mixture of strange errour and impiety.*

* In the Greek 'tis ἔθνος, *Nation*.

[a] Οὗ ἔνεκεν. In *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* the reading is ὧν ἕνεκεν, *for these reasons*. But it would be better thus, τούτων ἕνεκεν, or τούτου, as 'tis above. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis τούτου ἕνεκεν, *on this account*, and so 'tis in *Turnebus's Copy*. Valef.

[b] Every one sees, that the words are misplac't here. 'Tis tighter therefore in *Gelasius*, thus, *The Britannia's, Egypt, and the Libya's. Socrates* has *Libya*; which reading I like best. *Valef.*

[c] Ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ. In *Theodoret* and *Gelasius* the reading is ἀλογισμός; which displeases me not, provided λογισμὸς be the same with ψηφισμὸς, that is, *diligens supputatio, an exact reckoning*; whence 'tis termed *Computus Paschalis*. ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ is taken in another sense, in the *Synodick Letter of the Nicene Council*, where it treats concerning the cause of *Meletius*. For 'tis there taken for *the rigour of the Law*, and 'tis opposed to equity or a dispensation. *Valef.* See *Socrates*, book 1. chap. 9. note (*b*.)

[d] The *Jews* are termed perfidious and perjured men, who, whenas they acknowledged no King or Lord besides God, afterwards denied the same [Lord,] and attested they had no other King but *Cæsar*. Valef.

[e] After these words, there was a whole line wanting in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; which 'twas easie to have made good from *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Gelasius*, and *Nicephorus*, in this manner, ἐν ᾗ δήπουθεν ἔστι ἀλλοτρίας πλάνης καὶ ἁμαρτήματος ὁπωσοῦν, *wherein there is no mixture of* [*or converse with*] *strange errour and impiety*. This is what *Constantine* had said above at chap. 18. τῆς ἀλλοκότου ταυτησὶ συνωδίνης ἀπαναδύσεως; where see what we have remarked at note (*d*.) For *Christophorson* in no wise understood these words. *Valef.*

CHAP. XX.

An Exhortation, that [all] should * give their assent to the Decrees of the Synod.

* Or, *Be perswaded by those things written by the Synod.*

Since therefore these things are thus, do you with all willingness receive this † *Gift of God, and this truly divine Commandment.* [a] *For whatever is transacted* [*and determined*] *in the holy Assemblies of Bishops, That has a reference to the divine will. Wherefore, when you shall have intimated to all our beloved Brethren those matters which have been transacted,* [b] *you ought to embrace and establish the forementioned rule and observation of the most holy day: that when I shall come into the presence of* [c] *Your Love* (*which I have long since been desirous of,*) *I may celebrate the holy Festival with you, on one and the same day, and may rejoyce with you for all things, beholding the Cruelty of the Devil totally removed by the Divine power, and by* [d] *our* * *endeavours; whilst your Faith, Peace, and Concord does every where flourish. God preserve You, Dearest Brethren!*

† Or, *Grace.*

* Or, *Actions.*

[a] This opinion of *Constantine* concerning the authority of the determinations of Synods, is to be taken notice of. There is another place like to this, in a *Letter of the same Constantine to the Bishops after the Council of Orleance. Dico enim, ut se veritas habet,* &c. *For I speak, as the truth is. The judgment* [*or, determination*] *of the Bishops* [*or, Priests*] *ought so to be esteemed, as if the Lord himself sate and judged. For they may not think any other thing, or judge any other thing, but what they are taught by the Instruction of Christ.* Valef.

[b] From this place it may plainly be gathered, that this Letter of *Constantine*'s was written to the Bishops who had not been present at the Synod. Indeed, the Letter is inscribed *To the Churches*. But, by the name of *the Churches, the Prelates* are to be meant. For *The Church consists in the Prelates*, as *Honorius* says in *the Appendix to the Theodosian Code*. Valef.

[c] This is an Expression peculiar to the *Christians*; who when they spoke to any one of their Brethren, either by word of mouth or Letter, were wont to say *Your charity* or *Your Love*. Nothing occurs more frequently in the Epistles of the holy Fathers, so that we need not heap together instances. So *Athanasius* expresses himself in *his Epistle concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Synod*, a passage whereof we have quoted a little before. But *Christophorson* renders διάθεσιν, *disposition*; nor did he understand the meaning of this place. *Valef.*

[d] Διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρων πράξεως, *by your actions*. I doubt not but it should be ἡμετέρων, *our*, as the reading is in *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Gelasius*,

Iasius, and *Nicephorus*. 'Tis certain, *Constantine* in his Letters is wont to boast, that the Divine Majesty by his Labour had destroyed the Tyrants who persecuted the Church, and had freed the whole world from the superstitious worship of *Damons*. Vales.

c Ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἰσοδυναμοῦσαν γεγραφήν. *Christophorson* understood not this place, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders it thus; *Edictum, quod idem pondus habebat & autoritatem cum hâc Epistolâ, Imperator in singulas misit Provincias: An Edict, which had the same weight and authority with this Letter, the Emperour sent into each Province.* But *Eusebius* mentions no Edict, but only a Letter sent to the Bishops. *Christophorson* thought that γεγραφὴ signified *an Edict*, which was a great mistake. For ἰσοδυναμοῦσα γεγραφὴ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς is nothing else but *a Transcript of a Letter*; which *Graecians* do likewise term ἴσον or ἰσότυπον; and we in the vulgar Idiome call it *Copiam, a Copy*. *Eusebius* says therefore, that *Constantine* sent a Copy of this Letter into all the Provinces, or, (which is the same thing,) that he sent this Letter written from the same Copy to all the Provinces. Further, the Reader is to be advertised, that the Title of this chapter was put in a wrong place, in regard it belongs to the conclusion of the foregoing Letter, as any one may see. This Title therefore must be placed above, before these words *Since therefore these things*, &c. as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. And there we have set it. *Vales.*

c A Copy of this very Letter was by the Emperour transmitted into every Province; whereby, as in a glass, he gives those that reade it, the clearest view of his own mind, and of his piety towards God.

CHAP. XXI.

*[His] advice to the Bishops now ready to go away, * that they would preserve Unity.*

* Or, *Concerning Concord.*

FUrther, when the Synod was about to be dissolved, a He made a *Valedictory Speech* to the Bishops. For on a set day he called them all together. And when they were met, he advised them that they should use their utmost diligence to preserve Peace one with another, and to avoid pertinacious Contentions; that they should not be envious, if any Bishop amongst them appeared eminent and approved for wisdom and eloquence: but, should account the virtue of every one to be a common good: that those who were the more eminent ought not to † exalt themselves above them who were meaner: For, that it was God's property to give a judgement concerning every one's true virtue and worth. That it was rather behoveable, that [the more eminent] should yield and condescend to the Weaker; with an indulgence and Lenity; especially, in regard 'twas very difficult to find any thing every way perfect. Wherefore, that it behoved them to grant one another pardon for small offences, and to forgive and remit whatever has been committed through humane frailty; b having always an high regard to, and honour for mutual Concord; least whilst they raise Seditions and Factions one amongst another, an occasion of derision might be given to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law. c Of which persons we must take the greatest care, and ought to do all things, in regard they d might easily be saved, if those things performed amongst us could seem to them desirable and worthy of imitation. e And, that they [ought] not to doubt, that the advantage [arising] from discourses does not profit all men. For some rejoyce, that conveniences are f allowed them as 'twere in order to their maintenance: others are imperfect in many places, as we have already noted diverse times. Now, this place may not unfitly be made good thus; ὧν μάλιστα προσηκεῖν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ πάντα δεῖν, *of which persons we must take the greatest care, and ought to do all things, in regard*, &c. For these words are spoken concerning the *Pagans*, of whom *Constantine* had made mention just before, when he said τοῖς τὸν θεῖον βλασφημεῖν νόμον παρεσκευασμένοις, *to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law*. *Constantine* says therefore to the Bishops, that their chiefest care ought to be, least by their dissentions the *Pagans* should be provoked to contemn and deride the Christian Religion. For, that it behoves us, to take the greatest care imaginable of them, and to do all things, whereby they might be recalled to the true faith and salvation. But, that they might easily be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, if our matters might seem blessed and admirable to them. Wherefore, that every one of them ought to be allured to our side by various ways and arts. Then he makes use of an instance of Physitians, who that they may restore health to the sick, devise all things which they believe may be of advantage to them. These words, 'tis certain, the Translatours understood not, in whose Versions the Reader will find all things contrary. To this place is to be referred a passage of *Eusebius* in chap. 58. *of this book*, where he says that the Emperour *Constantine* gave a great quantity of Gold to the Churches for the maintenance of the poor, in regard he was desirous, that all men should be invited, even this way also, to embrace the doctrine of the saving faith; according to the example of the Apostle, who in *his Epistle to the Philippians* says these words, *whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is Preached*. Further, in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, and in *Turnebus's Book*, this whole place is written thus; ὃς καὶ μάλιστα δεῖ σωθῆναι. ἐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ εἰ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ ζηλωτὰ φαίνοιντο. Which questionless is the true reading. This only I would have mended, that instead of ἐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ it should be written ἐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ; and afterwards, instead of μὴ ἀξιοεῖν that the reading be μὴ ἀξιοεῖν δὲ. *Vales.*

a Συντακτικὴν παρεῖχεν ὁμιλίαν. Translatours understood not this expression. For *Portesius* renders it thus, *ex composito verba fecit ad Episcopos. Christophorson* in this manner, *Sermonem apud Episcopos de rebus ordine dispensandis instituit.* But συντακτικὴν παρεῖχεν ὁμιλίαν imports no more than, *Valedixit, he bad farewell*, or *took his leave of*. *Menander*, or rather *Alexander Rhetor*, (in the *chapter* περὶ λαλιᾶς *pag.* 624,) writes, that συντακτικὴ λαλιὰ was by the *Sophists* termed *an Oration, wherein the Scholastici (when the course of their studies was compleated,) departing from Athens, and about to return into their own Country, attested their grief in reference to their going away: or when any one going from home, resolved upon a journey to Athens.* The *same Author* in *his chapter* περὶ συντακτικῶν λόγων, gives us the method of such Orations: ὁ συντασόμενος, φίλος ἐστὶν ἀναιρούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ χωρισμῷ, *he that bids farwell, pretends himself grieved on account of his departure.* Moreover, throughout the whole chapter he every where uses συντάττειν for *valedicere, to bid farwell*. And he says, that this sort of Oration was first invented by *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* bids farwell to the *Phaeaces*. But *Natalis Comes* who translated *Menander Rhetor* into *Latine*, renders συντακτικὸν λόγον, *adjunctivam Orationem, an adjunctive Speech*, and translates those words I have cited, ὁ συντασόμενος, &c. *adjungens*, &c. *adjoyning*, &c. Than which nothing can be more foolish. But with *Graecians* σωτάττειν is *valedicere ta bid farwell*. *Hesychius*, συντάξασθαι, ἀσπάσασθαι. So *Eusebius* uses it in the end of *this chapter*, and in the *First Book*, chap. 21. where he speaks concerning the death of *Constantius Chlorus*. There is an Oration of this sort extant, made by *Gregory Nazianzene* in the *convention of the* 150 *Bishops*; which *Oration* has this Title, συντακτήριος λόγος, which is the same with σωτάκτικος. For in this Oration *Gregorius* bids farwell to the *Constantinopolitane* Church. *Suidas* therefore is right in saying συντακτήριος. συντακτικός. But, as to what the same *Suidas* adds, that *Origen* was called συντακτήριος, in that he is much out: for *Origen* was termed συντάκτης, as *Epiphanius* attests, not συντακτήριος. *Vales.*

† *Raise*, or, *advance.*

b Περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον. It would be better, were it made ποιούμενος. *Vales.*

c Ὧν μάλιστα τὰ πάντα δεῖν. Some words seem to be wanting here. Indeed *these Books* are imper-

d Σωθῆναι σωφρόνων. At this place σωθῆναι signifies *to partake of the doctrine of the salutary Faith*; in which sense 'tis taken by St *Paul*, where he says, that *God would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth*. This verb is in this sense proper to the Christian Religion. In which signification nevertheless, the Philosophers of the latter age used it, as I remember I have read in the *Commentaries of Proclus on Timaeus*. Vales.

e Μὴ ἀμφισγοεῖν. It is rather to be written μὴ τε ἀμφισγοεῖν, by understanding δεῖ which was made use of a little before; and we have rendred it accordingly. But the *Fuketian Copy* has opened to us the true reading, wherein 'tis thus worded, μὴ ἀξιοεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὅτιμα ἀς, &c. *But I suppose you are not ignorant, that*, &c. And so *Turnebus* had mended it at the margin of his Book, from a *Manuscript Copy*. Vales.

f Ἐπιχορηγούμενοι. A new and unusual word; instead whereof it ought, as I think, to be ἐπιχορηγούμενοι, *allowed*. The meaning of this passage is the same with that we have set in our Version. For *Constantine* says, that the *Pagans* are wont to be converted to our Religion on various accounts and occasions. That some are drawn by the hope of food, namely because of the Alms of the *Christians*. Others, by the hope of Patronage; to wit, on account of the authority of the Bishops, who could do much with the Emperour and *Grandees* at Court. Πρεσβεία signifies *Patronage, Protection*, or *Favour*, as *I have noted at Amm. Marcellinus*; which term *John Chrysostome* makes frequent use of. In the excellent *Fuketian Copy* the word ἐπικαιρούμενοι is wanting, and this whole place is thus worded; οἱ μὲν δὲ ὡς πρὸς ὄψιν χαίρουσιν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ πρεσβείας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ὑποτρέχειν εἰώθασιν; *For some rejoyce as 'twere on account of food: others are wont to run under those who are possessed of* [or, *have procured*] *Patronage*. Vales.

are

are wont to flie to Patronage. Some love those from whom they have had a kind reception: and others being honoured with Gifts, are thereby induced to enter into a friendship. But their number is small who are [g] true Lovers of discourses, and † 'tis a rare thing to find a friend of Truth. For which reason they ought all to fit and conform themselves [to all men,] and (like a Physitian) administer to each person those things which are profitable for salvation; to the end that the saving Doctrine may be honoured by all men. These were the admonitions [given them by the Emperour] in the first place. But in the close he added, that with all diligence and earnestness they would put up their prayers to God in behalf of him. Having in this manner taken leave of them, he permitted them all to return into their own Countries. They therefore went home with all the chearfullness imaginable; and in future one Opinion, which had been agreed on in the Emperours presence, prevailed amongst all men; in regard, those who for a long time had been disunited, closed again in one Body as 'twere.

[g] Λόγων ἀληθεις. The *Fuketian Copy* and Sr *Henry Savil's* have it written λόγων ἀληθῶν ἐραστὰι, *Lovers of true discourses.* And in the same manner 'tis mended in the margin of *Turnebus's Book.* But the common reading (expresst in our Version) pleases me best, by reason of those words which immediately follow, to the end a *tautology* might be avoided. A little after, the *Fuketian Copy* and the *Kings Sheets* have it written ὑφ' ἑνὶ σώματι, *in one Body*; not ἐφ' ἑνὶ, as 'tis in the common Editions. In the *same Copy* I found it written διόπερ πάντας ἁρμόσθαι δεῖ, *For which reason they ought to fit and conform themselves to all men*; not as 'tis commonly Printed, διὸ πρὸς πάντας. *Vales.*

† Or, *A friend of truth is rare.*

CHAP. XXII.

In what manner he sent to some, and wrote to others; and [*concerning*] *the distributions of money.*

THe Emperour therefore, rejoycing at this * great success, by his Letters imparted most plentifull and pleasing fruit to those who had not been present at the Synod. Moreover, he ordered liberal distributions of money to be made amongst all the people, as well those in the Countries as them in the Cities; in this manner honouring the publick Festivals [celebrated] on account of the twentieth year of his Empire.

* Or, *Brave exploit*, viz. *the union of the Church.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How he wrote to the Egyptians, *and exhorted them * to Peace.*

* Or, *In relation to Peace.*

BUt when all other persons were at Peace one with another, amongst the *Egyptians* only the mutual contention was fierce and implacable: in so much that they did again disturb the Emperour; nevertheless they excited him not to anger. For he † treated them with all the honour imaginable, as if they had been Fathers, or rather Prophets of God; and called them to him a second time; and did again with great patience mediate between them; and honoured them with Gifts again, and declared to them his determination by a Letter: wherein he confirmed and establisht the Decrees of the Synod; and besought them that they would be studious to preserve Concord, that they should not distract nor tear in sunder the Church; but, that they should take into their consideration the memory of the judgment of God. And these things the Emperour suggested to them by † a peculiar Letter.

† Or, *Cherisht.*

† Or, *His own writing.*

CHAP. XXIV.

*That he frequently wrote * Pious Letters to the Bishops and People.*

* Or, *Piously.*

MOreover, he wrote infinite other things of the same sort with these, and penn'd a vast number of Letters; † sometimes to the Bishops, wherein he commanded those things which were of advantage to the Churches of God; at others, he addrest himself by Letters even to the || populacy themselves, [in which Letters] this thrice blessed person stiled the people of the Church, Brethren and his own Fellow-servants. But we will at another time get leisure [a] to make a Collection of these [Letters and Sanctions] in a peculiar Volume, to the end the || Series of this our History may not be interrupted at present.

† Or, *Partly.*

|| Or, *Multitudes.*

|| Or, *Body.*

[a] Indeed, *Eusebius* did afterwards perform what he here promises; and in a peculiar volume comprized all the Letters and Sanctions of the Emperour *Constantine*, which bore a reference to the Catholick Faith. This I am informed of from the *Medican Copy*; wherein, at the close of his *Eccles. Hist. Constantine's Letter to the Palestinians* is written out, which *Eusebius* hath recorded in the foregoing book, and after the foresaid Letter these words occur; ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὧδέ μοι κείσθω. φέρε δὲ λοιπὸν. τοὺ νόμους, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας τῷ θεοφιλεῖ ἡμῶν καὶ περσοτάτῳ βασιλεῖ ὁπισθολὰς, ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ πάσας συναγάγωμεν; that is, *Let these things therefore be here placed by me. But come on now; let us from another head* [or, *beginning*] *gather together the Laws, and all the Letters of our Pious and most mild Emperour* [*written*] *in defence of the true Religion.* Vales.

CHAP. XXV.

That he ordered a Church to be built at Jerusalem, *in the holy place of our Saviour's Resurrection.*

THese matters having been in this manner performed, this pious [Emperour] effected [a] another vast work highly memorable, in the Province of the *Palestinians*. But what was that? He lookt upon it as his duty, to render that most blessed place of the Salutary Resurrection, which is at *Jerusalem*, illustrious and venerable in the sight of all men. He gave order therefore, that an Oratory should forthwith be erected there: which he was induced to do, not without God's appointment; but had his mind incited thereto by our Saviour himself.

[a] Μνήμης ἄλλο τι μέγιστον. The first word ought, I think, to be expunged, as being superfluous; unless it should be made μνήμης ἕνεκα, *on account of its memorableness.* It may also be worded thus, εἰς μνήμην. *Turnebus* at the margin of *his Copy* hath made it ἄξιον instead of μέγιστον. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

That the Impious had covered our Lord's Sepulchre with Rubbish and Idols.

FOr impious men, or rather the whole Tribe of *Dæmons* by the assistance of such men, had heretofore made it their business, wholly to involve that admirable monument of Immortality in darkness and oblivion. [That Monument I say] to which an Angel, shining with light, descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone from their minds who were really stony, and who supposed that the living [Christ] as yet lay amongst the dead : [which Angel] brought glad tidings to the women, and removed the stone of Infidelity from [a] their minds, to the end he might assert an opinion concerning his Life, who was sought for by them. This salutary Cave therefore some impious and profane persons took a resolution wholly to render invisible ; being so fooliish as to think, that by this means they should conceal the truth. Wherefore, having by much labour brought together a vast quantity of earth, [b] from what place soever they could get it, and heap't it up, they * filled that whole place. And after this they raised it to an height, and paved it with stone ; under which great heap of earth they hid the divine Cave which was below. Then, as if nothing else remained to [be done by] them, upon this [heap of] earth they prepare a truely horrid Sepulchre of Souls ; erecting a dark Cavern of dead Idols, in honour of that Lascivious *Dæmon* [whom they term] *Venus :* in which place they [c] offered abominable oblations upon impure and execrable Altars. For by this means only, and not otherwise, they thought to bring to effect what they had attempted, if by these execrable abominations they could cover the salutary Cave. For the Wretches were not able to understand, that it was altogether unlikely, that he who had been Crowned with a Victory over death, should leave this attempt of theirs concealed : [d] in the like manner as 'tis impossible, that the Sun shining above the earth, and performing his † usual course in the Heavens, should escape the knowledge of all mankind. For the power of our Saviour (which shines with a light far more resplendent than the Sun, and which does not illustrate Bodies [as the Sun does,] but the souls of men,) had now filled the whole world with its own Raies of Light. Nevertheless, the Machinations of these impious and prophane men against the Truth, had continued for a long space of time. Nor was there any person to be found, either of the *Presidents*, or * *Duces*, or of the Emperours themselves, who could be fit to destroy this so audacious an impiety ; save only this one [Prince,] the Friend to the supream God. Who, inspired with the divine Spirit, and not enduring that that forementioned place, which by the Enemies frauds had been hid under all manner of impure † filth, should be delivered up to oblivion and ignorance ; nor thinking it fit to yield to their malice, who had been the occasioners hereof : having called upon that God who was his Assistant, gives order that it should be cleansed. It being his Sentiment, that that part especially of the Ground, which had been defiled by the Enemie, ought by his means to enjoy the Divine Magnificence. As soon therefore as this Order was issued out from the Emperour, those engines of fraud were thrown down from their vast height to the very ground ; and the Buildings erected to lead men into errour, were ruined and demolish't, together with the very Statues themselves and the *Dæmons*.

[a] I supposed the word *their* was to be referred to the women which came early to the Sepulchre of our Lord. But *Christophorson* referred it to those stony and incredulous persons, concerning whom *Eusebius* hath spoken a little before ; which I approve not of. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐξωθεν ποθέν. I would rather read ὁξ ὅθεν ποθέν, that is, *from what place soever they could get it.* Vales.

* Or, *Cover.*

[c] Θυσίας ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἐπισπένδουσες. *Christophorson* has rendred this place very ill, in this manner ; *tum detestabiles ibi victimas super impuras aras immolare, also to offer detestable victims there upon impure Altars.* But the term ἐπισπένδουσες does sufficiently shew, that *Eusebius* speaks not here concerning *Victims* or *Beasts killed in Sacrifice*, but concerning *Libations* ; to wit, *Wine, Milk*, and the like, which the Heathens offered to their Gods. Besides, 'tis wholly absurd, that Victims should be killed upon the Altars. For Sacrifices were kil'ed *by*, not *upon* the Altars. This is a known Verse of *Ovid* ;

Rode caper vitem. Tamen hinc cùm stabis ad aras, &c. Vales.

[d] Οὐδὲ πῃ σύμπασαν ὑφ' ἀνθρώπων λαθεῖν. This place is imperfect, of which sort very many occur in *these Books of Eusebius.* It may, as I think, not unfitly be made good in this manner ; ὡς οὐδὲ πῃ σύμπασαν ὑφ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν δυνηθῆ λαθεῖν, &c. *in the like manner as 'tis impossible*, &c. Indeed, *Eusebius*'s following words do most plainly confirm this our emendation. But *Christophorson* has confounded all things here, as 'tis apparent from *his Version.* Vales.

* *Military Commanders.*

† Or, *Matters.*

CHAP. XXVII.

In what manner Constantine *gave order, that the Materials wherewith the* Idol-Temple *had been built, and the Rubbish should be removed and thrown at a great distance.*

NOr did the Emperour's earnestness and diligence stop here. But he issued forth another Order, that the Materials of the Buildings demolished, which consisted of Stone and Timber, should be removed, and thrown at a vast distance without the confines of that Region. Which Order of his likewise was forthwith put in execution. Nor was he satisfied in proceeding thus far only. But, incited again by a divine warmth and zeal, he commanded, that they should dig up the very ground it self of that place, to a vast depth, and carry away the earth which was thrown out a far off, in regard it had been defiled with the Gore of Sacrifices offered to * Devils.

* Or, *Dæmons.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

*The discovery * of the most Holy Sepulchre.*

WIthout delay therefore this Command was likewise fulfilled. But after another ground † beneath the former, namely the place which was at the bottome, was discovered ; then the August and most Holy || Monument of our Saviour's Resurrection, contrary to all expectation appeared. And then also that Cave, [which may truly be stiled] the Holy of Holies, expresst a certain likeness to our Saviour's Resurrection : in regard, after its being * buried in darkness, it came forth into the light again, and gave a manifest History of those Miracles heretofore performed there, to be viewed

* Or, *Of the Holy Sepulchre of the Holies.*

† Or, *Instead of* ; he means the heap of earth wherewith the Heathens had filled that place.

|| Or, *Evidence.*

* Or, *Overwhelmed with.*

viewed by them who flock't together to that sight; [an History] that attested the Resurrection of our Saviour [a] by the things themselves, which sound far more audibly and clearly than any voice.

[a] Ἔργοις ἅπασι γεγονοτέρᾳ φωνῆς. It must doubtless be made γεγονοτέρᾳς, which *Christophorson* perceived not. The meaning of the place is this, *that that restitution of the Lord's Sepulchre after so many ages, did really confirm the Resurrection of our Lord.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is γεγονοτέρως, in which manner *Turnebus* had likewise mended it at the margin of *his Book*, from a *Manuscript Copy*. In the *Kings Sheets* 'tis γεγονοτέρας. Sr *Henry Savil* had noted at the margin of *his Book*, that *perhaps it should be* γεγονότεσιν. Vales.

CHAP. XXIX.

In what manner he wrote to the Presidents, *and to* Macarius *the* Bishop, *concerning the Building* [*of a Church.*]

THese things having been thus performed, immediately the Emperour, by issuing forth pious Laws and constitutions, and by plentifull allowances for expences, orders a Church befitting God to be built about the Salutary Cave, with a magnificence that was rich and royal. For he had laid this design within himself long before, and with a divine alacrity had foreseen that which in future would be. [He gave command] therefore to the Governours of the Provinces in the East, that by allowing liberal and plentifull supplies, they should make that Work Stately, large, and Magnificent. But to the Bishop who at that time presided over the Church at *Jerusalem*, he sent this Letter, wherein by manifest expressions he has asserted * the Doctrine of the saving Faith, writing in this manner.

* Or, *The saving Doctrine of the Faith.*

CHAP. XXX.

Constantine's [Letter] to *Macarius*, concerning the Building of the *Martyrium* of Our Saviour.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Macarius.*

SO great is *Our Saviour's Love and Favour*, that [a] *no Rhetorick seems sufficient to set forth a Declaration of the present Miracle. For, that the Monument of his most Holy Passion, long since hid underneath the earth, should lie concealed for so many periods of years, till such time as, by the* [b] *slaughter of that common Enemy, it should gloriously appear to his servants now set at Liberty,* [*is a matter which*] *does really surmount all admiration. For, if all those persons who throughout the whole world are accounted wise, should be convened in one and the same place, with a design to speak something agreeable to the worthiness of this matter; they would not be able after their utmost endeavours, to attain to* [*an explication of*] *the least part of it.* [c] *For,* * *the authority of this Miracle doth as far transcend every Nature capable of Humane reason, as things that are celestial do exceed those which are humane. Wherefore, this is always my chief and only aim, that as the authority of the truth doth daily demonstrate it self by new Miracles, so the minds of us all should with all modesty and unanimous alacrity, become more carefull and diligent about* [*an observation of*] *the Holy Law.* [d] *Which thing in regard I judge to be manifestly apparent to all men, my desire is you should most especially be perswaded of this, that there is nothing which I have a greater care about and concern for, than that we should adorn that sacred place (which by God's command I have unburthened of that most detestable accession of the Idol, as 'twere of some ponderous and heavy weight;* [*which place*] *by God's determination was made holy from the beginning; but was afterwards demonstrated to be more holy, out of which he hath brought to light the Truth and Certainty of Our Saviour's passion;) with magnificent and stately structures.*

[a] Μὴ δὲ μίαν λόγων ἐκφαυλίσειν. In *Socrates, Theodoret* and *Nicephorus*, the reading is λόγων χορηγίαν; which I think to be truer. *Vales.*

[b] *Constantine* here terms *Licinius* the publick Enemy; after whose destruction, he says, the sacred Sepulchre of Our Lord, which before had been concealed, was brought to the light and sight of men. *Licinius* was slain on the year of Christ 326, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius' Fasti.* And on that very year, when *Helena* was come to *Jerusalem*, the Sepulchre of Our Lord was found. By the name of *Publick Enemy*, the Devill might also be meant here, were not this contradicted by the following words. For the Devill was not then finally vanquished and overcome, when the Sepulchre of the Lord was cleared from the filth and rubbish which covered it. Besides, ἀναίρεσις, that is, *slaughter*, is more appositely spoken of *Licinius*, than concerning the Devill. *Vales.*

[c] Ἐπὶ ποσὸν πᾶσαν. I think it must be ἐπεὶ ποσόν πᾶσαν, &c; and have rend ed it accordingly. *Vales.*

* The term πίστις, *faith, authority*, or *credit*, is wanting here; which we have inserted from *Socrates* booke 1. chap. 9.

[d] Ὅπερ δὴ ἔν. This place is to be mended from *Socrates* and *Theodoret.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXI.

That He would have this Church built so, as to exceed all the Churches in the world, for beauty of Walls, Columns, and Marbles.

THerefore, *it does well become* Your Prudence, *so to dispose and make provision of all materials necessary for the work, that not only the Church it self may in stateliness excell all others in what place so ever, but also that the other parts of it may be made such, as that all the beautifullest structures in whatever City may be outdone by this Fabrick. And as concerning the raising and exquisite workmanship of the walls, We would have you know, that the care thereof hath by Us been committed to Our Friend* [a] *Dracilianus Deputy to the most Famous the Præfecti Prætorio, and to the President of the Province.*

[a] Δεξικιλιανῷ τῷ ἡμῶν ἐπαρχῶν μέρη. This place must likewise be mended from *Socrates, Theodoret*, and *Nicephorus*, in this manner, τὰ ἡμῶν λαμπρεστάτων ἐπάρχων μέρη, *Deputy to the most Famous the Præfecti Prætorio.* There are indeed two Laws of *Constantine* extant in the *Theodosian Code*, the one in the *Title de Usuris*, the other in *that de Hæreticis*, written to this *Dracilianus.* The former has this Inscription; *Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad Dracilianum agentem vices Præfectorum Prat.* It was published at *Cæsarea in Palestine* on the fifteenth of the Calends of *May*, in the *Consulate of Paulinus and Julianus.* But the second is said to have been published on the Calends of *September*, at *Generastum*, *Constantinus Augustus the seventh time and Constantius Cæsar being Coss.* That is, on the year of Christ 326. On which year also *Constantine* wrote this Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem.* Further, 'tis to be noted, that the *Præfecti Prætorio* are here termed *Clarissimi, most famous.* For they had not yet received the dignity of *the Illustrissimate*, [or *the title of most Illustrious.*] Moreover, in other of *Constantine*'s Laws, the *Præfecti Prætorio* are stiled *clarissimi*, as it occurs in these Books. But, as the *Præfecti Prætorio* had only the Title of *Clarissimi* in *Constantine*'s age, so the *Vicarii* [*Deputies*] of the *Prætorian Præfecture* were stiled only *perfectissimi* [*most perfect*] in the times of the same *Constantine*; as a *Letter to Probianus Proconsul* of *Africk* informs us. See *Athanasius's Apologetick to Constantius* pag. 794. *Vales.*

For it has been ordered by Our Piety, *that Artificers and Workmen, and whatever else they may be informed of from* Your Prudence *as necessary for the Structure, shall by their care be forthwith sent. But concerning the Columns or Marbles, whatever You Your Self,* [b] *on sight of the Modell, shall judge to be more sumptuous and usefuller, make it Your business to inform Us by Letter; that when we shall understand from Your Letter, how many and what manner of Materials You stand in need of, they may be conveyed to you from all parts.* [[c] *For 'tis but reasonable, that that most admirable place of the whole world, should be beautified according to its dignity and worth.*]

[b] Σωφρο-σύνης ἀξιω-θήσῃ. At this place σύνοψις signifies the *form* and *delineation* of the future work. In which sense 'tis taken also in the *Letter of Himerius the Rationalis* of Alexandria *to the Præfect of Mareotis*, which *Athanasius* records in *his Apologie*, pag. 803. For, after he had said, that *Augustus* and the *Cæsars* had permitted *Ischyras* to build a Church in his own Village, he commands the *Præpositus* of that Village, forthwith to draw a Modell of the future Building, and send it to his office. See *Socrat.* book 1. chap. 9. note (x.) Vales.

[c] This whole sentence is wanting here in the Greek Text of *Eusebius*. It occurs in *Socrates* book 1. chap. 9; in *Theodoret* book 1. chap. 17; and in *Robert Stephens's Edition* also at the *said places of Socrates and Theodoret*: but at this place 'tis left out in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. 'Tis inserted here in *Valesius's Version*; from whom, and the forementioned authorities, we have put it into our Translation.

CHAP. XXXII.

That [*Macarius*] should write to the Presidents concerning the beautifying of the * *Concha*, and concerning Workmen, and Materials.

* Or, *Inside of the Roof.*

Further, I desire to know of You, whether You think good to have the inner Roof of the Church [a] *Arched, or* † *Embowed, or made of any other sort of Work. For, if it be Embowed, it may also be* ‖ *gilded with Gold.* [b] *It remains therefore, that as soon as may be,* Your Holiness *should inform the forementioned Judges, how many Workmen and Artificers, and what money for Expences there will be need of: and that* [Your Holiness] *take care to give Me a speedy account, not only concerning the Marbles and Columns, but in reference also to the Embowed Roofs, if You shall judge that to be the more beautifull Work. God preserve You, Beloved Brother!*

† Or, *Fretted.*

‖ Or, *Adorned.*

[a] Τὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς καμάρων, πότερον λακωνείαν. The Roofs of Churches were usually adorned two ways. For they were either beautified with *Lacunaria*, *Embowed* or *Fretted-Roofs*, or else wrought with *Mosaick-Work*. As to the *Lacunaria*, this place of *Constantine* is an evidence. Concerning the *Mosaick-Work*, *Procopius* is to be consulted, in *his first book de Fabricis Justiniani*, where he describes the Church of *Saint Sophia*. Now the *Lacunaria* were usually adorned two ways. For either they were gilded; or painted, which *Pausias* was the first inventer of, concerning whom *Pliny* (book 35, chap. 11,) writes thus: *Idem & Lacunaria primus pingere instituit: nec cameras ante eum taliter adornari mos fuit. Isidorus* (book 19. *of his Origines*,) writes thus; *Laquearia sunt quæ cameram subtegunt & ornant: quæ & Lacunaria dicuntur: quòd Lacus quosdam quadratos vel rotundos ligno vel gypso vel coloribus habeant pictos, cum signis intermicantibus.* Which place of *Isidorus*, *Salmasius* does without cause find fault with, in *his notes on Flavius Vopiscus*, pag. 393; where he denies that *Lacunaria* were ever put under Roofs. But *Pliny* in expres words affirms that very thing, as also *Constantine* in *this Letter*. *The Old Authour of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament*, at *Question* 106, has these words; *Sicut enim ad ornamentum domus pertinet, si camera ejus habeat auro distincta Laquearia*, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Καλλωπίσῃς τὸ λειπόμενον. At this place I followed the punctation of *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus*, who after the verb καλλωπίσῃς, *gilded with Gold*, set a point. All the Translatours likewise before us did the same, saving *Musculus*. But if any one had rather place the point after λειπόμενον, thus [*what remains*, or, *the rest of the Building, may be also guilded with Gold.*] Then it must be written, πλὴν ἡ σὴ ὁσιότης, &c. *Besides, Your Holiness as soon as may be shall inform.* &c; as the reading is in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and in Sr *Henry Savil's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Church of [Our] *Saviour was built, which the Prophets had termed* New-Jerusalem.

THese were the Contents of the Emperour's Letter: his * order was immediately followed by the things themselves effectually put in execution. And [a] in the very *Martyrium* of Our Saviour, [b] the *New-Jerusalem* was built, over against that most celebrated Old [*Jerusalem*;] which having been reduced to the * utmost degree of Ruine and desolation after that nefarious Murder of Our Lord, underwent the punishment of its impious Inhabitants. Opposite to this [City] therefore, the Emperour erected † the Trophie of Victory which Our Saviour had gained over death, ‖ with a rich and gorgeous splendour. And this perhaps was that fresh and New *Jerusalem*, spoken of in the Oracles of the Prophets; concerning which there occurs so many, and such large expressions uttered by the divine Spirit it self. In the first place therefore, he adorned the sacred Cave, in regard it was the Head of the whole work; to wit, that divine Monument, at which an Angel shining with [a celestial] light, heretofore * declared to all men that Regeneration which was demonstrated by our Saviour.

* Or, *Word.*

* Or, *Last.*

† Or, *The Salutary Victory over death.*

‖ Or, *With rich and abundant Honours*, or *Glories.*

* *Evangelized.*

[a] Κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον. *Eusebius* uses the same words in *his Panegyrick concerning* Constantine's *Tricennalia, towards the latter end of chap.* 9. Nor has *Christophorson* translated it ill in both places, thus, *Salutare Christi Monumentum, the Saluary Monument of Christ.* Indeed, above at chap. 28, *Eusebius* terms *the Sepulchre of Our Lord* τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον, *the Martyrium or Monument of Our Saviour's Resurrection.* Moreover, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, in *his fourteenth Catechesis*, writes that the *place of Our Lord's Passion and Resurrection* is termed *The Martyrium.* Vales.

[b] Νέα κατεσκεύαζέτο ἱερουσαλήμ. These words of *Eusebius*, *Socrates* has written out at chap. 17. book 1. ἡ δὲ τῆ βασιλέως μήτηρ, οἶκον μὲν εὐκτήριον ἐν τῷ τῆ μνήμαθ τόπῳ, πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασεν, ἱερουσαλὴμ νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον τῆ παλαιᾷ ἐκείνη καὶ καταλελειμμένῃ ποιήσασα; *But the Emperour's Mother erected in the place of the Sepulchre a most magnificent Church, called it New-Jerusalem, building it opposite to that Old deserted* [*Jerusalem.*] Which words of *Socrates* are to be observed with more of attention. In the first place he attributes that to *Helena*, which *Eusebius* says was done by *Constantine*. Wherein he has followed the Authority of *Rufinus*, who (book 1. chap. 8. of *his Eccles. History*) writes, that this Church was built at *Jerusalem* by *Helena*. Now, although it be of small moment, whether *Helena* at the charge of the Emperour *Constantine*, or *Constantine* himself by the care and diligence of his Mother *Helena*, be said to have built that Church: yet 'tis better to follow *Eusebius's* opinion; in regard he was both present at the things themselves, and also produces *Constantine's* Letter concerning the building of that Church. 'Tis to be remarked also, that what *Eusebius* had worded thus, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, *in* or *at the Martyrium of Our Saviour*; that is thus exprest by *Socrates*, ἐν τῷ τῆ μνήμαθ τόπῳ, *in the place of the Sepulchre.* But, what *Eusebius* had expressed in this manner, ἡ νέα κατεσκεύαζέτο ἱερουσαλήμ, *the New-Jerusalem was built*; that *Socrates* words thus, οἶκον εὐκτήριον κατεσκεύασε, ἱερουσαλὴμ νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον, &c. *erected —a— Church, called it New-Jerusalem, building it opposite*, &c: where any one may see that the word ἐπωνόμασεν, *called it*, must be expunged. For that Church was not termed *New-Jerusalem*, as the Translatour thought, and before him *Nicephorus*; but it was called *The Martyrium*, or *The Basilica Constantiniana*, and *Anastasis*. *Eusebius* therefore and *Socrates* do say only this, that *Constantine* or *Helena*, having erected that Church which was a great and stately Structure, built the *New-Jerusalem* over against that *old one*, which heretofore had been ruined by the *Romans*. Which is most true. For from that time, the City *Ælia*, its true and old name being by degrees abolished, began to be called *Jerusalem* by the *Christians*;

Christians; whenas notwithstanding, it really was not *Jerusalem*, in regard it had been erected in another soil, and was built by a *Roman* Emperour (who then was the bitterest Enemy to the *Jews*,) with that design and intent, that the *Gentiles* might inhabit it; but, that the *Jews* might be driven at the greatest distance from its entrance. Further, I doubt not but *Eusebius* alludes to that place which occurs in the *Revelation*, chap. 21. vers. 2; *And I—saw the Holy City, New-Jerusalem coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her husband.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A description of the Fabrick of The most Holy Sepulchre.

THis [Monument I say,] in regard it was the Head of the whole work, the Emperour's Munificence in the first place *adorned with Eximious Columns, and with all imaginable beauty; and rendred it glorious and splendid by various sorts of Ornaments.

* Or, *Distinguished.*

but the outward surface of the Walls, being beautified with polisht Stones cemented together by exact joynts, made a most glorious and beautifull shew, nothing inferiour to the appearance of Marble. * As to the top of the Church, he covered the outward part of the Roof with Lead, in regard that was the strongest defence against Winter showers. But the Inner Roof being † set with [b] Carv'd *Lacunaria*, and spread like some great Sea all over the Church by ‖ Tables joyned one with another, and covered all over with the *purest Gold, made the whole Church shine, as 'twere, with Rayes of Light.

* Or, *At the Roofs themselves above.*

† *Finished, or fitted.*

‖ Or, *Continued junctures.*

* *Bright, or clear.*

[b] Γλυφῶς φαλνωμάτων. What φαλνώματα are, *Hesychius* and the *Author of the Etymologicon* do inform us; who interpret φαλνώματα, σανιδώματα, στέγη διάλυφα, that is, *Tabellæ, tecta laquearia, Tablets, Embowed Roofs. Eusebius* uses the same word hereafter at chap. 49. Hence therefore it appears, that the Roof of the Church was on the inside covered and adorned with a *Lacunar* [or *Embowed Roof,*] according to *Constantine*'s thoughts about it, as he attests in *his Letter to Macarius.* For on the outside it was covered with Lead, to keep off showers. Therefore the Roof must necessarily have been framed of Stone, which might bear up the Lead laid upon it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

A description of the Atrium, *and of the* Porticus's.

AFter that he passed to a most Spacious place, open to the pure air. The * Ground whereof he beautified by paving it with [a] shining or bright stone, and inclosed it [b] on three sides with *Porticus*'s that † were extended to a vast length.

* *Floor, or, Bottom.*

† Or, *Ran out.*

[a] Λίθῳ λαμπρῷ. He seems to mean Marble, or at least polisht stone like to Marble. So in the following chapter *Eusebius* uses these words ξεστῷ λίθῳ λαμπρυνομένῃ to signifie the same. But *Christophorson* has rendred λαμπρὸν λίθον, *Eximious Stone*: *Portesius* translates it *excellent Stone*; not well, as I think. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐκ πεπλευρα. The *Atria (Courts)* of Churches consisted usually of four *Porticus*'s, placed in form of a *Quadrangle.* In the midst there was an open place, such a one as we now a days see in the *Cloysters* of *Monks. Eusebius* informs us hereof, in the *description of the Church at Tyre*, which occurs in the *Tenth Book of his Eccles. History.* But in the Church at *Jerusalem*, the Frame or Composure was different. For there were only three *Porticus*'s there, placed at the three sides. But in the fourth side, which was directly opposite to the Sepulchre at the rising Sun, instead of a *Porticus* there was the Church it self, as *Eusebius* informs us in the *following chapter.* Which seems to have been done for this reason, that the Church it self might be enlightned with a larger light, no *Porticus* on the outside giving any hindrance to the lights. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

A description of the Walls, Roof, Beauty, and Gilding * *of the Church it self.*

* Or, *Of the Temple of the Church.*

FOr, to that side placed opposite to the Cave (which [side] lookt towards the rising Sun,) the † *Basilica* was joyned: a Work admirable and stately, raised to an immense height, and extended to a vast length and breadth. The In sides of which Structure [a] were covered with Crusts of Marble, that were of different colours:

† Or, *Royal Church.*

[a] Ὑλῃς μαρμάρῳ ποικίλῃς διηκριβωμένον πλακώσεις. The Ancients adorned walls with cut Crusts of Marble of a different colour, as I have noted at book 28. of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 363. Such Crusts of Marble as these they termed πλάκας. See *Gregor. Nazianz. in Orat.* 32; and in *His Carmen Anacreonticum ad animum suum.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A description of the double Porticus's *on both sides, and of the three Eastern Gates.*

FUrther, at both the sides, [a] double [b] *Porticus*'s as well [c] beneath as above, in length equalled the whole Church; the Roofs of which [*Porticus*'s] were likewise variously adorned with Gold.

[a] There were four *Porticus*'s in the *Jerusalem-Church*; to wit, two at each side of the Church. For that's the meaning of these words δίπλῆν στῶν δίδυμοι παραστάδες. Besides, the following words do manifestly evince this. For, of these *Porticus*'s *Eusebius* says some were in the front of the Church, that is more outward; but others more inward. In the same manner there were four *Porticus*'s in the *Church of the Apostles* which was in the City *Rome*, as *Prudentius* attests in *the Passion of the Apostles*, in these Verses;

Subdidit & Parius fulvis laquearibus Columnas
Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.

The same *Prudentius* in the *Passion of Hippolytus*, writes thus concerning the *Church of Saint Hippolytus*:

Ordo columnarum geminus laquearia tecti
Sustinet, auratis suppositus trabibus.
Adduntur graciles tecto breviore recessus,
Qui literum seriem jugiter exsinuent.

The same Form may be seen in the greater Churches amongst us, where four Orders of Pillars do make two *Porticus*'s on both sides. Further, such *Porticus*'s as these seem to be termed *gemellares* in the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum. Interius verò civitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares quinque Porticus habentes.* In which place nevertheless, 'tis doubtfull, whither the pools themselves, or the *Porticus*'s are to be termed *gemellares.* And 'tis better to understand the pools to be *gemellares.* For there were two Pools, as *Jerome* relates in *his Book de Locis Hebraicis*, where he treats of *Bethesda.* Vales.

[b] Παραστάδες. *Christophorson* has rendred it *Xysta*, which is ill done. For στῶν παραστάδες are by a *Synecdoche* made use of to signifie *Porticus*'s. *Hesychius* expounds παραστάδας, *Pillars which are set against* [or, *turned towards*] *a wall.* But *Christophorson* referred those words δίπλῆν στῶν to πλάγιᾳ in this manner, ἀμφὶ δ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πλάγια δίπλῆν στῶν, &c. *at both the sides of the double Portius*'s, &c: whereas, after the word *sides*, a *comma* is to be placed, as the reading is in the *King's and Fuketian Manuscript*; and those words δίπλῆν στῶν ought to be referred to πυραστάδες. For the sides of the Church are meant here; which is confirmed from the *Tenth Book of his Eccles. History*, where he describes the Church of *Tyre* in these words, τοῖς πρὸ ἑκάτερα τῆ παυλὸς νεῶ στοαῖς, *to the Cloysters* [or, *Porticus*'s] *on both sides of the whole Church.* Vales.

[c] Ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων. *Eusebius* has treated above concerning the *Porticus*'s of the *Atrium.* Now he speaks concerning the *Porticus*'s of the Church. And in the first place he says, that at each side of the Church there were two *Porticus*'s. Then he tells us, that those *Porticus*'s were partly ἀναγείους, partly καταγείους. Which I so render, as that those *Porticus*'s had two Roofs; and that some of them were equal to the floor of the Church it self; but that the other *Porticus*'s

were placed above them; such as we see in our Churches. *Porticus*'s of this sort the Ancients termed διοράφους or διστέγους, *double-roof't*. *Gregory Nazianzene* (Orat. 19, pag. 313, where he describes a Church built by his own Father,) has these words; χιόνων δὲ ἢ τοῖν κιόνοιν δι' ὀροφῶν εἰς ὕψος ἀειράμενον, that is, *rising to an height with the beauties of pillars and double-roof't porticus's*. For in that place of *Gregory* it must be written διορόφων in one word, which *Billius* perceived not. We may also render καταστέγους, *under-ground-porticus's*. For in Temples, *Porticus*'s of this sort were wont to be built, which *Aristides* (in *his Oration de Cyzicene Templo*) calls δρόμους ὑποστέγους. Where he also says, that that Temple was threefold, partly subterraneous, partly in the open air; but, that the middle part of it was fitted for daily uses. *Vales.*

[a] Αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖσι; that is, *the outermost Porticus's*. So in the 10th *book*, speaking of the Fountaines that were before the doors of the Church at *Tyre*, he says they were opposite εἰς τοῖσιν τῶν νεῶν, *to the front of the Church*. Vales.

Of these [*Porticus*'s,] [d] they which were in the Front of the Church, were under-prop't with vast Columns: [e] but those which were more inward, were born up by [f] piles of Stone most beautifully adorned on the outside. Three || doors fitly placed at the rising Sun, received the multitudes of those that went in.

|| Or, *Gates.*

[c] Αἱ δ' ἔσω μὴ ἔσωθεν. At the margin of the *Moræan Copy* 'tis mended μὴ ἔμπροσθεν, the same with which is the reading in *Gruter's Book*. It might also be mended μὴ ἔξωθεν. But in regard the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies* have it μὴ ἔμπροσθεν, that reading is to be preferred. *Vales.*

[f] Ὑπὸ πασσοῖς. *Christophorson* renders it *postes, posts*; extreamly ill: *Portesius* translates better, *pilas, piles*. What πασσοὶ are, *Procopius* informs us in *Book* 1. *de Fabricis Justiniani*, where he describes the Church of *Saint Sophia*; to wit, *hills* or *heaps of stone*, which he compares to certain Rocks that underprop't the *Apsis* [*Bowing of the Arch't Roof.*] The latter *Grecians* have termed them πασσούς, as *Meursius* has remarked in *his Glossary*. They were therefore stony piles, so called as I think from their figure, because they were four-corner'd, like *pessi* or *pessuli, bars* or *bolts*. Now, the inner *Porticus*'s, which were next to the sides of the Church, were therefore underprop't with these *pessi*, because they bore up the Roof of the Church on each side: which Roof in height exceeded all the rest. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A description of the Hemisphære, *and of the twelve Columns with their* Capitals.

OPposite to these [doors] was the [a] *Hemisphære*, the Head of the whole Work, [b] which was * stretch't to the top of the Church. This *Hemisphære* was † begirt with twelve Pillars, equall to the number of our Saviour's Apostles. The heads of which [Pillars] were adorned with vast *Capitals* made of Silver: which the Emperour himself had dedicated to his God, as the faireſt sacred present.

[a] Ἡμισφαιρεῖα. I write ἡμισφαίριον: so he calls the Altar of the Church, because it was built in the form of an *Hemisphære*. Hence 'tis that he terms it τὸ παντὸς κεφάλαιον *the Head of the whole Work*. For Churches were therefore built, that upon the Altar an unbloudy Sacrifice might be offered to God. A little above *Eusebius* has termed the Sepulchre of our Lord *the Head of the whole Work*: but now he gives the Altar of the Church that name; which two differ widely one from the other. For the Sepulchre of our Lord is therefore called the Head of the whole Work, because it was the beginning and entrance [or, porch] as 'twere of the whole Fabrick, and because for the sake of that, *Constantine* built the whole work. But the Altar of the Church is termed the Sum of the whole Work, in regard the whole Work had a reference to that, and that was the Complement of the whole Structure, without which the Church was imperfect. Further, *Eusebius* has improperly stiled it *The Hemisphære*, instead of *the Hemicycle*, or rather *The Hemicylinder*; of which form the *Altar* of *Saint Sophia* was, as *Procopius* informs us *Book* 1. *de Ædificiis*. In *Turnebus's Book* at the margin 'tis mended ἡμισφαίριον, but in a more modern hand. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ βασιλείου ἐπτελαμβόλου. 'Tis the same as if he had said ἐπ' ἄκρον, *to the top*. The *Hemisphære* was stretcht from the bottom to the top of the Church. And in the bottom there were twelve pillars, placed in a semicircular form. *Procopius* (book 1. *de Ædificiis*) confirms this explication, where he describes the Church of *Saint Sophia*: whose description it will be pleasant to compare with this Narration of *Eusebius*. Ἐπ' ἄκρου may also be expounded *in the upper end or top of the Church*, that so the meaning may be, that the Altar was not placed in *the middle of the Church*, but at *the upper end or top of it*. Vales.

* *Continued*, or *prolonged*.
† Or, *Crowned*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

[a] *A description of the* Area, Exhedræ, *and* Porches.

[a] Ἔκφρασις μεσαυλίου. *Christophorson* is grievously out, in rendring μεσαύλιον portas atrienses, *the Gates of the Atrium*; as if μεσαύλιον and ἡ μέσαυλος were all one. But μεσαύλιον is *Area*, a *Court* or *Court-yard*. For that which in the Contents of this Chapter is termed μεσαύλιον, in the Text of the Chapter is by *Eusebius* called ὕθειον. He makes use of the same term in *his description of the Church at Tyre*, in the *Tenth Book of his History*, μέσον αὔλιον ἡφίει, *the middle space he left open*; *see book* 10. *chap.* 4. *note* (u.) *Christophorson* renders it *aream*, which is not ill done. *Portesius* and *Musculus* translate it *subdivale spatium, a space that is vacant or abroad in the Air*, which is in my judgment better Latine. For the *Latins* called a clean place wherein Corn was threshed, *Aream*; but not those which now a days we term *Curtes*: yet use has prevailed, that *Areæ* should be called *Curtes*. *Græcians* likewise term *Curtis* (wherein Hens are fed and Oxen stalled,) μέσαυλον and μέπαυλον; as *Apollonius* informs us in book 3. *Argonautic.* pag. 134; and his *Greek Scholiast*, and *Harpocration* in the word μέπαυλος. The *Areæ* of Churches are mentioned in *Law* 4 *Cod. Theod. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt. Ut inter templum quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, & Januas primas Ecclesiæ, quicquid fuerit interjacens, sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, balneis, arcis atque porticibus, confugas interioris templi Vice tueatur.* The *Greek Constitution* there related runs thus: ὥς τε μεταξὺ τῆς ναοῦ, ὃν τῷ περιεστηκότι τοίχῳ περιφέχθαι διεσταλμένον, ἄχει δὴ πρώτων μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου τύπου ἐκκλησίας ὑφεῶν, πᾶν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον, εἴτε ἐν οἰκίαις, ἢ κήποις, ἢ αὐλαῖς, ἢ λέσχαις, ἢ ἐν στοαῖς πυλῶνί, &c. You see that αὐλαὶ is rendred *Areas*. This Law of *Theodosius* is related in book 7. *Capitular. Caroli M.* Tit. 125; where nevertheless, instead of *areæ, atrium* is made use of. *Vales.*

[b] Ἔνθεν δὲ περιόντων. I had rather write περιών, as *Musculus* seems to have read; and then it must be rendred thus, *proceeding from hence to those passages which lie*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Αὐλὴ πρώτη. *Christophorson* and *Musculus* render it right, *Atrium*. Indeed, the *Old Translatour of the Gospell*, whereever the word αὐλὴ occurs, renders it *Atrium*. Besides, in the *Old Glosses* αὐλὴ is expounded *Atrium*. *Victorinus Petabionensis on the Revelation of Saint John*, says, *Aula atrium dicitur, vacua inter paricies area, Aula is termed Atrium, an empty Space between walls*. Yet *Isidorus* (*book* 5. *Origin.*) distinguishes *Aula* from *Atrium*: But I agree rather with *Victorinus*. In the *Itinerarie of Antoninus the Martyr*, there is mention of the *Atrium* of the *Constantinian Church*. Further, notice is to be taken, that in the *Contents of this Chapter*, *Exhedræ* is made use of instead of *Aula*. Vales.

[d] Ἡ δὲ ἐντωῦθοι παρ' ἑκάτερα. The words seem to be transposed here; which I would rather read thus; ἦσαν δὲ ἐντωῦθοῖ ἡ αὐλὴ πρώτη, ἔσαι τ' ὀπὶ ταύτη παρ' ἑκάτερα. *In which place there were first the Atrium, then the Porticus's on both sides.* For to those who went out of the Church, first of all occurred the *Aula*, then the *Porticus*'s on the right and left hand of the *Atrium*, and after that *the Porch*. Vales.

[e] Ἐπ' αὐλῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς. Before the greater Churches, for the most part there were streets, wherein was kept a Market of things vendible, on the Festival of that Martyr to whom the Church was dedicated. Which thing the Ancients therefore observed, that the sight of the Porches might be fairer, and that there should be nothing which might hinder their lights. So at *Rome*, before the *Church of the Apostles* there was a Street, as *Prudentius* attests. At *Alexandria* also, there was a Church at the great Street, as *Athanasius* informs us in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* Ἔκαυσαν τὰς πυλῶνας ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ. Further, the word ἀγορᾶς seems to be a *Scholion* added to explain the term πλατείας; unless you had rather write ἀγυιᾶς; and then it must be rendred thus, *in the very midst of the broad Street, being most* &c. *Vales.*

[f] Τῶν ἔνδον ὁρωμένην θέαν. It must be ὁρωμένων, *of the things seen within*, as 'tis mended at the margin of *Turnebus's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

Concerning the Number of the * Donaria.

* *Sacred Presents*, or, *Gifts*.

THis Church therefore, which was a manifeſt evidence of the ſalutary Reſurrection, the Emperour erected; and beautified it throughout with a furniture that was † magnificent and truly Imperial. He adorned it likewiſe in a various manner with inexpreſſible || ornaments of innumerable conſecrated Gifts, conſiſting of Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones. The Compoſure of which [ornaments,] being wrought with the moſt curious workmanſhip, and [eminent] for greatneſs, number, and variety, we are not now at leiſure to deſcribe particularly.

† Or, *Rich*.

|| Or, *Beauties*.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the Building of the Churches at Bethlehem, *and on the* Mount of Olives.

HAving likewiſe in the ſame Country found other places [a] ennobled with two * Sacred Caves, he beautified them alſo with magnificent † ornaments. To that Cave, wherein our Saviour firſt made his Divine appearance, where alſo he endured to be born in the fleſh; he attributed a becoming Honour. But in the other Cave he honoured the Memory of our Lord's Aſcent into the heavens, which [had heretofore hapned] on the top of a Mountain. And theſe places he adorned moſt magnificently; and [at the ſame time] eternized the Memory of His own Mother, who had procured ſo great a Good for Mankind.

Valeſ.

[a] Τελμηρέας, *cut*. It muſt be written τετιμημένας, *ennobled*, or, *Honoured*; as the reading is in *his Panegyrick concerning Conſtantine's Tricennalia*, chap. 9; where the ſame words are repeated.

* Or, *Myſtick*.

† Or, *Honours*.

CHAP. XLII.

That Helena Auguſta, *the Mother of* Conſtantine, *going* [*to* Bethlehem] *on account of Prayer, built theſe* [*Churches.*]

FOr, in regard ſhe had reſolved to pay the due debt of her pious affection to God the ſupream King, and had determined that ſhe ought to give thanks with Supplications for her own Son ſo glorious an Emperour, and for his Sons the *Cæſars* moſt dear to God, her Grand-children; though now very aged, yet [a] ſhe haſtned and came with a youthfull mind, (being a woman of a [b] ſingular prudence,) that ſhe might view that admirable Ground, and with a care and ſollicitude truly Royal, might make a Viſit to the Eaſtern Provinces, * Cities, and people. But, after ſhe had given a due Veneration to the Footſteps of our Saviour, agreeable to that prophetick Expreſſion which runs thus, † *Let us worſhip at the place where his Feet have ſtood*: immediately ſhe left the fruit of her own piety even to poſterity.

[a] Ἦκε δὲ σπεύδουσα. I had rather read ἧκε δὴ; as I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

[b] Beſides *Euſebius*'s teſtimony, there are many things which perſwade us to think, that *Helena* the Mother of *Conſtantine* was a woman of a ſingular prudence. For, whereas ſhe had the Emperour *Conſtantine* always obedient to her, even to the very laſt day of her life; this very one thing is an argument of her ſingular prudence. This alſo was an evidence of her great wiſdome, that ſhe abuſed not the riches of her Son, and the height of the dignity of *Auguſta*, to Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs; but with her own liberality ſuccoured the Provinces, Cities, and private perſons. And whereas ſhe entirely loved her own Grand-children the Sons of *Conſtantine*, ſhe took care of this above all, that no one of *Conſtantius*'s children brethren to *Conſtantine*, ſhould ſnatch the Empire from them. Wherefore, as long as ſhe lived, ſhe always detained them Exiles as 'twere; ſometimes at *Toulouſe* in *France*, as *Auſonius* writes; otherwhiles, at *Corinth*, as *Julianus* relates in *his Letter to the Corinthians*. A fragment of which Letter is extant in *Libanius*, in *His Oration pro Ariſtophane Corinthio*, *pag.* 217: where *Libanius* terms *Helena* πανδέρον μητρυιὰν, *a crafty mother-in-Law*, and atteſts, that by her advice and Step-mother-hatred, *Conſtantius* Father to *Julian* had been conveyed up and down this way and that way. *Valeſ.*

* In the Greek 'tis δήμους, *commonalty*.

† See the *Scpt. verſ.* of *Pſal.* 132. v. 7.

CHAP. XLIII.

Again Concerning the Church at Bethlehem.

FOr, ſhe forthwith dedicated two Churches to that God whom ſhe had adored: the one at the Cave * wherein Chriſt was born: the other on the Mountain † whence he had aſcended into Heaven. For || *Emanuel* endured to be born for us [a] under the earth: and the place of His Nativity is by the *Hebrews* termed *Bethlehem*. And therefore the Empreſs moſt dear to God, adorned the place where the *Theotocos* was delivered, with admirable Monuments, and illuſtrated that Sacred Cave with all manner of Ornaments. Not long after which, the Emperour honoured it alſo with Imperial ſacred Gifts; increaſing his Mother's * Magnificence with Monuments of Silver and Gold, and [b] with various Curtains. Further, the Emperour's Mother, † in memory of his Aſcent into the Heavens who is the Saviour of all, raiſed ſtately Edifices in the *Mount of Olives*; erecting a ſacred Houſe [c] together with an holy Church upon the very top of the Mount.

* Or, *Of the Birth*.

† Or, *Of the Aſcent*.

|| Or, *God with us*.

[a] Ὑπὸ γῆν. *Chriſtophorſon* has not rightly expreſt the force of the Greek word; who renders it *in terris naſci*, *to be born—in the earth*. For *Euſebius* ſays more, *viz. that the Lord for our ſake would be born in a Cave under-ground*. *Saint Jerom*'s words in *his Epitaph of Paula* are theſe; *Bethlehem & in Specum Salvatoris introiens, entring into Bethlehem and into the Cave of our Saviour*. And a little after; *orare in Speluncâ, in quâ virgo puerpera dominum infantem fudit*, &c; *to pray in the Cave, wherein the Child-bed-Virgin brought forth the infant Lord*. Whence by the by it appears, that wherever *Euſebius* has made uſe of ἄντρον, it ought to be rendred *Specum* or *Speluncam*, *a Cave*. For ſo the Latines term it, not *antrum*, *a den*, as *Chriſtophorſon* renders it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Studies of Elegancy*.

† Or, *Exalted the memory — by ſtatue*, &c.

[b] Παραπετάσμασί τε ποικίλοις. I approve not of *Chriſtophorſon*'s tranſlation, who renders it *aulæa*. For *aulæa befit a ſcene rather than agree with a Church*. I choſe therefore to tranſlate it *Vela*, *Curtains*; for there were Curtains in Churches. And they were made uſe of both in the doors of Churches; (concerning which ſee *Epiphanius* in *his Epiſtle to John Biſhop of Jeruſalem*, *which Letter Saint Jerome has done into Latine*;) and about the Altar alſo, of which ſort ſome are to be ſeen even at this time amongſt us. Further, the Curtains which hung before doors, were by *Grecians* termed ἀμφίθυρα, which word occurs in *Choſroes's Letter* recorded in *Theophilactus Simocatta*, Book 5; Chap. 14. —— &c. —— See *Evagr. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book. 6, *Chap.* 21, *note* (*f.*) Valeſ.

[c] Νεών τε. Some thing ſeems to be wanting here, or at leaſt the words are tranſpoſed. Therefore I would have the place reſtored thus; ἱερὸν οἶκον ἐκκλησίας νεών τε ἅγιον ἀναδείξασα, *erecting a ſacred*, &c. But *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words ſo, as if *Euſebius* ſhould ſay, that *Helena* built two Churches in the *Mount of Olives*; one on the top, the other in the Cave: which nevertheleſs I do not think to be true. For the *Author of the Jeruſalem-Itinerarie* tells us, that one Church was built there by *Conſtantine*. And *Euſebius* in *his Panegyrick* (chap. 9. *towards the end*;) ſpeaking of that *Martyrium* which *Conſtantine* built at *Jeruſalem*, expreſſes himſelf in the ſame manner as he does here; *viz.* οἶκον ἐυκλήειον παμμεγέθη, νεών τε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημείῳ, &c. Where you ſee, that οἶκον ἐυκτήειον and ναὸν are joyned, and uſed concerning one and the ſame Church. And he terms *the Baſilica*, οἶκον ἐυκτήειον, becauſe people came thither to pray; but the *whole Sacred Houſe* (which being incloſed within one circuit, contains within it ſelf the *Atrium*, *Porticus's*, *Secretarie*, *Baptiſterie*,

Baptisterie, and the Church it self;) he terms ναὸν. Which *Eusebius* does most plainly declare below, at *chap.* 50 *of this book*, where he speaks concerning the *Dominicum Aureum* which *Constantine* built at *Antioch*. And thus the passage of *Eusebius* in the *close of his Panegyrick concerning* Constantine's *Tricennalia* is to be explained; as likewise a passage in *his tenth book*, and another in *chap.* 45. *of this book*; where he joyns together ναὸν and εὐκτήριον οἶκον. 'Tis something otherwise in the *fifth Law Cod. Theod. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt.* For there ναὸς εὐκτήριος is called the *Basilica or Oratory where the Altar is*. But *the Church* is termed that whole Building within the circumference whereof are contained the *Atrium*, *Porticus's*, *Cells*, *Baths*, and lastly the Oratory it self. *Vales.*

[a] Καὶ ταῦτα λόγος ἀληθής. The *Author of the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* has these words; *Inde ascendis in montem Oliveti, ubi dominus discipulos docuit ante passionem, Thence you go up to Mount Olivet, where our Lord taught his Disciples before his Passion.* *Bede* (in *his book de Locis Sanctis, chap.* 7.) has this passage; *Tertia quoque ejusdem montis ad australem Bethaniæ partem Ecclesia est, &c.; There is a third Church also of the same Mount at the South part of* Bethanie, *where the Lord before his Passion spoke to his Disciples concerning the day of Judgment.* He means the place in *Saint Mathew chap.* 24. This Sermon therefore *Eusebius* here terms ἀπορρήτους τελετάς, *secret Mysteries*, because the Lord then spake concerning secret things, *viz.* about the end of the world, concerning Christ's coming, and the last judgment. For even the Apostles came then to the Lord secretly, as *Saint Matthew* says; in regard they were desirous to know Mysteries, and the Revelation of things future, as *Jerome* on *Mathew* writes. But that which *Eusebius* says (*viz.* that our Lord delivered these Mysteries to the Apostles in the Cave,) is not expresly recorded in the Gospel. Yea, the contrary seems possible to be made out from the Gospel. For 'tis related therein, that the City *Jerusalem* was in sight to the Disciples, when our Lord Preach't these things. They were not therefore in the Cave, but in an open place. Yet it may be answered, that that Cave had several holes, of which sort there were many Caves in *Palestine*, as the *Itineraries* inform us. Indeed, whereas *Saint Matthew* affirms, that the Disciples came to our Lord secretly, 'tis probable that that discourse in the Cave was made by Our Lord whilst he stayed there. *Vales.*

[a] Moreover, here (as the true History attests,) the supream Saviour [e] in the very Cave informed his * disciples in secret Mysteries. But the Emperour himself in this place also reverenced the supream King with all manner of sacred Gifts and Ornaments. And these two stately and most beautifull Monuments worthy of an eternal Memory, [erected] at the two sacred Caves, *Helena Augusta* the Religious Mother of a Religious Emperour, dedicated to God Her Saviour, by the indications of a pious affection; Her Son reaching out to Her the right hand of His Imperial power. Not long after which, this aged woman received a † reward worthy [of her Labours.] For, having passed the whole time of her Life, unto the very Threshold of old age, in all manner of felicity, and having as well in words as deeds brought forth plentifull fruits of the saving precepts; and having for that reason lead a Life void of trouble and grief, in the greatest healthiness both of body and mind; at length she obtained from God, both an end befitting her piety, and a reward also of her good [works,] even in this life present.

* Θιασώτας, *companions.*

† Or, *The fruit.*

[c] Τῆς ἐν ἄντρῳ ἄνλῳ. The first word is to be expunged, as being superfluous. *Eusebius* seems to allude to the usage of the Gentiles, who performed their *Mithriaca Sacra* [*Sacrifices in honour of the Sun*] in a Cave, as *Porphyry*, (in *his book de Abstinentia,*) *Jerome*, and others inform us. The *Fuketian Manuscript* confirms our conjecture, in which the word πρὸ is wanting. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning Helena's *greatness of Mind, and Beneficence.*

For whilst she was taking her progress round the whole East with a * Royal Magnificence, she heapt innumerable benefits and favours, both on Cities, and on every private person also who approacht her: and with a liberal † hand she distributed numerous [largesses] amongst the Military Forces. But, on the poor, naked, and on such as were destitute of all help and comfort, She bestowed very many Gifts: making distributions of money to some; plentifully supplying others with clothes to cover their bodies. Others some She set at Liberty from bonds, as also them afflicted with the slavery of the Mines: She likewise freed some that were oppresst by the violence of persons more powerfull than themselves; and again, re-called others from banishment.

* Or, *Magnificence of Imperial power.*

† Or, *Right hand.*

CHAP. XLV.

In what manner Helena *was religiously conversant in the Churches.*

Having rendred her self eminent by such actions as these, [in the interim] she in no wise neglected Her piety towards God. For * She was seen to come constantly into the Church of God; and beautified the sacred houses with splendid ornaments; not contemning the † Churches even in the smallest Cities. You might therefore have beheld this admirable woman, in a ‖ modest and decent garb associating her self with the rest of the multitude, and demonstrating her Reverence towards God, by all manner of pious actions.

* Or, *She gave her self to be seen coming,* &c.

† Ναούς. *Valesius* renders it *Sacella, Chappells.*

‖ Or, *Grave, and mean,* or, *frugal.*

CHAP. XLVI.

How, being eighty years old, and having made her Will, she ended her Life.

But at length, when, after she had lived a sufficient space of time, she was called to a better allotment; having prolonged her life till about the eightieth year of her age, and being arrived at the very confines of death, she composed ordained and declared her last Will and Testament, constituting her only Son (* sole Emperour, and Lord of the world,) Her heir, together with his Sons the *Cæsars* Her Grandchildren; and distributing to each of Her Grandchildren, those her own Goods, whatever she was possest of throughout the whole world. Having in this manner made Her Will, afterwards she closed her life, Her † Great Son being present with and standing by her, ‖ paying her all imaginable respect, and embracing her hands. Insomuch that, to those whose Sentiments are good and true, this thrice-blessed woman in no wise seemed to die, but in reality to * make a change of this earthly life, for one that was celestiall. [a] Her soul therefore was new-framed into an incorruptible and Angelick substance, and received up to her Saviour.

* Or, *Emperour, Monarch, and Lord,* &c.

† Or, *So Great.*

‖ Or, *Cherishing her with all,* &c.

* Or, *undergoe.*

[a] Ἀνεσοτοιεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῆ ψυχῆ, *Her soul therefore was reformed,* or, *new-framed.* These words seem to favour of *Origen*'s doctrine, to which our *Eusebius* was too much addicted. For the souls of the Blessed are not reformed into an Angelick substance. Indeed, *Origen* believed, that in the Resurrection, Bodies would be turned into souls, and Souls would be changed into Angels, as *Saint Jerome* says some where. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

In what manner Constantine *deposited his Mother; and how he honoured her whilst she was living.*

But the Body of this Blessed woman was vouchsafed no trivial Honour. For it was conveyed into the [a] Imperial City [accompanied] with a numerous train of the [Imperial] Guards; where it was deposited in a Royal Monument. In this manner the Emperour's Mother closed her Life; a woman worthy of an indelible Memory, both in respect of her pious Actions, and also on account of that most eminent and admirable Son born of her. Whom 'tis fit we should stile Blessed, besides all other things, even for this also, his piety towards her who brought him forth; whom he rendred so Religious, (she having before not been a worshipper of God,) that she seemed from her tender years to have been discipled by [b] Him Himself who is the common Saviour of all: whom he honoured with Imperial Dignities in such a manner, that in all the Provinces, and by the very Companies of the Milice, she was stiled *Augusta* and Empress; and Golden Coynes were stamp't bearing her Image. Moreover, *Constantine* granted her a power over the Imperial Treasures, to make use of them according to her own arbitrement, and to dispose of them according to her own mind, in such manner as she thought good, and as every thing might seem well-pleasing to her. For even in *this respect also, her Son rendred her conspicuous and †admirable. Wherefore, amongst those things belonging to the illustrating of his Memory, We have, not without reason, included these also, which out of his transcendency of piety the Emperour performed in honour of his Mother; whereby he fulfilled the Divine Laws, which do injoyn due [Offices] of honour towards Parents. These forementioned beautifull structures therefore, the Emperour in this manner erected in the Province of *Palestine*. Moreover, in all the other Provinces also, he built new Churches, and made them far more stately than those that had been before.

[a] He means *Rome*. For thither the dead Body of *Helena Augusta* was carried, and after two years was conveyed to *Constantinople*, as *Nicephorus* tells us, book 8. chap. 30. But *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 17.) transcribing *Eusebius*'s words, interprets βασιλεύουσῃ πόλιν, *New-Rome*. Which error of *Socrates*, *Baronius* does deservedly reprove, in regard by the name of the *Imperial City Eusebius* is always wont to mean *Rome*. Besides, *Constantinople* was not yet dedicated, and therefore could not be called *the Imperial City*, whenas then it was only *old Byzantium*. Nevertheless, *Cedrenus* has followed *Socrates*; who also adds this, that *Helena* died twelve years before *Constantine*. By this computation *Helena* must have died on the year of Christ 325, or 326. On which year nevertheless, she is said by *Eusebius* and *Rufinus* to have gone to *Jerusalem*. Besides, after the death of *Crispus Cæsar* and *Fausta Augusta*, *Helena* was for some time alive, as *Zosimus* attests, book 2. Further, *Crispus* was slain in the *seventh Consulate* of *Constantinus Augustus* which he bore with *Constantius Cæsar*, on the year of Christ 326; as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*. The death of *Helena* therefore may rightly be assigned to the year of our Lord 327, as *Sigonius* thinks, *book* 3. *de Imperio Occidentali*. Vales.

* Or, *These things.*
† Or, *Worthy of Emulation.*

[b] Ὡς αὐτὸ δοκεῖν. It must be written αὐτῷ. For 'tis referred to τῷ κοινῷ σωτῆρι, as we have rendred it. And so I found it mended in *Moræus's Book*, at the margin. Nor is it otherwise written in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

CHAP. XLVIII.

In what manner He built * Martyria *at* Constantinople, *and abolished all manner of Idolatry.*

* *Churches.*

But when he had resolved upon raising that City to the highest honour which bore His own name, he beautified it with many Oratories, with vast *Martyria*, and with most stately Houses; part whereof were erected in the Suburbs, and part within the City it self. And by this means, he both honoured the Memories of the Martyrs, and likewise consecrated his own City to the God of the Martyrs. In fine, being [a] wholly inspired with the wisdome of God, he thought it requisite, in such a manner to purifie that City, which he determined to dignifie with the appellation of his own name, from all sorts of Idolatry; that the images of those reputed to be Gods, should no where be worshipped in Temples therein; neither should Altars defiled with the † Bloud of Victims be visible in it; nor Sacrifices wholly consumed by fire; nor should the Festivals of *Dæmons* [be celebrated there;] nor any other of those usages [commonly practised] amongst superstitious persons.

[a] Ὅλως δ' ἐμπνέων. I had rather make it ὅλῳ, which is far more elegant. So indeed it occurs written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Kings Sheets*. Vales.

† Λύθρου αἱμάτων, *with the gore of bloud.*

CHAP. XLIX.

The Sign of the Cross in the Pallace, and [*the* * Effigies *of*] Daniel *in the* † *Conduits.*

* *Image.*
† Or, *Fountains.*

You might therefore have seen in the Conduits situate in the middle of the *Forum*, the † Representations of the Good Shepherd, well known to those skill'd in the Divine Oracles; [the *Effigies*] of *Daniel* likewise, toge her with the Lyons, [a] cast in Brass, and shining with ‖ plates of Gold. Further, so ardent a divine Love had possest the mind of the Emperour, that in the statelier Room of all those within the Imperial Pallace, at the very middle of the Embowed Roof which was gilded with Gold, a large Table was displaied, in the midst whereof was fixt the Sign of our Lord's passion, consisting of a variety of pretious Stones, and wrought with a great quantity of Gold. And this [in my judgment] seemed to have been * set up by that pious Emperour, as the preservative of the Empire it self.

† Or, *Symbols.*

‖ Or, *Spangles.*

* Or, *Made.*

[a] Ἐν χαλκῷ πεπλασμένα. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written πεπλασμένον; and 'tis referred to those words τὸν τε Δανιὴλ, *Daniel likewise*. But the ordinary reading pleases me better, in regard it occurs both in the *Kings Copy*, and in the *Old Sheets*. For πεπλασμένα is referred to the word σύμβολα, *Representations*. So that, it must be written, τῶν τε Δανιὴλ, [*the Effigies*] *of Daniel likewise*. Vales.

CHAP. L.

That He built Churches at Nicomedia *also, and in other Cities.*

With these [ornaments] therefore He beautified his own City. He likewise honoured the [a] chief [City] of *Bithynia* with the Monument of a most * stately and most magnificent Church; in which place also, † at his own charge, he erected the Trophies of Victory which he had gained over the Enemies and Opposers of God, in hohad compelled *Licinius*, besieged therein, to a surrendry. therefore of that Victory, *Constantine* built a Church at See *Sozomen*, book 2. chap. 3. *Vales.*

[a] He means *Nicomedia*, which was the Head-City of *Bithynia*. In which City *Constantine* In memory *Nicomedia*.

* Or, *Large.*
† Or, *Out of his own Treasures.*

nour of his own Saviour. Moreover, he also, grac't the chiefest Cities of the rest of the Provinces, with most beautifull Oratories: [b] for instance, that City which was the *Metropolis* of the whole East, that took its name from *Antiochus*. In which [City,] as 'twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Region, he dedicated [to God] a † Peerless Church, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he encompassed the whole Temple with a large circuit on the outside: [c] but within, he raised the *Basilica* to an immense height: it was built in an [d] *eight-square* figure; and surrounded on all sides with many Lodging Rooms, and [e] *Exhedræ*, and with * apartments [f] as well above as under [or, even with] the ground. Which Church [he beautified] with ‖ a vast quantity of [g] Gold, and † adorned it with Brass and other Materials of great value.

† Or, *Matchless.*

* Or, *Places.*

‖ Or, *Abundance of much Gold.*

† Or, *Crowned it with the beauties of Brass, &c.*

[b] Ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς μητροπόλεως. It must be written μητρόπολιν. Except you had rather read thus; ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ὅπι τῆς ἀναλολικῆς μητροπόλεως; which reading indeed displeases me not. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis written, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ τὸν, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Εἰσω δὲ τὸν ἐυκλῆειον ὄικον. In *his panegyrick, chap. 9*, whence these words are transcribed, *Eusebius* has termed it ἀναλολεγν. I have rendred it *Basilica the Cathedral or Church it self*; not *the Sanctuary*, as *Christophorson* translates it. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐν ὀκλαέδρε —— χήματι. Of the same figure was that Church, which *Nonnus* Father to *Gregory Nazianzene* built in the Town of *Nazianzum*, as *Gregory* himself attests in *his Funeral Oration concerning the praises of his own Father, pag.* 313. These Temples were termed *octachora*. This *old Inscription* occurs in *Gruter's Thesaurus, pag.* 1166;

Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus.
Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.

Now, that is a *Templum Octachorum, which hath eight sides rising from the bottom to the very top.* From the same reason Altars are termed *trichora*, in *Paulinus's Epistle*; that is, *trino sinuata recessu, bent or embosomed with a triple recess*, as the *same Paulinus* expresses himself, in *his Natale of Saint Felix. Cedrenus* (*at the 26th year of Constantine,*) terms that church which had been built by *Constantine* at *Antioch, Octagonum Dominicum, the eight-cornered Church.* Vales.

[e] Ἐξέδρεγς. In *Eusebius's Panegyrick*, at *the chapter just now cited*, the reading is truer, thus, ἐξέδραις. For so *Eusebius* terms them, in *His description of the Church at Tyre*, which you have in the *Tenth Book of his Ecclesiast. History.* What an *Exedra* is, *Valafridus Strabo* tells us, in *his book de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, chap.* 6: *Exedra est absida quædam, seperata modicum quidem a templo vel palatio: dicta inde, quòd extra hæreat. Græcè autem κύκλον vocatur; An exedra is a certain outward building, separated a little from the Temple or Palace: thence so termed, because it sticks without. In Greek 'tis called κύκλῳ. Strabo* is indeed mistaken, because he understood not, that *Exedra* was a Greek word: but he is not at all mistaken in the origine of that word. For, 'tis truly termed ἐξέδρα, *Exedra*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω ἕδρας, *from its being without the seat.* For so more outward houses were termed, which were usually built within the circuit of a Church, wherein 'twas lawfull to sit, and take rest, as *Eusebius* tells us. Concerning these *Exedræ*, *Saint Austin* speaks in *his book de Gestis cum Emerito Donatista. Cæsareæ in Ecclesia majori*, &c. *At Cæsarea in the greater Church, when Deuterius Metropolitane Bishop of Cæsarea, together with Alipius, Augustinus. Possidius Rusticus and the other Bishops had gone forth into the Exedræ*, &c. In the *Concilium Nannetense, Canon* 6th, there is mention of an *Exedra. Prohibendum etiam secundùm majorum instituta, ut in Ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio aut porticu, aut in Exedris Ecclesiæ; it is to be forbidden also, according to the orders of our Ancestours, that they should in no wise bury* [or be buried] *in the Church but in the Atrium, or Porticus, or in the Exedræ of the Church.* So the reading is in the *Manuscripts Copy* belonging to the *Bibliotheca Puteana.* See *Jerome on the* 40th *chapter of Ezechiel.* ——Further, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* have it written right here, ἐξέδραις τε. *Vales.*

[f] Ὑπερῴων τε καὶ καταγείων χωρημάτων. See what we have noted at chap. 37. καταγεια ὀικήματα are *Houses whereto we go up no Stairs*; to which are opposed ἀνάγεια or ὑπερῶα, that is, *Chambers*, or *upper Rooms.* Although by the term καταγεια you may here understand *Cryptæ, Vaults* or *Rooms under ground.* Vales.

[g] For this reason that Church was termed *Dominicum Aureum, the Golden Church. Jerom in the Chronicon at the* 22d *year of Constantine*; *Antiochiæ Dominicum quod vocant aureum, ædificari cœptum*; *at Antioch the Dominicum which they term Aureum, was begun to be built.* It was consecrated in the Reign of *Constantius*, on the fifth year after *Constantine's* death. *Vales.*

CHAP. LI.

That He likewise gave order for the building of a Church in [*the place called*] Mamre.

THese were the most eminent Structures, which the Emperour dedicated to God. But, having been informed, that that one and the same Saviour, who had lately made his appearance in the world, had heretofore exhibited the presence of His Divinity, to certain men of *Palestine* that were lovers of God, near that called the *Oak of Mamre*; He ordered an Oratory to be erected there also, to the God who had appeared. Therefore, the * Emperour's order was issued out to the Governours of Provinces, by the Letters transmitted to each of them, commanding them to bring to effect what they had been enjoyned to perform. But to us who write this History, he sent an [a] Exhortation full of wisedome. A Copy whereof I judge fit to be inserted into this present work, to the end that the care and diligence of this most pious Emperour might be accurately known. Having blamed us therefore for those things, which, as he had been informed, were done in the forementioned place, he wrote word for word thus.

* Or, *Imperial Authority.*

[a] Λογικωτέραν διδασκαλίαν, *a more rational Sermon.* So also *Eusebius* has before termed *Constantine's* Letters, because in those Letters *Constantine* seemed in a manner to Preach. Such is *Constantine's Speech to the Convention of the Saints*, and almost all his Letters, which are recorded partly by *Eusebius*, and partly by others. For in all these, *Constantine*, although as yet but a *Catechumen*, plays the Doctour. Indeed it can't be denyed, but *Constantine* was a man full of God, and was sent by God in order to the propagation of the Christian Faith; to which single person, next to the Apostles, we owe very much. Yet in Ecclesiastick affaires, he took something more upon himself, than might befit a Prince that was a Laick; the Bishops permitting him all things, and rejoycing greatly with themselves, because they saw an Emperour a *Christian.* Vales.

CHAP. LII.

Constantine's Letter to *Eusebius* concerning *Mamre.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Macarius* and the rest of the Bishops of *Palestine.*

EVen *this very one thing was a most eminent favour* [a] *of my most Holy Mother-in-*

[a] Τῆς ὁσιωτάτης μεκνδεσείας. In the rendition of this place all the Translatours, *Portesius, Musculus* and *Christophorson*, have been mistaken; they rendring it *curam & solicitudinem, care and solicitude*; as if the reading had been κηδεμονίας. But *Constantine* speaks of his Mother-in-law, to wit, *Eutropia Syra*, to whom *Fausta* the wife of *Constantine* was daughter. For κηδεσεια signifies in Greek *a mother-in-law*, as the *Old Glosses* inform us, wherein 'tis thus read, κηδεστὴς *a father-in-law*, κηδέσεια *a mother-in-law.* Indeed, the following words do plainly confirm our explication. For it follows, διὰ ἧς πρὸς ὑμᾶς γνωείσα γεγραμάτων, *by her Letters to us she hath made known.* He means the Letters which his *mother in law Eutropia* had sent to him. Wherefore *Christophorson's* Emendation is to be rejected, who hath corrected it πρὸς ὑμᾶς, *to you.* Moreover, these following words, ἣ προειρημένη διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν, &c. do sufficiently shew the very same thing. For who would say concerning *care and solicitude*, ἣ προειρημένη, *the foresaid care and solicitude?* That would have been altogether trifling and foolish. But in our Version all things are plain and clear. For ἣ προειρημένη is rendred *our foresaid mother in law*; who by reason of her Piety and Religion could not hide so great an impiety, but by Letter declared it to her Son-in-law *Constantine*, that at length he might remedie this mischief. *Eutropia* therefore was a Christian, as we learn from this place. Her daughter *Fausta* also profest the Christian Faith, and together with her husband *Constantine* was buried in the Church of *The Apostles.* Further, I must not omit what

what I found noted at the margin of the *Kings Copy*. For there, over against the word κηδεσείας, instead of a *Scholion* ϰηδεστείας *mother* was written; as if *Constantine* meant his own mother *Helena*; which explication I don't approve of. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* says it was the Emperour *Constantine's Mother-in-law*, who, when She was come to the *Oak Mamre*, and had found there the deteſtable impieties of the Heathens, gave *Constantine* an account of that affair. See *Sozomen*, Book 2. chap. 4. *Valeſ.*

[b] Εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐεργέτημα, *favour ——-towards us.* I had rather write εἰς ὑμᾶς *towards you*; although the common reading may be born with. Further, by a ſmall tranſpoſition of the words, I would have the beginning of this Letter read thus, ἓν τοῦτο ϰ᾽ μέγιστον, &c. *This was one and the greateſt favour*, &c. The other reading is ἓν ϰ᾽ τοῦτο μέγιστον, &c. *Valeſ.*

law [b] *towards you, that by Her Letters to us She hath made known that nefarious boldneſs of certain impious perſons, which hitherto hath lain concealed amongſt you: to the end that, that long-neglected Crime might, (though late, nevertheleſs) neceſſarily obtain a befitting animadverſion and cure from us. For, 'tis moſt certainly the greateſt impiety, that holy places ſhould be defiled by deteſtable impurities. What therefore is that (deareſt Brethren!) which, when it had eſcap't Your prudence, Our foreſaid Mother-in-law, by reaſon of Her Reverence towards the Deity, was not able to keep concealed?*

CHAP. LIII.

That our Saviour appeared there to *Abraham*.

[a] This place was likewiſe called *Terebinthus*, diſtant from the City *Jeruſalem* about thirty miles, as we are told by the *Authour of the Jeruſalem Itinerarie*, who lived in the times of *Conſtantine the great*. His words are theſe. *Inde Terebintho millia 9. ubi Abraham habitavit, &c. Thence to Terebinthus nine miles; where* Abraham *dwelt, and dug a well under a Turpentine tree, and ſpake with the Angels, and took food. There a Church is built by* Conſtantine's *order, of a wonderfull beauty. Then from Terebinthus to Chebron, two miles; where there is a Monument* [or, *Memory*] *built four-ſquare* [or, *by a four-ſquare-figure*] *of Stones, of a wonderfull beauty, wherein are laid* Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, &c. *Sozomen* alſo, *book 2. chap.* 4, relates that that place was termed *Terebinthus*. Now, this place was ſo called from a *Turpentine-tree*, which was ſaid to be the oldeſt Tree there, and to have ſtood from the very beginning of the world, as *Joſephus* atteſts in *his fifth Book of the Jewiſh Wars*. Although others ſaid it was the Staff of one of the Angels which appeared to *Abraham*, from which Staff thruſt into the ground ſprang up a *Turpentine-tree*. So *Georgius Syncellus* tells us in *his Chronicon*. But 'tis ſtrange, (whereas there was an *Oak* there under which *Abraham* had pitcht his Tent, as we read *Gen.* 18.) why that place ſhould have taken its name from a *Turpentine-tree*, rather than from *an Oak*. Valeſ. In *our Engliſh Bibles*, at *Geneſis* 18, there is not the leaſt mention of *an Oak*, but of *a Tree* only, at *verſe* 8. Nor does *Saint Jerom*, in *his Tranſlation*, term it *an Oak*. Indeed, in the *Verſion of the* 72, (at *Gen.* 18.1.) we have theſe words, πρὸς τῇ δρυῒ τῇ ϰαμβρῆ, *at the Oak Mambre*: but the expreſſion in the original is בְּאֵלֹנֵי מַמְרֵא *in the Plaines of Mamre*. The *Seventy Two* were belike of opinion, that אֵלֹנֵי had the ſame import with אֵלָה; the determination whereof is left to the Learned.

[b] Μιαίνεσθαί φασιν. In the *Kings Copy*, the *Fuk. Manuſcript*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, 'tis truer written thus, μιαίνεσθαί φησιν, *is (She ſays) defiled*: ἡ ϰηδέστια, *Mother-in-law*, is underſtood. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἐϰλωσε. You muſt again underſtand ϰηδέστια, *Mother-in-law. Our Mother-in-law* (ſays *Conſtantine*) *has related to us, that there is an Altar there, whereon impure ſacrifices are offered.* Valeſ.

[d] I ſuppoſe, that the Pictures of the Angels are meant, which had appeared there to *Abraham*. For the Heathens worſhipped theſe Pictures. Moreover, the Heathens worſhipped *the Turpentine-tree* it ſelf, as *Euſebius* informs us in *his fifth book Demonſtr. Evangel*; *chap.* 9. Which place *Scaliger* (in *his Animadverſions on Euſebius, pag.* 192.) took in a wrong ſenſe. For he thought, that that *Turpentine-tree* had had the higheſt honour imaginable paid to it by the *Chriſtians*; and he cites *Euſebius* as the Relatour of that thing. But *Euſebius* ſpeaks of the *Heathens* there, not concerning the *Chriſtians*. For after he had ſaid; ὅθεν εἰσέτι ϰ᾽ νῦν, &c; *wherefore, to this preſent time, this place is adored, as being Divine, by thoſe that dwell near it; and the Turpentine-tree is viſible, which as yet ſtands*: He adds; οἱ τε τῷ ἀβραὰμ ὀπτανευθέντες, &c; *and the Angells, which were entertained by* Abraham, *are painted in a Table there, on each ſide one; but he in the middle is made better, and exceeds in honour: He is our forementioned Lord himſelf, our Saviour, whom they ignorantly worſhip.* You ſee *Euſebius* does here plainly ſpeak of the *Heathens*, who were ignorant of Chriſt. For this cannot be ſpoken of the *Chriſtians*. Our opinion is confirmed by *Sozomen*, *book* 2. *chap* 4; where he diſcourſes at large concerning *that Market* kept at the *Terebinthus*. For he writes, that every year in Summer time, *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Pagans* came thither out of *Paleſtine*, *Phœnice*, and *Arabia*, partly on account of Trade, and partly for Religion; and, that all theſe celebrated a Feſtival after their own way. For the Heathens (he ſays) adored the Angells, offering to them Sacrifices, and meat and drink-offerings. The Pictures therefore of the Angells were there, to which the *Pagans* offered Victims. *Saint Jerom de Locis Hebraicis*, where he treats concerning *Arboch*, writes in this manner. *Quercus Abraham quæ & Mambre, &c*; *The Oak* of Abraham, *which is alſo called Mambre, was to be ſeen there untill the times of the Emperour* Conſtantine; *and his Sepulchre is at preſent viſible. And in regard a Church is now built there by us, Terebinthus* [*the Turpentine-tree*] *is ſuperſtitiouſly worſhipped by all the Nations round, becauſe under that* Abraham *heretofore entertained the Angells. Saint Jerom* has added many things here of his own head. For *Euſebius* himſelf, in *his book de Locis Hebraicis*, has only theſe words, ἀρϐώ. ἄυτη ὅτι χεϐρὼμ ϰώμη νῦν μεγίστη, &c. *Arbo. This is Chebrom, now a great Village, heretofore a Metropolis, the ancient Habitation of the ſtrange Nations* [or, *Philiſtines*,] *and Gyants, and after that the Royal City of* David. *It was in the alotment of the Tribe* Judah, *and was one of the Cities ſet out to the Levites, one of the Cities of Refuge alſo, diſtant from Ælia at the North two and twenty miles. The Oak* of Abraham *and his Sepulchre are to be ſeen there, and the Terebinthus* [*Turpentine-tree*] *is manifeſtly worſhipped by our Enemies, as likewiſe the Angells entertained by* Abraham. *Heretofore its name was Arbo, afterwards 'twas called Chebrom, from* Chebrom *one of the ſons of* Caleb, *as 'tis in the Chronicles.* A famous paſſage this; which totally overthrows *Scaliger's* opinion, and does egregiouſly confirm our explication. For *Euſebius* ſays, that *the Terebinthus* and *the Angells* were ſuperſtitiouſly worſhipped there *by our Enemies*; which is the appellation he gives to the *Heathens* and *Jews*. This paſſage of *Euſebius* is alſo cited by *Damaſcenus*, Book 3. *De Imag.* Valeſ.

and that an [c] *Altar is built hard by, and that impure Sacrifices are continually* * *offered there. Wherefore, in regard this thing ſeems both diſagreeable* [f] *to Our Times, and an indignity alſo to the ſanctity of that place; I would have* Your Gravity *know, that we have given order by Letter to* the moſt Perfect Acacius *the* Comes *and a* [g] *Friend of ours;*

* Or, *Performed.*

[c] Concerning this Altar *Euſtathius* ſpeaks in *his Hexameron*, which he ſays was ſtanding in his time, as alſo the *Terebinthus* it ſelf. Whence it appears, that *this work of Euſtathius's* was written before *Conſtantine* had given order for the demoliſhment of that Altar. In *Sozomen's* age, neither the Altar, nor the *Terebinthus* was ſtanding. Nevertheleſs, the ſuperſtition of the Heathens continued in that place, as *Jerom* atteſts. So difficult a matter it is wholly to pluck up the roots of Superſtition! We muſt not omit what *Antoninus the Martyr* hath written concerning this place, in *His Itinerarie*. *De Bethleem*, ſays he, *uſque ad radicem Mambre ſunt millia viginti quatuor*: &c. *From* Bethlehem *unto the root of Mambre there are twenty four miles: in which place reſt the bones of* Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, Sarah, *and* Joſeph. *There is a Church built* [per quadrum] *in a four-ſquare-figure, and in the middle an uncovered Atrium: and thorow the midſt of the Rails on one ſide the Chriſtians enter, on the other the Jews, carrying in much incenſe. For, the interment of* Jacob *and* David *in that Ground, is moſt devoutly celebrated on the firſt day after* our Lord's Nativity; *in ſo much that, a multitude meets together from all parts of the Land of the Jews, carrying Incenſe and Lights. And they beſtow Gifts, and worſhip there. See* Jerom in Epitaphio Paulæ. *Valeſ.*

[f] Τῶν ϰαιρῶν ἧς ἡμετέρων τῷ ϰράτει ἡμετέρῳ ἀλλότριον, *diſagreeable to our times to our Empire. Chriſtophorſon* expunged the four firſt Greek words, and they are wanting in the *Kings*, *Fuketian*, and *Savil. Manuſcripts*. But if the matter were to be determined by me, I would rather blot out the following words, τῷ ϰράτει ἡμετέρῳ, *to our Empire*; which, in my judgment, are added inſtead of a *Scholion*, in order to the explaining of the former words. *Græcians* do elegantly term *the time of any one's Empire*, ϰαιρός. Further, the Emperours were mightily ambitious of this, that the felicity and clemency of their own times might be celebrated. Nothing occurs more frequently in the *Latine Hiſtorians*, and in *the Laws of the Emperours*. In *Philoſtratus* (book 2. *de Vitis Sophiſtarum*, where he ſpeaks of *Heliodorus*;) this word is corrupted. For when *Heliodorus* had begun his Oration in the Emperour's preſence, *Philoſtratus* ſays that the Emperour aroſe on a ſudden, and cryed out, *ſuch a man, the like to whom I have not yet ſeen! The Glory and Ornament of my Times!* ἧς ἐμαυτῆ ϰαιρῶν εὕρημα; for ſo the reading ſhould be. *Conſtantine* makes uſe of this very term in *his Letter to the Hereticks*, which occurs at the end of *this book*. Wherefore, I am of opinion, that the common reading is to be retained: and that theſe words τῷ ϰράτει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ are tranſpoſ'd, and muſt be placed after the word ἐστειν, thus; *Wherefore, in regard in this our Empire, this thing*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[g] Καὶ φίλον ἡμῶν. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* and the *Kings Sheets* the reading is φίλον ἡμέτερον, *our friend*. Valeſ.

that

that without any delay, not only all the Idols, which can be found in the fore-mentioned place, shall be committed to the flames; but that the Altar also shall be totally demolished: and, that [h] *a condigne punishment shall be inflicted on all those, who, after this Order of Ours, shall dare to perform any thing that is impious in that place. Which place moreover We have commanded to be beautified with the pure Edifice of a Church, to the end it may be made a fit Seat for holy men. But if any thing shall happen to be done contrary to Our Precept, 'tis fit it should without any delay be made known to Our Clemency, by Your Letters namely: to the end We may Order the person detected to undergo the extreamest of punishments, as being a transgressour of the Law. For you are not ignorant, that the supream Lord and God appeared first to* Abraham *in that place, and talkt with him. Moreover, the observance of the holy Law took its first beginning there. There Our Saviour himself, together with the two Angels, first gave* Abraham *a full sight of his own presence. There God first of all appeared unto men. There he made* Abraham *a promise concerning his future seed; and immediately fulfilled that promise. There he foretold, that he should be the Father of many Nations. Which things being so, 'tis fit, as to me it seems, that by Your care this place should be preserved from all manner of pollution, and restored to its Pristine Sanctity; that so in future, no other thing be done in that place, save the performance of a befitting worship to the Almighty and Our Saviour and to God the supream Lord. Which thing* [i] *'tis fit you should observe with a due care, if* Your Gravity *be desirous (of which I am confident) to accomplish my will, which is chiefly inclined to the worship of God. God preserve you, Beloved Brethren!*

[h] Τιμωρίας ἄξιον. I read τιμωρίας ἄξιον ἦ. That is, *it shall be capitall for all those*, &c. Wherefore, there is no need of *Christophorson*'s emendation here, viz; τιμωρίας ἄξιον κείνομεν, *we judge him worthy of punishment, who*, &c. Nevertheless, there is another reading in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*; which 'tis better to follow here. A little after, from the *Fuk. Copy* make it ὃν δὴ καθαρᾷ, &c. *Which place moreover*, &c. *Vales.* Though *Valesius* preferres the reading in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* here; yet he has not shown us what it is.

[i] Πρέσσκειν ὑμᾶς φυλάττειν. I read πρέσσκον or πρέσσκει, *'tis fit*, as *Christophorson* seems to have read. In the *Kings Sheets* I found it written πρέσκον, according as I had conjectured. *Vales.*

CHAP. LIV.

*The demolishment of the Idol-Temples and * Images in all places.*

* Or, *Statues.*

ALL these things the Emperour performed with all imaginable earnestness, to the Glory of [Christ's] salutary power. And in this manner he ceased not from giving honour to God his Saviour. But he endeavoured all manner of ways to † confute the superstitious errour of the Heathens. Therefore, the Porches of some Temples in the Cities were * laid open, they being, by the Emperour's order, deprived of their doors: the Roofs of others were ript, that wherewith they were covered being taken off. The venerable Brazen † Statues of other some, on account whereof the errour of the Ancients had for a long time boasted, were exposed to publick veiw [a] in all the *Forum*'s of the Emperour's City. In so much that, for a reproachfull sight to the Spectatours, there lay exposed to view, in one place *Apollo Pythius*, in another *Smimthius*; and in the very *Cirque* it self *The Delphick Tripods*; and the [b] *Heliconian Muses* in the Pallace. In fine, the City which bore the Emperour's name, was filled in all places with Images, which being made of Brass with great art and curiosity, had heretofore been consecrated in every Province. To whom, under the notion of Gods, when men distempered with errour had for many ages in vain offered numerous *Hecatombs* and *Holocausts*; at length, though late, they learn't to be wise; after the Emperour had begun to make use of these very Images as objects of sport in order to the laughter and recreation of the Beholders. But, on those Images made of Gold [c] he was revenged another way. For, whereas he perceived, that the simple multitude, like children, in vain stood in fear of those * *Bugbeares* of errour made of Gold and Silver; it was his Sentiment, that they ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they would be like some pieces of Stones cast before the feet of those who walk in the dark; and because a smooth and plain passage through the Kings-high-way was in future to be opened to all men. [d] Having therefore considered these things with himself, he was of opinion, that he stood not in need either of military Forces or a numerous army, in order to his giving check to these things; but, that one or two of those persons well known to him, were sufficient to effect this business; whom by one nod he dispatch't away into every Province. They, confiding in the Emperour's piety, and in their own Religiousness towards God, made their way thorow the thickest crowds and thorow infinite multitudes of people, [e] and totally destroyed that ancient errour [of Idolatry] in all Cities and throughout every Country. And in the first place they commanded the Priests themselves, with much laughter and disgrace to bring forth their Gods out of certain dark recesses. Then they devested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap't off that matter which seemed to be usefull, and † cast it into the fire, and melted it down; so much of it as by them was thought to be of use and necessary, they reserved, and put it up safe. But what was superfluous and wholly useless, that they left to the superstitious for a lasting monument of disgrace. More-

† *Vanquish*, or, *overthrow.*

* Or, *Made naked.*

† Or, *Images.*

† Or, *Tried it in the furnace and in the fire.*

[a] Ἐν ἀγορᾶς πάσαις. *Sozomen* (book 2. chap. 5, where he has in a manner transcribed this whole passage of *Eusebius*) words it thus, κατὰ τὰς ἀγυιὰς, καὶ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια, *in the Streets, and in the Cirque, and in the Pallace.* Vales.

[b] *Themistius* (in *his fifth Oration to Theodosius,*) is a witness, that the Statues of the *Muses* were in the *Curia* of *Constantinople.* The same Authour, in his Oration to the Senate περὶ πρεσβείας, says that these Statues were placed on this and that side, in a double number; so that they were not now nine, but eighteen. *Vales.*

[c] Ἄλλη τη μετῆλθετο *Constantine* ordered the brazen Statues of the Gods to be brought to *Byzantium*, that he might beautifie that City with these sort of Spoyles. But whatever Statues were made of Gold or Silver, them he ordered to be melted down, and coyned into money, as *Sozomen* relates, book 2. chap. 5. who explains this passage of *Eusebius* excellently well. Concerning this demolishment of the Temples and destruction of the Statues, our *Eusebius* has a passage in *his second Sermon de Resurrectione.* Vales.

* Μορμολύκεια, *things made up so, as to affright the beholders.*

[d] After these words [*opened to all men,*] those which follow, as far as [*Moreover, this admirable Emperour,* &c.] are wanting in the *Kings Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition.* But they are added by *Gruter*, *Portesius*, *Christophorson*, and others, from *Eusebius's Panegyrick*, and from Manuscript Copies. Indeed, we found them in the *Fuketian Copy*; and Sr *Henry Savil* hath given us notice, that the same words are extant in *his Copy.* Vales.

[e] Ἐπιεῖστο φθορὰν. In the *Panegyrick*, chap. 8. whence these words are taken, the reading is ἐπιῆντο φορὰν, *made a discovery of*; which reading in my judgment is truer. *Vales.*

[f] Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing of this nature. For, at the same time that those Idols of the dead, made of pretious matter, were spoyled in that manner we have declared, [g] He ordered the rest of the Images consisting of Brass to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, celebrated in the doting Fables [of the *Greeks*,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away bound.

[f] Οἷον δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς, &c. In *Eusebius's Panegyrick*, *chap.* 8. the reading of this place is fuller, in this manner, οἷον δὴ καὶ τὸ δ' ἤρξε βασιλεὺς ὁ θαυμάσιος, *Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto.* In *Moræus's Copy* I found it written, οἷον δὴ καὶ τότε διεπράξατο βασιλεὺς, &c; *moreover, at that time*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is οἷον δὴ καὶ τόδ' εἰέργασεν. So also 'tis in Sr *Henry Savils Copy*, but without the *Apocope*. Valef.

[g] Τὰ λοιπὰ μετῆλθε, &c. *Johannes Portesius* renders it, *ad alia perrexit, He proceeded to others. Christophorson* translates it, *reliquas aggressus est statuas, He set upon the other Statues.* In the same sense namely, with that *Eusebius* had said above, ἄλλη τε μετήϊσχετο, *he was revenged another way.* Valef.

CHAP. LV.

The demolishment of the Idol-Temple at Aphaca *in* Phœnice, *and* [*the disannulling*] *those Acts of uncleanness* [*committed there.*]

After this the Emperour having as 'twere lighted a most bright Torch, lookt about with his Imperial eye, if peradventure he might any where find any Remains of Errour as yet lying concealed. And as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised her self to heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth which are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he, whilst he *was resident in the Imperial Pallace of [a] his own most beautifull City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower a certain pernicious snare of souls in the Province of the *Phœnicians*. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the *Forums*, or Streets; of which sort many [are visible] in Cities, most gloriously built for ornament sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy *Dæmon* [termed] *Venus*, in part of the top of [Mount] *Libanus* which is at [b] *Aphaca*.

* *Walk't up and down in*, or, *was conversant in*.

[a] Τῆς ἀστυ καλλιπτόλεως. So *Themistius* does likewise term *Constantinople*, in *his* 16th *Oration*, about the close of it; to wit, on account of the Beauty and Magnificence of the publick Works, which *Constantine* had most gorgeously erected there. For he had spoiled all Cities, Towns, places, and Temples, that he might beautifie that City which bore his own name. Therefore *Jerome* has with good reason affirmed in *his Chronicon*, that *Constantinople* had been dedicated by the nakedness of almost all cities. *Valef.*

[b] Concerning this Temple of *Venus Aphacitis*, *Zosimus* is to be consulted in *his first book*; and the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the word Ἄφακα; as also *Suidas* in the word χειροδωρῶν, and Mr *Selden in Syntagm.* 2. *de Diis Syr.* Further, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading here is τῷ λιβάνῳ τῷ ἐν ἀφάκοις, of [Mount] *Libanus in Aphaca*. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis ἐν ἀκρωρείᾳ μέρει τῷ λιβάνῳ τῆς ἐν ἀφάκοις, *in part of the Top of* Libanus *which* [*Top*] *is in* Aphaca. *Valef.*

This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all impure persons, and such as with all manner of * Intemperance had debauch't their bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather then men, having renounc't the † Gravity of their own Sex, appeased the *Dæmon* ‖ by suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawfull * mixtures with women, and adulteries, and other † obscene and infamous facts were committed in that Temple, [c] as in a place that was lawless and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But the impieties committed there could not lie concealed from this great Emperour. But when He Himself had lookt into them with the eye of Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of [being enlightned] with the Rays of the Sun. Wherefore, he orders it to be totally demolished, together with its Statues and consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the * Engines of this impudent and libidinous errour were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a company of Souldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, being scar'd by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned Modesty: as likewise did those superstitious Heathens, that in their own opinion seemed very wise; who even themselves truly and experimentally understood their own vanity and folly.

* *Sloth*, or, *pleasure*.

† Or, *Dignity*.

‖ Θηλείᾳ νόσῳ; *Valesius* renders it, *muliebria patientes*.

* Or, *Copulations of women*.

† *Horrible*.

[c] Ὡς ἐν ἀνόμῳ καὶ ἀποπτῳ χώρῳ. Doubtless it must be made ἀοικητῳ, *without a Governour*; as the reading is in *his Panegyrick*, *chap.* 8; where this whole passage occurs. Yet in the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis ἀποπλίτῃ *deserted*, in the *Panegyrick* also. A little before it must be made κλεψίγαμοί τε φθοραὶ, as the reading is in *the Panegyrick*. Valef.

* Or, *Instruments*.

CHAP. LVI.

The demolishment of Æsculapius's *Temple at* Ægæ.

For, whereas the [superstitious] errour of those thought to be wise, was great and much talk't of, in reference to that *Dæmon* of *Cilicia*; almost infinite numbers of men highly admiring him as a Saviour and a Physitian; in regard he sometimes appeared [a] to those who slept in his Temple; at others, healed the diseases of them that were infirm in their bodies: (nevertheless, he was a manifest Destroyer of souls, a Seducer of men from the true Saviour, one that drew off such as could easily be imposed upon, to the errour of impiety:) the Emperour [b] behaving himself according to his wonted manner, (for he had proposed the jealous God and true Saviour as the object of his adoration;) ordered this Temple also to be pulled down to the very ground. Presently therefore, at one nod of the Emperour's, [this Temple, which was] a wonder cryed up amongst the [c] noble Philosophers, lay flat on the ground, being ruined

[a] Τοῖς ἐγκαθεύδουσι. Neither *Christophorson* nor *Portesius* understood the true import of this word. For this term does not barely signifie to *lie down and sleep*, but *to sleep in a Temple*. This was an usage of the Heathens, to lodge all night in the Temple, expecting Dreams and Cures from their Gods. Of which thing innumerable instances occur in ancient Writers, but especially in *Aristides*, in *his Orationes Sacræ*. The *Latines* termed it *incubare*. *Plautus's* words in *his Curculio* are these; *Ideo fit, quia hic Leno ægrotus incubat in Æsculapii fano. Solinus*, *chap.* 7. *Epidauro decus est Æsculapii sacellum, cui incubantes*, &c. See Saint *Jerom on the* 65th *chap. of Esaiah*, *vers.* 4. Valef.

[b] Εἰκότα δὴ πράττων. *Christophorson* was egregiously mistaken in referring these words to *Æsculapius*, whenas they are spoken of the Emperour *Constantine*, as I have expresst it in my Version. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies* the reading is εἰκότα δὴ βασιλεὺς πράττων, *the Emperour behaving*, &c. *Valef.*

[c] He means *Apollonius Tyaneus*, concerning whom *Philostratus* relates in *his first book*, that he was a long time resident in the Temple of *Æsculapius* at *Ægæ*, as the Guest of that very God. *Valef.*

ned

ned by a Company of Souldiers: and [together with the Temple] [d] He that lay lurking within it, who was not a *Dæmon*, nor a God, but a Seducer of souls, one who for an exceeding long space of time had led men into errour. Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamities, was not able to find out a [e] remedy in order to his own preservation; no more than when he was struck with thunder (as we are told in the [f] Fables.)

But the Actions of * Our Emperour, being such as were highly acceptable to God, were not in like manner fabulous: but by the manifest power of Our Saviour himself, this Temple in that place was so utterly ruined [together with others,] that not the least footstep of the former madness was left remaining there.

[d] Καὶ ὁ τῶν. In the excellent *Fuketian Manuscript*, this place is far otherwise expresst. For, after the word δαῖμα in the Greek [or, *Souldiers* in the *English Version*] *that Copy* places a full point. Then, it has the following passage worded in this manner; ὅτι δὲ ἐνδομυχῶν ἢ δαίμων· οὐδὲ γε θεὸς· πλάνος δέ τις ψυχῶν, μακροῖς καὶ μυείοις ἐξαπατήσας χρόνοις, δῆλον ἐκ ἧς πραγμάτων, *Because 'twas manifest from the facts, that no Dæmon lay lurking within it; nor a God; but a deceiver of souls, who for an exceeding long*, &c. The four last words [δῆλον ἐκ ἧς πραγμάτων] which are wanting in the ordinary Editions, *Turnebus* had likewise added at the margin of *his book*, from a Manuscript Copy. Presently, where the reading in the common Editions is, εἶθ' ὁ κακῶν ἑτέρους ἀπαλλάξειν, &c. *Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses*, &c: the *Fuketian Copy* has it thus written, ὁ γὰ κακῶν ἑτέρους ἀπαλλάξειν καὶ συμφορᾶς περιχωθεὶς, οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμυναν εὗρεθο, &c. *For he who had promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamity, himself found nothing for his own defence.* Which reading seems to me fitter and better. In the *Kings Sheets* also I found it written εὕρεθο. *Vales.*

[e] Φάρμακον μᾶλλον. The last word is wanting in the *Kings Copy*, and may perhaps be understood. But the *other Copies* acknowledge it. In the close of this chapter, instead of ἀνετέρεψο, the *Fuketian Copy* has ἀνετέτραπο. *Vales.*

[f] The story is this, this Æsculapius, by the entreaty of *Diana*, restored to Life *Hippolitus* who had been torn in pieces by horses; whereat *Jupiter* being angry, killed him with Thunder.

* ἡμεδαπῆ βασιλέως, *Of our country Emperour.*

CHAP. LVII.

How the Heathens having rejected their Idols, returned to the knowledge of God.

WHatever persons therefore had heretofore been addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, when with their own eyes they saw their own errour confuted, and actually beheld the Ruine of the Temples and Images in all places; some of them came over to the salutary Doctrine of Christ: but others, although they refused to do that, yet condemned the vanity of their fore-fathers, and laught at and derided those which by them had heretofore been accounted Gods. And indeed, how could they forbear having such thoughts as these, when under an external beauty and splendour of the Images, they saw so much filth and impurity lie concealed within? For either the Bones of dead Bodies, and dry skulls [a] stoln by the frauds of Conjurers, were within them: or else, nasty rags and clouts stuft with abominable filth; or lastly, a bundle of hay and straw. Which after they beheld heapt together within their soulless images, they blamed both their own and their fathers extream folly of 'tis truer

[a] Τοῦτων περιεργίας ἐσκαωρημένα. In the *King's*, *Fuketian*, and *Savilian Copies* written ἐσκαωρημμένα. Which word *Christophorson* renders thus, *calvæ præstigiatorum dolis callidè obtectæ, skulls craftily covered by the frauds of Conjurers.* Which translation I approve not of; and had rather render it *subreptæ, stoln*, or else *adornatæ & ad maleficia comparatæ, trimmed and made ready for mischievous Facts.* For Bones and Skulls are the instruments of Conjurers, whereof they made use in order to their mischievous acts. *Vales.*

mind; especially when they perceived, that within those their * *Adyta*, and within the Images themselves, there was no Inhabitant, [b] no *Dæmon*, no Utterer of Oracles, no God, no Prophet, as they had before perswaded themselves; no not so much as an impotent or obscure *phantome*. And therefore every dark Cavern, and every secret Recess was readily opened to those sent by the Emperour: the *Adyta* also, and places before inaccessible, as likewise the inmost parts of the Temples, were trodden by the feet of the Souldiers. So that, hereby was discovered and exposed to publick view that blindness of mind, wherein all the Heathens had for so long a time been kept involved.

* Or, *Inaccessible Recesses.*

[b] In *his Panegyrick concerning* Constantine's *Tricennalia*, *chap.* 8, these words are placed otherwise, in this manner, ὁ δαίμων, ὁ θεὸς, ὁ χρησμῳδὸς, ὁ μάντις, *no Dæmon, no God, no Utterer of Oracles, no Prophet*: which I do indeed like better. *Vales.*

CHAP. LVIII

That having demolished Venus's *Temple at* Heliopolis, *He was the first who built* [*a Church there.*]

[a] ANd these things may deservedly be recounted amongst the Emperour's famous Actions; as likewise those matters particularly constituted by him in several Provinces. Of which sort is that [which we have seen performed by him] at *Heliopolis* a City of *Phœnice*. In which City the Heathens who honoured obscene Lust with the appellation [of the Goddess *Venus*,] permitted their wives and daughters to commit whoredom with impunity. But now a new and modest Law is issued out from the Emperour, whereby 'tis cautioned, that no one of those usages heretofore common amongst them, shall in future be in any wise audaciously practised. And to these persons he again transmitted instructions in writing; for he [b] was * appointed by God for this reason chiefly, that he might instruct all men in the Laws of Temperance. Wherefore, he accounted it not a thing below himself, to Preach even to these persons by his own Letter, and to exhort them to hasten to the knowledge of God. And in that place he added works consonant to his words, erecting even amongst them a [c] most spacious Church with the Edifices belonging thereto. In so much that, [d] what had no where been heard of by any preceding age whatever,

[a] This whole passage, as far as *the Heathens who honoured*, &c. is wanting in the *Kings Copy* and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. But it has been added by Learned men, from the authority of Manuscripts. *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savil* found it in *their Copies*; and we also saw it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, at the margin. But the reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is larger by one word, thus, τοῖς βασιλέως εἰκότως ἀναθεὶν, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Sent.*

[b] Περιγεγράφως ἀποσταλεὶς. The last word is wanting in the *Kings Copy* and *Stephens's Edition*. Wherefore 'tis to be considered, whether we had not the *Turnebian*, *Savilian*, and *Fuketian Manuscripts* do defend the writing of the *Geneva Edition*, I am of opinion, that it is to be retained. *Vales.*

better read περιγραφῶς, *in the first place*. But, whereas

[c] Οἶκον ἐυκτήριον ἐκκλησίας τε μέγιστον. I doubt not but it should be written οἶκον ἐυκτήριον ἐκκλησίας, νεώντε μέγιστον. For so *Eusebius* is wont to express himself, as I have remarked above. And by οἶκον ἐυκτήριον he means *Basilicam, a Church*; but by νεὼν he means *the whole compass or inclosure of the Church*, that is, *the Porch, Atrium or Court, Porticus's, Exhedræ, Baptisteries, and the other Edifices which are wont to be annext to Churches*. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is οἶκον ἐυκτήριον ἐκκλησίας μέγιστον. *Vales.*

[d] Any one may, not without reason, wonder, why *Eusebius* should say it was a thing unheard-of by all ages, that a City addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, should receive a Church and a Bishop. For that had hapned to other Cities also at that time. But perhaps *Eusebius* means, that this was a thing new and unheard-of, that a Church

Church of God had been built in that City, wherein as yet there was no *Christians*, but all persons equally adored Idols. This Church therefore was built by *Constantine* at *Heliopolis*, in hope rather than for necessity; to wit, that he might invite all the Citizens to the profession of the Christian Religion. A little after, the reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is ἔργα τυχεῖν, truer than in the ordinary Editions, where 'tis ἔργον. *Vales.*

was then first of all really compleated; and a City of men addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, was vouchsafed a Church of God, and Presbyters and Deacons; and a Bishop consecrated to the supream God, presided over the inhabitants of that place. Moreover, the Emperour taking great care that many persons might come over to the Faith of Christ, made large distributions there, in order to the relief of the poor: and in this wise he perswaded and invited men to the salutary Doctrine, in a manner uttering those very words spoken by Saint *Paul*; * *whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached.*

* *Philip.* 1. 18.

CHAP. LIX.

Concerning the disturbance raised at Antioch *on* Eustathius's *account.*

BUt, whilst all persons passed their lives in the greatest joy imaginable on account of these [Blessings,] and the Church of God was all manner of ways exalted amongst all Nations every where; the envy [of the Devil,] who is always contriving Plots against the Good, began again to make an insurrection against this so great a prosperity of our affairs: supposing, that the Emperour, † exasperated at our disturbances and indecencies, would in future have his affection towards us alienated. Having therefore kindled a great fire, he ‖ filled the Church of *Antioch* with Tragical Calamities: in so much that, there wanted but little of the whole Citie's being utterly subverted. [a] For the people of the Church were divided into two Factions; and the Commonalty of the City in an hostile manner were so highly enraged against the Magistrates themselves, and the [b] Milice: that, they were just upon the point of drawing their Swords, had not the providence of God, and the fear of the Emperour, repress the violence of the multitude. And here the clemency of the Emperour, like a Saviour and Physitian of souls, did again by discourse administer a Cure to those distempered. For he dispatcht away thither one of those about him, whom he had had tryal of, a person honoured with the dignity of a *Comes*, a man eminently trusty and faithfull; [by whom he spake] to those people in a most gracious manner. And by Letter after Letter he exhorted them to entertain thoughts of Peace; and taught them to practise such things as were agreeable to the divine Religion. And at length he prevailed with them; and excused them in those Letters he wrote to them, affirming that he himself had publickly heard [c] him who had been the occasioner of that Tumult. And these Letters of his, which were filled with no ordinary Learning and Utility, I had inserted at this place, had they not set a Brand of infamy on the persons † guilty. Wherefore I will at present omit them, being resolved not to renew the memory of mischiefs: and will only annex those Letters to this Work, which he wrote to [d] expres the joy and satisfaction of his own mind in reference to the Peace and agreement of others. In which Letters he entreats them, that they would not in any wise challenge to themselves the Prelate of another place, by whose intervention they had made up a Peace amongst themselves; but that, agreeable to the Canon of the Church, they should rather choose him Bishop, whom [our Lord] himself the Common Saviour of all, should design [for that office.] He writes therefore both to the people, and also to the Bishops, severally, these following [Letters.]

† Or, *Wearied out with.*

‖ Or, *Encompassed.*

† Or, *Accused.*

[c] He means *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, as 'tis apparent from the Contents of this chapter. Whom when the *Eusebians* [that is, *the party of* Eusebius *Bishop of* Nicomedia] had by fraud and calumny ejected out of his own See, a great tumult was raised at *Antioch.*

This hapned on the year of Christ 329, (as may apparently be gathered from *Philostorgius's second Book*;) or on the year 330, as *Theodoret* seems to assert, book 2. chap. 31. For he writes, that *Meletius* was translated to the See of *Antioch* thirty years after *Eustathius*'s Deposition. Now, 'tis manifest that *Meletius* was translated to *Antioch* on the year of Christ 360. Wherefore, I can't assent to the *most illustrious Cardinal Baronius*, who being always angry with *our Eusebius*, whilst he refuses to follow his account, hath confounded all things. For he says that this Tumult hapned at *Antioch* on the year of Christ 324, that is on the very year before the *Nicene Synod*, then, when *Eustathius* was created Bishop of *Antioch*: whereas *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* do attest, that this Tumult had happned at the deposition of this *Eustathius*. But *Baronius* proves by most evident arguments, as he himself supposes, that *Eustathius* was ejected out of the See of *Antioch*, not under the Reign of the Emperour *Constantine*, but in that of *Constantius*. Let us see therefore, with what arguments he endeavours to make this out. In the first place he cites a passage out of *Athanasius's Epistle ad solitarios*, about the beginning. *Fuit*, says he, *quidam Eustathius Episcopus Antiochiæ*, &c. *There was one* Eustathius *Bishop of* Antioch, *a person famous for confession*, &c. *whom the men of the* Arian *Opinion had accused to* Constantius *by a forged calumny in such a manner, as if he had been contumelious towards the Emperours Mother.* But I affirm, that in this passage of *Athanasius*, instead of *Constantius*, *Constantine* is to be written. Which emendation is confirmed by those words immediately added concerning the Emperour's Mother. For he means *Helena*, who about this time had come into the East. For these words can't in any wise be meant of *Fausta*, who had been put to death above twenty years before, if we follow *Baronius*'s computation. But the passage of Saint *Jerom*, out of *his book de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, makes little for *Baronius*, in regard in the *Old Editions*, as also *in that of Lyons* which I have, 'tis plainly written, *sub Constantino Principe missus est in exilium*, *was sent into Exile under the Emperour* Constantine. Wherefore, I had rather follow *Eusebius* here, than *Baronius*. Nor do I see, how so great stirs could have been made at the Creation of *Eustathius*, (of which stirs there is mention in the *Emperour Constantine's Letter*,) that to appease them a *Comes* was to be sent, and so many Letters written by the Emperour. Besides, *Constantine* says in *his Letter*, that he had publickly heard him who had been the Author of that whole Sedition; to wit, *Eustathius*, whom he had ordered to come to Court, and had banisht him into *Thracia*. And this *Athanasius* in his before-mentioned Letter, accounts as *the first Exploit* of the *Arians*; which thing is to be remarked. For this was done before the *Synod of Tyre*, which was convened against *Athanasius*, that is before the year of Christ 334. *Athanasius* therefore does right in beginning the History of the War which the *Arians* brought upon the Catholick Church, from *Eustathius*'s deposition, as from the first Exploit of the *Arians*: which having succeeded according to their wish, they thought that all other matters would in future be ready and easie. Further, *Baronius*'s Opinion is refuted as well from what we have said above, as from this, because *Flaccillus* (who after *Paulinus* and *Eulalius* succeeded *Eustathius*,) is mentioned amongst those Bishops present at the Synod at *Tyre*, by *Athanasius* in *his Apology to the Emperour Constantius*; as *Jacobus Gothofredus* has well observed in *his Dissertations on the second book of* Philostorgius. *Vales.*

[a] Διαφεῖδε. I reade διαιρεθέντων γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαῶν, from *Socrates* book 1. chap. 24. But this whole place is thus to be restored from the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turnebian Copies*: εἰς δύο μὲν δὴ τμήματα διήρητο ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαός. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, αὐλοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ στρατιώταις, πολεμίων τρόπον ὅπλοις τοῦτον ἀνακεκίνητο; *For the people*, &c, as we have rendred it. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς. *Christophorson* renders it ill, *Milites præsidiarios*, *the Souldiers in Garrison.* For *the Milites Præsidiarii* were in *Castles*, not in *Cities*. I suppose therefore that those Souldiers are meant, who had performed their service in the wars; as likewise *the Officials* of the *Comes of the East*, and of the *Consularis* of *Syria.* Vales.

[d] Τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδυμένῳ. It must be ἐνδυμένῳ, as *Christophorson* seems to have read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

CHAP. LX.

Constantine's Letter to the *Antiochians*, that they should not draw away *Eusebius* from *Cæsarea*; but should seek another [Bishop.]

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To the people of *Antioch*.

HOw gratefull and pleasing is the Concord amongst You * to all the prudent and wise men of this Age! Even I my Self, Brethren, have determined to embrace You with an everlasting affection; being invited thereto both † by the Rule of Religion, and by your way of Life, and also by your love and favour. This is most certainly the genuine product of Blessings, to || act with an understanding that is right and sound. For what can so much become you? [a] Wonder not therefore, if I shall affirm the Truth to have been to you * a cause of safety, rather than of hatred. Indeed, amongst Brethren (to whom one and the same affection of mind, and a progress in the way that is right and just, doth by Gods assistance promise an enrollment into the pure and holy family;) what [b] can be more goodly and valuable, than with a joy and unanimity of mind to rest contented at their beholding the Blessings of all men? Especially, in regard the instruction of the divine Law incites [c] your purpose of mind to † a greater perfection, and because 'tis our desire that your judgment should be confirmed by the best determinations. This will perhaps seem strange to you; what namely this preface of our || Letter should mean. Truly, I will neither avoid, nor refuse to declare the reason of this matter. For I confess that I have perused the Acts, wherein both from your honourable commendations and Testimonies in reference to Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, (whom I my Self also have long since very well known, on account as well of his Learning as his Modesty;) I perceive you have an [d] inclination towards him, and are desirous of making him your own. What, think you, came into my mind, who am [e] earnestly hastning to an accurate disquisition of * what is right and true? What a care and solicitude [do you believe me] to have taken on account of that your desire? O Holy Faith, which by the Words and Precepts of our Saviour dost exhibite to us as 'twere an express † representation of Life; with what trouble wouldest even Thou thy self resist || Sinners, unless Thou shouldest wholly refuse to serve in order to gain and favour! Indeed to Me, he seemes to have [f] conquered even Victory her self, who * makes Peace his more earnest study and endeavour. For where that which is decent, is lawfull to any one, no body can be found who is not highly pleased with it. I beseech you therefore, Brethren, on what account should we so determine, as thereby to procure others an injury? For what reason do we follow those things, which will certainly overthrow the Faith of Our Opinion? Indeed, I do highly praise that person, who by you also is approved of as worthy of honour and affection. Nevertheless, that (which amongst all should remain firm and ratified,) ought not in such a manner to have been * enervated, as that all persons should not be contented [g] with their own Limits, nor all enjoy their domestick Blessings; and that in a search after those who might equally seem worthy of the Bishoprick, not only one, but many persons should not be † produced comparatively of equall worth with || this person. For when neither * Terrour nor Roughness gives any disturbance to Ecclesiastick Honours, it happens that those [Honours] are alike in themselves, and † are in all things equally desireable. Nor is it agreeable to reason, that a deliberation concerning this matter should be made [h] to the injury of others: in regard the minds of all men, whether they may seem to be [i] meaner or more illustrious do equally ad-

* Or, *To the prudence and wisedom of the world.*
† Or, *By the Law.*
‖ Or, *Have made use of.*
[a] Οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι ἄν. This place is corrupted; the meaning of it I have pick't out as well as I could. And in the first place, I think it must be made θαυμάσατε, *wonder not therefore.* Then, a little after write thus, οἷς μία τε καὶ αὐτὴ διάθεσις δι' ὀρθῆς τε καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ πορεία πρὸς θεὸν κατεπαγγέλλεται, *to whom one*, &c; as the reading is in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, whereto Sr *Henry Savil's*, *and Turnebus's* book do in part agree. *Vales.*

* Or, *An occasion of salvation.*
† Or, *A more beautifull direction.*
‖ Or, *Discourse.*
[b] Τί ἂν τιμιώτερον γένοιτο. After these words *Scaliger* and others have inserted these, τὸ δι' εὐτυχίας, which I found written also in *Moræus's book*. But I can't approve of this their conjecture. For, what should the meaning of δι' εὐτυχίας be? I had much rather read thus, ἢ τοῖς πάντων καλοῖς χαίρουσι ὁμογνωμονεῖν, *than with a joy*, &c. For, *Constantine* says that it does not become *Christians* to grieve at the Blessings of others, and to draw away the Bishops of neighbouring Cities from their own Churches, because they may be eminent for knowledge and virtue. For the *Antiochians* would have done that; who, after they had deposed *Eustathius*, requested, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* might be made their Prelate. In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the word γένοιτο, there is a point set at the top. Then the reading is, τοῦτο δ' εὐτυχίας τοῖς, &c. Nor is it otherwise in *Turnebus's Copy*. Sr *Henry Savil* had mended it thus at the margin of *his Copy*; τὸ δ' εὐτυχίας τῆς πάντων καλῶς, &c. Which reading, whether it proceeded from conjecture, or was taken out of some *Manuscript Copy*, I can't approve of. Indeed I had rather reade thus; τί ἂν τιμιώτερον γένοιτο τὸ διαλυχθέντας τοῖς πάντων καλοῖς ὁμογνωμονεῖν; that the meaning may be the same with that which I have set above. *Vales.*

[c] Τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν. *Christophorson* did not rightly understand this place. For *Constantine* means that earnestness or vehemency of their minds, wherewith the *Antiochians* had purposed to procure *Eusebius* to be their Bishop. As a little afterwards by the term κρίσιν he means *the Judgment* wherewith they had elected the same person. I read therefore, καὶ πῶς ὑμετέραν ἐν κρίσιν βεβαιοῦς τοῖς ἀληθεῖς, &c; *and because 'tis our desire that your judgment*, &c: as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*. Vales.

[d] Ἐγκειμένους ἀνδρὶ τὸν σφέτερον ἐξομοιῶσαι. In the *Old Sheets of the King's Library* the reading is ἐγκειμοίως, which pleases me mightily. But the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* give us another reading, ἐγκειμένους καὶ σφετερίζομένους. *Vales.*

[e] Ἐπιζήτησιν σπουδομένου. I doubt not but it should be written ἐπειγόμενον, *earnestly hastning to.* In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written σπεύδομένου. It might also be made ἐπεγειρόμενον, *who am raised.* Vales.

[f] Αὐτῆς τῆς νίκης φιλειρηνοῦσης. A most elegant sentence, which *Christophorson* understood not. *Indeed to me*, says *Constantine*, *he seems to have conquered Victory her self, who is earnestly studious of Peace.* Therefore, after the word ἀντιποιούμενος [or, *endeavour*, in *our Version*] a point must be placed; as 'tis in the *Kings and Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Old Sheets*. Vales.

[g] Τοῖς ἰδίοις γνώμαις ἔχειν ὅρους καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι. That is, every one should be contented with their own Limits. For γνώμων is a *Boundary* or *Limit of grounds*; whence those Writers are termed *Gnomatici*, who have written concerning the Boundaries of fields. After the same way ὅρος is promiscuously taken amongst *Græcians*, as well for *a Sentence*, as *a Limit*. For as a Limit does bound Fields, so does a Sentence terminate strifes and controversies. Further, in my judgment it should be writen, ἐχέμυθος ἀρκεῖσθαι. For it follows, καὶ ἴδιον οἰκεῖον πάντας ἀπολαύειν. Although in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* the reading is, πάντων ἀπολαύειν, *nor enjoy all their domestick*, &c. *Vales.*

[h] Εἰς ἕτερον πλεονέκτημα, *to another injury.* It must be written εἰς ἑτέρου πλεονέκτημα, *to the injury of others.* *'Tis not becoming*, says *Constantine*, *that a deliberation of this nature about the choosing a Bishop into* Eustathius's *place*, *should bring an injury upon others. Nor ought ye to spoil other Churches.* A little after, I am of the same opinion with *Scaliger* and *Christophorson*, who have mended it thus, τῆς πάντων διανοίας. And so I found it written in the *Fuk. and Savil. Copies*, and in *the Old Sheets*. Vales. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis πάντως.

[i] Ἄν τ' ἐλάττους, ἄν τε μείζους. That is, *whether they be inhabitants of a lesser City, such as is Cæsarea; or of a greater City, of which sort is* Antioch. *All*, says he, *as well the Citizens of smaller, as of greater Cities, are equal with God. Wherefore lesser Towns are not to be deprived of their Bishops. Constantine* had said the same a little before; namely, *that Ecclesiastick Honours are all equal, and are to be accounted of equal value.* Vales.

* Or, *More earnestly strives for Peace.*
* Or, *Weakened.*
† Or, *Proposed.*
‖ *Eusebius.*
* Ἐκπλήξεως ὄντος τοῦ τραχύτητος; *Valesius* renders it, *neither roughness nor violence.*
† Or, *Are to be accounted of equal price*; so *Valesius.*

mit

* *Decrees* † Or, *Law.*

mit of and keep the divine * Dogmata; *ſo that, as to what relates to the Common* † *Faith, one ſort of perſons are in nothing inferiour to another.*

k These words may be referred to the preceding period. And ſo after the verb ὑποφαινόμεθα a full point is to be ſet, and the place rendred thus: *So that ſome perſons (as to what relates to the Common Faith,) are in no wiſe inferiour to others, if we ſhould plainly ſpeak the truth. Wherefore, this is not to detain a man, but to take him away by force,* &c. And thus this place is pointed in the *Old Sheets*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Multitudes.*

k *But ſhould we plainly declare the Truth, any one might with good reaſon affirm, that this is not to detain a man, but rather to take him away by force; and, that what is done is an act of Violence, not of Juſtice. And whether the* * *generality of the people think thus, or otherwiſe, I my ſelf do plainly and boldly affirm, that this buſineſs gives occaſion for an accuſation, and does raiſe the diſturbance of no ſmall tumult. For, even lambs do ſhew the* † *force and ſtrength of their teeth, as often as (the uſual care and Concern of their Shepherd for them growing more remiſs,) they perceive themſelves deprived of their former guidance and looking to. Now, if theſe things be thus, and if we are not miſtaken; in the firſt place, Brethren, conſider this. (For many, and thoſe great advantages will offer themſelves to you even at the very beginning.) Firſt of all* [*I ſay conſider this;*] *whether the* ‖ *affection and love you have one towards another will not be ſenſible of ſome abatement of it ſelf. Then* [*weigh this alſo,*] *that that perſon who* l *came to you on account of good advice, does from the divine Judgment reap to himſelf the due fruit of Honour; in regard he has received no mean favour from that Honourable Teſtimony which you by a general conſent have given of His* * *Virtue. Laſtly* [*conſider,*] m *that 'tis agreeable to your uſage, to make uſe of a care and diligence which becometh good judgment, in your looking out for ſuch a man as you ſtand in need of; ſo as that you may avoid all manner of tumultuous and diſorderly Clamour. For ſuch ſort of Clamour is always* † *noxious;* n *and from the* * *collision of ſeveral men one againſt the other, ſparks and fires are uſually raiſed. May I therefore ſo pleaſe God and you, and may I ſo leade a Life agreeable to your deſires and wiſhes, as I Love you, and the* Calm Port of your Mildneſs; o *ſince you have caſt out that filth, and inſtead thereof have brought in Concord with good Morals, and have put up* [*A-boord your Ship*] *the firm Flag* [*of the Croſs;*]

† Or, *Nature.*

‖ Or, *Ingenuity.*

l From theſe words it may be gathered, that our *Euſebius* had come to *Antioch* together with the reſt of the Biſhops, who in a Synod had condemned *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*; and that the *Antiochians*, after *Euſtathius*'s depoſition, had a mind to keep him with them. This is what *Conſtantine* has ſaid above, ἐκ κάθειξιν, ἀλλ' ἀφάιρεσιν μᾶλλον, *this is not a detention, but rather the taking away of a man by violence. Theodoret* tells us the ſame, *book* 1. *chap.* 22. Valeſ.

* Or, *Probity.*

m Ὁ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωφθείας. I think it muſt be written ὅπ τῆς ὑμετέρας, &c. For the verb σκέψασθε, *conſider*, is to be underſtood in common. But if any one has a mind to defend the common reading, I ſhall not much reſiſt him. Valeſ.

† Or, *Unjuſt.*

n Καὶ κ τῆς ἧς διαφορᾶς συσκειόσεως, *and from the companing of ſeveral perſons togeſher.* It would doubtleſs be better to read thus, τῆς ἧς διαφορᾶν συσκρόσεως; that is, *from the colliſion of many men, ſparks and flames are uſually raiſed.* The *Fuketian Copy* hath at length confirmed our conjecture to us; wherein I found it plainly written συσκρόσεως. Valeſ.

* Knocking, or, beating together.

o Ἐξ ἧς τὸν ῥῦπον ἐκεῖνον ὑποπάλωσι. *Chriſtophorſon* renders this place thus: *Ex quo portu ſordibus ſeditionis præcritæ ejectis, pacato mentis ſtatu concordiam in earum locum inducite: Out of which port having ejected the filth of your paſt Sedition, in place thereof do you bring in Concord with a calm temper of mind.* But in this Verſion, there are many things which I can't approve of. For firſt, I am not pleaſed with his making ῥῦπον ἐκεῖνον to mean *the filth of Sedition.* In my judgment *Conſtantine* ſeems to hint at that cauſe, on account whereof *Euſtathius* had been depoſed; to wit, the debauching of a certain woman; concerning which whoredome conſult *Theodoret*, *book* 1. *chap.* 21. The ſame thing is likewiſe intimated by *Conſtantine* a little after this, where he ſays, πᾶν γὰ τὸ ναῦν λυμαινόμενον ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀντλίας ἀνάλωται. That is, *For, whatever could any way defile the veſſel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere.* At which place nevertheleſs, *Chriſtophorſon* does again render it *the filth of Sedition.* But, how *filth* can be a term properly uſed in reference to Sedition I can't indeed perceive. But no body can doubt, but it may be very properly ſpoken in reference to that incontinency wherewith *Euſtathius* was charged. There is a Metaphor here, taken from *Ports*, which are wont to be cleanſed, as often as they are ſtopt up with ſand, mud, or ſuch like filth. Now, thoſe words ἐξ ἧς may be rendred *adverbially*; and ſo the reading muſt be ἀντλειστευέσθαι, which diſpleaſes me not. *May I ſo pleaſe God*, ſays *Conſtantine*, *as I Love you, and the port of your Lenity, after having caſt out that filth, you have brought in Concord with good Morals.* Indeed, this meaning pleaſes me much better than the common reading. For now the *Antiochians* were quiet, and the Sedition was appeaſed, at ſuch time as *Conſtantine* wrote *this Letter*, as 'tis apparent from its beginning. *Valeſ.*

p *Steering a proſperous courſe to the Light it ſelf, with Rudders of Iron, as one may ſay. Wherefore,* q *convey on Boord your Ship the incorruptible* Cargo. *For, whatever could any way defile the Veſſel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere. Now therefore, uſe your utmoſt endeavours, that your enjoyment* r *of all theſe Bleſſings may be ſuch, as you may not a ſecond time ſeem, either to have determined any thing at all, with an inconſiderate and unprofitable deſire, or from the beginning to have attempted what is diſagreeable. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!*

p Δεόμον τῷ ἑφτὸν εἰς φῶς δεχμεύσες, *Steering a celeſtial courſe to the Light it ſelf.* I think it muſt be made δεόμον θεῖον, *a proſperous Courſe*. For 'tis a Metaphor taken from Navigation. In *Sophocles*, θεῖος δεόμος is uſed to ſignifie *a happy Voyage by Sea*; and *a Ship which Sails with a proſperous gale of Wind*, is by *Græcians* termed θειοδεγμῶσα ναῦς. *Valeſ.*

q Τὸν ἄφθαρτον φόρτον ἀγεῖτε. This whole Letter is in many places faulty; but eſpecially this clauſe does abound with miſtakes. For, what is the meaning of theſe words? I doubt not but it muſt be read thus, ἄφθαρτον φόρτον ἄγετε, *convey on Boord*, &c. *Conſtantine* does here make uſe of a continued Metaphor taken from Navigation, and compares Chriſtians to Merchants who make Voyages on account of Trade. *Saile on*, ſays he, *with a proſperous Courſe to the eternal Light, having erected the Flag of the Croſs in your Ships, and carry on Boord your Veſſel the incorruptible Goods. For now, whatever could have endammaged the Ship, is Pumpt out.* Thus, by making a ſmall, and in a manner no alteration, the meaning does now appear elegant and plain. *Valeſ.*

r Τῷ ἧς ἁπάντων. It muſt, I think, be written in on word, ἓν τῶν; as Sr *Henry Savil* had mended it in *his Copy*. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ὑπάλαιον ἧς ἁπάντων. The cloſe of *this Letter* is in my judgment thus to be reſtored; ἢ καθόλυ τι προξένσας, ἢ τὸ ἀρχὸν ὀπηγειῶσαι μὴ συμφέρον δοκοίησε. Which reading I have followed in *my Verſion*. *Conſtantine* terms the deſire which the *Antiochians* had manifeſted towards *Euſebius*, when they coveted him to be their Biſhop, ἄζυλον σπυδὴν, *an inconſiderate deſire*. The affection of the *Antiochians* towards *Euſtathius* may alſo be meant; at whoſe depoſition they were vext, and had raiſed a Sedition. In the *Fuk. Sav.* and *Turneb. Copies*, this place is written thus, ἐπιχειρῆσαι ὃ μὴ συμφέρον ἦ ἡμεῖς δοκοίησε. But the reading is plainer which we found in the *Old Sheets*, ὀπηχειρῆσαι μὴ συμφέρον δοκοίησε. Valeſ.

CHAP. LXI.

Constantine's Letter to *Eusebius*, wherein he commends Him for His Refusal of [the See of] *Antioch.*

The Emperour's Letter [a] to Us, after our Refusal of the Bishoprick of *Antioch.*

[a] This Title was written by *Eusebius* himself, as 'tis apparent. For He himself says concerning himself, πρὸς ἡμᾶς, *to us.* Wherefore, there was no need of any other Title. Further, hence it may be plainly gathered, that *these Books* were written by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea.* Which, notwithstanding it may be proved by innumerable arguments and testimonies; yet I wonder at *James Gothofred*, who has been so bold as to deny it. In the *Fuketian Copy*, which has the *Contents* or *Titles* prefixt before every Chapter, these words are wanting. But in the *Kings Sheets* they are written at the margin. *Vales.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Eusebius.*

I Have perused your Letter very often; and have found that you do most exactly observe the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline. For, to persist in those Sentiments which appear both acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apostolick Tradition, is an eminent degree of Piety. You may account your self blessed even in this very thing, because by the testimony of the whole world, as I may say, you have been judged worthy [b] *to be Bishop over the whole Church. For, whereas all persons desire you to be* [*Bishop*] *amongst them, without question they increase this your felicity. But* Your prudence ([c] *which hath resolved to observe the commands of God, and the Apostolick Canon, and that of the Church,*) *has acquitted it self incomparably well. in regard it hath refused the Bishoprick of the Church at* Antioch; *and hath endeavoured to continue in that See rather, the presidency over which by the will of God it had at first undertaken. Further, concerning this matter I have written a Letter to the people, and to those other persons your Colleagues, who also themselves wrote to me in relation to the same affairs. Which Letters when* Your * Holiness *shall have perused, it will easily understand, that, because Justice seemed to Resist them, I have written unto them by the impulse of the Deity. It will behove* Your prudence *also to be present at their* † *Council, to the end this very thing may be constituted in the Church of* Antioch. *God keep you, Beloved Brother.*

[b] πάσης ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι. *Baronius* (at the year of our Lord 24, *Number* 145,) expounds these words thus. *Constantine*, says he, *terms the care of the Antiochian Church the Bishoprick of the whole Church; because* Antioch *was the Metropolis of all the East.* But, with the favour of that great person be it spoken, there seems to be another sense of these words. For whereas all Cities were desirous of having *Eusebius* their Bishop, as *Constantine* attests a little after, *Eusebius* was by the consent of all worthy of the Episcopate of the whole world. *Vales.*

[c] Ἦγον τὰς τε εὐλαβὰς. In the *Fuketian Copy* and that of Sr *Henry Savil*, the reading is εἴπερ τὰς τε εὐλαβὰς. I should choose to write ἥπερ τὰς τε, &c. *which hath* &c. A little before, where the reading is σύμφωνα φαίνεται, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* add εὐαγὲς, *is an eminent degree of piety.* Vales.

* Or, *Purity.*

† Or, *Consultation.*

CHAP. LXII.

Constantine's Letter to the Synod, that *Eusebius* should not be drawn away from *Cæsarea.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS;

To [a] *Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, Aëtius, Alpheus*, and to the rest of the Bishops which are at *Antioch.*

[a] This *Theodotus* was Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*; *Narcissus* was Bishop of *Neronades* in *Cilicia*; *Aëtius* was Bishop of *Lydda* in *Palestine*: all Favourers of the *Arian Party.* Who, when they were come to *Antioch*, together with *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, deposed *Eustathius*, as *Theodoret* relates *Eccles. Hist. book* 1. *chap.* 21. But *Aëtius* betook himself afterwards to the side of the Orthodox, as *Philostorgius* attests, book 3. chap. 12; and also *Athanasius.* Now, *Alphæus* Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and lastly *Theodorus* Prelate of *Sydon* in *Phœnice* are named amongst the Bishops who subscribed to the *Nicene Synod.* Concerning *Theodotus*, *Athanasius* speaks also, in *his book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ.* Vales.

I Have read the Letter written by Your prudence, *and do highly commend the wise resolution of Your Colleague* Eusebius. *And when I had perfectly understood all transactions, partly from Your Letter, and partly from that of the* Most Perfect [b] Acacius *and* Strategius [the Comites,] *and had made a due inspection into the thing; I wrote to the people of* Antioch, *what was well pleasing to God, and befitting the Church. A Copy of which Letter I have ordered to be annext hereto, to the end You also might know, what I,* [c] *invited thereto by the way of Right, had ordered to be written to the people* [*of* Antioch:] *in as much as this was contained in Your Letter, that according to the suffrage of the people. and* [d] *the desire of Your prudence,* Eusebius *the Most Holy Bishop of the Church of* Cæsarea *might preside over the* Antiochian *Church, and undertake the care thereof.* [e] *Indeed,* Eusebius's *Letter appeared highly observant of the Ecclesiastick Canon: but 'tis meet, that Our Sentiment also should be made known to* Your prudence. [f] *For, it has been related to me, that* Euphronius *a Presbyter, who is a Citizen of* Cæsarea *in* Cappadocia, *and* [g] Georgius

[b] Concerning *Acacius Comes of the East*, if I mistake not, *Constantine* speaks above in his Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, chap. 53. But *Strategius* is he, who by another name was called *Musonianus*; concerning whom I have made several remarks in *my Notes on the* 15th *Book of Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 99. He had been sent to *Antioch* by the Emperour *Constantine*, to appease the tumult there, as *Eusebius* has said above; see *chap.* 59. Vales.

[c] Προσκληθείς, I had rather write προσκληθείς. *Vales.*

[d] Προαιρέσεως σύνεσιν, *the prudence of your desire.* I would more willingly read συναίσεως προαίρεσιν, *the desire of your prudence.* Further, from these words (which are ill understood by *Christophorson*) it appears, that the Bishops who had been convened at *Antioch*, had by their Letter requested of *Constantine*, that according to the desire of the *Antiochian* people, and themselves, *Eusebius* might be translated to the See of *Antioch.* Therefore those words, ὡς τε κατὰ τὸν τῶν λαῶν καὶ τὸν τῆς ὑμετέρας συναίσεως προαίρεσιν, are taken out of the Letter of the Bishops convened at *Antioch*, which they sent to the Emperour *Constantine.* Vales.

[e] Τὴν μὲν τὰ τῆς βίβ γράμματα. I am not displeased with the conjecture of Learned men, who have mended it τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐσεβίβ γράμματα &c, *Indeed Eusebius's* &c. The place might likewise have been restored thus, ἀπῆκται γε ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβίβ &c. But the former reading is confirmed by the authority of the *Fuketian and Savilian Copies.* Only the *postpositive Article* ἅ is to be expunged, which occurs not in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

[f] Ἀφῖκται γάρ εἰς ἐμὲ. *In the Fuketian* and Sr *Henry Savils Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; ἀφῖκται γὰρ εἰς ἐμὲ συνάξις, *For it hapned that there have come to me Euphronius* &c; which reading *Christophorson* has followed. But the common reading is far better, ἀφῖκται γὰρ εἰς ἐμὲ, that is, *I have been given to understand*, as *Musculus* renders it; or, *It has been told me.* Vales.

[g] Γεώργιον τὸν ἀρειανόν. Understand πολίτην, *a Citizen*; which word *Christophorson* perceived not was to be repeated in common. Now, πολίτης does not only signifie *a person born in some City*, but rather *such a one as has his residence in a City, and is enrolled amongst the Citizens, whether he may have been born there, or elsewhere.* Vales.

[*a Citi-*

[*a Citizen*] *of* Arethusa, *a Presbyter also* ([h] *whom* Alexander *preferred to this dignity in the City* Alexandria,) *are most approved persons in reference to the Faith.* [i] *It seemed good therefore, to give* Your prudence *notice of these men, that having* [k] *proposed them, and some others, whom You shall judge fit for the dignity of the Episcopate, You may determine such things as may be agreeable to the Tradition of the Apostles. For such matters as these having been well prepared and ordered,* Your Prudence *will be able so to direct this Election according to the Canon of the Church and Apostolick Tradition, as the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline does require. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!*

[h] *Athanasius* says the same in *his Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*; that *this George* namely, who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*, had first been ordained Presbyter by *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but was afterwards deposed by the same *Alexander* because of his impiety. In *his Apologetick also against* Constantius, *pag.* 728; he writes that the same person was deposed by *Alexander*, which very thing is plainly confirmed by the *Fathers of the Sardican Council in their Synodick Letter.* The same *Athanasius*, in the *same Book de Synodis pag.* 886, attests that *this George* resided at *Antioch.* Further, from the *Kings Sheets* I have pointed this place thus; ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατεστήσατο, εἴ τῳ πίστιν δοκιμωτάτους, whom *Alexander* &c; and so *Musculus* points the place. *Valesius.*

[i] This place seems to me to be imperfect, which is in my judgment thus to be made good: καλῶς ἂν εἶχε δηλῶσαι τῇ συνέσει ὑμῶν τούτους, ὑμᾶς δὲ προχειρισαμένους τούτους τε καὶ ἑτέρους, &c; which reading I have followed in my Version. By τούτους, *these men*, he means the foresaid *Euphronius* and *Georgius.* Of whom, *Euphronius* was afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*, and immediate successour to *Eustathius*; as *Socrates* and *Sozomen* doe relate, and also *Theodorus Mopsuestenus in Nicetas's Thesaurus Orthodox. fidei.* But this *Georgius* was, as I have said, afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τούς τε προχειρισαμένους. Further, 'tis to be noted, that men who were *Arians*, are here by *Constantine* commended for persons that were Orthodox; either because as yet they concealed their Heresie, or else in regard the *Arians* had possest themselves of the Emperour's ear and mind. *Valesius.*

[k] Προχειρισαμένους. *Christophorson* perceived nothing here. The term προχειρίζειν in elections imports thus much, *to propose* or *publickly to produce the name of some person, that it may be inquired whether he be worthy of that Office, the debate about which is in agitation.* Which very thing *Constantine* in *his Letter to the people of Antioch* expresses by the verb ἐκφῆναι. The προχειρισμὸς was followed by *an Examination*, then *the Election*, and last of all *the Ordination* or *Consecration.* See *Socrates's Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 9. *note (f.)* Valesius.

CHAP. LXIII.

In what manner He endeavoured to destroy Heresies.

SUch were the admonitions [which the Emperour gave] to the [Prelates] of the Churches, [advising them to do all things] in order to the glory and commendation of the divine Religion. But after he had made a riddance of all dissentions, and had reduced the Church of God to an agreement and Harmony of doctrine; He past from thence, and was of opinion, that another sort of impious persons were to be suppresst and destroyed, in regard they were the poyson of Mankind. These were a sort of pernicious men, who under the specious disguise of Modesty and Gravity ruined the Cities. Whom Our Saviour somewhere terms false Prophets or ravenous Wolves, in these words: * *Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits.* By the transmission of a precept therefore to the Presidents of Provinces, He put to flight the whole Tribe of these sort of persons.

* *Matt.* 7. 15, 16.

But besides this Law, the Emperour composed an enlivening * Exhortation, directed to them by name; wherein he incited those men to hasten their repentance: For [he told them] that the Church of God would be to them a Port of † safety. But, hear in what manner || He discourst even to these persons, in his Letter to them.

* Or, *Instruction.*
† Or, *Salvation.*
|| Ὡμίλει; *Valesius* renders it, *he Preaches.*

CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Constitution against the Hereticks.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To the Hereticks.

ACknowledge now by the benefit of this Law, (O ye Novatianists, Valentinians, Marcionists, Pauliani; *and you who are termed* Cataphrygæ; *in a word, all of you, who by your private Meetings, breed and* * *compleat Heresies!*) *in how many Lyes the* † *vanity of your Opinions is wrapt up, and in what manner your Doctrine is* || *compounded of certain pernicious poysons: in so much that, by you the healthy are reduced to weakness, and the living to a perpetual death: Ye Enemies of Truth, ye Adversaries of Life, and ye Councellours of destruction! All things amongst you are contrary to Truth; agreeable to filthy impieties;* [a] *stuft with absurdities and fictions: whereby you compose Lyes, afflict the Innocent, and deny Believers the light. And, sinning continually under a Mask of Divinity, you defile all things! Ye wound the innocent and pure consciences* [*of men*] *with blows that are mortal and deadly; and ye ravish even the day it self (I had almost said,) from the eyes of men. But what necessity is there of recounting every particular? Especially, since neither the shortness of the time, nor the urgency of Our Affairs will suffer Us to speak concerning your* * *Crimes according as they deserve. For, your impieties are so large and immense, so filthy and full of all manner of outragiousness, that a whole day would not be sufficient for a description of them. And besides, 'tis fit we should remove our ears and turn away our eyes from things of this nature, least by a particular declaration of them, the pure and sincere* † *alacrity of Our Faith should be defiled. What reason is there then that We should any longer tolerate such Mischiefs? Especially since Our long* [b] *forbearance is the cause, that even those who are sound, become infected with this pestilential distemper as 'twere. Why therefore do we not immediately cut off the roots (as we may so term them) of such a mischief by a publick animadversion?*

* Or, *Perfect.*
† Or, *Vanity amongst you is,* &c.
|| *Contained in,* or, *beset with.*

[a] Ἀτοπίαις καὶ δόγμασι χρῆμα. In the *Fuketian Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*, I found it χαίρουσα, *rejoycing in*; according as *Scaliger, Christophorson* and others found it in their Copies. *Valesius* renders it *referta, stuft*; on what account I know not.

* Or, *Mischiefs.*

† Or, *Activity.*

[b] Παρεμπύμησις. Perhaps it should be παρενδύμησις, *negligence* and *forgetfulness.* In the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*, the reading is ὑπέρθεσις, *delay.* A little after, from the *Fuketian Copy* I write διὰ δημοσίας ἐπιστροφείας, *by a publick animadversion.* Valesius. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis ἐπιστροφίας. *Valesius.*

CHAP. LXV.

Concerning the taking away the Meeting-places of hereticks.

*WHerefore, in as much as this perniciousness of your improbity is not any longer to be born with, We declare by this Law, that no one of you shall in future dare to hold Assemblies. And therefore We have given order, that all those your houses, wherein you hold such Assemblies, shall be taken away: and this Care [of Our Majesty] does extend so far, as that the congregations of your superstitious madness shall not meet together, not only in publick, but neither in a private house, nor in any places, whereto the Right or Title is peculiar. Therefore, what ever persons amongst you are studious of the true and pure Religion, (which is a thing far more commendable and better,) let them come over to the Catholick Church, and hold communion with its sanctity; by the assistance whereof they may arrive at the Truth. But, let the Errour of your perverted mindes, I mean the execrable and pernicious dissent of Hereticks and Schismaticks, be wholly separated from the felicity of Our Times. For it becomes Our Blessedness, which by God's assistance We enjoy, that they who lead their lives [buoy'd up] with good hopes, should be reduced from all manner of * Extravagant Errour to the right way; from darkness to the light; from Vanity to the Truth; Lastly, from Death to Salvation. And, to the end that the force and power of this Remedy may be effectual and prevalent, We have given order, that [a] all the Conventicles of your Superstition, as We have said above, I mean the Oratories of all sorts of Hereticks, (if it be fit to term them Oratories,) shall without any contradiction [b] be taken away, and without any delay delivered to the Catholick Church: but, that the rest of the places shall be adjudged to the publick: and, that no Licence shall be left to you [c] of holding Meetings there in future. So that, from this present day, your illegal Congregations shall not dare to meet, either in any publick or private place. [d] Let it be published.*

* Or, *Disorderly.*

[a] Ὑπὸ πάντα τὰ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. The first word must be expunged, as superfluous. In the *Fuketian, Savil.* and *Turnebian Copies*, the reading is ὑπὸ πάντα: perhaps it should be, ὑπὸπαν τὸ, &c; *that the Conventicles —— shall wholly be taken away.* Valesf.

[b] Ἀφαιρεθέντας. *Christophorson* did ill in rendring it *diruta pull'd down.* For *Constantine* does not order the Churches of Hereticks to be pull'd down, but to be taken from them, and given to the Catholick Church. There are the like Constitutions of the Emperours in the *Theodosian Code*, in *the Title de Hæreticis.* Further, from this Law of *Constantine* the *Novatianists* had before been excepted, as 'tis apparent from *the second Law* in *the same Title.* But in *this last Sanction of Constantine*, they are included, together with the other Hereticks and Schismaticks. *Valesf.*

[c] Τῷ συναλσεῖν. The reading in the *Fuketian Copy* is truer, thus, τῷ συνάξειν. For συνάξειν is the proper term to denote this thing. The *Latines* in one word call it *colligere*, as may be proved by many instances. Whence *they* term that *Collecta*, which in *Greek* is σύναξις. *Optatus* (in *his Second Book*, where he speaks concerning the Bishops of the *Donatists* in the City *Rome*,) has this passage. *Sed quia quibusdam Afris urbica placuerat commoratio, & hinc a vobis profecti Videbantur, ipsi petierunt, ut aliquis hinc qui illos colligeret mitteretur.* And a little after. *Non enim Grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui intra quadraginta & quod excurrit, basilicas, locum, ubi colligerent non habebant.* Valesf.

[d] Πεσθήτω. *Christophorson* understood not this word; it was usually added to the laws and Constitutions of Princes, and sometimes in their own hand. So in *Theodosius's Novell de reddito Jure armorum*, it occurs; *Et Manu divinâ. Proponatur amantissimo nostri populo, Rom.* And at the side, *Data 8. Calend. Julias Romæ Valentiniano & Anatolio Coss. See book 2. chap. 42. note (b.)* After the word τολμήσει herefore in the Greek, a point is placed in the *Kings Copy*, which is well done. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the verb πεσθήτω is wanting. *Valesf.*

CHAP. LXVI.

That impious and prohibited Books having been found amongst the Hereticks, very many of them returned to the Catholick Church.

IN this manner therefore the * Dens of the *Heterodox* were by the Imperial Order laid open; and the wild Beasts themselves, that is the Ring-leaders of their impiety, were put to flight. Now, some of those persons who had been deceived by them, being put into a fear by the Emperour's Menaces, crept into the Church with a mind and meaning that was false and counterfeit, and for a time [a] play'd the Hypocrites. And because the [b] Law commanded that a search should be made after the Books of those men; they who made evill and forbidden Arts their business, were apprehended. On which account they practised dissimulation, and did all things, to the end they might purchase themselves safety. But others of them betook themselves to a better hope, with a purpose of mind that was hearty, true, and sincere. Further, the Prelates of the Churches made an accurate † inspection into both these sorts of persons, and such as they found coming over [to the Church] * under a disguise, who were hid under the skins of Sheep, them they drove away a far off. But they who did this with † sincerity, were tryed for some time; and after a sufficient proof, [the Bishops] enrolled them amongst their number who are [c] admitted to the sacred Assemblies. And in this manner they treated those * Hereticks that were infamous and abominable. But such as maintained nothing that was impious in † their Opinions and Doctrines, but by the fault of Schismatical men had been rashly severed from the common society, them they admitted [into the Church] [d] without any delay.

* Ἐσκευάσματα; it properly signifies *a company of Souldiers hid in any place, in order to their attacking the Enemy at unawares.*

[a] Καλειρωνδώμενοι. In the *Kings Copy*, this term is thus explained in the margin, καθυποκρινόμενοι, *acting the Hypocrites.* Valesf.

[b] Therefore besides the *above said Letter of* Constantine *to the Hereticks*, there was another Law, which ordered the books of Hereticks to be found out and burnt; or else this Letter produced by *Eusebius* is not entire. Further, the reading should be ἐπεὶ καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι, *And because*, &c; and a little after, ἠλίσκουτό τ' ἀπειρημένας, &c; not ἠλίσκουτο τότε, which is the reading in the *Fuketian Copy*, and must be rejected; though, by what chance I know not, it has crept into our Edition. *Valesf.*

† Or, *Inquisition.*

* Or, *Feignedly.*

† Or, *A pure mind.*

[c] Τῷ πλήθει εἰσαγομένων. I had rather write ἧς συναγομένων. For, that Bishop is properly said συνάγειν, *who holds a religious assembly.* The σωαγόμενοι *are the Laicks who come together into the Church.* Whence σύναξις imports *an Ecclesiastick Assemblie. Dionysius Alexandrinus's* words in *his fifth Epistle to Pope Xystus*, are these; ἧς δὲ συναγομένων ἀδελφῶν πρὸς νομιζόμενα ἀφχαῖα, &c. Therefore *Scaliger, Christophorson*, and *Gruterus* have mended it ill, thus, συνεισαγομένους. *Christophorson* has rendred it *adscititios, counterfeit*; which can no wise be born with. In the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, the reading likewise is σωεισαγομένους. *Valesf.*

[d] Ἀμελήτως, *without care.* It must doubtless be ἀμελλήτως, *without any delay.* For he says, that Schismaticks were without delay received into the Church; but, that Hereticks were admitted after a long penitency. For the Church is always wont to give *Schismaticks* a more favourable and kinder reception, than *Hereticks.* Of which matter we have an eminent instance in the *Nicene Synod*; which, when it had *Anathematized* the *Arians*, received the *Meletians* into Communion, after they had been gently chastized. Now, what the difference is between *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, *Basilius* informs us in *his first Canonical Epistle to Amphilochius*; where he distinguishes these three, αἵρεσιν, χίσμα, ὀργισωαγωγήν. Nevertheless *Chrysostome*, in *his eleventh Homily on the Ephesians*, proves *Schismaticks* to be worse than *Hereticks.* Valesf.

These

These therefore, returning in troops from some [e] Forreign Region as 'twere, recovered their own Country again, and acknowledged their Mother the Church. From which having strayed, after a long interval of time they made their return to * Her with a gladness and joy. Thus the members of the whole Body were united one with another by one common Band, and grew together into one Frame. And the one and only Catholick Church of God, † fitly cohering with it self, darted forth its Rays of Light; no congregation either of Hereticks or Schismaticks being left remaining in any part of the earth. To the performance of which [f] singular and great Action, Our Emperour (the only person car'd for and respected by God, amongst all those that had ever sway'd the Imperial Sceptre,) entitled Himself.

[e] Ἐξ ἀπανικίας. He has used ἀπανικία improperly, to signifie *a Forreign Region*. Which *Christophorson* not perceiving, rendred it very ill, *ex colonia, from a Colony*. Valesius.

* *The Church.*

† Or, *Having been converted into it self.*

[f] Καὶ τὰ τὰ δὲ μόνου. The word μόνου must be blotted out, because it disturbs the sense; unless you take it to signifie *singular*, or *Eximious*. Further, *Christophorson* has translated this place otherwise. For thus he renders it: *cujus præclari facinoris causam Imperator Deo acceptam plane retulit, the cause of which famous Action the Emperour plainly ascribed to God as acceptable to him.* Nor does *Musculus* render it otherwise. But I have interpreted these words [τῷ αἰτίαν ἐγεφέλο, or rather, ἐπεγεφέλο] concerning *Constantine Himself*; that is, *The Emperour was the Authour of this glorious action*. *Johannes Portesius* also, the first Translatour of *these Books*, renders this place in the same manner. For thus his Version runs; *Id verò unicum ab orbe condito factum, homini dei tutelâ præclaro, tum acceptum etiam relatum est*. Valesius.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS* CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

In what manner he honoured very many persons with gifts and promotions.

ALthough the Emperour accomplished so many and such signal performances in order to the Edification and Glory of God's Church; and administred all matters so, as that Our Saviour's Doctrine might every where find a glorious * Reception: nevertheless, in the interim he neglected not the † Civill affairs. But even in this respect he never desisted from bestowing various favours, which were successive and continued, on all the Inhabitants of each Province: sometimes demonstrating in publick a paternal care towards all persons; at other times, honouring in private each of His Favourites with different dignities; and bestowing all things upon all persons with a true greatness of mind. Nor did it ever happen, that he mist of his design, who beg'd a Favour of the Emperour: neither was there ever any person who hop't to obtain a Boon from him, that went away frustrated of his expectation. But some got Money; others Estates: some were grac't with the [a] dignity of the *Prætorian Præfecture*; others with the *Senatorian*: some were created *Consuls*; many were designed Presidents. Some were made [b] *Comites* of the first rank; others, of the second; others, of the third. Innumerable other persons had the * *Perfectissimatus* bestowed on them, as likewise very many other such like dignities. For, to the end he might honour the more, the Emperour devised various dignities.

* *Repute, or, commendation.*

† *External, or, Temporal.*

[a] Ὑπατικῶν ἀξιωμάτων, *with Consular dignities.* Doubtless it ought to be written ἐπαρχικῶν ἀξιωμάτων, *with Præfectorian dignities*, or, *with the dignity of the Præfectorian Præfecture*, from the Copies of *Christophorson* and Sr *Henry Savil*: or at least, ὑπερτικῶν; as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*. Ἔπαρχοι or ὕπαρχοι are *the Præfecti Prætorio*. They are termed ἔπαρχοι, because they excell the other Governours and Judges. And they are stiled ὕπαρχοι, in regard being placed under the immediate power of the Prince, they are above all others. It matters not much therefore, whether you term them ἐπάρχους or ὑπάρχους. But the ordinary reading, ὑπατικῶν, *consular*, can no wise be born with. For, whereas he speaks afterwards concerning the *Consular* and *Senatorian* dignity, it would have been superfluous to make mention of the Consulate here. Nor can it be said, that below are meant *the Consulares* who governed Provinces. For first, it ought then to be mended there ἀφ' ὑπατικῶν, which term occurs a little before. Secondly, under the term ἡγεμόνες, the *Consulares* are also comprehended: so that, there can be no necessity of mentioning the *Consulares* by themselves. Lastly, in regard all the dignities are here reckoned up, 'tis not at all likely, that the *Præfecti prætorio* were omitted, whose number *Constantine* increased, as *Zosimus* attests. Now, at that time the *Præfecti Prætorio* had only the title of *Clarissimi*, as *Constantine's Letter* informs us, which *Eusebius* has recorded above; See *book* 3. *chap.* 31; and what we have noted there. Also, under the Emperour *Constantius*, the *Præfecti Prætorio* were only termed *Clarissimi*, as *the Protestation of the People of Alexandria* informs us, which *Athanasius* has recorded at *the close of his Epistle ad solitarios*. Vales.

[b] Concerning the *Comites* of the first Rank, as also of the second and third Order, there is frequent mention in *Old Inscriptions*, and in *The Code*. Some of these were within the Pallace; others in the *Consistory*, who were afterwards termed *Comites Consistoriani*; others were *Comites Domestici*. In *Gruter's Thesaurus*, pag.

* That is. *had the honour to be stiled perfectissimi, most perfect.*

pag. 406, this old Inscription occurs; FL. EUGENIO V. C. EXPRÆFECTO PRÆT. CONSULI ORDINARIO DESIGNATO. MAGISTRO OFFICIORUM OMNIUM. COMITI DOMESTICO ORDINIS PRIMI, &c. Concerning the same *Comites Domestici*, there is another *Old Inscription* extant in the *House of the Barbarini*, worth the setting down here. M. NUMMIO. ALBINO. V. C. QUÆSTORI CANDIDATO, PRÆTORI. URB. COMITI. DOMESTICO. ORDINIS. PRIMI. ET CONSULI. ORDINARIO. ITERUM NUMMIUS. SECUNDUS. EJUS. This *Nummius Albinus* was *Consul the second time* and *Præfect of the City* in the times of *Gallienus*, as 'tis manifest from *the Fasti*, and from the *Old Book de Præfectis Urbi*. Whence it may be concluded, that this *dignity of the Comes of the first and second Order or Rank*, was not first instituted by *Constantine*, as *Cujacius thought in his Notes on Justinianus's Code*; but that it was in use long before *Constantine's* time. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

A Remission of the fourth part of the * Census.

* Or, *Tributes.*

BUt, with what earnestness he endeavoured, that all mankind in general might lead joyfull and pleasant Lives, may be perceived even from this one instance, which being highly advantageous to the Life of men, and extended to all persons in general, is even at this very present highly celebrated in the mouths of all. Having abated a fourth part of those annual Tributes which were paid for Land, he bestowed it upon the Owners of the Grounds: so that, if you compute the sum of this annual abatement, it will † appear, that every fourth year the [a] Occupiers of the Fruits are free from the payment of Tribute. Which thing being || past into a Law, and confirmed for the time to come, not only to those of the present age, but to their children, and the successours of them, made the Emperour's Beneficence indelible and perpetual.

† Or, *Happen.*

[a] τὰς ἀπὸ καρπῶν οἰκήτορας, *the Occupiers of the fruits.* This expression can't be born with.

|| Or, *Establish't by a Law.*

'Tis my Sentiment that the words are transposed here; and that at this place we should read, τοὺς ἀπ' ἀγρῶν οἰκήτορας, *the Occupiers of the Grounds*: and above, τοῖς ἀπὸ καρπῶν δεσπόταις, *upon the Owners of the fruits.* *Turnebus* at the margin of *his Copy*, instead of οἰκήτορας, *Occupiers*, has made it κλήτορας, *Possessours.* Or *at least it must* (says he) *be written*, ἀπὸ χωρῶν οἰκήτορας, *the Occupiers of the places or Farms.* Vales.

CHAP. III.

The * Peræquation *of those* Censûs *that were too heavy and burthensome.*

* *Equalling*, or, *making even.*

BUt, whereas some persons found fault with those Surveyes of Land, which had been made by the former Emperours, and complained that their own Grounds were too much oppress't; here also [the Emperour in obedience] to the Laws of justice, dispatcht away [a] *Peræquatores*, who might free the Complainants from wrong.

[a] Ἐξισωτὰς. These the *Latines* term *Peræquatores*; of whom there is mention in the *fourteenth Book of the Theodosian Code*, in *the Title de Censitoribus, Peræquatoribus, & Inspectoribus.* Most commonly *Senatours* were by the Prince elected to that Office; it was the business of these Officers, *to make equal the Census in those Provinces which complained that they were oppress't with the Burthen of the Tributes.* In *Gruter, pag.* 361, this *Old Inscription* occurs: L. ARADIO VAL. PROCULO V. C. PRÆTORI TUTELARI LEGATO PRO PRÆTORE PROV. NUMIDIÆ PERÆQUATORI CENSUS PROV. GALLECIÆ. There is also extant a *ninth Oration of Gregory Nazianzene*, εἰς ἐξισωτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν, *to Julianus the Peræquator.* Vales.

CHAP. IV.

That on those who were overthrown in Pecuniary *Causes, he himself bestowed money out of his own* [*Income.*]

MOreover, as often as the Emperour had pronounc't Sentence between two who were at Suit; to the end the party that had lost his cause, might not go away sadder [a] than him in favour of whom Sentence had past; out of his own [Revenues] he bestowed on those who had been cast in their Suits, sometimes Farms, and sometimes Money: by which means he managed the matter so, as that the party worsted did no less rejoyce than he who had carried the Cause; in regard [the person overthrown] had been vouchsafed to come into * his presence. For he judged it altogether unfit, that any one who had stood before so great a Prince, should be dismist sad and sorrowfull. By this means therefore, both parties that were at Law returned from Sentence with countenances full of joy and chearfullness: and the Emperour's Greatness of mind was the admiration of all men.

* *The Emperour's.*

[a] Ἐδωρεῖτο τὸ νενικηκότος. Every one sees that the words are transposed here; which is a fault frequently committed in *these Books.* At my peril therefore, write thus; ὡς ἂν μὴ τὸ λυπρὸν παρ' αὐτῷ μεῖζον ἢ τὸν ἀπαλλάττοιτο χαίρων τοῦ νενικηκότος, ἐδωρεῖτο, &c; *to the end the party that had*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* the words τοῦ νενικηκότος, *than him in favour of whom Sentence had past*, are wanting. But *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savil* place those words after the verb ἀπαλλάττοιτο, *might not go away.* The said Sr *Henry Savil* hath noted at the margin of *his Copy, that perhaps it should be* χαίρων, *and that the comma after the word* ἀπαλλάττοιτο *should be blotted out.* Which when I had read, I was extreamly glad, that my conjecture was confirmed by the judgment of *that most Learned person.* But, whereas Sr *Henry Savil* adds there, *that Christophorson seems to have read thus*, in this I can't assent to him. For *Christophorson* read χαίρων, and renders it *Libenter, willingly.* Further, *Turnebus* does here mend it τὸ λυπρὸν, which pleases me. *Vales.*

CHAP. V.

The conquest of the Scythæ, *who were subdued by the Standard of Our Saviour's* [*Cross.*]

[a] WHat need have I here of making mention by the by as 'twere, how he reduced the *Barbarous* Nations under the Empire of the *Romans?* In what manner he first brought under the Yoak, the Nations of the [b] *Scythæ* and *Sarmatæ*, who before had never learn't to obey any one; and forc't them even against their wills, to acknowledge the *Romans* their Lords?

[a] Τί δεῖ μάχει λόγε. I doubt not but It should be written thus, τί δὴ μαχὴ λόγε πάρεργον ποιεῖσθαι. Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is, τὶ δὲ μάχει. Sr *Henery Savil* at the margin of *his Copy* mends it, τὶ δεῖ μετὰ πάρεργα λόγε ποιεῖσθαι. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, the reading of this place is this, τὶ δὲ δεῖ μάχει λόγε τὰ πάρεργα ποιεῖσθαι. *Vales.*

[b] Instead of *the Scythæ*, *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 18,) and *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 8,) term them *The Goths.* Indeed, *Greek Writers* do usually term them *Scythæ*, whom the *Latines* call *Goths.* So *Libanius, Themistius, Eunapius*, and many others. Further, *the Goths* were vanquished by the *Roman* Army in the Country of the *Sarmatæ*, on the twelfth of the *Calends of May*, in the Consulate of *Pacatianus* and *Hilarianus*, (as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*,) that is on the year of Christ 332. *Vales.*

For

For the preceding Emperours had paid [c] Tribute to the *Scythæ*: and the *Romans* were Servants to the *Barbarians*, allowing them a sum of money yearly. [d] But this indignity was insupportable to the Emperour: nor did he judge it a thing befitting a Victorious Prince, to pay what had been paid by the former Emperours. Putting his confidence therefore in his Saviour, he raised the Victorious Trophee against them also, and in a small time subdued them. Such of them as were contumacious and made a resistance, he vanquished by his Arms: but the rest he appeased by prudent Embassies, and from a Lawless and Savage life, reduced them to a way of living that was agreeable to reason and Law ‖ thus the *Scythæ* at length learn't to obey the *Romans*.

[c] *Socrates* says the same at the place before cited. Indeed *Jordanes* (in *his book de Rebus Geticis*, speaking concerning the Emperour *Philippus*) says the *Romans* paid an annual tribute to the *Goths*. And *Petrus Patricius* (in *his Excerpta Legationum*) attests the same concerning *Tullus Menophilus*, where he writes concerning the *Carpi*. Vales.

[d] Οὐκ ἦν δ' ἄν. I read ἂκ ἦν δ' ἀϱ' ἔτῳ, &c; from the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, and from the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

CHAP. VI.

The Subduing of the Sarmatæ, *occasioned by the Rebellion of the Servants against their Masters.*

BUt God himself * prostrated the *Sarmatæ* at the feet of *Constantine*; and subdued those men swelled with a Barbarick insolence, in this manner. For the *Scythæ* having raised a War against them, the *Sarmatæ*, that they might make a resistance against their enemies, armed their Slaves. After these Slaves had gained the Victory, they † turned their Arms against their Masters, and drove them all from their own [a] habitations. They found no other Port of safety, save only *Constantine*. Who, in regard 'twas his usage to preserve men, gave them all a reception within the confines of the *Roman* Empire. And those that were fit for Service, he enrolled amongst his own Military Companies: But to the rest of them he distributed Grounds to be Tilled, in order to their procuring necessaries for a Livelyhood. In so much that, they acknowledged their calamity to have been succesfull and fortunate to them; in regard, instead of a Barbarick Savageness, they enjoyed a *Roman* freedom. In this manner God annext ‖ very many Barbarous Nations to his Empire.

* Or, *Drove— under.*

† Or, *Took up.*

[a] Τῆς οἰκίας. From the *Fuketian Copy* it must be made ὀικείας. Further, this Conspiracy of the *Sarmatæ* against their Masters hapned on the year of Christ 334. In *those Fasti* which *Jacobus Sirmondus* terms *Idatius's*, these words occur; *Optato & Paulino. His Coss. Sarmatæ servi universa Gens Dominos suos in Romaniam expulerunt. Jerome* agrees also in *the Chronicon*, who terms those Slaves of the *Sarmatæ*, *Limigantes*. And so does *Amm. Marcellinus*. See *the Excerpta de Gestis Constanti*. Vales. For a further account of *these Limigantes*, the Reader may consult Dr *Howell's History*, *second part*, *pag.* 11, and 127, 128.

‖ Or, *All sorts of.*

CHAP. VII.

The Embassies of several Barbarous Nations, and the Gifts [*bestowed on them*] *by the Emperour.*

FOr, from all places Embassies arrived continually [at his Court,] and brought him such presents as were of greatest value amongst themselves. In so much that, even We our selves hapned on time to see * various shapes of Barbarians, standing in order before the [a] Court-Gate of the Imperial Pallace. Whose garb and manner of dress was different and changeable; and the hair both of their head and beard much unlike. Their aspect grim, barbarous, and terrible; and their Bodily Stature of an immense greatness. Some of them had ruddy countenances; the faces of others were whiter than snow. In othersome of them there was a middle temperature of colour. For the *Blemmyæ*, *Indi*, and *Æthiopes* (who [as [b] *Homer* says,] *are divided two ways, and live in the out-skirts of the earth*;) were to be seen amongst those forementioned Barbarians. Each of these persons ([c] in such manner as we see it commonly painted in Tables) brought severally to the Emperour such presents as were of greatest value amongst themselves. Some [presented him with] Crowns of Gold; others, with Diadems beset with pretious Stones; others, with yellow-hair'd boyes; others, with Barbarick Garments [d] interwoven with Gold and Flowers; others, with Horses; others, with Bucklers, long Spears, Arrows, and Bowes. By which presents they demonstrated, that they made an offer of their Service and confederacy of Arms to the Emperour, if he pleased. The Emperour received and * kept the presents brought by each of them, and remunerated them with so many and such great Favours, that in an instant of time the persons who had brought these presents were extraordinarily enrich'd. Moreover, he † grac't the eminenter persons amongst them with *Roman* dignities: in so much that, very many of them forgat to return into their own Country, and † chose to make their Residence here amongst us.

* *Eminent*, or, *conspicuous.*

[a] Περὶ τῆς ἀυλῆς. It must be ἀυλείᾳ, as I found it written in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and in the *Kings Sheets*. So *Græcians* termed that gate of an house which they who go in, do first of all meet with: and they accounted that to be the Limit; to pass which was look't upon as a thing indecent in Matrons. *Philo's* words in *his Book de Specialibus Legibus* are these; Δηλείας δὲ οἰκείας καὶ ἔνδον μονῆς παρθένοις μὴ ἐξὸν κλισιάδων, τῶν μεσαυλίων ὅσον πεπαιμμένας. Without doubt *Philo* alludes to these Verses of *Menander*, which *Stobæus* records, chap. 163.

Τὰς τῆς γαμετῆς ὄψεις ὑπερβαίνεις γυναῖ
Διὰ τῶν ἀυλῶν· πέρας γὰ ἀυλείᾳ δύσις.
Ἑλλάδι μὲν γυναικὶ νενόμισ' οἰκίας
Τὸ δὲ σπουδάσειν, εἴς τι τῶν ὀδὸν τρέχειν
Ἐπὶ λοιδορημάτων, κυνὸς ἐς' ἔχον ῥοδόν.

† Or, *Fell in love with.*

These very verses of *Menander*, *Harpocration* does tacitly mean, in the word ἀυλείᾳ. *Vales.*

[b] *Homer's* words (*Odyss.* 1. *near the beginning*) are these;

Αἰθίοπας τοὶ δίχθα δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
Οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος:

Which Mr *Hobbs* has thus Englished;

The Blackmoors are the utmost of mankind,
As far as East and West asunder stand,
So far the Blackmoors Borders are disjoyn'd.

[c] Ὥσπερ ἐν πίναξι γεγραμμένοι. These words seem to be superfluous; unless *Eusebius* had a mind to express the matter it self more clearly in this manner, in favour to those who had not been present and seen it. For the pictures of the Emperours were usually so drawn, as that they might represent the Embassadours of the Barbarians making them presents, or the Provinces paying them Gold, as may be seen in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*. Vales.

[d] He means the Barbarick manner of weaving; of which sort is that in *Virgil*, in the *first Book of his Æneid.*

Et circumtextum croceo Velamen acantho. Vales.

[e] *Amm. Marcellinus* says the same in *his* 21 *Book*, *pag.* 190, and 195 *of our Edition*. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

That He wrote to the Persian *Emperour (who had sent an Embassie to him,) in favour of the* Christians *there.*

MOreover, in regard the King of the *Persians* was desirous of being made known to *Constantine* by an [a] Embassie, and had likewise sent him Presents which were the signes of Peace and Amity; [b] making it his business to enter into a League with him: here also the Emperour [shewed] a transcendent greatness of mind, and by the magnificence of his Presents far out-did him who had first honoured him. And being informed, that the Churches of God were numerous amongst the *Persians*, and that infinite numbers of people were gathered together within the Folds of Christ; he was highly pleased at the news hereof, as being the common Patron and Defender of all men whereever they lived; and even to those Regions also he extended his providence [which Laboured] for the good of all men.

[a] The only person that I know of, who speaks concerning this Embassie of *Sapor* to *Constantine*, is *Libanius*, in his *Oration* entitled βασιλικὸς, pag. 119. where he writes, that *Sapor* King of the *Persians*, when he had resolved upon entring into a War with the *Romans*, and in order to that affair wanted Iron, took such measures as were fraudulent and crafty, and dispatcht away Embassadours to *Constantine*, who might adore him as his Lord, and might request of him a vast quantity of Iron; under a pretence indeed, that with his Arms he might revenge himself on some Barbarians that were his neighbours: but in reality, that he might make use of that Iron against the *Romans*. Vales.

[b] Ἔπεμψε δὲ τὰς συνθήκας κἀπὶ τούτῳ βασιλεύς, &c. The other Translatours render these words so, as if they were all spoken concerning *Constantine*, supposing the import of them to be this, *that Constantine entred into a League with the* Persian *King*. But *Valesius* (whom we have followed) takes the former part of this clause as meant concerning the *Persian* King; and therefore has plac't a *semicolon* after his rendition of these words, ἔπεμψε δὲ τὰς συνθήκας.

CHAP. IX.

Constantinus Augustus's Letter to *Sapor* King of the *Persians*, wherein he makes a most pious Confession of God and Christ.

A Copy [of the Letter] to the King of the *Persians*.

BY *keeping the Divine Faith, I am a partaker of the Light of Truth: being lead by the guidance of the light of Truth, I* * *arrive at the knowledge of the Divine Faith. By this means therefore, as 'tis confirmed by the things themselves, I acknowledge the most Holy Religion: this very worship I declare to be the Teacher of my knowledge of the* † *Most Holy God. Having the power of this God for mine assistance, I have begun from the utmost Bounds of the Ocean, and have raised the whole World* [a] *to a firm hope of safety. In so much that, all the Provinces (which being enslaved under so many Tyrants, and involved in daily Calamities,* [b] *were in a manner totally ruined;)* [c] *having at length gotten a* * *Restorer of the Republick, are raised to life again by some sovereign medicine as 'twere. This God I assert: whose Standard my Forces which are dedicated to God, do carry on their shoulders, and are directed to what place soever the Rule of Equity invites them; and on these very accounts I immediately obtain most Glorious Victories as my Reward. This God I profess my Self to honour with an immortal memory. Him I contemplate with a pure and sincere mind, whose Seat is in the highest [Heavens.]*

* Or, *Acknowledge the Divine Faith.*

† Ἁγιοτάτου; so the reading is in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 25. where a more perfect Copy of this Letter occurs, and therefore we have taken our Version of it from thence.

[a] Βεβαίοις σωτηρίοις ἐλπίσι. It must doubtless be σωτηρίας, *of safety*: although in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 25, *Edit. Stephen.* the word σωτηρίας is wanting. But *Epiphanius Scholasticus* acknowledges that word, as his Version informs us in the 3d *book of the Tripertite History*. Vales.

* Or, *Avenger.*

[b] Ἐξίτηλα ἐγεγόνει. 'Tis evident that this place is imperfect: In *Moræus's Copy* I found it supplied in the same manner as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition*; namely thus, τῶν τὰ πλὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον δι' ἐμοῦ βελτίωσιν δέξασθαι. But whoever mended this place thus, was certainly an ill and unskilfull conjecturer. With how much more of ease and safety might this imperfection have been supplied from *Theodoret*, in which Writer this Letter of *Constantine* to *Sapor* occurs much perfecter, and more correct. Nevertheless, the *Fuketian*, and Sr *Henry Savil's Copy* make up this defect in the same manner with the *Geneva-Edition*. Nor ought it to trouble us, because this expression is barbarous. For this Letter of *Constantine* had at first been written *in Latine* by him: then it was done *into Greek* by some unskilfull Translatour. The same thing has hapned to *Constantine*'s other *Letters* and *Orations*. Vales.

[c] All these words, from, *Having at length*, to, *This God I profess*, are wanting in *this Copy* of *Constantine*'s Letter to *Sapor*. They occur in *Theodoret*; from the Greek Text of which Authour we have inserted them into our *English Version*.

CHAP. X.

That [He speaks] against Idols, and concerning the Glorification of God.

HIm *I invoke upon my bended knees; and I have an aversion for all manner of abominable Blood, and unpleasant and detestable Odours; and lastly I do avoid all sorts of* [a] *terrene Fire: of all which the impious and execrable Errour [of superstition] has made use, and has* [b] *thrust down many of the Heathens, yea almost whole Na-*

[a] Γεώδη λαμπάδα. *Christophorson* renders it *Sacrificiorum flammam, the flame of sacrifices*; *Camerarius, incantationum igniculos, the fires of inchantments*; which is a truer Version. For, certain kinds of fires [were made use of] in the Mysteries of the *Pagans*, and a sort of light shined after darkness. Which thing the Priests of *Dæmons* performed by magick Art, and I know not what impostures, to the end they might gain an Authority and Reverence to their sacred Rites. *Apuleius*'s words in his 11th *Book* are these; *Accessi confinium Mortis: & calcato*, &c; *I approach't the confines of death; and having trod the path of Proserpine, I went back, conveyed through all the Elements. At midnight I saw the Sun glistering with bright Light*, &c. Concerning this Rite there is an elegant passage of *Themistius*, in *Stobæus*, chap. 274; which deserves to be set down here: τὸ δὲ παθεῖν παθὼν οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις καθοσιαζόμενοι. Διὸ καὶ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τὰ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελεῖσθαι παρσημοῦνται. Πλάναι τε πρῶται καὶ θεσπέσιαι, καὶ κοπώδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὑποπλοι πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι· ἔπειτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα· φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἱδρὼς καὶ δάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπαντήσεται, ἢ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωναὶ καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ σεμνότητες ἁγισμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελὴς ἤδη καὶ μεμυημένος ἐλεύθερος γέγονε, καὶ ἄφετος περιών, ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει, &c. This passage of *Themistius* is taken out of his *Book concerning the Immortality of the Soul*; wherein *Themistius* asserted that the soul was immortal, as well by several other arguments, as by this, *that Gracians do term death* τελευτὰν, *as if it were* τελετὰν, *that is, a Mystery. And, as these two terms are exceeding like one to the other, so the things themselves, signified by these terms, have a wonderfull similitude. For, in the Mysteries there are first unconstant and restless wandrings, and troublesome circuits, and fearfull passages thorow dark places, and most tedious journeys accompanied with weariness. Then, before an arrival at the end, all things are terrible; Horrour, trembling, sweat, and amazement. But at last, a certain admirable Light occurs, and pleasant places and Meadows, wherein sacred voices are heard, and holy apparitions seen*, &c. To the same Rite belong these words of *Origen*, in his 4th *Book against Celsus*; ἐξουσιεῖ ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν ταῖς βαπτισταῖς τελεταῖς τὰ φάσματα καὶ τὰ δείματα περιεσπάσθαι. Vales.

[b] Ὅλα γὰρ κατέρρηξε. In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written, κατέρρεξε, which pleases me better. In the *same Copy* the reading is πολλὰ ἔθνη ἐθνῶν, *many of the Nations*. Vales.

tions,

tions, to the loweſt * Hell. For, the ſupream God can in no wiſe endure, that thoſe things which by His providence over men, and out of his own benignity [towards them] he has produced for common uſe, ſhould be † perverted to any one's Luſt. But, He requires of men a pure mind only, and an immaculate ſoul; * wherewith, as in a Ballance, he weighs the Actions of Virtue and Piety. For he is pleaſed with the works of Modeſty and Lenity; loves the meek, hates the Turbulent; loves Faith, puniſhes infidelity: deſtroyes all power joyned with arrogancy, puniſhes the contempt of the proud. He utterly ruines thoſe who are puft up with inſolency, but diſtributes agreeable Rewards amongſt them that are humble and patient of injuries. † Hence 'tis, that he puts an high Value upon that Empire which is juſt; confirms it by his own aſſiſtances, and alwayes keeps Imperial Prudence in a Calm of Peace.

* Or, Parts.

† Or, Drawn.

* Or, Wherein.

† Or, And in this manner.

CHAP. XI.

Againſt Tyrants and Perſecutors; and concerning *Valerian* who was taken Priſoner.

NOr do I ſeem to my ſelf to be miſtaken (My Brother!) by my profeſſing this one God to be the Author and Parent of all things. Whom many of thoſe who have been poſſeſt of the Empire here, induced thereto by mad Errours, have attempted to deny. But, all theſe [Emperours] have been deſtroyed by ſuch a dreadfull and avenging end, that ſince their times, all Mankind [a] doth uſually wiſh their Calamities may fall as a Curſe and puniſhment on thoſe, who ſhall ſtudy to imitate them. One of which perſons I judge him to have been, (Him [I mean] whom divine vengeance, like ſome thunder, drove out of our Regions, and conveyed into your Country;) [b] who by his own diſgrace and ignominie erected that Trophie ſo * much boaſted of amongſt you.

* Or, Famous.

[a] Τοῖς παρὰ τούτοις. The reading of this place is far otherwiſe in *Theodoret*, namely in this manner; ἐπαρᾶσθαι τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια ζηλῶσι τῶνδε. Incomparably well, in my judgment. Nor had *Conſtantine* written otherwiſe. *All the preceding Emperours*, ſays he, *who perſecuted the Faith of Chriſt, have been cruſh't by ſuch a lamentable end, that now all mankind are wont to imprecate or wiſh for the Calamities of thoſe Princes as the ſum totall of puniſhment on them, who ſhall ſtudy to imitate them.* What can be plainer and more elegant than this meaning of the words? Παράδειγμα therefore does in this place ſignifie *puniſhment*, in which ſenſe that term is frequently uſed amongſt *Gracians*, as *Agellius* has remarked. Further, ἐπαράσθαι τῶνδε τὰς συμφορὰς is an elegant phraſe to ſignifie that which the *Latines* term *imprecari, to wiſh for as a Curſe*. So εὐχὴν τῶνδε is an uſual expreſſion with *Gracians*, as I have noted above. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* tranſlates this paſſage thus; *Sed illos omnes finis comprehendit exitioſus, ita ut omne genus hominum poſt eos exurgens, clades illorum pro maledictionis exemplo proponere videatur; But ſo diſtructive an end has incloſed them all, that all mankind who have lived ſince them, ſeem to propoſe their Ruine as the pattern of a Curſe.* Valeſ.

[b] Τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀισχύνης. In the *Hiſtory of Theodoret* the reading is truer, thus, τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ αἰσχύνης πολυθρύλλητον τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν τρόπαιον ἀποφήναντα, *who by his own*, &c. He means *Valerian*, who having been taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, ended his days amongſt them in a diſhonourable ſlaverie, and by his own private diſgrace ennobled the Triumph of the *Perſians*. That is, by his own ignominie he made the Victory of the *Perſians* over the *Romans* moſt ſignal and famous. This is the meaning of this place, which was not hit, either by *Epiphanius*, or any of the other Tranſlatours. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies* it is ἀποφήναντα, which is no ill reading. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

That He ſaw the Fall of the Perſecutors, and does now rejoyce becauſe of the Peace of the *Chriſtians*.

INdeed, this thing has ſucceeded well, namely, that in Our age alſo the puniſhment of ſuch perſons hath moſt evidently been demonſtrated. For even I my ſelf have been a ſpectator [of their diſaſtrous End,] who lately diſquieted the people dedicated to God, by their moſt impious Edicts. Therefore, I give God great thanks, becauſe by his ſignall Providence, all mankind who are obſervant of the divine Law, having Peace and Repoſe reſtored to them, are exceeding joyfull and glad. From whence I do perſwade my ſelf, that all affairs are in an excellent and moſt ſafe poſture, in regard God vouchſafes to gather all perſons to himſelf, by their pure and approved Religion, and by their unanimous Sentiment in reference to the Deity.

CHAP. XIII.

An Exhortation, that he ſhould love *the Chriſtians*, who live in his * Country.

* That is, *in Perſia.*

HOw great a pleaſure and delight was it to Me (think you) when I heard, (what is my moſt earneſt deſire,) that even the richeſt and beſt places of Perſia were † plentifully adorned with a [a] multitude of theſe men, I mean Chriſtians? for my whole diſcourſe at preſent is concerning them. I wiſh therefore, both that your affairs may continue in a moſt flouriſhing poſture, and in like manner that their affairs may be ſo too; that is, [b] the affairs of both of you equally. For, by this means you will have God the ſupream Lord and Father, mercifull and propitious towards you. Theſe perſons therefore, becauſe you are ſo great [a Prince,] I commit to Your Care: theſe very perſons, in regard You are eminent for piety, I deliver into your hands. Love theſe men in a manner befitting Your own benignity and good nature. For, by this Your Faith, You will do an immenſe kindneſs both to Your Self and Us.

† Or, Far and wide.

[a] Τάττω τῷ καταλόγῳ. The reading in *Theodoret* is truer, τούτῳ τῷ καταλόγῳ. For theſe words are referred to the verb κεκόσμηται. Preſently, write ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων, from *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[b] Ὅπῃ σοὶ καὶ ἐκείνῳ. In *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* the reading is ὃ δεῖ σοι, καὶ ἐκείνοις. In *Syrmondus's Edition* 'tis ὅπῃ δεῖ, &c. Which words *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* renders into Latine thus; *Tu ergo optimè gubernaveris, ſi fueris ſicut illi, & habueris commune quod illi. Joachimus Camerarius* who rendred *Theodoret's Hiſtory* into Latine, tranſlates it in this manner: *Optimè igitur tecum, ſimiliterque cum illis optimè agitur, quia communiter cum utriſque.* And *Langus's* Verſion is in a manner the ſame. But this meaning does not ſatisfie me. Formerly I thought it was to be written thus, ὅπῃ σὺ κἀκείνοις, κἀκείνοι σοι, *that as you to them, ſo they to you.* Which reading I had followed in my Verſion. But having now examined the matter more attentively, I am of opinion that the reading of *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* is to be retained, and thus I render this whole place. *Opto igitur, ut & tuæ res quàm florentiſſimæ, & illorum perinde ſint florentiſſimæ; hoc eſt utriuſque veſtrûm ex æquo: I wiſh therefore*, &c. Thus the ſenſe is moſt plain, and the following words will agree. Only it muſt be made ὑπάρχει in the *optative mood*. 'Tis certain *Muſculus* read ὑπάρχοι: For thus he renders it: *Cedat igitur id tibi optimè & illis ſimiliter: & tibi inquam & illis.* In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is ὅπῃ σοὶ, without that word κἀκείνῳ. Valeſ. *Valeſius* (in *his notes on* Theodoret's *Hiſtory*, book 1. chap. 25,) tells us, that in *Leo Allatius's Copy* the reading of this place is, ὅπῃ σοὶ κἀκείνοι, *For even they are yours*: which he concludes to be the trueſt reading of all.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

How, by the earneſtneſs of Conſtantine's *Prayers, Peace was beſtowed on the* Chriſtians.

ALL Nations in all parts of the world being (like ſome Ship,) in this manner ſteered and directed by one Commander, and willingly embracing the [a] Religion and Government of this Servant of God; and there being no perſon who might give any further diſturbance to the *Roman* Empire; all men in future lead peaceable and undiſturbed lives. But, becauſe the Emperour judg'd the Prayers of pious perſons to be highly uſefull and advantagious in order to the ſafety and preſervation of the State, 'twas his Sentiment, that theſe were neceſſarily to be procured. Therefore, both he himſelf humbly implored Gods aſſiſtance, [b] and alſo commanded the Prelates of Churches to put up their prayers to God for him.

[a] Τὴν πολιτείαν. He means *the Chriſtian Religion*, as I ſuppoſe; which almoſt all Nations did then embrace; having rejected the errour of their own Superſtition. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησίων θεσπίσεσι. Make it τοῖς τε ὑπὲρ, &c. unleſs you had rather read ἐπεκελεύσατο, as 'tis in the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

That both on his money, and in his Pictures, he ordered himſelf to be ſtamp't and drawn in a praying poſture.

But, how tranſcendent a livelineſs of [a] divine Faith was fixt in his ſoul, may eaſily be conjectured from this very one thing; that on his Golden money he ordered his own Image to be ſtamp't in ſuch a manner, as that he might ſeem to look up to God with his Hands * expanded, in the poſture of one praying. And this ſort of money was current over the whole *Roman World*. But in the Imperial Palaces which were [b] in ſome Cities, his Pictures were plac't on high at the very entrance of the Porch, wherein he was drawn ſtanding upright; looking up to heaven; [c] but his hands were expanded, in the faſhion of one praying.

* *Stretch't out.*

[a] Πίστεως ἐνθέου. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* in *his Verſion of the ſeventh Synod*, wherever the word ἔνθεος occurs in the Greek, renders it *deificum*, which term imports *any thing extraordinarily ſent, or made by God himſelf.* So the Latines termed the *Books of the ſacred Scriptures, Deificos Libros*, as it occurs in the *Geſta Purgationis Cæciliani.* Valeſ.

[b] Κατὰ τινας πύλας, *near certain gates.* In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is κατὰ τινας πόλεις, *in ſome Cities*; which is far the truer reading, as I judge. For *Euſebius* ſays, that not in all, but in the Palaces of ſome Cities, *Conſtantine*'s Picture was thus drawn. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τῷ χείρε δὲ ἐκτεταμένῳ. Whoever was the Tranſlatour of this Book, he has rendred this place with little of attention, thus; *Et precantis formâ manus ſurſum tollens, and liſting up his hands in the form of one praying*; whereas he ought to have rendred it, *manibus expanſis, ut precantes ſolent, with expanded hands as perſons praying are wont to do.* For the *Chriſtians* were wont, when at prayers, to ſtretch forth their hands, that by this means they might repreſent the likeneſs of a Croſs. Indeed, the *Chriſtians* lifted up their hands, whilſt they were praying. But this was not peculiar to the *Chriſtians*, in regard the Heathens did the ſame; as *Virgil* atteſts in theſe words,

—*Et geminas tollens ad ſidera palmas.*

But, that was peculiar to the *Chriſtians*, to expand their hands in the form of a Croſs. *Tertullian*'s words, in *his Book de Oratione Chap.* 11, are theſe: *Nos verò non attollimus tantum, Sed etiam expandimus, & dominicâ paſſione modulamur; We do not only liſt up* [our hands,] *but do ſpread them alſo, and we put our ſelves into a form agreeable to Our Lord's paſſion.* He ſays the ſame in *his Apologetick, chap.* 30. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVI.

That He iſſued forth a Law, forbidding his own * *Statues to be placed in Idol-Temples.*

* Or, Images.

IN this manner therefore he repreſented himſelf praying, even in his Pictures drawn in Colours. But by a [a] Law he forbad, that his own Statues ſhould be dedicated in Idol-Temples: leaſt they ſhould be [b] pollured, even as far as the † outward Form only, with the errour of prohibited Superſtition.

† Or, *Adumbration.*

[a] But *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 18;) relates the contrary, in theſe words; καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ μονομάχια. εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀνεπέθηκε; *And firſt, he aboliſhed the Combats of the Gladiatours; then, he placed his own Statues in the Temples.* But any one might with good reaſon conjecture, that this place of *Socrates* is corrupted. For, *Socrates* does there reckon up all things, which were invented by *Conſtantine* in order to the abolition of the Superſtition of the Heathens. Amongſt which he ſays, that *Conſtantine* placed his own Pictures and Statues in the Temples of the Gods. But by doing of that, the ſuperſtition of the Heathens was not extinguiſhed, but rather increaſed, or changed. For the Heathens would adore the Emperour in place of a God. Wherefore that paſſage of *Socrates* muſt be mended from *Euſebius*, in this manner; εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπεῖργε ἀνατιθέναι, *But he forbad, that his own Statues ſhould be dedicated in the Temples.* Valeſ.

[b] Μολύνεσθαι ἢ γεφυρᾶν. The two laſt words muſt in my judgment be expunged; in regard they diſturb the ſenſe. For if you blot out them, the ſenſe is plain. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

His praying in the Palace, and his reading of the Divine Scriptures.

But whoſoever has a mind to give attention, will perceive far nobler [inſtances of his piety] than theſe; how he conſtituted [a] a Church of God as 'twere, within the Imperial Palace; and with diligence and chearfulneſs lead the way himſelf, to thoſe who aſſembled within that Church. Moreover, he took the Bible into his hands, and with an attentive mind meditated upon thoſe divinely-inſpired Oracles. After which he recited the * uſual prayers, together with [b] the whole aſſemblie of his Courtiers.

* *Preſcribed*, or, *ſolemn.*

[a] Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ τόπον. *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 8.) has theſe words: καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατεσκεύασε, *and he erected an Oratory within the Imperial Palace.* 'Tis plain that *Sozomen* (as he uſually does,) borrowed this out of our *Euſebius*. But *Euſebius* does not ſay, that *Conſtantine* built a Church in the Palace. He ſays only this, that he conſtituted a kind of a Church in the Palace. See *Euſebius's Panegyrick on Conſtantine's Tricennalia, chap.* 9; where he does plainly confirm our Opinion. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τοῖς τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον πληροῦσιν, *with thoſe that filled the Imperial Palace*, or, *the Church.* Βασίλειος οἶκος is an ambiguous expreſſion, which ſignifies *a Church*, and *a Palace.* And *Euſebius* ſeems deſignedly to have play'd with the ambiguity of this phraſe, becauſe *Conſtantine*'s Palace was like a Church. And thoſe whom at this place he calls τοὺς τὸ βασίλειον οἶκον πληροῦντας, he has termed above in this chapter, τοὺς ἔνδον ἐκκλησιάζομένους. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

That by a Law He commanded Sunday *and* Friday *to be honoured.*

But He ordained, that a day ſhould be eſteemed of, as convenient and fit for prayers; that day namely, which really is the Chief and Firſt of the other days, and which is truly the Lord's, and the Salutary day. Moreover, he appointed

pointed Deacons and Ministers consecrated to God, who were grac't with integrity of Life and all other virtues, to be the [a] Keepers of His whole house. Lastly, the *Protectors* and trusty *Guards*, furnished with the arms of good affection and faith, [b] acknowledged the Emperour himself as their Instructer in the practise of piety; and they themselves in the same manner honoured the Salutary and the Lord's day, whereon they poured forth [to God] prayers that were gratefull to the Emperour. And this Blessed [Emperour] incited all other men to practise the same thing; in regard this was his chiefest desire, that by degrees he might make all persons worshippers of God. And for this reason, he issued out a Precept to all those who lived under the *Roman* Empire, that they should keep Holy-day on those days which had their denomination from our Saviour; as likewise, that they should honour [c] the day before the Sabbath: in memory (as I think) of those things said to have been performed on those days by the common Saviour. Further, whereas he instructed his whole Army diligently to honour the Salutary day, which happens to derive its name from the light and from the Sun; to those who had embraced the divinely-inspired Faith, he allowed time and leisure for a free exercise of themselves according to the usage and order of God's Church, to the end they might without any impediment be present at the performance of the prayers.

[a] Φύλακες τῆς παγκλ ὄικε. The Translatour followed the opinion of *Sozomen*, and supposed a *Church* to have been meant here; with whom I don't agree. For *Eusebius* himself in *his Panegyrick, chap. 9*, where this passage occurs word for word, says nothing concerning a Church. The meaning therefore of this place is, that *Constantine* committed the Care and Custody of his whole Palace to the Ministers and Servants of God, and to the Prelates: so that, the Prelates were certain *Controllers* as 'twere of his house, or such Officers as the *Romans* termed *Cura Palatii*. Valesius.

[b] Διδάσκαλον ἐυσεβῶν ἐδιδάσκοντο. It must I think, be written ἐπυγεφρουτο, *acknowledged*: and so 'tis in the *Panegyrick* at the place now cited. The *Printed-reading* is not to be born with. *Valesius*.

[c] Καὶ πὰς τὴ σαββάτυ ημᾶν. Doubtless it must be written, πὰν πρὸ τῆ σαββάτυ, *the day before the Sabbath*. And thus, as 'tis evident, he read, who composed the Contents of these Chapters. Moreover, *Sozomen* (*book* 1, *chap.* 8,) confirms this very thing in these words; πὰν δὲ κυριακὴν καλυμένην ἡμέραν, &c; *But, he made a Law that on that day called Sunday, (which day the Jews term the first of the Sabbath, but the Gentiles give it the name of Sunday;) and on that day before the Sabbath, all persons should cease from doing business in the Courts of Judicature, and abstain from all other employments, and should worship God with Prayers and Supplications.* In these words of *Sozomen*, something of difficulty occurs, as to what respects *Fryday*. For I can scarce perswade my self, that *Constantine* should have commanded, that on that day people should abstain from doing business in the Courts of Judicature. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* affirms no such thing concerning *Fryday*, but concerning Sunday only. There is a Law of *Constantine*'s extant in the *Theodosian Code*, *Tit. de Feriis*, in which Law Sunday only is excepted. Therefore *Sozomen* added this of his own. Who seeing this observed in his own Times at *Constantinople*, (for he was an Advocate in that City, together with one *Aquilinus*, as he himself relates in *his second book chap.* 3.) believed *Constantine* to have been the Authour of this thing. *Valesius*.

CHAP. XIX.

How He ordered the * Ethnick-Souldiers *to pray on Sundays.*

* Or, *Heathens.*

But to them who as yet had not embraced the Doctrine of the divine Faith, He issued out a Precept in a Second Law, that [a] on Sundays they should go out into a [b] pure field in

[a] Τὰς κυριακὰς ἡμέρας. It must be written πὰς κυριακὰς, &c; or at least χτ πὰς κυριακὰς, &c. *Valesius*.

[b] He terms that *a pure field, wherein there were no Altars, no Sepulchres.* Valesius.

the Suburbs; where, after a Signal given, they should all together power forth a prayer to God, which they had * learnt before. For, [c] that they ought not to place their confidence in their Spears, nor in their Armour, nor in their strength of Body: but were to acknowledge the supream God, the giver of every good thing, and of Victory it self; and, that to him the solemn prayers were to be performed; lifting up their hands on high towards Heaven; but raising the eyes of their mind higher, as far as the celestial King himself: and that in their prayers they ought to call upon Him as the giver of Victory, the Saviour, the Preserver, and the Assistant. Further, he himself gave all His Souldiers a form of prayer, ordering all of them to recite these words in the Latine tongue.

* Or, *Meditated on.*

[c] Μὴ τε δεῖν χερῶς, *that they ought not to use their Spears.* In *Eusebius's Panegyrick, chap. 9*, where this passage occurs in the same words; 'tis truer written χερῶν, *that they ought not to place*, &c: which the translatour perceived not. *Valesius*.

CHAP. XX.

The Form of Prayer which *Constantine* gave to His Souldiers.

THee we acknowledge [to be] the only God: Thee we declare [to be] King: Thee we invoke as Our Assistant. 'Tis Thy Gift, that we have gotten Victories: By Thee we have vanquished Our Enemies: To Thee we pay our thanks for past * *Blessings: and from Thee expect [more] in future. We are all Thy humble Suppliants: Keep Our Emperour* Constantine *(together with His most pious Children,) in safety amongst us, and continue Him a Victor during the longest space of time, we humbly beseech Thee.* These things He ordered his Military Companies to do on Sundays, and taught them to utter these expressions in their prayers to God.

* Goods.

CHAP. XXI.

[*He orders*] *the Representation of Our Saviour's Cross* [*to be drawn*] *upon the Arms of his Souldiers.*

MOreover, he caused the Symbol of the Salutary Trophie to be expresst [a] upon the very Arms [of His Souldiers: and [commanded,] that before his [b] Armed Forces, none

[a] *Sozomen* says the same, book 1. chap. 8, &c. *Further, that he might accustome His Souldiers to worship God in the same manner with himself, he markt their Arms with the Symbol of the Cross.* Which words of *Sozomen*, as any one may see, are taken out of *Eusebius*. Further, by the term ὅπλων *Arms*, I understand *the Bucklers* or *Shields*, whereon *Constantine* ordered the Salutary sign of the Cross to be painted. In *the Notitia of the Roman Empire*, such kind of Shields as these are to be seen, whereon the sign of the Cross is divers ways expresst. Moreover, *Prudentius* (in *his Book against Symmachus*) attests the same in these verses:

Christus purpureum Stellanti pictus in auro
Signabat Labarum: Clypeorum insignia Christus
Pinxerat. —— Valesius.

[b] Ἐνόπλῳ σταυρῷ, *before the Armed Cross.* I reade ἐνόπλῳ σταυτῷ, *before his Armed Forces*; as the Translatour seems to have read. The occasion of the mistake seems to have been given by the contracted Form of writing. For whereas the *Librarius* [*Book-writer*] had written σῷ, some unskilfull Transcriber thought that the meaning of that abbreviature was σταυρῷ, *Cross*. Valesius.

of

[t] Χρυσῶν μὴ ἀγαλμάτων. Before these words in the Greek, the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* add two words in this manner, τὰ πρὸ χρυσῶν, &c. And in the following line, after the word τὸ μυστήριον, the *same Copies* and S[r] *Hen. Savil's* insert the verb ἠγείρετο. But the common reading, which we have followed, is far better. *Valef.*

of the [t] Golden Images ſhould be carried in pomp, (as the uſage had heretofore been;) but the Salutary Trophie only.

CHAP. XXII.

*His Fervency and earneſtneſs in praying, and his *Religious obſervation of the Feſtival of Eaſter.* * Or, *Honour.*

[1] Ὅπου δὴ προσευχῆς. I have, as I think, very happily mended the Title of this chapter, in this manner, σπουδῆ προσευχῆς, *his fervency and earneſtneſs in praying.* For in this chapter *Euſebius* treats concerning that fervency in praying wherewith *Conſtantine* was inflamed. The cauſe of the miſtake aroſe from the uſage of the *Antiquarii* [*perſons that wrote Books fair;*] who in their writing out the Titles of chapters, were wont to omit the firſt letter, that afterwards at their leiſure they might paint it with *Vermilion.* In the *Kings Sheets* the firſt letter of the Title is always left out. But in the *Fuk. Copy* 'tis ſometimes added, ſometimes omitted. For inſtance the Title of this chapter, both in the *Fuketian Copy* and in the *Kings ſheets*, is thus worded, πῶς δεῖ προσευχῆς, the firſt letter being omitted; which the *Fuketian Manuſcript*, in the body of the Book, does make good in this manner, ὅπως δεῖ, &c; very ill, and without any ſenſe, as it is apparent. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Myſteries.*

But He himſelf, in regard he was a partaker of the ſacred * Rites, every day at ſtated hours ſhut himſelf up within the inmoſt Rooms of his Imperial Palace, where he converſt alone with his only God; and falling upon his knees, made his requeſt in humble ſupplications, that he might obtain thoſe things which he ſtood in need of. But on the days of the Salutary Feſtival, he raiſed the vigour of his Religious exerciſes and meditations, and with his utmoſt ſtrength of body and mind [b] performed the Office of a Prelate or Pontif. [c] And with a chearfullneſs and diligence he himſelf lead on all perſons to the celebration of the Feaſt. But he turned the ſacred Vigil into the brightneſs of day, [d] pillars of wax which were of a vaſt height being lighted up all over the City, by thoſe perſons to whom this affair was given in charge.

[b] Θείας ἱερουργείας ἐτέλειτο. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it, *divinos ſacrorum Ritus obibat,* *He performed the divine Rites of things ſacred.* *Muſculus* tranſlates it in this manner; *Sacras cerimonias expediebat, he diſpatcht the ſacred Ceremonies.* But neither of theſe two perſons perceived that this place was corrupted. I reade therefore, ἱερουργείας ἐτέλει, *perform'd the Office,* &c. For he compares *Conſtantine* to a *Prelate* or *Pontif:* whence he ſubjoyns theſe words in the *following chapter,* ὅπως μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἱερεῖτο θεῷ, *In this manner therefore he himſelf performed the Office of a Prieſt to his own God:* and in the *chapter after that,* adds, that, *Conſtantine* behaved himſelf as a Biſhop; and in preſence of the Biſhops took that appellation upon himſelf. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ὡδὲ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ὧδε δή. I read σπουδῇ τοίς πᾶσι τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑξάρχων, *And with a chearfullneſs,* &c. So above at *chap.* 17, his words are, σπουδῇ ὑξάρχων αὐτὸς πρὸ ἔνδον ἐκκλησιαζομένων, *with diligence and chearfulneſs himſelf lead the way to thoſe who aſſembled within that Church.* Valeſ.

[d] Κηροῖς λίνοις. The *Chriſtians* in the Vigil of the Feaſt of Eaſter lighted a vaſt company of wax Tapers. Which thing having been done by them, within the Church only; *Conſtantine* gave order that without the Church alſo Tapers ſhould be every where lighted, in honour of ſo great a Feſtival. And whereas lights were uſually kindled in the night, in great Cities, as I have remarked at the 14[th] Book of *Amm. Marcellinus, pag. 6, of my notes; Conſtantine* would have far more, and larger Torches lighted up on that night, to the end he might induce the minds of the Heathens to a veneration of the Chriſtian Religion. Further, thoſe pillars of wax, which *Euſebius* makes mention of here, do excellently well denote the *Paſchal-Taper* which we are wont to light up in the Vigil of Eaſter: concerning which Taper *Barnabas Briſſonius* has written a particular Book. See *Gregory Nazianzene in his* 19[th] *Oration.* And in *his ſecond Oration de Paſcha,* pag. 676, he ſays, that then Lights were uſually kindled both in private and publickly; in ſo much that, by reaſon of the multitude of lights which all ages and degrees of men lighted up, that night was rendred tranſcendently bright. *Gaudentius Brixienſis* therefore does deſervedly term that night, *noctem ſplendidiſſimam, a moſt ſplendid night;* as does likewiſe *Zeno Veronenſis* in *his firſt Sermon ad Neophytos.* Valeſ.

[e] Torches likewiſe were kindled, which enlightned all places; in ſo much that this Myſtick Vigil was rendred brighter than any the moſt glorious day. But as ſoon as the day-light appeared; in imitation of our Saviour's Beneficence, [f] He reacht out a bountifull hand to all Nations, Provinces, and people, and beſtowed on all perſons the richeſt ſort of Gifts.

[e] Λαμπάδες δὲ πύρεοι. *Muſculus* took theſe words in ſuch a ſenſe, as if they were an expoſition of the foregoing words, κηροῖς λίνοις, *pillars of wax.* But *Chriſtophorſon* diſtinguiſhes λαμπάδας from *thoſe pillars of wax;* whom we have alſo followed. *Grecians* do properly term thoſe λαμπάδας, which the Latines call *Tedæ, Torches;* as *Pollux* informs us *Book* 10. *chap.* 26. In which place of *Pollux* the reading muſt be ἐν ξαντείαις, not ἐξαντείαις, as 'tis commonly printed. Hence a Game amongſt the *Greeks* was termed λαμπαδηδρομία, ſo called from theſe Torches. *Grecians* do likewiſe uſe λάμπας to ſignifie *a Lamp,* in which ſenſe it occurs in the 25[th] *Chap. of Saint Matthew;* in the ſame manner that φανὸς is taken both for a *Torch,* and alſo for a *Lamp.* Valeſ.

[f] This paſſage of *Euſebius* is to be taken notice of in reference to the *Eaſter-Alms,* which *Conſtantine* was wont to beſtow yearly, in memory of that Benefit which Chriſt on thoſe days conferred upon mankind. The Ancient *Chriſtians* were heretofore wont on the Feaſt-day of *Eaſter* to diſtribute money amongſt the poor: which thing was carefully performed not only by Lay-perſons, but by the Clergy alſo. Concerning which matter there is an eminent paſſage in *Commodiana's Second Book of Inſtitutions, Chap.* 75.

C ongruit in Paſcha, die feliciſſimo noſtro,
L atentur & illi qui poſtulant ſumpta diurna.
E rogetur eis quod ſufficit, Vinum & Eſca.
R eſpicite fontem quo memorentur iſta pro vobis.
I mmodico ſumptu deficitis Chriſto donare.
C im ipſi non facitis, quomodo ſuadere poteſtis
J uſtitiam Legis talibus? Vel ſemel in anno.
S ic multos urget blaſphemia ſæpe de Vobis.

Commodianus ſpeaks to the Clergy, as 'tis apparent from the Title of the Poem, and from the firſt letters of every verſe. And he adviſes them, that at leaſt on *Eaſter-day* they ſhould beſtow an Alms upon the poor. He reproves them alſo, becauſe, by reaſon of their living too high, they had nothing left which they might beſtow on the poor. For that is the meaning of this verſe;

Immodico ſumptu deficitis Chriſto donare.

Concerning theſe very *Paſchal-Alms, Anaſtaſius* (in the *Life of Pope Hadrian*) ſpeaks in theſe words. *Simulque & in Balneo juxta eandem Eccleſiam ſito,* &c; *As likewiſe in the Bath alſo, which is ſituate near the ſame Church, where Our Brethren, the poor of Chriſt, who were wont to meet yearly to receive Alms in the Paſchal Feſtivity, and to bathe;* &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How He prohibited the worſhip of Idols; but honoured the Feaſts of the Martyrs.

IN this manner therefore He Himſelf performed the Office of a Prieſt to his own God. But to all perſons who lived under the *Roman* Empire, as well to the Commonalty as the Milice, the doors of Idolatry were ſhut, [a] and every ſort of ſacrifice was prohibited. A Law alſo was tranſmitted to the Preſidents of Provinces, that they likewiſe ſhould pay a veneration to the Lord's day. Which [Preſidents] [b] by the Emperour's Order did in like manner honour

[a] These words muſt be rendred favourably. For 'tis manifeſt, that the Sacrifices of the Heathens were not expreſly and by name forbidden by *Conſtantine the Great,* as *Libanius* in expreſs words informs us in *His Oration Pro Templis.* Indeed, *Conſtantine* by iſſuing forth a Law prohibited private and domeſtick Sacrifices, as it appears from the *Theodoſian Code de Maleficis & Mathematicis.* and from the *firſt Law de Paganis.* But he forbad not the publick and ſolemn Sacrifices, which had been inſtituted by their Anceſtours. *Euſebius* repeats the ſame thing in *chap.* 25. Valeſ.

[b] Τῷ νόμῳ βασιλέως. It muſt be made οἱ τῷ νόμῳ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες being to be underſtood; and we have rendred it accordingly. In *Robert Stephen's Edition* a point is ill ſet after the word βασιλέως; whereas it ſhould be placed after the verb χαρίσων, as 'tis in the *Kings Copy,* and in *the Sheets:* agreeably whereto we have pointed it. *Valeſ.*

the Feast-days of the Martyrs, and shewed a due Reverence to the Times of the Ecclesiastick Festivals. All which things were performed with the greatest joy and satisfaction imaginable to the Emperour.

CHAP. XXIV.

That He affirmed Himself to be as 'twere a Bishop of External Affairs.

WHerefore, at an Entertainment which one time He gave the Bishops, he cast forth an expression which was not absurdly uttered, [affirming] that he himself also was a Bishop: the words he made use of in our hearing, were these. *You* (says He) *are Bishops in those matters transacted within the Church: But in them done without* [*the Church,*] *I am a Bishop, constituted by God.* Therefore, the thoughts of his mind were agreeable to his expressions; He governed all His Subjects with an Episcopal Care, and by what ever Methods he could take, incited them to be followers of * true piety.

* Or, *A pious life.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning His prohibiting of Sacrifices, *and* Initiations; *and concerning His abolishing the* Gladiators, *and the heretofore impure* [*Priests*] *of* the Nile.

ON this account it was, that by frequent Laws and Constitutions He prohibited all persons, from Sacrificing to Idols; from a Curious consulting of [a] Diviners and Soothsayers; from erecting Images; from performing secret *Initiations*; and from polluting the Cities with the * Bloody Shows of *Gladiators*. And whereas they of *Egypt* and *Alexandria* had a custom [b] of worshipping their River, by the ministery of certain effeminate men; another Law was transmitted

* Or, *Murders.*

[a] Μαντεῖα. The Translatour has rendred it ill, *nec oracula curiosè sectarentur, nor should curiously follow Oracles.* For the *Dæmons* had long before ceased from giving forth Oracles. Wherefore *Constantine*'s Law was superfluous, wherein he had forbidden the searching after Oracles. I had rather therefore understand here *the Diviners, Prophets, Astrologers,* and *Soothsayers*: the consulting of whom was prohibited by *Constantine*, in the *first* and *second Law Cod. Theod. de Maleficis & Mathematicis.* Vales.

[b] Τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν δι' ἀνδρῶν ἐκτεθηλυμμένων θεραπεύειν. Amongst the Egyptians, *Androgyni* were the Priests of the *Nile*, as *Gregory Nazianzen* informs us in *his second Invective against Julian*; as also in *his Poem to Nemesius*. The same *Gregorius* (in the *Oration which he wrote in Sancta Lumina Epiphaniorum,*) does elegantly assert, that by this fact the *Egyptians* reproacht, rather than honoured *the Nile*. Concerning the same Rite of the *Egyptians*, there is an eminent passage in *Libanius's Oration Pro Templis*, which, in regard it makes very much for our purpose, and was not understood by the Translatour, deserves to be set down here: ὃ τοίνυν τῇ ῥώμῃ μόνον ἐφυλάχθη τὸ θύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σαρόπτου, τῇ πολλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ, καὶ πλήθει κεκλημένῃ νεῶν, δι' ὧν κοινὴν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ τὴν τῆς αἰγύπτου φορᾶν. αὕτη δὲ ἔργον τοῦ νείλου. τὸν νεῖλον δὲ ἑστιᾶν, ἀναβαίνειν ὅπη τὰς ἀρούρας πείθοντα, ὧν ὑπεμνήσθη τε πρὸ, καὶ παρ' ὧν, καὶ δι' ἃν αὐτὸς ἐθελήσειεν. ἃ μοι δοκοῦσιν εἰδότες οἱ καὶ τοῦτα ἂν ἥδεως ἀνελόντες, ὡς ἀνελεῖν. ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν εὐνοχεῖσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς νομίμοις, ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ εἰωθότι. *Nor was a permission of Sacrificing reserved to* Rome *only, but to the City of* Sarapis *also, that great and populous City, which is possest of a multitude of Temples, by the assistance whereof it renders the plenty of* Egypt *common to all men. Now, this* [*plenty*] *is the product of the* Nile. *They entertain the* Nile *at a Banquet, and* [*those Sacred Rites*] *perswade it to rise and overflow the Fields; which* [*Rites*] *not being performed both at the stated and solemn time, and by those persons* [*appointed for that purpose,*] *the* Nile *would not* [*swell and overflow its Banks.*] *Which thing when they well understood, who would very willingly have abolished these* [*Rites*] *also; nevertheless, on second thoughts they would not abolish them; But suffered that River to be entertained at a banquet, according to the usage of the Ancients, because of the usual Reward it paid,* [*to wit, a plentifull Crop.*] From this place of *Libanius* it plainly appears, that these *Androgyni* the Priests of the *Nile* were not abolished by *Constantine:* or if they were abolished by him, they were soon after restored. *Vales.*

to them, [wherein 'twas ordered] that that whole Tribe of * *Androgyni*, in regard they were all an † adulterate sort of people, should be utterly destroyed; and that it should not be lawfull for those to be seen in any place whatever, who were distempered with the disease of this sort of uncleanness. Now, whereas the superstitious supposed, that the *Nile* would not in future any more overflow their Fields, as it had usually done before; God, in favour to the Emperour's Law, performed the quite contrary to what they expected. For those persons who by their obscenity had polluted the Cities, ‖ were taken off indeed. But the River *Nile*, as if that whole Region had been cleansed and purged for it, ran higher than it had ever done before; and overflowing with a rich stream, laid all the fields under water: whereby it effectually taught the unwise, that they ought to have an Aversion for impure persons; but, that the original Cause of Blessings and Success was to be ascribed to the only [God, the] Giver of every thing that is Good.

* *Persons that were both Males and Females.*

† *Falsified,* or, *depraved.*

‖ Or, *Were not any more.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The amendment of that Law made against the Childless, as also the * *alteration of that Law concerning Wills and Testaments.*

* Or, *Correction.*

BUt, in as much as the things of this Nature performed by the Emperour in every Province, are almost infinite; whoever shall attempt to record them accurately, will be furnished with plenty of matter [for such a subject.] Of the same sort herewith is this likewise, that, to the end he might reduce [many] Laws to a greater Sanctity; instead of the old, he made new ones. And 'tis easie to manifest * the manner hereof, * by one or two instances. The old Laws punished the [a] Childless with a deprivation of the inheritance of their Fathers. And this Law against the Childless was doubtless the Cruellest of Laws, in regard it inflicted a punishment on them, as if they had been guilty of some Crime. [b] But the Emperour abrogated this Statute, and turned it into an holy and religious Law. For he said, that those who committed faults designedly and on set purpose, ought to be chastized with condign punishment.

* Or, *In few words*

[a] See *Sozomen* book. 1. chap. 9. who, in regard he was a Lawyer belonging to the *Byzantine Forum*, does explain these knots of the *Roman* Laws, more perspicuously than *Eusebius*. Consult *Lipsius* also, in *his Comment* at the *Third Book of Tacitus's Annals*; where he discourses at large *de Lege Papia*. Vales.

[b] Λύσας δὴ συγχωρεῖ κληρονομεῖν τοὺς θεσπίσαντας τοῦτο. I read, λύσας δὴ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς, *But the Emperour*, &c; and do expunge these four words συγχωρεῖ κληρονομεῖν τοὺς θεσπίσαντας, which crept out of the margin into the Text. Further, this Constitution of the Emperour *Constantine*, is exstant in the 8th *Book of the Theodosian Code*, in the *Title de Infirmandis Pœnis Cœlibatûs & Orbitatis*. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian* Copies, instead of λύσας δὴ, the reading is τελοῦντας δὲ, &c. And so likewise 'tis written in the Copies of *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and *Christophorson*, as the *Geneva Printers* have told us. But I had rather reade from *Sozomen*, ὧν συγχωρῶν κληρονομεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω θεσπίσαντας. Vales.

But,

But, Nature her self hath * denied Children to many persons: who although they earnestly desired a numerous issue; nevertheless wanted Children, by reason of their infirmity of † body. Others lived without having any Children, not that they would not have had Children to succeed them; but because they would avoid Carnal Copulation with a Woman; which [sort of continency] they embraced, out of their most ardent Love to Philosophy. Besides, many women consecrated to the service of God, were studious followers of Chastity and spotless Virginity, having dedicated themselves, in reference as well to their minds as bodies, to a chast and most holy Life. What then? Ought this to be accounted worthy of punishment, or rather of praise and admiration? For, the very inclination to this thing deserves an high commendation: but, to perfect and bring it to effect, is a matter above the strength of humane Nature. 'Tis fit therefore, that those who (though very desirous of Children, nevertheless) are deprived of them by the infirmity of Nature, should be pitied rather than punished. But he who is lead by the Love of a Sublimer Philosophy, is so far from deserving punishment, that he ought to be the wonder and admiration of all men. In this manner the Emperour with the greatest equity mended that Law. Further, provision had been made by the Old Laws, that dying persons, [c] who were at the very last gaspe as I may say, should make their Wills with a great deal of exactness, in some certain words: and there were Set Forms and Solemnities prescribed, and what expressions ought to be added. And hereupon many frauds were practised, in order to the disannulling the Will of the dead. Which when the Emperour perceived, he corrected this Law also; affirming, that a dying person ought to have a liberty of making his Will as he pleased, whether in bare words, or in any ordinary expressions, and, that he might declare his Last Will in [d] any written Form; or if he had rather do it by word of mouth, he might; provided it were done in the presence of Credible Witnesses, who were able to preserve integrity with the Truth.

* Or, *Hath demonstrated many persons to be Childless.*
† Or, *Nature.*

[c] Ἐξ ἐπ' ἀυλῆς ἐφάτης. The words are misplaced here; but may easily be restored in this manner, ἐπ' ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς ἐξακριβολογεῖσθαι. This Law of *Constantine*, wherein he abolish't the severity of the Old Law, and the Forms of words in making Wills, is not (I think) now extant. But 'tis mentioned in the *Third Law of the Theodosian Code de Testamentis.* In the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Manuscripts*, ἐξ is wanting. *Vales.*

[d] There is indeed a Law of *Constantine*'s extant, (*Cod. Justin. Book 6. Tit. 21. qui Testamenta facere possint*, &c.) dated from *Nicomedia*, concerning the Testaments of Souldiers in expedition, or in present service; by which they are discharged from the obligation of those solemnities which are by the Law made necessary in the Wills of other persons; and their Wills are made good, if but written on the Scabberd of their Swords, or on their Targets with their Bloud, or with their Swords in the dust, at such time as they died in Battle.

CHAP. XXVII.

That he made a Law, that a Christian *should not be Slave to a* Jew, *and that the Decrees of Synods should be firm and authentick, and so forth.*

MOreover, he made a Law, that no *Christian* should serve *Jews*. For, it was [he said] a thing not to be permitted, that those who had been redeemed by our Saviour, should be reduced under the yoak of Slavery to those who were the Murderers of the Prophets and of the Lord. But if any person professing the *Christian* Religion should be found to be Slave to a *Jew*; [his order was,] that he should be set at Liberty; but, that the *Jew* shou'd be punished with a pecuniary mulct. He also confirmed those [a] Decrees of Bishops which were promulged in Synods, by his own authority: in so much that, 'twas not in the power of the Governours of Provinces to rescind the Bishops determinations. For the Priests of God [he said] were * to be preferred before any Judge whatever. He issued forth to His Subjects a vast number of Laws of this nature: to comprize all which in a peculiar Volumn, to the end an accurate inspection may be made into the Emperour's prudence even in this particular, would require a greater leisure. What necessity is there of our relating at present, in what manner he applied himself to the supream God, and was from morning to night sollicitously inquisitive, what sort of men he might do good to; and how, in reference to His Beneficence, He shewed himself equal and † obliging to all persons?

* Or, *More approved than any, &c.*

† Κοινὸς, *Liberal*; *Valesius* renders it *Civil.*

[a] There is a Law of *Constantine*'s extant in the *close of the Theodosian Code*, under the *Title de Episcopali audientia*, wherein the Emperour commands that the sentences pronounced by a Bishop, even in *Causis Minorum*, should obtain the force of a Law. The Translatour therefore has done ill, at this place to render ὅρους, *Regulas, Rules* or *Canons*. For the discourse here is not concerning the Ecclesiastick Rules, which are promulged in a Synod by the Bishops; but concerning Sentences pronounc't between persons at Law, as 'tis apparent from the words which follow. Moreover, *Sozomen* understood these words of *Eusebius* no otherwise. But, that which occasions the difficulty is, what *Eusebius* has said in the following words, ὅρους τοὺς ἐν συνόδοις ἀποφανθέντας. *those Decrees —— which were promulged in Synods*. But, σύνοδος is here used to signifie an *Ecclesiastick Session*, to wit of a Bishop and his Presbyters. *Sozomen* has the very same term, in *his first book, chap. 9*; where he speaks concerning *this Law* of *Constantine*. *Which Authour's words* I do so much the more willingly produce, as often as the Laws are treated of, because he was a person incomparably well skill'd in the *Roman* Laws, as 'tis evident from *his books*. His words therefore in the foresaid *book* and *chapter* are these. Τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τῷ κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς δικαζομένοις, &c. *Moreover, he permitted Litigants to appeal to the Judgment of the Bishops, if they had a mind to avoid the Civil Magistrates. And, that their* [the Bishops] *Sentence should be firm and valid, and of more force than the Sentence of the other Judges, as if it had been pronounc't by the Emperour himself. And, that the Governours of Provinces, and their Officials, should put in Execution the Sentences pronounc't* [*by the Bishops.*] *And, that the Decrees of Synods should be unalterable.* But, if any one will have the *Councills of Bishops* to be meant by the term συνόδοις, then ὅρους will signifie the Sentences pronounc't in a Synod against mischievous Priests and Hereticks; which Sentences the Emperours do confirm in the *Second Law*, in the *same Title de Episcopali audientia*. Vales.

CHAP. XXVIII.

His Gifts [*bestowed*] *on the Churches; and His Distributions of money to Virgins, and to the Poor.*

BUt on the Churches of God He conferred innumerable Gifts, in a manner that was extraordinary and transcendent; sometimes bestowing Lands; at others, * *Annonæ*, for the maintenance of poor men, fatherless children, and † widows. Lastly, He took all imaginable care, that even infinite numbers of garments should be provided for the naked and such as wanted clothing. But above all others, He vouchsafed them the highest honour, who had wholly ‖ addicted themselves to the divine Philosophy. Indeed

* Or, *Certain proportions of Bread*, or *Bread-corn.*
† Or, *Miserable women.*
‖ Or, *Dedicated their Lives to*, &c.

deed, he paid little less than a Veneration to the most Holy Quire of God's perpetual Virgins; in regard he was fully perswaded, that that very God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, had taken up his habitation within the minds of such persons.

CHAP. XXIX.

Speeches and * *Discourses written by* Constantine.

* *Declamations.*

YEa farther, He spent whole nights without taking any rest, to the end He might accomplish his own mind by a meditation on divine matters. He likewise employed his vacant hours in [a] writing Orations, and [b] made frequent Speeches in publick: accounting it as a duty incumbent on himself, to Govern his Subjects by the precepts of reason, and to make * His own Government an Empire of Reason. Wherefore He himself would call a Meeting. Numerous multitudes of people flock't into the place of hearing, that they might be Auditours of a Philosophizing Emperour. But if during his Speaking, any occasion was offered of treating concerning Divinity, he stood upright immediately, and with a † composed Countenance and low Voice, [c] seemed to initiate those that were present, in the Mysteries of the Divine Doctrine, with all imaginable piety and modesty. And when His Hearers applauded him with their Acclamations, He gave them notice by a nod, that they should look upwards to Heaven, and with pious praises highly admire and honour that One Supream King. Farther, he divided his Speeches in such a manner, that in the first place he would lay the Confutation of the Errour of *Polytheism*, as the foundation [of his Discourse,] asserting by most evident arguments, that the Superstition of the *Pagans* was meer fraud, and the Bulwark of impiety. Then he discoursed concerning the Sole Empire of God. After this he treated about Providence, whereby as well all things in general, as every Individual is governed. From hence he proceeded to the *Salutary Dispensation*, and shewed *That* to have been done necessarily, and in an agreeable manner. Passing from that point, he began a discourse concerning the Divine * Judgment. In his treating whereof he gave the minds of His Hearers most sharp and severe Touches; reproving the Rapacious and † Deceitfull, and those that had enslaved themselves to an insatiable desire of money. He likewise whip't as 'twere and scourg'd with his Expressions, some of His Confidents that stood round Him; and forc't them, when stung by their own Consciences, to Cast down their eyes. To whom he evidenc'd and declared with a loud voice, that they themselves should give God an account of their own undertakings [d]. For [he told them,] that the Supream God had given him the Empire of the world; but, that he, in imitation of the Deity, had committed the parts of His Empire to their Government: moreover, that all of them should at a fit opportunity render an account of their Actions to the Supream King. These things he attested continually; these things he suggested to them; with these Lessons he instructed them. And truly he himself, trusting in the sincerity of his own Faith, not only declared, but had his thoughts taken up with such matters as these. But they were unapt to learn, and deaf to all good Documents; applauding indeed his sayings with their tongues and Acclamations; but in their practises they disregarded them by reason of their unsatiableness.

[a] Least any one should think, that our *Eusebius* does flatter *Constantine* here, the same is also attested by *Victor*, in *his Epitome*, in these words. *Ipse assiduè Legere, Scribere, meditari.* Vales.

[b] Ἐποιεῖτο τὰς παῤῥησίας. This term παῤῥησία was not understood by the Translatour. For thus he renders it; *frequentes cum suis inibat congressus*; whereas it ought to have been rendred, *crebras habebat conciones, he made frequent Speeches.* For παῤῥησίαν ποιεῖσθαι imports *verba facere, to make a Speech*; which *Græcians* do more frequently term περίοδον ποιεῖσθαι. So *Isocrates* terms it in *the beginning of his Areopagitick*; περὶ σωφροσύνης πῶς περίοδον ἐποιησάμην: and also *Pausanias (in Achaicis) pag.* 168. *Edit. Aldin*; as likewise in *the two Decreta Deliorum*, which are extant amongst *the Marmora Arundelliana, pag.* 42 *and* 43: εἶδ' δὲ αὐτοῖς περίοδον περὶς τῶν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρώτους μετὰ τὰ ἱερά. Which words are thus to be rendred: *ad Senatum quoque & ad populum verba faciendi expleris sacris primi omnium habeant facultatem. Polybius (book* 4. *pag.* 302.) uses ἔφοδον διδόναι in the same signification: διόριθμοι δεῖν, τῷ τε μαχατᾶ διδόδς τῶν ἔφοδον ὅτι τοῦ πολλοῦς, &c. Which place, in regard 'tis very faulty, we will by the by restore. Write thus therefore, οἱ μὲν νέοι ὥοντο δεῖν, &c. Which emendation is confirmed by *Polybius*'s next words, For it follows, οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι διδόντες τῶν ἧβν νέων συνεφῆν, &c. Thus much concerning the signification of the word. As to the thing it self; from this deed of *Constantine* seems to have been derived the usage of the *Byzantine Emperours*, who made *Catechetick Orations even concerning things sacred*, which Orations were termed *Silentia*, as you may see in *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word σιλέντιον. Vales.

[c] Μυεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτούς. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, the reading is μυεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ παῤῥησίας, *seemed to initiate*, &c. Which in my judgment is the truer reading. *Vales.*

* *Or, Judicatory.*

† *Or, Covetous.*

[d] Τῶν ἐγχειρισθέντων αὐτοῖς. After these words, in the *Kings Copy and in Robert Stephen's Edition* follow these, ὡς' ἤδη ποτὲ ἧβν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, &c; which occur at the beginning of the 30th *chap.* But in the *Geneva Edition*, Some body, who I know not, hath noted at the margin, that there is a great imperfection here; which *Scaliger, Bongarsius, Gruterus*, and others supply in this manner: ὥστε ἤδη ποτὲ ἧβν ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν διαφέρειν τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀρχῆς, τὰς τε μέρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι δίκας, πάντας μὲν τῷ μεγάλῳ, &c. But first, those words ὡς' ἤδη ποτὲ, must be expunged. For the imperfection, if there be any in this place, begins before these words ὡς' ἤδη ποτὲ, which in the *Geneva Edition* appear corruptly repeated. Secondly, those words ἧβν ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν, &c. are altogether void of sense. This imperfection therefore is better made up in *Moræus's Book*, thus: πάντας μὲν γὰρ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, τάς τε καιρὸν τὰς ἐυθύνας ὑφέξειν, &c; to the end of the chapter, as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition*. In the same Copy the reading is truer, thus, ταῦτα σωεχῶς διεμαρτύρετο, *These things he attested continually.* Sr *Henry Savil* in the lower margin of *his Copy*, makes good this place thus; ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ ἧβν ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέχειν τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀρχῇ, τάς τε τε μέρος αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέψαι δίκας. πάντας μὲν γὰρ, &c. But, from the footsteps of the written reading which I found in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, I have, as I think, very happily restored this place. The writing therefore of the *Fuketian Manuscript* is this: ἐγχειρισθέντων αὐτοῖς... τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἧβν ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέχειν. αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ μιμήσει τοῦ κρείττονος τῆς ἀρχῆς τάς τε μέρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι δίκας... πάντα... μὲν ἧβν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ καιρὸν, &c. What is easier than to make up these imperfections in this manner? αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν, &c. And a little after, καὶ μιμησιν τοῦ κρείττονος, τῆς ἀρχῆς τάς τε μέρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι δοικήσεις. πάντας γε μὲν τῷ ἧβν ὅλων βασιλεῖ, &c. Nothing is plainer, nothing more certain. That is, *That the Empire of the world was delivered to Him by the Supream God: but, that He, by the Example of the Deity, had distributed the parts of His Empire to be governed by them.* Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

That He shewed a certain Covetous person the measure of a Grave, to the end he might shame him.

WHerefore, one time He took one of those persons about him by the hand, and spake these words to him. *How far (Hark ye!) Do we stretch our* * *Covetous desires?* Then marking out on the ground the † length of a man, with a spear which he hapned to have in his

* *Or, Unsatiable.*

† *Or, Stature.*

his hand: *Although* (said he,) *you were possest of all the Riches of this world, and of the whole Element of the Earth, yet you shall carry away nothing more than this space of ground which I have mark't out, if even* [a] *that be allowed you.* Notwithstanding this Blessed Prince said and did these things, yet he reclaimed no person. But, 'twas manifestly evidenced by the very event of affairs, that the Emperours * Admonitions were rather like Divine Oracles, than bare words.

[a] For 'tis uncertain whether you shall be buried in the ground; in regard you may either be burnt, or drowned in the Sea, or devoured by wild Beasts. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τύχοις, not τύχης, as 'tis here. *Vales.*

* Or, *Predictions.*

CHAP. XXXI.

That he was laught at because of his too great Clemency.

FUrther, whereas there was no fear of * any Capital punishment, which might restrain ill men from wickedness; (the Emperour himself being wholly inclined to Clemency, and the Governours in each Province wholly neglecting the prosecution and punishment of Crimes;) this thing exposed the publick Administration of Affairs to no ordinary blame and reprehension: whether justly, or otherwise, every one may judge according as he shall think good. Let me be permitted to record the Truth.

* Or, *Death.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning Constantine's * Oration, *which He wrote to* The Convention of the Saints.

MOreover, the Emperour * wrote his Orations in the *Latine* tongue. But they were rendred into † *Greek* by the [a] *Interpreters*, whose imployment it was to do this. One of these orations done into *Greek*, I will, for an instance, annex after the close of this present Work; to which [Speech] he himself gave this Title, *To the Convention of the Saints*, dedicating that His Discourse to the Church of God: [which Oration I will subjoyn for this reason,] least any one should account our Testimony in reference to these matters, to be [nothing more than] Ostentation and Noise.

* Or, *Volumn*, or, *discourse.*

* Or, *Gave the writing of his*, &c.

† Or, *Our tongue.*

[a] Under the disposition of the *Magister Officiorum* [*Master of Offices*] were the Interpreters of various Nations and Languages, as the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* informs us. *Constantine* therefore made use of their assistance in translating *his Orations* and *Letters* out of *Latine* into *Greek*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How He heard Eusebius's *Panegyrick concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour, in a standing posture.*

BUt that, in my judgment, is in no wise to be silently overpast, which this admirable [Prince] did, even in Our own presence. For, when we had one time besought him, being confident of his singular piety towards God, that he would be an Auditor of a Speech of Ours concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour; He gave us Audience with all imaginable willingness. And a great company of Hearers standing round, [a] within the Imperial Palace it self, He himself stood also, and together with the rest gave Audience. But when We entreated him to rest himself upon his Imperial Throne which was placed hard by, he would by no means be perswaded to Sit; But with an intent mind, weighed what was spoken, and by his own Testimony approved the truth of the * *Theologick Dogmata*. But when much time had been spent, and Our Oration was continued to a great length; We were desirous to break off. But he would not suffer that; but entreated us to go on till we had ended our Discourse. And when we again Sollicited Him to sit down, He on the contrary was urgent in His Refusal: sometimes affirming, *That it was unfit to hearken to Discourses which treated concerning God, with ease and remisness*; at other times saying, *that this was usefull and advantagious to Him. For it was* [He told us] *a thing consonant to Piety and Religion, to hear Discourses about Divine matters in a standing posture*. After these things were finished, we returned home, and betook our selves to our usual Studies and exercises.

[a] Ἔνδον δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις. The Translatour renders it *in ipsa Basilica, in the very Church*, which I like not. For *Eusebius* notes this as a wonderfull instance of piety in *Constantine*, that the Emperour vouchsafed to hear *Eusebius*'s Oration, in a standing posture within the very Palace. Questionless, if the Emperour had heard the Speech standing in the Church, that would have been less strange, in regard the place it self requires reverence, and because in the Church the Emperour himself is one of the number of the Faithfull. But, for the Emperour to stand in the Palace whilst a Bishop was speaking, that is a signal instance of Religion. See *chap.* 46, whence it may be manifestly gathered, that the Palace is meant here. Further, the *Christians* were heretofore wont in a standing posture to hear the Sermon of the Priest in the Church. For no body sate in the Church but the *Presbyters*, as *Optatus* informs us, Book 4. *Dum peccatorem arguit, & Sedentem increpat Deus, Specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat non ad populum, qui in Ecclesia non habet sedendi licentiam.* Vales.

* Or, *Points of Divinity.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That He wrote to Eusebius *concerning* Easter, *and about the Divine Books.*

BUt He, always [a] Sollicitously consulting the good of God's Churches, wrote a Letter to us, about providing [some Copies] of the Divinely inspired Oracles: as also [another Letter] concerning the most Holy Feast of *Easter*. [b] For, whereas we had dedicated a Book to Him, wherein the Mystick account of that Festival was explained; in what manner He rewarded and honoured us by His answer, any one may perceive, by perusing this Letter of His.

[a] Περιεγρηγορώς. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written περιγρηγορώς, which is truer, if I mistake not. *Vales.*

[b] He seems to mean the Book *de Ratione Computi paschalis*, which *Beda* (in *his Book de Ratione Temporum, Chap.* 42,) asserts to have been made by *Eusebius*. Indeed, the Emperour *Constantine*, in *his Letter to Eusebius*, does attest, that that work of *Eusebius*'s, which is here mentioned, was a Laborious work, and that it contained the whole account, Original, and perfection of the Paschal Feast. Concerning this Book of *Eusebius*, *Ferome* in *his piece de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* speaks thus. *Hippolytus rationem paschæ, temporumque Canones Scripsit, & sedecim annorum circulum reperit, & Eusebio qui super eodem paschæ canonem decem & novem annorum circuli composuit, occasionem dedit.* Which words of St *Ferome*, *Bede* hath transcribed in *his Book de Sex Ætatibus Mundi*; and in *his History*, Book 5. Chap. 22. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Constantine's [Letter] to *Eusebius*, wherein He commends His Oration concerning *Easter*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Eusebius*.

IT *is indeed a mighty Attempt, and* [*a work*] *superior to all the power of Oratory, to declare the mysteries of Christ agreeably to their dignity, and in a due manner to unfold the* [a] *Reason and Ground of Easter, and its Institution, and its advantagious and laborious consummation. For, 'tis impossible even to men that are able to understand things Divine, to declare those matters according to their dignity. Nevertheless, I do highly admire your excellent Learning, and your Extraordinary diligence, and have my self most willingly perused your Book; and, according to your desire, have given order, that it should be put into the hands of many persons who sincerely adhere to the observance of the Divine Religion. Whereas therefore you understand, with how great a delight of mind we receive such Presents as these from Your Prudence, take care to please us in future with more frequent Discourses* [b], *whereto you confess your self to have been by education accustomed. But (as the saying is,) we incite you who run, to your usuall Studies. In as much as,* [c] *this so great an opinion does sufficiently demonstrate, that you have not found an unworthy Translatour of Your Writings, who can render Your Labours into* [d] *Latine: although 'tis impossible, that such a Version should express the dignity of Works that are so egregiously eminent. God keep You, Beloved Brother!* Such was his Letter in reference to this matter. But, that which he wrote about providing [some Copies of the Scriptures] to be read in Churches, runs thus.

[a] Τῇ πάσῃ ἀντιλογίαν, *The controversie of Easter.* It must be written ἀπολογίαν, *reason*, or *cause*, as I also found it mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*. Which emendation is confirmed by the following words. For he adds, καὶ ἡρέσαν, λυσιτελῆ τε καὶ ἐπίπονον τελεσιουργίαν, *and its institution*, &c. 'Tis certain, γένεσις cannot be said concerning the original of a controversie. You would do better therefore to render ἡρέσαν, *institution*. τελεσιουργία imports the consummation of the Paschal Feast, performed by Christ, who by the Miracle of his own Resurrection, instituted a true *Pascha* for *Christians*. Vales.

[b] Λόγοις ἐυφεδάνειν. After these words in the *Greek*, in the *Kings Copy*, and *in the Edition of Robert Stephens*, these words follow, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἧς καλῶν ἔργων, &c; *although 'tis impossible, that such*, &c. But *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and others have made up this place from I know not what Copies. The same supplement I likewise found in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Moræus's Book*, and indeed something more correct than it is in the *Geneva Edition*. For, in that the reading is, οἷς ἀντελεφθῆναι σοὶ ὁμολογεῖς. But it must be written ἀναλεφθῆναι, or ἐνλεφθῆναι. Vales.

[c] Ἡ τοσαύτη πεποίθησις, *This so great a confidence*, or *perswasion*. He means *his* boldness, who by *Constantine's* order had translated *Eusebius's* Book concerning Easter: or rather, πεποίθησις is the opinion and judgment of the Emperour himself. The Translatour understood it as meant concerning the boldness or confidence of *Eusebius* himself, which can in no wise be agreeable here. Doubtless, πεποίθησις cannot here be taken otherwise, than for the judgment and perswasion, as well of *Constantine* Himself, as of other men, who highly extolled *Eusebius's* Treatise concerning Easter, which by *Constantine's* order had been rendred into Latine. *This so great an opinion of all men*, says he, *does sufficiently shew, that you have met with no unworthy a Translatour*. Futher, those words ἧς συγγεγραμμάτων may be construed two ways, either with the *adjective* ἀνάξιον, or with the term πεποίθησις. Vales.

[d] Καὶ τὸν εἰς πᾶν. After these words, in *Moræus's Copy* there is an empty space left. Questionless the word ῥωμαϊκὴν is wanting. The place therefore must be made good in this manner, τὸν εἰς πᾶν ῥωμαϊκὴν τοῦ σὰς πόνους μεταῤῥυθμίσοντα γλῶτταν, *who can render*, &c; or rather, εἰς πᾶν ῥωμαϊσμὸν, as *Eusebius* expresses himself above at ch p. 32. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, εἰς πᾶν ῥωμ.... τοῦ σὰς πόνους μεταῤῥυθμίζοντα, &c. Vales.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Constantine's Letter to *Eusebius*, concerning the providing [some Copies] of the Divine Scriptures.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Eusebius*.

IN *That City which bears Our Name, by the assistance of God Our Saviour's Providence, a vast multitude of men have joyned themselves to the most Holy Church. Whereas therefore all things do there receive a very great increase, it seems highly requisite, that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore, do you most willingly receive that which I have determined to do. For it seemed fit, to signifie to Your Prudence, that you should order fifty Copies of the Divine Scriptures (the provision and use whereof you know to be chiefly necessary for the instruction of the Church) to be written on well-prepared parchment, by artificial Transcribers of Books most skilfull in the art of accurate and fair writing; which* [*Copies*] *must be very legible, and easily portable in order to their being used. Moreover, Letters are dispatcht away from Our Clemency to the* [a] Rationalist *of the Diœcesis, that he should take care for the providing of all things necessary in order to the finishing of the said Copies. This therefore shall be the Work of your diligence,* [*to see*] *that the written Copies be forthwith provided. You are also empowered by the Authority of this our Letter, to have the use of two publick carriages, in order to their Conveyance. For by this means, those which are transcribed fair, may most commodiously be conveyed even to Our Sight; to wit, one of the Deacons of your Church being employed in the performance hereof. Who, when he comes to Us, shall be made sensible of Our* * *Bounty. God preserve you, Dear Brother!*

* Or, *Humanity.*

[a] Διοικήσεως καθολικοῦ. At this place διοίκησις signifies the *Dioceses of the East*. so the *Romans* termed a certain number of Provinces, which joyntly obeyed a *Vicarius* of the *Prætorian Præfecture*. For a *Præfectus Prætorio* had several *Dioceses* under his own dispose; but the *Vicarii* had but one *Diocese*. Further, this word began to be used in this sense about *Constantine's* times, as we learn both from *Constantine's* Letters recorded above, and also from some Laws of the *Theodosian Code*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXVII.

In what manner the Copies were provided.

THese things the Emperour gave order for. Which Order of his was immediately followed by the completion of the work it self; we having sent him [a] *Ternions* and *Quaternions* in Volumns magnificently adorned. Which very thing another answer of the Emperour's will attest. In which Letter (information having been given him, that the City *Constantia* in our Country,

[a] Τεσσαρὰ καὶ τετρασσαρά. The Translatour renders it right, *terniones & quaterniones*. For Parchment Copies were usually digested into *Quaternions*, that is, four sheets were made up together, as *Ternions* are three sheets made up together. And the *Quaternions* had sixteen pages, the *Ternions* twelve. Further, in the last page of the *Quaternion* was set the number of the *Quaternion*, to wit, 1, 2, 3, and so on; as I have observed in the most ancient Copies, as well *Greek* as *Latine*. In a very old Copy of *Gregorius Turonensis*, which was written above nine hundred years since, in the last page of the *Quaternion* I found this mark, q. 1. that is, *the first Quaternion*. Further, the Reader is to be advertized, that in these words of *Eusebius* there is an *Enallage*. For he hath said τέλεσσαι ἐν τεύχει. whereas it ought rather to have been worded thus, τεύχη ἐν τέλεσσιν. Vales.

try, heretofore consisting of men notoriously superstitious, had by an [b] impulse of piety receded from their Pristine errour of Idolatry ;) he signified, that he rejoyced, and highly approved of that Action.

[b] Ὁρμῇ θεοσεβείας. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is read thus, ὁρμητήριον θεοσεβείας, τῆς ἐμφερομένης μεταβεβληκυῖα εἰδωλικῆς πλάνης ἐχώρει. And so I guess it was written in Sr *Henry Savil's Copy*, because Sr *Henry* hath under-mark't these three words, namely, ὁρμῇ μεταβεβληκεν and πλάνης, with lines. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How the Mart-Town *of the* Gazæi, *by reason of* [*its embracing*] *the* Christian *Religion, was made a City, and named* Constantia.

FOr *Constantia* in the Province of *Palestine* having at this very time embraced the Salutary Religion, was vouchsafed a signal honour, both from God, and from the Emperour. For, it was both termed a City, which it had not been before; and likewise changed its name for a better appellation, to wit, that of the Emperour's most religious Sister.

CHAP. XXXIX.

That in Phœnice *there was a City made* [*termed* Constantina;] *and in other Cities the Idols were destroyed, and Churches erected.*

THe same thing was likewise done in many other places. For instance, in a City of the Province of *Phœnice*, which is called by the Emperour's name. The inhabitants whereof having committed their innumerable Images to the flames, changed their worship of them, for the observation of the salutary Law. Moreover, in other Provinces, they came over in great companies, as well in the Country as in the Cities, to the saving knowledge [of God,] and destroyed their Images consisting of all sorts of matter (which before had been accounted sacred by them,) as if they were nothing: they also demolished their own Temples and places of worship, which were raised to a vast height, when no person ordered them to do it. But they erected Churches from the very foundations, and made a change of their former opinion, or errour rather. But, [a] to give a particular Narrative of all this pious Emperour's Actions, is not so much our business, as theirs who were vouchsafed a continual converse with him. After therefore we have in short [b] recorded in this work those matters which came to our knowledge, we will pass to the * later part of his Life.

* Or, *Last time.*

[a] Καθ' ἕκαστα γράφειν; In the King's, and *Fuketian Copies*, 'tis written καθέκαστα, in one word; which I rather approve of. For it follows, ἧκιστα τῆ θεοφιλεῖ πραγματείᾳ. But it would be better, were it thus written, τὰ καθέκαστα. Vales.

[b] Παραδόντες τῇ γραφῇ. The Translatour renders this place thus: *nos verò quoniam breviter quæ nobis nota fuerunt, literarum monumentis mandavimus; but because we have in short committed to writing, those things which were known to us.* But I render it thus; *postquam ea quæ nobis nota sunt breviter exposuerimus, ad extremum ejus vitæ tempus Sermonem transferemus; after we have briefly declared those things which are known to us, we will turn our discourse to the last time of his Life.* Which rendition is doubtless truer, and more agreeable to the words and meaning of *Eusebius*. For, if *Eusebius* had meant so as the Translatour thought he did, he would have said, ἤδη φθάσαντες. Vales.

CHAP. XL.

That having created his three Sons Cæsars *in the three ten years of his Reign, He celebrated the dedication of the* Martyrium *at* Jerusalem.

THirty * years of His Reign were now compleated [a]. Wherein his three Sons had at different times been created Colleagues of the Empire. *Constantine*, who bore the same name with his Father, was the first that partook of that honour, about the tenth year of his Father's Empire. His second Son *Constantius*, grac't with his Grandfather's name, was declared *Cæsar* about the time of the celebration of his Father's *Vicennalia*. His third Son *Constans*, who by his own name denotes *Presence* and *Stability*, was promoted to this honour about the thirtieth year of his Father's Reign. Thus therefore when (* according to a likeness of the Trinity as 'twere,) he had gotten † three Sons beloved by God, and had honoured them with the Colleagueship of his Empire, [b] at each period of ten years of his Reign; he thought his *Tricennalia* to be a [c] most opportune time, wherein he might give thanks to [God] the supream King. And he himself judged it best and most agreeable, should He celebrate the dedication of that *Martyrium*, which with all imaginable diligence and magnificence he had caused to be erected at *Jerusalem*.

* Or, *Periods of years.*

[a] Περιόδοι τῆς βασιλείας. After these words, a whole line was left out in the *King's Copy*, and in *Rob. Stephens's Edition*; which I make up thus, ἐν οἷς παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς κοινωνοὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαφόρους, &c, *wherein his three Sons had at different*, &c. The repetition of the same word, namely βασιλείας, was the occasion that this whole line was omitted by the over-hasty *Antiquarius* [*Transcriber of Books.*] In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, διαφόρους δ' ἀναδείκνυσιν χρόνους, excellently well. Thus by the addition of one small word, this place is perfected. But Sr *Henry Savil* supplied this place by adding three words, as did also *Scaliger* and *Christophorson*, παῖδες δὲ τρεῖς διαφόρους, &c. Vales.

* πεπλασμένῳ λόγῳ; an odd Expression.

† Or, *A threefold issue of Sons.*

[b] Ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ πεντάδι δεκάτους χρόνους. The translatour has rendred it ill, *decimo quoque anno, every tenth year.* For *Constantine* did not create his Sons *Cæsars*, every tenth year of his Empire. For he made *Crispus* and *Constantinus*, *Cæsars*, in the Consulate of *Gallicanus* and *Bassus*, on the *Calends* of *March*, which was the eleventh year of his Empire. But *Constantius* was created *Cæsar*, in the third Consulate of *Crispus* and *Constantinus*, on the sixth of the *Ides* of *November*, that is, on the nineteenth year of *Constantine's* Empire. Lastly, *Constans* was proclaimed *Cæsar* by his Father, in the Consulate of *Palmatius* and *Zenophilus*, on the eighth of the *Calends* of *January*, when *Constantine* was entred into the twenty eighth year of his Empire. as it appears from *Idatius's Fasti*. Wherefore *Eusebius's* words will be better rendred thus, *singulis decenniis, in each of his ten years.* But neither will what *Eusebius* hath said, be true, even this way. For *Crispus* and *Constantinus junior* were not created *Cæsars* in *Constantine's* first ten years, but about his first ten years. Therefore, these words want a favourable interpretation. Which *Baronius* not in the least perceiving, has recorded *Crispus* to have been made *Cæsar* on the year of Christ 315; which is a *Prochronism* of two years. *Vales.*

[c] Εὐχαειστήριον καιρὸν. I doubt not but it should be written εὐχαειστηρίων; which I wonder was not perceived by others. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written, εὐχαειστήριον χωρὶν ᾧ εὐχωρὶν; which reading I like not. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLI.

That in this interim He ordered a Synod to be convened at Tyre, *because of some controversies* [*started*] *in* Egypt.

BUt the envious Devill, that Enemy to all good, [a] like some dark cloud opposed against the most splendid Rayes of the Sun, attempted to disturb the brightness of this Celebrity;

[a] Οἷον εἰς. It must be written in one word, οἱονεὶ *like*, or, *as 'twere*; as I found it mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*: and a little after, the reading must be ὑπανίσχειν. Vales.

brity; and again disquieted the Churches in *Egypt* with his own contentions. But the Emperour, whom God himself took care of, having again armed a Synod of many Bishops resembling the Host of God, set them in array against the Malevolent Devil: an Order having been issued forth from him, that [the Prelates] of all *Egypt* and *Libya*, *Asia* and *Europe*, should hasten, in the first place to a determination of the Controversie, and from thence to make a dedication of the formentioned *Martyrium*. Wherefore he commanded them, that by the by they should compose the differences, at the *Metropolis* of *Phœnice*. For, it was [he said] unfit, to approach the worship of God with dissenting mindes; in regard the Divine Law prohibits those that are at variance, from bringing their Gifts [to God,] [b] before they have embraced friendship, and are peaceably affected one towards another. These wholesome precepts [of our Saviour] the Emperour gave new Life to, by a continual meditation on them within his own mind; and advised them to set about the business with all imaginable consent and agreement of mind, by his Letter which runs thus.

[b] Ἡ φιλίαν σπασαμβύους. Some body, who it was I know not, has noted at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, that it should be ἀσπασαμβύους. But I had rather reade ασυσπαμβύους, *before they have entred into a League*. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* the reading is ἀπασπαμβύους, and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLII.

Constantine's Letter to the Synod at *Tyre*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To the Holy Synod [convened] at Tyre.

IT was manifestly agreeable to, and highly befitting the prosperity of our Times, that the Catholick Church should be void of all disturbance, and that the Servants of Christ should now be free from [a] *all manner of reproach. But in regard some persons, prick't forward by the Spur of unsound Contention, (For I will not say that they leade a life unworthy of themselves;) attempt to confound all things; which* [mischief] *seems to Me more grievous than any Calamity whatever: for this reason I incite you, who (as the saying is) run of your own accord, that without any delay you would meet together, and make up a Synod; that you may give your assistance to those who want it; that you may administer a Remedie to the Brethren who are in danger; that you may reduce the dissenting members to an agreement;* [and lastly,] *that you may correct Faults, whilst opportunity does permit: to the end that, to so many and such large Provinces you may restore a befitting Concord, which (oh absurd!) the arrogancy of a few men hath destroyed. Further, that this thing is highly acceptable to God the Supream Lord, and more earnestly wish't for by Us than any desire whatever; Lastly, that to your selves (if you shall restore peace,) it will be an occasion of no small honour, I suppose all men do acknowledge. Delay not therefore; but henceforward raise your alacrity to the highest pitch, and make it your business to put an end to the present differences by a befitting* [b] *determination:* [*meeting together namely with all Sincerity and Faith, which that Saviour whom we worship, who lifts up his Voice* * *every where in a manner, does chiefly require* [c] *of us. But, as to what appertains to* ‖ *Our Piety, nothing shall be wanting to you. All things have been done by Me, which by your Letter you gave notice of.* [d] *I have written to those Bishops whom you desired, that they should come, and be partakers with you in the Common Care and Solicitude. I have sent* [e] Dionysius *the* Ex-Consularis, *who may both put in mind those Bishops that ought to come with you to the Synod, and may also be an Inspector of what is transacted,* [f] *but most especially of regularity and good order. But if any person (which I don't in the least suspect,) presuming at this juncture to violate our precept, shall refuse to be present; One shall be forthwith dispatch't from Us, who by an Imperial Order shall drive that person into Exile, and shall teach him, that 'tis in no wise fit to resist the determinations of an Emperour, when publisht in defence of the truth. As to what remains, it shall be the business of* Your Sanctity, *neither with hatred*] *nor favour, but in a manner agreeable to the Ecclesiastick and Apostolick Rules, to find out a befitting remedy, whether for Crimes, or such things as have hapned by mistake: to the end, you may free the Church from all reproach, may lighten Our Cares, and, having restored the pleasantness of Peace to those Churches now disturbed, may procure the eminentest Glory to your Selves. God preserve You, Beloved Brethren!*

[a] Πάσης λοιδορείας. At this place λοιδορεία has a passive signification. And imports the same with the term βλασφημία, which occurs at the close of this Letter. And thus *Christophorson* renders it in the *First Book of Theodoret's Eccles. Hist. chap.* 28. Vales.

* Ἐκασταχοῦ; *Valesius* renders it, *in omni negotio, in every business.*

‖ Ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν; which *Valesius* renders, *religionem nostram, our Religion.*

[b] Τοῖς προκειμένοις ὅροις. It must be made ὅρον, from *Theodoret*; and the word κειρὸν which follows presently, must be expunged: which word occurs not in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[c] Παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἐδέν. So the reading is in *Theodoret*; from whose *first book, chap.* 29, this place is made good, which in the *Manuscript Copies*, and in *Stephens's Edition* was imperfect. But in *Moræus's Copy* I found another punctation of this place, which in my judgment is righter, thus, ἀπαιτεῖ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῶν· ὅδεν δὲ ἧς, &c; *does chiefly require of us. But, as to what, &c.* Only I would rather read παρ' ὑμῶν, *from you*. Nevertheless, the common reading may be born with. In the *Fuketian*, as well as the *Turnebian Copy*, and in *Moræus's Book*, 'tis written; ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν· ὅδεν δὲ ἧς εἰς πλὴν ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν ἡκόντων ὑμῖν ἐνδείξεται; according to our Rendition. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐπέσταλα, *I have sent*. It must be ἐπέστειλα, *I have written*, as the Translatour seems to have read. Yet in *Theodoret* and the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ἀπέσταλα πρὸς ὅς, *I have sent to those*, &c. *Vales.*

[e] Διονύσιον τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπατικῶν. *Flavius Dionysius* is termed *Comes* by *Athanasius in his Apologetick to Constantius*, where he relates a great deal concerning *this Synod at Tyre*, which was held in the *Consulate of Constantius and Albinus*, in the months *August* and *September*. This *Dionysius* had before been *Consularis* of *Phœnice*, in the *Consulate of Januarinus and Justus*, as it appears from the *Fourth Law Cod. Theod. de Famosis Libellis*. Vales.

[f] Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ. So indeed the reading is in *Theodoret*. But in the *Fuketian Copy* this place is written thus, καὶ ἧς περιπομένων δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας ἐξαιρέτως κατάσκοπος παρέσῃ. Which reading *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and others found in their Copies. A little after I write, πλὴ ἡμετέραν κέλευσιν καὶ νῦν διακρέσωσι, from the *Fuketian Copy* and *Theodoret*. For there is no small *emphasis* in these words καὶ νῦν. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIII.

That at the Feast of Dedication [*of the Church*] *at* Jerusalem, *there were Bishops present out of all the Provinces.*

AFter these Orders had been effectually put in execution, another Messenger from the Emperour arrived, who having brought [a] an Im-

[a] Σὺν γράμματι βασιλικῷ. In the *Old Sheets* the reading is συγγράμματι. In the *Fuketian Copy* there is an imperfection, and the last part of the word only occurs, thus ματι. Therefore Sr *Henry Savil* supplied it in this manner, σὺν νεύματι, *with an Order*; and so did *Scaliger*, and the rest. *Vales.*

perial

perial Letter, moved the Synod, that without any delay they would forthwith haſten their journey to *Jeruſalem*. All of them therefore left the Province of the *Phœnicians*, and by [the aſſiſtance of the] *Curſus Publicus* went whither they had received orders to go. At which time that whole place was filled with a numerous * divine aſſembly, the eminent Biſhops out of every Province having met together at *Jeruſalem*. For the [b] *Macedonians* had ſent the [Biſhop] of the *Metropolis* amongſt them: and the *Pannonii* and *Mœſi* [had directed thither] the choyceſt flower of God's youth in their Country. There was likewiſe preſent the Ornament of the *Perſian* Biſhops, an holy perſon and one that was incomparably well verſt in the divine Oracles. [c] The *Bithynians* alſo and *Thracians* * by their own preſence adorned the Convention. Nor were the moſt eminent [of the Biſhops] amongſt the *Cilicians* abſent. Thoſe of *Cappadocia* likewiſe who excelled for Learning and Eloquence, ſhined in the midſt of this Congreſs. Moreover, all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, *Phœnice* and *Arabia*, together with *Paleſtine* it ſelf; *Egypt* alſo and *Libya*, and thoſe who inhabit the Country of *Thebais*, all [met] together, and filled up that great Quire of God. Who were followed by an innumerable company of people out of all the Provinces. There was preſent together with all theſe perſons, an [d] Imperial Attendance; and from the Imperial Palace it ſelf, approved men were ſent, who, with Expences furniſhed by the Emperour, might illuſtrate the Feſtivity.

* Or, *Quire of God.*

* Or, *Adorned the fullneſs of the Synod.*

[b] He means *Alexander* Biſhop of the City *Theſſalonica*, who was preſent at the Synod at *Tyre*, as *Athanaſius* witneſſeth. By the Biſhops of *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*, *Euſebius* means *Urſacius* and *Valens* leading men of the *Arian faction*, who were ſent from the *Synod of Tyre* into *Egypt*, that they might there enquire concerning the Crimes wherewith *Athanaſius* had been charged, as *Athanaſius* relates in *his Apologetick*. Valeſ.

[c] He means *Theogonius* Biſhop of *Nicæa*, and *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Perinthus*, which was otherwiſe termed *Heraclea*; which Prelates were preſent at the ſame Synod, as *Athanaſius* and *Theodoret* do inform us. Beſides *Theogonius*, two other Biſhops out of *Bithynia* were preſent at the *Synod of Tyre*, namely *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*. Valeſ.

[d] *Athanaſius* in *his Apologetick to Conſtantius*, *pag.* 788, ſpeaking concerning this Synod, does atteſt, that *Conſtantine* ſent the *Palatine Souldiers*, who were to obey the commands of the Biſhops: His words are theſe, καὶ κόμης διοικήσων ἀποσέλλεται, καὶ γραπτὰ δοῦφόροι δίδοντα τοῖς περὶ εὐσέβιον. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning their Reception by Marianus *the* Notary, *and concerning the money diſtributed amongſt the poor, and the ſacred Gifts of the Church.*

* That is, *The approved men ſent from the Imperial Palace.*

But, over * all theſe there was appointed as chief, a [a] perſon highly acceptable and uſefull to the Emperour; one that was eminent for his Faith, Religion, and Skill in the Sacred Scriptures. Who having been famous for his confeſſions in defence of piety during the times of the Tyrants, was deſervedly entruſted with the ordering of theſe matters. This perſon therefore with all imaginable ſincerity paid obedience to the Emperours Commands, and honoured the Synod with a moſt Courteous Reception, entertaining them with ſplendid Feaſts and Banquets. But, amongſt the indigent and naked, [b] and amongſt infinite multitudes of poor of both Sexes, who ſtood in great need of food and other neceſſaries, he diſtributed vaſt quantities of money, and a great number of Garments. Laſtly, he variouſly adorned the whole Church with magnificent and royal ſacred Gifts.

[a] This was *Marianus* the *Tribune* and *Notary*, as 'tis ſaid in the *Contents of this Chapter*, and in *Sozomen*. He bore the ſame dignity under *Conſtantius*, as *Athanaſius* atteſts in *his Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*. Valeſ.

[b] Πενήτων δ' ἀνδρῶν. It muſt be written πανήπτων τε ἀνδρῶν. There is the ſame errour in the *foregoing Chapter*; where the reading is ἀιγυπτῷ δὲ καὶ λιβύῃ, inſtead of ἀιγυπτός τε; in which manner 'tis written at both places in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLV.

Various Diſcourſes of the Biſhops, in the Sacred Aſſemblies; as alſo of Euſebius *himſelf the Authour of this Work.*

Such was the Service performed by this perſon. But the Miniſters of God adorned the Feſtival, partly with their prayers, and partly by their Diſcourſes. [a] For ſome of them with praiſes celebrated the [b] Benignity of the Religious Emperour towards the Univerſal Saviour, and in their Orations ſet forth the Magnificence of the *Martyrium*. Others * entertained their hearers with Theologick diſcourſes upon the divine *Dogmata*, fitted to the preſent ſolemnity, as with ſome ſplendid banquet of rational food. Others † interpreted the Leſſons of the divine Volumns, and diſcloſed the Myſtick meanings. But ſuch as were unable to arrive at theſe things, appeaſed the Deity with unbloudy Sacrifices and myſtick Immolations; humbly offering up their prayers to God, for the common Peace, for the Church of God, for the Emperour himſelf who was the Occaſioner of ſuch great Bleſſings, and for his pious Children. At which place we our ſelves alſo, who were vouchſafed ‖ Bleſſings much above our deſerts, honoured the ſolemnity with various diſcourſes uttered in publick; ſometimes making deſcriptions in writing of the ſtateline's and magnificence of the Royal Fabrick; at others, [c] explaining the meanings of the prophetick Viſions, in a manner befitting the preſent [d] Symbols and Figures Thus was the Feaſt of Dedication celebrated, with the greateſt joy imaginable, [e] on the very *Tricennalia* of the Emperour.

[a] This whole paſſage, as far as thoſe words, *Others interpreted*, &c, was wanting in the *Kings Copy* and in *Robert Stephens Edition*: which words Learned men have inſerted from ſome Manuſcript Copy, as I judge. For they ſeem to me to be genuine, and to proceed from *Euſebius*'s own ſtile. They do indeed occur in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*; but in Sr *Henry Savil*'s, they are wanting. For, at this place Sr *Henry* hath made this Remark. *Chriſtophorſonus hoc loco*, &c. *At this place Chriſtophorſon has from his own Copies inſerted theſe following words, which to me ſeem ſcarce agreeable to this place*, ὅτι μὲν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ, &c *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων σωτῆρα δεξίωσιν. *Euſebius* does, not without reaſon, term that kindneſs and benignity which the Emperour *Conſtantine* made uſe of towards the Prieſts of God, a benignity towards Chriſt himſelf. For, kindneſs towards his Miniſters, redounds to the honour of the Lord himſelf. Therefore ſays Chriſt in the Goſpel, *He that receiveth you, receiveth me*: and, *that which you have done to one of them, you have done to me*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Delivered to their hearers Theologick*, &c.

† Or, *Made interpretations of the divine readings.*

‖ Or, *Goods.*

[c] Τὰς φερομένας ποτὲ μύθους θεωρίας. Here the words ſeem to be tranſpoſed, a thing which, as we have told you, is frequently done in theſe Books. Above therefore is muſt be written, τὰς ἀφορήσεις ποιοῦντες, *making deſcriptions*; and here the reading muſt be, ἐρμηνεύοντες θεωρίας, *explaining the meanings*, &c. But ſome body will perhaps aſke, what thoſe Prophetick Viſions are, which *Euſebius* means here. He means, if I miſtake not, that place which occurs in the *third chapter of Zephaniah*, verſe 8; διὰ τοῦτο ὑπόμεινόν με, λέγει κύριος, εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς μου εἰς μαρτύριον. For *Cyril of Jeruſalem* alſo, in *his fourth Homily*, explains this paſſage of *Zephaniah* concerning the *Martyrium* or Church, which *Conſtantine* erected in the place of our Lord's Reſurrection. *Valeſ.*

[a] Τοῖς περικειμένοις συμβόλοις. He terms the *Jeruſalem Church*, and all its Members and Edifices, Symbols. See *Euſebius's Oration in the dedication of the Church at Tyre*, which is recorded in the *tenth book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory*: where he aſſerts, that every member of the Church imported ſome thing that was myſtical. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, καὶεἰς τοῖς περικειμένοις συμβόλοις, without the conjunction καὶ. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλέως τριακονταετηρίδι. The Tranſlatour has rendred it right, *triceſimo imperii anno*, *in the thirtieth year of his Empire*. For the *Dedication-Feaſt* of the *Jeruſalem Church* was celebrated in the

the year of Christ 335, on the *Ides of September*, *Constantius* and *Albinus* being Consuls, in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. At which time *Constantine* was in the thirtieth year of his Empire. τριακονταετηρὶς, does properly signifie *Tricennalia*, that is, *a festivity of sports which were performed on account of the thirtieth year of* an Emperours Reign. The *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, in the Consulate of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, has these words: Τότων ἦρξ ὑπάτων ἦχθη τριακονταετηρὶς ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει πάνυ φιλοτίμως περὶ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰουλίων; which in *Idatius's Fasti* occur rendred into *Latine*, in this manner; *His Coss. Tricennalia Edidit Constantinus Augustus die* 8. *Cal. August* 3 *in the Consulate of these persons, Constantinus Augustus published his Tricennalia, on the eight of the Calends of August.* Yet sometimes τριακονταετηρὶς and *Tricennalia* are taken for the thirtieth year. So *Jerome* relates, that *Dalmatius* was created *Cæsar* in *Constantine's Tricennalia*, that is, on the thirtieth year of his Empire. But whereas I have said, that the *Dedication Feast* of the *Jerusalem Church* was celebrated on the *Ides of September*, of this matter I have *Nicephorus* my Authour, in *his eight book*, *chap.* 30. Indeed, *in Saint Saba's Typicon*, and in the *Greek Menology*, on the *thirteenth day of September* are placed τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως. So also *Sophronius* in *his Oration de Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis*; and this Festivity was observed every year, for the space of eight days. From these Authours the *Alexandrian Chronicle* must be corrected, wherein there is a mistake, as well in the day as the Consulate, in which these things were done. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVI.

That He afterwards recited his Description of our Saviour's Martyrium, *and his Oration upon* Constantine's Tricennalia, *before the Emperour Himself.*

* Οἷαί τε ἐς βασιλέως φιλοκαλίας, *and how great the Emperours attempts of Elegancy.*

But, what the Form of our Saviour's Church is, what the fashion is of the Salutary Cave, * how great the Beauty and Elegancy of the Structure, and [Lastly] how [a] many the *Donaria*, made partly of Gold and Silver, and partly of pretious Stones; we have, as well as we could, comprized in a peculiar Treatise, and have dedicated it to the Emperour Himself. Which Book we shall make a seasonable publication of [b] at the close of this present Work: whereto we will annex that *Oration concerning his Tricennalia*, which, having not long after made a journey to *Constantinople*, we recited in the Emperours own hearing. This was the [c] second time that we celebrated the praises of God the supream King, within the Imperial Palace. Which [Oration] the Emperour, who was beloved by God, being an auditor of, seemed like one transported with joy. And this he himself manifested after the Speech was done, in regard he entertained those Bishops that were present at a Banquet, and bestowed on them all imaginable honour.

[a] Amongst the other *Donaria* [*Sacred Gifts*,] which *Constantine* gave to the *Jerusalem Church*, there was a *Sacerdotal pall* woven with threads of gold, which the Bishop made use of in his performing the solemn prayers, as *Theodoret* relates, *Eccles. Hist. book* 2. *chap.* 27. Vales.

[b] Μετὰ τὸν παρόντα λόγον, *after this present Subject.* That is, at the close of this work. The Translatour rendred it ill; *Quod etiam cum videbitur & absoluto opere edemus.* But our Rendition is confirmed by *Eusebius* himself in chap. 32. of this book. *Vales.*

[c] For *Eusebius* had before made a speech in the Palace, as he himself attests above, at *chap.* 33, where see what we have noted. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVII.

That the Synod at Nicæa *hapned on* Constantine's Vicennalia; *but the Dedication* [*of the Church*] *at* Jerusalem [*was performed*] *on His* Tricennalia.

This Second Synod, the greatest that we have known, the Emperour convened at *Jerusalem*, after that first Synod, which he had assembled [a] at the most eminent City of *Bithynia*. That was a triumphal [Synod,] which in the *Vicennalia* of [*Constantine's*] Empire paid its [b] Vows for the Victory obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries, in that very City which had its name from Victory. But this [Synod] grac't the period of his third *Decade*; when the Emperour Dedicated to God the Giver of all Good, [c] the *Martyrium*, as 'twere some Sacred Present of Peace, [erected] round the very Monument of our Saviour.

[a] Ἐπὶ τῆς Βιθυνῶν διαφανοῦς. I had rather write διαφανεῦς, which reading I have followed in my Version; nor do I doubt, but *Eusebius* wrote so. Further, in this place there is an ambiguity. For the words may be construed thus; τοῦτο δεύτερον μεῖζόν ὧν ἴσμεν σύνοδον μετὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον, &c, *This Second Synod, which we know to be the greatest after that First* [*Synod*] *which he had assembled at the most eminent City of Bithynia, the Emperour convened at Jerusalem.* Which sense *Christophorson* has followed, *Vales.*

[b] Ἐυχὴν τῆς νικηφίας. I embrace the emendation of Learned men, which I found written in *Moræus's Copy* also; viz. ἐυχὴν ὑπὲ τῆς νικηφίας. Nevertheless, I would willingly add another word also, in this manner, ἐυχὴν νικητήριον ὑπὲ τῆς νικηφίας, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. Further, the term ἐυχὴ must be rendred *vota*, *vowes*. For *Eusebius* alludes to the usage of the *Romans*, who in such Solemnities made Vowes for the safety and felicity of the Prince, as 'tis apparent from *Plinius's Epistle to Trajan*. Moreover, in *old Coyns* we reade such Vows as these thus expresst, *VOTIS XX. MULTIS XXX.* But in *other Coyns* 'tis thus, *SIC X. SIC XX.* That is, *So His Decennalia, So His Vicennalia.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis plainly written ἐυχὴν ὑπὲ τῆς νικηφίας. *Vales.*

[c] Τὸ μαρτύριον. In the Letter of the Bishops of the *Jerusalem Synod*, (who by *Constantine's* Order met in order to the Dedication of this Church, which Letter *Athanasius* records in *his Apologetick*, *pag.* 801,) 'tis termed σωτήριον μαρτύριον, *the Salutary Martyrium*. *Jerome* also in *his Chronicon* terms it the *Martyrium*; as does likewise *Sozomen* book 2. chap. 26, *Marcus in the Life of Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza*, and *Eucherius* in *his Book de Situ urbis Hierosolymitanæ*. See *Our Letter de Anastasi*, &c, wherein we have at large proved against *Jacobus Gretserus* and *Jacobus Sirmondus*, that there was only one Church erected by *Constantine*, which was termed *the Martyrium* and *Anastasis*. *Which Letter* we thought good to make a second publication of, *at the close of our Notes*, *pag.* 304, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

That Constantine *was displeased with One, who praised Him too highly.*

[a] After the performance of all these things; when the Emperour's God-like Virtue was cry'd up in the Discourses of all men, one of the Ministers of God was so bold, as to pronounce Him blessed to His very face: in regard he had both been vouchsafed the supream Empire over the whole *Roman* world in this Life present; and also, in that to come, should reign together with the Son of God. But he, much displeased at the hearing of this Expression, advised the man, that he should not presume to utter such words; but, rather that by prayer he would make his humble request to God, that as well in the Life present, as in that to come, * He might appear worthy of being reckoned amongst the servants of God.

[a] This whole clause, as far as the word ἀπέφηνεν in the *Greek*, or, *His very face* in the *English*, was wanting in the *Kings Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: Learned men had inserted it, whether from some Manuscript Copies, or from conjecture, I know not. But at length, the *Fuketian Copy* has informed us, that these words were on a good account inserted, from the Manuscripts. *Vales.*

* *Constantine.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Marriage of Constantius Cæsar, *His Son.*

WHen the Thirtieth year of His Empire was ended, He celebrated the Marriage of his second Son, [a] having long before performed the same thing for his elder Son. Banquets therefore and Feasts were made; the Emperour Himself led His Son the Bridegroom, and in a most splendid manner entertained and feasted the whole company, the men apart by themselves, and the women in separate places by themselves. * Rich Gifts were likewise bestowed, both on the people, and on the Cities.

[a] Παλαιστάτης τε ἤδη τῆς πρεσβυτέρου. Questionless it must be written thus, πάλαι ταὐτὸ ἤδη τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῷ ἡλικίαν διαπεραξαμένῳ, *having long before performed*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Rich distributions of gifts.*

CHAP. L.

The Embassie and Presents [*sent from*] *the* Indians.

AT the same time arrived Embassadours from those *Indians* who dwell at the rising Sun, and brought with them Presents. Which were various sorts of pretious Stones of an exquisite Lustre, and wild Beasts of a Nature different from those known amongst us. All which they presented to the Emperour, [thereby] declaring that his Empire reach't [a] to the *Indian* Ocean it self; and that the * *Roytelets* of the *Indians* Country honoured him with Pictures, and Statues erected to Him, and profest their acknowledgment of Him to be the Emperour and King. [b] Indeed, at the beginning of his Empire, the *Britains* [who dwell] at the setting Sun, were the first that submitted themselves to his Government: but now the *Indians* whose habitation is at the rising Sun, [did the same.]

[a] Εἰς αὐτὸν ὠκεανὸν, *to the very ocean it self.* It must, I think, be written, εἰς αὐθις ὠκεανὸν, *to their* [that is, *the Indian*] *Ocean* it self.

* *Leaders*, or, *Princes.*

Further, *Metrodorus* the Philosopher seems to have been the chiefest person of this *Indian Embassie*; who from the King of the *Indians* brought to *Constantine* very many Gems and Pearls: and pretended that he had brought many more, had not the *Persian* King taken them from him in his passage thorow *Persia*. By which lie *Constantine* being prevailed upon, whilst with too much eagerness he pursues what had been taken from *Metrodorus*, raises the *Persian* War, as 'tis recorded by *Cedrenus* and *Amm. Marcellinus*. But *Cedrenus* relates that in a place wholly foreign and disagreeable, namely in *Constantine*'s twenty first year; whereas he ought to have placed it on the thirty first year of *Constantine*. For in this year the peace between the *Romans* and *Persians* was broken. *Vales.*

[b] Ἀρχομένῳ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἀρχομένῳ μὲν γὰρ τῆς, &c. But in the *Old Sheets* the reading is, ἀρχομένῳ μὲν ἐν, which I like better. *Vales.*

CHAP. LI.

That Constantine *having parted His Empire betwixt His three Sons, instructed them in the Art of Governing,* * *and Offices of Piety.*

* Or, *With Piety.*

WHen therefore he had reduced both the Limits of the whole world under His own power, He divided his whole Empire, distributing some paternal inheritance as 'twere to his dearest Relatives, amongst His three Sons. To the Elder, He gave his Grand-fathers allotment: to the Second, the Empire of the East: to the Third, that Portion which lay in the midst between these two. But being desirous to procure a good inheritance for his Children, and such as might be salutary to their Souls, he scattered the seeds of Piety in their minds: partly by [a] cultivating them himself with divine Precepts; and partly by appointing them Tutors, who were persons of approved Piety. He likewise set over them Teachers of Secular Learning, such persons namely as were arrived at the heighth of Literature. Others instructed them in the knowledge of the Military Art. Others were their Instructours in politicks, and matters Civil. And [lastly,] others rendred them knowing and expert in the Laws. Moreover, to each of His Sons was allotted an Imperial * Attendance, [namely] † *Scutarii*; *Hastati*; *Protectors*; *Legions* also, and Military Companies; and Officers that commanded them, [to wit,] *Centurions*, *Tribunes*, and ‖ *Duces*: of whose skill in warlike affairs, as likewise of their good affection towards them his Sons, the Father had had experience.

[a] Παιδάγων, *instructing*, or *furnishing them with.* *Eusebius* makes use of this word in the same sense again, in the next chapter. *Vales.*

* Or, *Furniture.*

† Or, *Souldiers armed with shields; Spear-men; Guards of their Bodies.*

‖ Or, *Captaines.*

CHAP. LII.

How, when they were arrived at man's estate, He taught them Piety.

FUrther, during their being *Cæsars* as yet very young, they had (as 'twas requisite,) Ministers and Councellours present with them, who administred the publick affairs.

[a] But when, afterwards, they grew up to be men, their Fathers instruction onely, was sufficient for them. Who sometimes incited them, when present with him, by private instructions to an imitation of himself; and taught them to become exact followers of his own piety: at other times, when they were absent, by his Letters he suggested to them Imperial Precepts. The first and chiefest whereof was this, that they should value the knowledge and worship of God the supream King, above all riches whatever, and before the Empire it self. But at length he gave them power, of themselves to do what might be of advantage to the publick: and before all things gave them this in charge, that they should take a particular care of God's Church, and commanded them openly to own themselves to be *Christians*. And in this manner he instructed his Sons. But they, incited not so much by Precept as their own alacrity of mind, exceeded the admonitions of their Father; in regard they had their minds always intent upon piety towards God, and in the very Palace it self exactly performed and observed the Rites of the Church, together with all their Domesticks. For this was the work of the Fathers Care, to assign no Domesticks to his Sons, but such as were * worshippers of God. [b] The Commanders also of the First Companies, and they to whom the Care of the State was entrusted,

[a] Εἰς ἄνδρας τε λοιπὸν. Any body may of himself perceive, that it should be written εἰς ἄνδρας δὲ, *But when*, &c: which I should not have taken notice of, had I not fear'd least any one should think that it had escap't me. A little after, the word παρορμῶν seems to be superfluous. *Vales.*

* That is, *Christians.*

[b] Καὶ οἵ πρῶτοι δὲ τάγμάτων. So in the foregoing chapter *Eusebius* makes use of the word τάγματα to signifie *Military Companies*; and in many other places. So *Sozomen* book 1. chap. 8. ἔξ ἐκείνης δὲ καὶ τὰ ῥωμαίων τάγματα,

ματα, ἃ νῦν ἀριθμὸς καλοῦσιν, ἔκαστον ἰδίαν σκηνὴν κατεσκεύασατο. *from that time the Roman Legions, which they now term Companies, provided each of them a Tabernacle proper to themselves.* Further, this place seems to me to be imperfect, and must be made good in this manner; καὶ τῶν πρώτων δὲ ταγμάτων ἡγεμόνες, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς κοινῶν, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. For *Eusebius* says, that both the Commanders of the first Companies, and those also to whom the Care of the Republick was committed by *Constantine*, were Favourers of the Christian Religion. By those former persons, he means the *Tribunes* and *Comites* of the *Scholæ*: but the latter are the *præfecti Prætorio*, the *Quæstors of the sacred Palace*, the *Masters of the Offices*, and the others who transacted *Civil affairs*. Vales.

* were of this sort. For he † confided in persons who profest a faith in God, as in some strong and firm walls. [c] When this thrice-blessed Prince had [thus] constituted these matters also, God the disposer of every good thing, (in regard all affairs of the State had been put into good order by the Emperour,) thought it now at length an opportune time, for translating him to a better allotment, and brought upon him the debt due to Nature.

* Viz. *Christians*

† Or, *Fortified himself with*, &c.

[c] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα διεκεῖτο. I like not the conjecture of the Learned, who after the word ταῦτα have added καλῶς, thus, *well constituted, &c*; which addition I found written in *Moræus's Copy* also. But if any thing was to have been added, I would rather have put in ὕπως, *thus*. For καλῶς can have no place here, in regard in the following clause εὐδιατυθέντων occurs. Otherwise it would be an idle repetition, nor would there be more said in the second member of the period, than in the first. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is καλῶς διεκεῖτο. *Vales.*

CHAP. LIII.

That after He had Reigned about two and thirty years, and lived above sixty, He had a Body that was sound and healthy.

[a] This passage of *Eusebius* hath led many persons into a mistake. Amongst whom was *Dionysius Petavius*, who both in *his Annotations on Epiphanius's Book de Ponderibus*, and also in *his eleventh Book de Doctrinâ Temporum*, confiding in the authority of *Eusebius*, was of opinion that *Constantine* died in the thirty second year of his Reign. Most of the Ancients have likewise written the same thing: viz. *Philostorgius*, Book. 2. *Theodorus Lector* in *his Collectanea*; *Epiphanius*, and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*: and amongst the *Latines*, *Aurelius Victor*. But this opinion seems to me wholly absurd. For they who think thus, must of necessity affirm also, that the same *Constantine* began his Empire on the year of Christ 305, *Constantius* the fifth time and *Maximianus* being Consuls. And, that on the same year *Constantius Augustus* the Father of *Constantine* departed this Life. But, on the year following which is the year of Christ 306, *Constantius Augustus* was Consul the sixth time with his Colleague *Maximianus*, as all *the Fasti* do constantly affirm. Wherefore *Constantine*'s Reign can be brought but from the year of Christ 306. Now therefore, whereas he died in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, that is on the year of Christ 337, on the twenty second of the month *May*, as 'tis agreed on amongst all Writers, it is plainly made out, that *Constantine* Reigned thirty years, and ten months, three days only excepted. For he had been created *Cæsar* on the eighth of the *Calends* of *August*, as *Idatius* writes in *his Fasti*. *Eutropius* therefore and *Rufinus* are right in their affirming, that *Constantine* ended his Life in the thirty first year of his Empire. Our *Eusebius* also says true in *his Chronicon*, that *Constantine* Reigned thirty years and ten months. Further, whence it has hapned, that our *Eusebius* here, and most of the Ancients have attributed two and thirty years Reign to *Constantine*, this, as I think, was the reason. Two years before his death, *Constantine* had celebrated *his Tricennalia*, in the Consulate of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, as *Eusebius* has related above. They thought therefore, that the thirtieth year of *Constantine*'s Reign had been compleated when those men were Consuls; which nevertheless is false, as I have noted above. Besides, from the beginning of *Constantine*'s Reign, unto his death, two and thirty Pair of Consuls are reckoned. Whence it might have hapned, that they should believe him to have died in the thirty second year of his Empire. Further, some Chronologers have ascribed the years of his Father *Constantius*, because he Reigned but a very short time, to *Constantine*. But the Reader is to be advertized, that the most Learned *Petavius* has at length changed his Sentiment, and has embraced the Common opinion concerning the years of *Constantine*'s Reign, and concerning its beginning; as 'tis apparent from the *Fourth Book of the Second part of his Rationarium Temporum*. Vales.

[a] This passage of *Eusebius* hath led many persons into a mistake. Amongst whom was *Dionysius Petavius*, who both in *his Annotations on Epiphanius's Book*

HE Compleated the time of His Reign in [a] two and thirty years, abating some few months and days: but the space of His Life was about double as much. At which age his Body continued free from Diseases, firm, void of all manner of blemish, and youthfuller than any the most juvenile Body; beautifull to behold; and strong to do any thing whatever, that was to be performed by strength. In so much that, he could exercise as a Souldier; ride; walk; fight; erect Trophies against his conquered Enemies; and, according to his own usage, could obtain unbloudy Victories over his opposers.

CHAP. LIV.

*Concerning those who abused his eximious humanity, to * avarice and a pretence of Piety.*

* Or, *Insatiableness*, and *Hypocrisie*.

HIS Mind also arrived at the heighth of humane perfection; being adorned with all manner of † accomplishments; but most especially, with humanity. Which, nevertheless, many persons found fault with, by reason of the baseness of ill men, who ascribed [the occasion of] their own badness to the Emperours [a] patience and clemency. Indeed, even we our selves beheld the mighty prevalency of these two Vices in those times; [b] the Violence namely of insatiable and ill men, who infested almost all Mortals; and the unspeakable Dissimulation of those who craftily crept into the Church, and pretendedly took upon themselves the name of *Christians*. But the Emperours innate humanity and goodness, the sincerity of his Faith, and * Integrity of his Morals, induced him to credit the specious and outside piety of those men who were thought to be *Christians*, and who with a crafty mind pretended to † bear a true and sincere benevolence towards him. His committing of himself to which persons, did sometimes perhaps drive him upon those things that were unfitting; the Envy [of the Devil] bringing this Blot upon his other || praises.

† Or, *Goods*.

[a] Ἀνεξικακίαν αἰτίαν. The last word is here added by learned men from the Manuscript Copies; which word I likewise found in Mr *Fuket's Book*. But I had rather place this word before the Verb ἐπεγεφύρουν. So *Eusebius* [expresses himself] at the close of *his Third Book concerning the Life of Constantine*. It would indeed be far more elegantly written thus, αἰτίαν ἐπεγέφυρεν τῷ βασιλέως ἀνεξικακίαν. *Vales.*

* Καὶ τὸ τέρπτον τὸ φιλάληθες, *and that Love and Truth which was in his disposition.*

† *Maintain*, or, *keep*.

|| Or, *Goods*,

[b] Ἐπιεικῶς ἀπλήστων. I embrace the emendation of Learned men, which occurs also in the *Fuketian Copy*, viz. ἐπιεικῶν. Further, the judgment of *our Eusebius* is here to be taken notice of, who in the Reign of *Constantine*, as in some most beautifull Countenance, took notice of this Blemish, that he chose the worst and most rapacious men to be his friends, and to bear the publick Offices: and, that he was circumvented by the fraud and craft of certain persons, who pretended themselves to be *Christians*. *Aurelius Victor* reproves almost the same thing, in these words: *Fiscales molestiæ severius pressæ. Cunctaque divino ritui paria viderentur, ni parùm dignis ad publica aditum concessisset. Quæ quanquam sæpius accidêre, tamen in summo ingenio, atque optimis Reip. moribus, quamvis parva vitia elucent magis. Amm. Marcellinus* also in *his sixteenth Book*, attests the same. *Nam proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus.* Vales.

[c] Ἐνεπείρεσο. In the *Fuk.* and Sr *Hen Savil's Copy* the reading is ἐνεπιέζετο. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

How Constantine *wrote Orations to the very last day of his Life.*

BUt Divine Vengeance seized [a] those men not long after. But the Emperour himself had in such a manner furnished his mind with discursive knowledge, that to his very death, according to his accustomed manner, he wrote Orations; and, [b] as his usage was, made Speeches, and instilled into his hearers divine Precepts: He would likewise be continually making of Laws, sometimes about Civil matters, at others, concerning Military affairs: in fine, he employed his thoughts about all things that were advantagious, and of use to the life of men. But this is highly worthy to be recorded, namely that when he was at the point of death, he recited a certain Funeral Oration in the presence of his usual Auditory. And [c] having continued his Speech to a great length, he discoursed therein concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and concerning those who had spent their Lives piously, and concerning the Blessings treasured up with God himself for those that love him. But on the other hand, he made it apparent by many and those evident reasons, what manner of end they would come to, who had lead a contrary course of life; and gave an accurate description of the calamitous death of the impious. By his solid and weighty attestation to which truth, he seemed severely to touch those about him. In so much that, he asked one of them [d] who were puft up with a vain opinion of wisdom, what his Sentiment was in reference to those things which had been discoursed of. Who by his own testimony confirmed the truth of what had been spoken, and though much against his will, highly commended his reasonings against the worship of many Gods. By making such discourses as these to his Confidents, before his death, he seemed to render his way to a better allotment, smooth and plain.

[a] I suppose amongst others, *Ablabius* to be meant; who after *Constantine*'s death, in regard 'twas believed that he attempted a Rebellion, was slain by the order of *Constantius*, as *Eunapius* does at large relate in *the Lives of the Sophists*. Vales.

[b] Σωώθως δὲ τὰς παρρόδους πιεῖσθαι. Above, at *chap. 29 of this book*, *Eusebius* has made use of the term παρρόδους, where see what we have noted. You might also reade παρσόδους, as 'tis written at the margin of the *Geneva-Edition*.

The Translatour persisting in his mistake, renders it here also, *Congressus cum amicis habere, to hold meetings with his friends*; whereas he ought to have translated it, *conciones habere, to make Speeches*, as 'tis plainly confirmed by the words following. *Victor* in *his Epitome* says the same likewise concerning *Constantine*: *Commodissimus tamen rebus mutis fuit: Calumnias sedare legibus severissimis: nutrire artes bonas, præcipuè studia Literarum: legere ipse, scribere, meditare.* Where *meditari* has the same import with μελετᾶν, that is, *declamare*, to *declaim*. Vales.

[c] Μακρὸν δὲ κατὰ τινας. Doubtless it must be written κατατείνας, *having continued*; as others have already remarked. *Vales.*

[d] Τινα τῶν δοκησσόφων. I had rather write τῶν δοκησσόφων. So *Eusebius* does usually term the Heathens, and especially the Philosophers, who thought themselves wiser than others. In the *Vuketian Copy* the reading is δοκησσόφων. But the third syllable has a line drawn under it. *Vales.*

CHAP. LVI.

How, making an Expedition against the Persians, *He took the Bishops along with him, and* [*provided*] *a* * *Tent made in form of a Church.*

* Or, *Tabernacle.*

THis also is worthy to be recorded, that about the forementioned time, upon his hearing of the motion of those Barbarians [who dwell] at the East, having said, that as yet there remained to him this Victory [to be obtained] over them, he resolved upon an Expedition against the *Persian*. Which when he had determined to undertake, he summoned together his Military Forces; and likewise conferred with the Bishops that were about him, concerning the designe of his Expedition; it being his chiefest care, that some persons should always be present with him, who were of use in order to the worship of God. They affirmed, that they would most willingly follow him, nor would in any wise leave him; but with their incessant prayers to God would ingage and fight together with him. At which news he was highly pleased, and described to them a way whereby they might go [a]. [b] Then he prepared a Tabernacle most richly furnished, made in the form of a Church, for the use of this War; wherein he resolved, in company with the Bishops, to pour forth his prayers to God the Giver of Victory.

[a] Αὐτὸς διεξύπνα. Those words which follow after these in the *Geneva-Edition*, unto the beginning of the 58th *chapter*, (which passage we have inclosed within this mark [ ],) were wanting both in the *Kings Copy*, and in *Robert Stephen's Edition*: and they have been added by Learned men, from conjecture as I think. For the chapters which follow are too short, and contain nothing more than the very Titles of the chapters; which is a thing altogether disagreeable to *Eusebius*'s designe. Wherefore 'tis credible, that Learned men inserted these words from the Titles of the chapters which occur perfixt before the fourth Book. Further, in the *Geneva-Edition*, these words αὐτὸς δὲ, which occur after the verb διεξύπνα, must be expunged. For the imperfection begins before these words αὐτὸς δὲ νεῶν, &c. We have taken notice of a like mistake above. Our conjecture concerning this Supplement is plainly confirmed by the *Vuketian Copy* which (though it faithfully shews the other Supplements which are publisht by the *Geneva-men*, as we have noted in their places; yet) has not the Supplement of this place. Nor is this Fragment written in *Turnebus's Copy*, although all the rest occur written at the margin of *his Book*. Vales.

[b] *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 18.) relates the very same thing, in these words: τοσοῦτος δὲ ἦν ὁ τὸ βασιλέως φρὲν τὸ χριστιανισμοῦ πόθος, &c. *Moreover, so ardent was the Emperours Love for the Christian Religion, that being about to ingage in a War with the* Persians, *He provided a Tabernacle made of Linen, painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church, even as* Moses *did in the wilderness, and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert Regions he might have an Oratory ready.* Which words of *Socrates* I have the more willingly produced, because I know that *Socrates* is wont most commonly to make use of the very words of *Eusebius*, in those passages which he borrows out of *Eusebius*. Therefore, these words of *Socrates* may supply the place of *Eusebius*'s words. For I can very hardly be induced to believe, that those words which occur in this imperfection, are *Eusebius's*. Further, before this, in the *Licinian War* namely, *Constantine* had a Tabernacle of the Cross fixt without the Camp, into which he retired to fast and pray, as *Eusebius* attests Book 2. But in his preparation for the *Persian* War, *Constantine* did this further, that he built a Tabernacle in form of a Church. *Sozomen* relates, that from this practise of *Constantine* it was afterwards derived, that each Cohort in the *Roman* Army had its Tabernacle furnished like a Chappel, and peculiar Priests and Deacons, who might there perform Divine worship. *Vales.*

CHAP. LVII.

That having received the Embassie of the Persians, *He watch't all night, together with others, on the Feast of* Easter.

IN the interim the *Persians*, informed of the Emperours preparation for a War, and being extreamly fearfull of coming to an Engagement with him, [a] by an Embassie entreated him to make a Peace.

[a] *Rufus Festus* writes the same thing in *his Breviarium*. *Constantinus rerum dominus*, &c. *Constantine supream in the Empire, at the latter end of his Life prepared an Expedition against the* Persians. *For the Nations in the whole world being subdued; and he being rendred more glorious by a fresh Victory obtained over the* Goths, *went down against the* Persians *with many Troops. At whose approach the Kingdoms of* Babylonia *trembled so much, that an humble Embassie from the* Persians *met him, and promised*

they would do what they were commanded. Nevertheless, they deserved not to be pardoned for the continual Eruptions, which they had attempted thorowout the East, under Constantius Cæsar. But *Socrates* says only this: ἀλλ' ἐ μὲν τότε ὁ πόλεμος, &c. *But this War went on no farther at that time: For it was immediately extinguished by the fear which the Emperour had put the* Persians *into.* Vales.

Wherefore, this most peaceable Emperour, gave the Embassie of the *Persians* a kind reception, and [b] readily entred into a League with them. The great Festival of *Easter* was now at hand: wherein the Emperour paid his Vowes to God, and together with others watch't all night long.

[b] Φιλικὰς δεξιὰς προθύμως σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐσπείσατο. You will here observe the Barbarism, not of *Eusebius*, but of him who has made up this chapter. For it ought to have been said, μετ' ἐκείνους ἐσπείσατο. Nor is this likely, that *Constantine*, who had drawn together all the Forces of the *Roman* Empire against the *Persians*, should have made a Peace with them. 'Tis certain, the contrary is affirmed by *Rufus Festus*, whose words we have produced above; as also by *Eutropius*, and *Aurelius Victor*. But *Socrates* intimates, that a Peace, or at least a Truce, was made with the *Persian*. Vales.

CHAP. LVIII.

Concerning the Building of that termed the Martyrium of the Apostles, *at* Constantinople.

[a] Who sees not, that this passage was made by another hand? For it does not in the least agree with the following chapter. In this chapter *Constantine* is said to have begun to build the *Church of the Apostles*, after *Easter* in the year 337. But in the following chapter, which 'tis manifest was written by *Eusebius*, that Church appears to be now finished. But from *Easter* to *Pentecost*, on which day *Constantine* died, the ground could scarce be dug up, in order to laying the foundation of the Temple. Wherefore that Church must necessarily have been begun to be built long before. See *chap.* 36. Vales.

[a] After this He began to build a *Martyrium* in that City which bore his own name, in memory of the Apostles.] And when he had raised the Church to an unexpressible height, he made it Splendid and Glorious by a variety of all manner of Stones, covering it with Crusts of Marble from the Foundation to the very Roof. He laid the inner-Roof all over with *Lacunaria* of very small work, and gilded it thorowout with Gold. [b] Above, instead of Tyles, Brass was laid, which afforded the whole Structure a secure defence against showers. Which [covering] being likewise over-spread with Gold, shined gloriously: in so much that, it * dazled their eyes who beheld it at a distance, [the Brass] † reverberating the Rayes of the Sun. But the whole [c] Roof was encompassed round with chased Net-work, made of Brass and Gold.

[b] Ἄνω χαλκὸς ὢν. It must be, ἄνω μὴ χαλκὸς. *Vales.*

* Or, *Sent forth brightnesses to them who, &c.*

† *Beating back.*

[c] Τὸ δωμάτιον. Above, at book 3. chap. 36, *Eusebius* terms the outward Roof of a Church, τὸ ἐκτὸς δώματα. Therefore δωμάτιον seems here to be the Roof of the whole Church, or at least of the Altar. Such Roofs built in form of a Circle, we *French-men* do at this day term *Domats*. Further, concerning the magnificence of *this Church of the Apostles*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, in *his Poem de Insomnio Anastasiæ*, writes thus:

Σὺν τοῖς δὲ μεγάλαυχον ἔδνον χειστὸν μαθηταῖς
Πλευραῖς τετρασκοπίοις τετεχα τιμόωσαν.

That is, *And likewise the magnificent Temple of Christ's Disciples, distinguished by four sides in form of a Cross.* In this Form Churches were heretofore built, as *Gretser* hath remarqued in *his Books de Cruce*, and *Marcus* in *the Life of* St *Porphyrius*. Vales.

CHAP. LIX.

A further description of the same Martyrium.

IN This manner was the Church it self beautified, by the Emperour's extraordinary Care and Munificence. But about the Church there was a most Spatious * *Area*, open to the pure Air. At the four sides whereof ran *Porticus*'s [joyned one to another,] which inclosed the *Area* Scituate in the midst, together with the Church it self. Moreover, † *Basilicæ*, Baths, Rooms to lodge and eat in, and many other apartments built for their use who kept the place, were joyned to the *Porticus*'s, and were equall to them in length.

* Or, *Open Court.*

† Οἶκοι βασίλειοι, *Imperial, or stately houses.*

CHAP. LX.

That in this [*Church*] *also, He built* * *Himself a Sepulchre.*

* Or, *A Tombe for his own burial.*

ALL These [Edifices] the Emperour * Dedicated [with this intent,] that He might consign to posterity the memory of our Saviour's Apostles. But he had another design in his mind, when he built this Church: which [purpose of his] was at first concealed; but in the end it became known to all men. For he had † designed this place for himself || after his death; foreseeing by a transcendent alacrity of Faith, that his own Body should after death be made a [a] partaker of the Apostles appellation:

* Or, *Consecrated.*

† Or, *Treasur'd up a place there.*

|| Or, *At the fit time of his death.*

[a] Τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων προσρήσεως κοινωνόν. *Eusebius* alludes to that appellation of ἰσαπόστολος, that is, *equall to an Apostle*, which was given to *Constantine* after his death, as it occurs in the *Menæa* of *the Greeks*. Which appellation I can't tell why *Scaliger* (in *his fifth Book de Emendatione Temporum,*) should so much envy him, as to say that much was detracted from the praise and glory of the Apostles, because their name is given to *Constantine*. Doubtless, whoever shall accurately look into those things done by *Constantine*, in order to the propagation of the Faith of Christ, will acknowledge that name to have been deservedly given Him. If *Thecla* could deserve that appellation, which woman *Basilius Seleucensis* and others do term ἰσαπόστολον, how much more justly will it be given to *Constantine*, by whom 'tis effected, that we are now all *Christians*? Further, *Eusebius* makes use of the same words again, below at *chap.* 71. *The Authour of the Synodicon* speaking concerning the *Nicene Synod*; Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ ἐν χριστιανοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀπόστολος, *Constantine, the Apostle among the Christian Emperours*. And so he is termed in the *Office of the Greeks*, at the 21st *of May*, as it occurs in the *Typicon* of St *Saba*. Vales.

* to the end that even after death, He might be esteemed worthy of the prayers which should be performed there in honour of the Apostles. Having therefore raised twelve † *Capsæ* there, as some Sacred Columns, in honour and memory of the choire of the Apostles, he [b] placed his own || Ark in the midst; on each side of which lay six *Capsæ* of the Apostles. And this, as I have said, he prudently considered of, [namely] where his Body might be decently deposited after he had ended his Life. Having in his mind ordered these matters

* Ὡς ἂν καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν ἀξιοῖτο τῆς ἐνταῦθα μελλουσῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν ἁγίων συλλειτουργιῶν τυγχάνων. In *Robert Stephens's Edit.* 'tis likewise worded and pointed in the same manner.

† *Chests.* In the *Greek* 'tis θήκας.

[b] But *Chrysostome* (*Homil.* 26. *in* 2. *Epist. to the Corinthians*, *pag.* 741,) says *Constantine* was buried in the Porch of the Church of the Apostles, as their Porter; and that matter he magnifies according to his usual way. These things therefore must be so reconciled, as that *Constantine* himself would have had his dead body buried in the midst of the Apostles: but, that *Constantius*, or some body else, placed it otherwhere. Indeed *Zonaras* writes, that *Constantius* deposited his Father's Corps in the Church of the Apostles, in a peculiar *Porticus*, which he had built for that very purpose. *Vales.* || Λάρναξ, *Coffin.*

long

long before, he conſecrated a Church to the Apoſtles; * believing, that their memory would be uſefull and advantagious to his Soul. Nor did God account him unworthy of thoſe things which by his prayers he expected. For, as ſoon as the firſt [† Exerciſes of the Feaſt of Eaſter had been compleated by him, and when he had paſt over our Saviour's day, rendring it ſplendid to himſelf, and a Feſtival to all other perſons; whileſt he was intent upon theſe things, and ſpent his Life herein to the very [c] Cloſe of it, God, by whoſe aſſiſtance he performed all theſe things, opportunely vouchſafed him a divine paſſage to a better allotment.

* Ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ὀνησιφόρον τῷ θεῷ δι' ἣν μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι ἀπῶν πεδίων. And ſo 'tis in *Robert Stephens*.

† Theſe words within this mark [ ], from *Exerciſes* to *Martyrs*, are wanting in *Robert Stephens*; nor has *Muſculus* taken any notice of them in *his Verſion*.

[c] Ἐν τέτῳ τέλῳ. In *Moræus's Book* the reading is τέλως, and an *Aſterisk* is placed before that word. I reade therefore, ἐν τέτῳ μέχει τέλως τῷ ζωὴν διανύοντα, *and ſpent his Life herein to the very cloſe of it*. Farther, this *Aſterisk* aſſures us, that this imperfection was ſupplied from ſome Manuſcript Copy. Nevertheleſs, I queſtion much, whither even theſe words alſo proceed not from the conjecture of ſome Learned man. For this expreſſion ſeems to me ſcarce *Greek*, ἐν τέτῳ τῷ ζωὴν διανύοντα ἢ ἐν τέτοις ὄντα. And I had much rather write διανύσαντα. But the words which occur at the end of the imperfection, are much more ſuſpicious; viz. κἀνταῦθα τῷ ἅγι μαρτύρων μαρτυρίῳ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι οἴκῳ. For firſt, μαρτυρίῳ οἴκῳ is a fooliſh expreſſion, in regard *Euſebius* always ſays μαρτύριον, in the neuter gender. Then, why has he ſaid μαρτύρων, in the plural number? Was that Church dedicated to many Martyrs together? There was a famous Church at *Helenopolis*, dedicated to the Martyr *Lucianus*. In this Church therefore *Conſtantine* abode on account of prayer, when he returned from the warm waters. Wherefore it ought to have been ſaid τῷ μάρτυρος, *of the Martyr*, not ἅγι μαρτύρων, *of the Martyrs*. After I had written this note, I procured the *Fuketian Copy*, which has retained the true writing of this place. For thus it is; τῷ ἅγι μαρτύρων ἐυκτηρίῳ ἐνδιατεῖσθαι οἴκῳ, *having made his abode for ſome conſiderable time in the Oratory of the Martyrs*. In the *ſame Copy* the reading is ἐν τέτῳ τέλως without a *chaſme*: alſo, ἀπὸς ὧ ταῦτα ξωσξετέλει. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. LXI.

[*The Emperour's*] *Indiſpoſition of Body at* Helenopolis, *and his Prayers.* [*Alſo*] *concerning his Baptiſme.*

AT firſt an unequal temper of Body hapned to him: together therewith a diſtemper ſeized him. Soon after which he went to the * warm Baths of his own City: thence he goes to the City which bore the name of his own Mother: where having made his abode for ſome conſiderable time, in the Oratory of the Martyrs,] he put up his Prayers and Supplications to God. And when he perceived that the end of his Life drew near, [a] he thought this was the time of purgation, of all thoſe ſins which he had committed throughout his whole Life: firmly believing, that whatever ſins as a man he had faln into and committed, would be waſht from off his Soul, by the efficacy of myſtick words, [b] and by the ſalutary Laver. Having therefore conſidered this with himſelf, kneeling upon the pavement, he humbly beg'd God's pardon, making a confeſſion of his ſins in the very *Martyrium*: in [c] which

* Or, *Baths of warm water*, &c.

[a] Δεῖν ᾤετο. It muſt, I think, be written, διενοεῖτο, *he thought*. Valeſ.

[b] Λόγῳ λατρῷ. I ſuppoſe it muſt be written, σωτηρίῳ τε λατρῷ, *and by the ſalutary Laver*. For what can the meaning of λόγῳ λατρῷ be, eſpecially when he had ſaid before, λόγων ἀπορρήτων δυνάμει, *by the efficacy of myſtick words*. In the *Old Sheets* the reading is σωτηρίῳ λόγῳ λατρῷ, which plainly confirms our emendation. *Valeſ.*

[c] This place does chiefly call for the Reader's attentive diligence. For from it, that great queſtion concerning *Conſtantine*'s Baptiſm may eaſily be determined. *Euſebius* ſays therefore, that the Emperour *Conſtantine* did then firſt of all receive impoſition of hands with ſolemn prayer in the Church: that is in one word, was then firſt made a *Catechumen*. For *Catechumens* were made by impoſition of the hand by the Biſhop, as the *ſixth Canon of the Council of Orleance* informs us: *De his qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit eis debere manum imponi.* The ſame is eſtabliſhed in *Chap. 39. of the Eliberitane Council. Gentiles ſi in infirmitate deſideraverint ſibi manum imponi, ſi fuerit eorum ex aliquâ parte vita honeſta, placuit eis manum imponi, & fieri Chriſtianos.* Which *Eliberitane Canon* (that I may give notice of that by the by,) ſeems to be nothing elſe but an expoſition of the *Orleance-Canon:* which may alſo be ſeen in other Chapters of *that Council*. Concerning the ſame Rite there is a famous place in *Sulpicius Severus, Dial. g. 2, concerning the Miracles of Saint Martin, Chap. 3. Poſtremò cunctî caterватim ad genua beati viri ruere cæperunt, fideliter poſtulantes, ut eos faceret Chriſtianos. Nec cunctatus, in medio, ut erat, campo, cunctos impoſitâ univerſis manu Catechumenos fecit.* The *ſame Author, Book 1. Nemo ferè*, ſays he, *Ex immani illâ multitudine fuit Gentilium, qui non impoſitione manûs deſideratâ, in Dominum Jeſum relicto impietatis errore crediderit.* S[t] *Auguſtine* alſo, in *Book 2. de Peccatorum Remiſſione, Chap. 26. Non uniuſmodi eſt Sanctificatio. Nam & Catechumenos ſecundùm quendam modum ſuum per ſignum Crucis & Orationem manus impoſitionis puto ſanctificari. Petrus Chryſologus* writes the ſame likewiſe in *his 52[d] Sermon. Hinc eſt quod veniens ex Gentibus, impoſitione manus & exorciſmis ante à dæmone purgatur; & apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere poſſit auditum.* So alſo in *his 105[th] Sermon. Namque ut incurvus peccatis Gentilis erigatur ad cœlum, prius à Gentili per impoſitionem manuum nequam ſpiritus effugatur.* To theſe Authours, is to be annext *Symeon Metaphraſtes*, who in the *Acts of the Holy Martyrs* Indes *and* Domna, *writes thus concerning* Cyrillus *the Biſhop. Ille autem cùm moderatè divinas ei eccinîſſet Scripturas, & Venerandâ Chriſti cruce eam obſignaſſet, tunc quidem eam facit Catechumenam.* Laſtly, *Marcus in his Book concerning the Life of* Porphyrius *Biſhop of* Gaza: *Die ſequenti parentes mulieris & Cognati euntes ad B. Porphyrium, prociderunt ad ejus pedes, petentes Chriſti ſignaculum. Beatus verò cùm eos ſignaſſet, & ſeciſſet Catechumenos, dimiſit illos in pace, præcipiens eis ut vacarent Sanctæ Eccleſiæ. Et Paulò poſt cùm eos catecheſi inſtituiſſet, baptizavit.* From theſe Authours it appeares, that *Catechumens* were heretofore made in the Church, no otherwiſe than by an impoſition of the hand. Whereas therefore *Conſtantine* is ſaid to have then firſt received impoſition of the hand in the Church, 'tis plain that as yet he was not a *Catechumen*. But ſome body will ſay: who can believe that the Emperour *Conſtantine* was not till this time a *Catechumen*? whereas he had both been preſent at the *Nicene Council*, and had publiſhed ſo many Laws and Reſcripts in favour of the *Chriſtians*; had built ſo many Churches; had all manner of ways incited the Heathens to embrace the Faith of Chriſt; and had deprived the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks of their Churches. Indeed, *Euſebius* does atteſt, that he had performed all the Offices of a *Chriſtian*. For he writes, that he had buſied himſelf in faſtings and prayers, and had obſerved Sundays, and the Feaſts of the Martyrs; and alſo, that he had watcht all night in the Vigils of Eaſter. All theſe things, and many more beſides, which might be produced, doe prove *Conſtantine*, not to have been a Heathen; but they do not evince him to have been *a Catechumen*. 'Tis certain, in theſe four Books of *Euſebius*, wherein the Piety and Religion of *Conſtantine* is celebrated, it no where occurs, that *Conſtantine* prayed in the Church with the reſt of the *Catechumens*, or that he partook of the Sacrament of the *Catechumens*. And although *Euſebius* does in expreſs words affirm *that*, of *Helena Auguſta* the Mother of the Emperour *Conſtantine*, that ſhee ſtood in the Church with the reſt of the women; yet you will never find the ſame thing ſaid by him concerning *Conſtantine*. If it be objected, that *Conſtantine* made his abode at *Helenopolis* in the Church of the Martyrs, and pour'd forth his prayers to God: in the firſt place I anſwer, that this paſſage occurs not in our Copies, as I have obſerved a little before. Secondly, even Heathens had a liberty of going into the Churches, except only in the time of prayers; how much more might the Emperour do that, who profeſt himſelf a *Chriſtian*. Whereas therefore *Euſebius* does plainly inform us here, that *Conſtantine* received impoſition of the hand from the Prelates firſt at *Helenopolis*; it evidently appears, that before that time he was not a *Catechumen*. I know, that *Athanaſius* (in the *Life of Saint Anthony*, where he ſpeaks concerning the Letters written by *Conſtantine* to *Anthony*,) and *Saint Auguſtine* (in *Epiſt. 162, and 166,*) do give *Conſtantine* the Title of a *Chriſtian Prince*. But it may be anſwered, that they have in this matter followed the vulgar opinion and Report of all men; and, that they publickly termed *Conſtantine* a *Chriſtian* Prince, not becauſe he had as yet been initiated in the Sacraments of the *Chriſtian* Faith, but in regard he openly profeſt the worſhip of the *Chriſtian* Religion. Alſo, another far more weighty objection againſt our Opinion, may be brought from *Chap. 32, Book 1.* the Contents of which chapter run thus, ὅπως κατηχθεὶς κωνσταντῖνος, &c, *That Conſtantine becoming a Catechumen*, &c. Whence it may be concluded, that *Conſtantine* was made a *Catechumen* ſoon after that Viſion of a Croſs in the Heavens. But my anſwer is, that *thoſe Contents* were not made by *Euſebius*, but by ſome more modern perſon, as it is ſhown above. Beſides, κατηχθεὶς is taken there for μαθητευθεὶς, *inſtructed*, or, *taught*. 'Tis certain, *Euſebius* does not ſay any where in *that chapter*, that *Conſtantine* was made a *Catechumen*, but only, that the Biſhops being call'd for by him, opened to him the reaſon of that Celeſtial Viſion: and that thence forward he applyed himſelf to the reading of the Sacred Volumns. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν. So in the *first book of his History* chap. 13, these words occur, εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν, *received a blessing by prayer and the laying on of his hands.* ——*Saint Augustine, Book 2. de Remissione Peccatorum, Chap. 26,* terms it *Orationem manûs impositionis, the prayer of imposition of the hand.* Vales.

place likewise he was first vouchsafed [d] imposition of hands with prayer. Removing from thence, he goes to the Suburbs of the City *Nicomedia:* where he called the Bishops together, and spake to them in this manner.

CHAP. LXII.

Constantine's request to the Bishops, that they would confer Baptism upon him.

THis was the time long since hop't for by me, when I thirsted and prayed, that I might obtain Salvation in God. This is the Hour, wherein even We may also enjoy that Seal which conferrs immortality; the Hour, wherein We may partake of that [a] *Salutary Impression. I had heretofore taken a Resolution, of doing this in the* [c] *streams of the River* Jordan, *where Our Saviour himself,* * *in a likeness to us, is recorded to have partaken of the Laver. But God, who best knows what is advantagious to Us, in this place vouchsafes Us a participation thereof.* [d] *Let therefore all doubt be removed.*

[a] Σωτηρίᾳ σφραγῖδι. A very fooliſh repetition, this; in regard he had ſaid juſt before, τῆς ἀθανασιοποιοῦ σφραγῖδος, *that Seal which conferrs immortality.* Wherefore I doubt not but *Euſebius* wrote σωτηρίᾳ χαρίσματι, *the ſalutary gift.* For ſo the Antients termed Baptiſm alſo, as, beſides others, *Gregory Nazianzene* informs us. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *According to our example:* So *Valeſius* renders it.

[b] Ἐνεῦθεν ποτέ. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τότ' ἐνεῦθεν πρὶν ποιῆσαι, *I had heretofore taken a reſolution of doing this*; in which manner I found it written in *Turnebus's* and *Moræus's* Copy. *Valeſ.*

[c] Leaſt any one ſhould raſhly find fault with *Conſtantine*, becauſe he coveted to be baptized there, where the Lord had heretofore been baptized by *John*; notice is to be taken, that moſt *Chriſtians* at that time coveted the ſame thing. *Our Euſebius's* words in *his Book de Locis Hebraicis*, are theſe. Βηθβααρὰ ὅπου ἦν ἰωάννης βαπτίζων πέραν τοῦ ἰορδάνου. καὶ δείκνυται ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πλείους ἤδη ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἔτι νῦν τὸ λίαν φιλοτιμοῦνται λαμβάνειν. Which place *Jerome* renders thus: BETHBAARA *trans Jordanem, &c.* BETHBAARA *beyond Jordane, where* John *Baptized to Repentance: whence even to this day many of the Brethren, that is of the number of believers, deſirous to be born again there, are baptized in the vital Stream.* *Jerome* takes *Euſebius's* words to be meant concerning *Catechumens* who earneſtly deſired that they might be baptized in *Jordan.* But the words of *Euſebius* may be underſtood concerning bare waſhing. Indeed, long after the age of *Euſebius* and *Jerome*, the Faithfull were wont to waſh in that very place, eſpecially on the Feſtival of the *Theophania* [that is, either on the *firſt of February*, or the *ſixth of January*, as *Scaliger* affirms in *his Notes on* 1 *Cor.* 15.] after the Baptiſm of the little children; as I have learnt from the *Itinerary of Antoninus the Martyr*, whoſe words are theſe. *Juxta Jordanem verò ubi baptizatus eſt Dominus Jeſus, eſt tumulus cancellis circundatus. Et in loco ubi redundat aqua de alveo ſuo, poſita eſt Crux lignea intus in aquâ, & ex utrâque parte rupes ſtrata marmore. Et in vigilia Theophaniæ magnus ibi fit conventus populorum. Et quarta aut quinta vice gallo canente, fiunt Vigiliæ. Completis Matutinis, primo diluculo ſurgentes procedunt ad Sacra Miniſteria celebranda ſub divo. Et diaconi tenentes ſacerdotem, deſcendit ſacerdos in flumen. Et horâ quâ cæpit benedicere aquam, mox Jordanis cum magno rugitu poſt ſe revertitur; & ſtat aqua ſuperior in ſe uſque dum baptiſmus perficitur: inferior autem fugit in mare.* And a little after: *Baptiſmo autem completo, deſcendunt omnes in flumen pro benedictione, induti ſindonibus quas ſibi ad Sepulturam ſervant.* The ſame thing is likewiſe related in the *Hodœporicon of Saint Willibald* which *Caniſius* publiſhed. *Ad Jordanem, ubi Dominus fuit baptizatus, ibi nunc eſt Eccleſia in columnis lapideis ſurſum elevata: & ſubtus eccleſiam eſt nunc arida terra, ubi dominus baptizatus fuit. In ipſo loco & ibi nunc baptizant. Ibi ſtat crux lignea in medio, & parva derivatio aquæ ſtat illic; & unus funiculus extenſus ſuper Jordanem hinc & inde firmatur. Tunc in ſolemnitate Epiphaniæ infirmi & ægroti venientes habebant ſe cum funiculo, & ſic demerguntur in aquam. Epiſcopus Noſter Willibaldus balneavit ſe ibi in Jordane.* Valeſ.

[d] Μὴ δή τις ἀμφιβολία πῆ γιγνέσθω. The meaning of theſe words is ſufficiently intricate. Had *Conſtantine* a mind to ſay this? *Let all perſons now ceaſe from doubting concerning me, whether I be really a Chriſtian; let no body in future ſuſpect me to have embraced the Faith of Chriſt in words only, not from the inmoſt affection of my heart.* Ἀμφιβολία may alſo be taken at this place for ἀναβολή; that is, *Let all delay be removed.* Which ſenſe does indeed agree better with what goes before. For in theſe words *Conſtantine* accuſes himſelf, becauſe namely he had too long deferred the Salutary Laver, and becauſe he had been ſo long wavering as 'twere and doubtfull, neither following the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Heathens*, nor embracing the worſhip of the *Chriſtians.* Valeſ.

For if the Lord of Life and Death, will have Us continue our Life any longer here; and if it be [e] *once ſo determined* [concerning me,] *that I may in future be aſſembled with the people of God, and, being made a member of the Church, may together with all the reſt partake of the prayers: I will preſcribe my ſelf ſuch Rules of living, as may* * *befit* [a ſervant of] *God.*

* Or, *Be worthy of God.*

[e] Ἄπαξ ὤειτω. There may be a two-fold meaning given of theſe words: for either τῷ θεῷ is underſtood with ὤειτω; which ſenſe the Tranſlatour of this Book has followed. Or elſe with ὤειτω, ἐμοὶ is underſtood, which meaning is in my judgment truer. Indeed, in the *Kings Copy*, after the word ὤειτω a middle diſtinction is placed. Beſides, that word ἅπαξ does plainly ſhew, that *Conſtantine* ſpeaks concerning himſelf. Laſtly, if theſe words were to be meant concerning God, *Conſtantine* would not have ſaid τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λαῷ, *with the people of God*, but τῷ ἁγίῳ λαῷ, *with his people.* Valeſ.

Theſe were the words he ſpake. They performed the Rites, and compleated the Divine Ceremonies; and, [f] having firſt enjoyned him whatever was neceſſary, made him a partaker of the Sacred Myſteries. *Conſtantine* therefore, the only perſon of all thoſe that ever were Emperours, was by a Regeneration [g] perfected in the *Martyria* of Chriſt: and being dignified with the Divine Seal, [h] rejoyced in Spirit; 'tis mended προδιατεθειμένοις, which pleaſes me better. This verb διατέλλομαι is frequently taken in this ſenſe, in the Sacred Scriptures. *Valeſ.*

[f] Προδιατελεσθεὶς μύσεσι. In the Books of *Turnebus* and *Moræus*, at the margin

[g] Ἐτελείωτο. I can't approve of the Verſion of the Tranſlatours, who have rendred ἐτελειοῦτο, *initiatus eſt, was initiated*; as if the reading ought to be, ἐτελεῖτο. But I have choſe to render it, *conſummatus eſt, was perfected.* So S^t *Cyprian* in *his* 73 *Epiſt. to Jubaianus, pag.* 145; *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Eccleſia baptizantur, præpoſitis Eccleſiæ offerantur, & per noſtram Orationem ac manus impoſitionem Spiritum Sanctum conſequantur, & ſignaculo dominico conſummentur.* 'Tis certain, the *Greek Fathers* do uſually term *Baptiſm* τελείωσιν, that is, *Perfection* and *Conſummation.* So *Athanaſius* in *his third Oration againſt the* Arians; Ἡ διατὴ ἐν τῷ τελειώσει τὸ βαπτίσματι συγκαλουμένη τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ υἱός. And a little after; ἢ διατὸ πεποιημένον σωτηρίαν τοῦ ποιήσαντος εἰς τὸν θεὸν πάντων τελείωσιν. Alſo, a little after he makes uſe of τελειωθῇς, for *baptizari, to be baptized*: Ὃν βαπτίζει ὁ πατὴρ, τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς βαπτίζει· καὶ ὃν ὁ υἱὸς βαπτίζει, ὅτου ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ τελειῶται. And in the following page he does again term Baptiſm τελείωσιν. In which places *P. Nannius* always renders it *initiationem, initiation.* Moreover, *Gregory Nazianzene* in *his firſt Oration againſt Julian*, gives Baptiſm the ſame name; ἄλλαι μὲν οὐχ ὁσίως τὸ λίαν ἀπορρύπτεται. τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τελειώσεων τὸν τελειωσίων τὰς μύσεις ἀντιπαθείς. Laſtly, *Clemens Alexandrinus, Book* 1. *Pædagog.* writes, that Baptiſm is called by various names. For, ſometimes, he ſays, 'tis termed χάρισμα; ſometimes φώτισμα; ſometimes λουτρόν. Then he annexes a reaſon why it ſhould be termed τέλειον: *we term that* τέλειον, ſays he, *whereto nothing is wanting. What is farther wanting to him who knows God, and who poſſeſſes the grace of God, and now enjoyes Life eternal.* Whence *Clemens* concludes thus; *that all perſons who have believed in Chriſt, and who have been dipt in the ſacred Laver, are now perfect.* ὅτῳ τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆναι, τελείωσίς ὅτιν ἐν ζωῇ. Amongſt the *Latines* alſo, they were termed *perfecti Chriſtiani, perfect Chriſtians*, who had received Baptiſm, although they had not received impoſition of the Hand from the Biſhop. The *Old Authour de Hæreticis non rebaptizandis*, has this paſſage; *Quod hodiernâ quoque die non poteſt dubitari eſſe uſitatum, & evenire ſolitum ut plerique poſt Baptiſma ſine impoſitione manûs Epiſcopi de ſæculo exeant; & tamen pro perfectis fidelibus habentur.* And again afterwards, *at pag.* 135 *Edit. Rigalt*; he uſes *a perfect Chriſtian* for a *Believer*; and, *an imperfect one* for a *Catechumen.* See the place. ——*Valeſ*

[h] Ἡσθέλετο τῷ πνεύματι. That which I have already remark't to have hapned in many places of *this work*, has, I conjecture, been committed here alſo; namely, that the words are tranſpoſed. I am

of

of opinion therefore, that it must be read thus; ἐσάλλετο, ἀνεκαινοῦτό τε τῷ πνεύματι, *rejoyced, and was renewed in Spirit.* For he alludes to that verse of the known Psalm, *Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.* Further, from this place of *Eusebius* we may gather, that *Constantine* was not sprinkled in his Bed, as the sick were wont to be; but received Baptism in the Church. For *Eusebius* says, τοῖς χειροθ μαρτυρίοις ἀναγεννώμενον, &c, *was by a Regeneration perfected in the Martyria of Christ.* Soon after this, from the *Fuketian Copy and the Old Sheets* write φωτὸς ἐνεπίμπλατο, *was filled with light.* Vales.

and was renewed, and filled with the Divine Light. The joy of his mind was great, by reason of his transcendency of Faith: but he was stricken with an amazement at the manifestation of the Divine Power. After all things had been duely performed, He was clothed with [1] white and Royal Garments, which shined like the Light; and rested himself upon a most bright Bed; nor would he any more touch the purple.

[1] 'Tis a known thing, that it was heretofore the custom, that *Neophytes* [i. e. *persons newly baptized,*] should be clothed in white garments, which they afterwards laid by, on the eighth day. *Zeno Veronensis* in *his fifth Sermon ad Neophytos. Primus vos qui in se credentem reprobat nullum, non aries sed agnus excepit: qui vestram nuditatem velleris sui niveo candore vestivit.* S[t] *Austin in serm.* 157. *de Tempore. Paschalis Solemnitas hodiernâ festivitate concluditur. Et ideò hodie Neophytorum habitus commutatur: ita tamen, ut candor qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur. Bede* attests the same in *his Book de Officiis. Septuagesima,* says he, *tendit ad sabbatum ante Octavas Paschæ, quando hi qui in Vigilia paschæ baptizantur, alba vestimenta deponent.* Which words occur also in the *Roman Order.* In an *old Pontifical Book of the Church of Senona,* written out about six hundred years since, there is a solemn prayer extant, which the Bishop made over the *Neophytes,* at such time as they laid aside *their Albes*; which I thought worth while to annex here.

Benedictio in Sabbato quando albas deponunt.

Deus qui calcatis inferni Legibus captivitatem nostram resolutâ catenarum compage dignatus est ad Libertatis præmia revocare, ipse vobis præstet ita hanc vitam transigere, ut in illam perpetuam ipso duce possitis intrare, Amen. Tantum præbeat vobis fervorem Catholicæ fidei, ut sancti adventus illius sitis expectatione securi, Amen. Ut quicunque hic meruerunt purgare unda Baptismi, ibi præsentari valeant pio Judici candidati, Amen.

Farther, the *Neophytes* celebrated those eight days after Baptism with all imaginable Religion: in so much that, during those days, which were also termed *Octavæ,* they lookt upon it as impious, to touch the earth with their naked feet, as S[t] *Austin* writes in *Epist.* 119. *ad Januarium.* Also, during those days they were wont to go bare-headed, which was a sign of Liberty. S[t] *Austin Serm.* 4. *in Dominica Octavarum paschæ. Hodie Octavæ dicuntur infantium: revelanda sunt capita eorum quod est indicium Libertatis. Habet enim Libertatem ista spiritalis nativitas,* &c. On the contrary, the *Catechumens* went in publick with their heads covered, in regard they were a Type of *Adam* expelled out of Paradice, as *Funilius* says *Book* 2. *Chap.* 16. Which I am of opinion is to be understood concerning the *Competentes* only, who covered not only their heads, but their faces also, as *Cyrill of Jerusalem* informs us in *his first Catechisme.* But this covering was taken off of them in Baptism, or at least on the eighth day after Baptism. For this is rather intimated by those words of S[t] *Austin,* quoted by us a little above. And the same is likewise confirmed by *Theodorus Bishop of Canterbury* in *his Liber Pœnitentialis,* in these words. *In monachorum ordinatione Abbas debet missam cantare, & tres Orationes complere super Caput ejus; & septem dies velet caput ejus; septimo die abstollat velamen. Sicut in Baptismo Presbyter septimo die velamen infantum tollit: ita & Abbas debet Monacho, quia secundus Baptismus est juxta judicium patrum; & omnia peccata dimittuntur sicut in Baptismo.* Vales.

CHAP. LXIII.

In what manner he praised God, after he had received Baptism.

After this he lifted up his voice, and poured forth to God a prayer of thanksgiving. Which ended, he added these words. *Now I know my self to be truly blessed:* [a] *now 'tis evident that I am accounted worthy of an immortal life: now I have an assurance that I am made a partaker of Divine Light.* Moreover, he termed them miserable, and said they were unhappy, who were deprived of such great * Blessings. And when the *Tribunes* and Chief Officers of the Military Forces came in, and with tears bewailed [their own misfortune,] that they themselves should be left desolate; and prayed for his longer Life: He answered them also, and said, that now at length he was vouchsafed true life, and that only He himself knew, what great Blessings he had been made a partaker of. Wherefore, that he hastned, and would by no delayes defer going to his God. After this, he disposed of every thing according to his own mind. And to those *Romans* who inhabit the Imperial City, he bequeathed certain Annual Gifts. But he left the inheritance of the Empire, as 'twere some paternal Estate, to his own children; ordering all things in such a manner, as he himself thought good.

* Or, *Goods.*

[a] Πεφάνθαι ἄξιον πίστεως. The *Geneva-Printers* added the last word from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; which I likewise found added in *Moræus's Copy.* But 'tis wanting in the *Kings Copy,* nor does it seem to me to be very necessary. In the *Fuketian, Turnebian,* and *Savilian Copies,* the verb πεπίστευκα is added after the word φωλὰς, therefore, there is a mistake both in *Moræus's Book,* and in the *Geneva-Edition.* Vales.

CHAP. LXIV.

The death of Constantine *on the Festival of* Pentecost, *about noon.*

Further, all these things were transacted in that great Solemnity of the most venerable and most sacred *Pentecost*; which is honoured with seven weeks, [a] but is sealed with * the number one. In which Festival hapned, both the Ascent of the Common Saviour into the Heavens, and also the descent of the Holy Spirit upon men, as the Divine Scriptures do attest. In this Solemnity therefore the Emperour, having obtained those things we have mentioned, on the last day of all, (which should any one term the Feast of Feasts, he would not be mistaken;) † about noon, was taken up to his God: leaving to mortalls that part of Himself which was related to them; but joyning to his God that part of his Soul which was endued with understanding, and the Love of God. This was the End of *Constantine's* Life. But, let us proceed to what follows.

* Or, *An unit; Valesius* renders it, *unitate.*

† Or, *The Meridian hours of the Sun.*

[a] Μονάδι τ' ὁπισφραγιζομένης. It must be written, μονάδι δ' ὁπισφραγιζομένης, as it occurs in the *Kings Sheets.* Farther, from this place 'tis apparent, that *Pentecost* is taken, not only for that day which is the fiftieth after *Easter-day,* but also for the seven weeks which follow *Easter.* Thus 'tis every where used, as well by *Greek* as *Latine* Writers. S[t] *Jerome* in *his Letter to Marcella*; *Non quo per totum annum exceptâ Pentecoste jejunare non liceat.* Hence, amongst the Greeks there is a Festival termed μεντηκοστή, which is the twenty-fifth-day from the Feast of *Easter.* Besides other writers, *John Chrysostom* makes mention of this Feast, in *his Fifth Homily de Anna.* Vales.

CHAP. LXV.

The Lamentations of the Milice, and Tribunes.

THE *Protectors*, and the whole Body of his Guards, rent their clothes forthwith, and casting themselves prostrate on the earth, beat their heads against the ground; uttering [a] mournfull expressions [intermixt] with Sighs and Cries; calling upon him their Master, their Lord, their Emperour; nor [did they invoke him barely] as a Master, but, like most * obedient Children, [they accounted him] as a Father. Moreover, the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* styled him a Saviour, a Preserver, a Benefactour. And the rest of the Army, as 'tis usual amongst flocks, with all imaginable decency and becoming Reverence, desired and wisht for their Good Shepherd. The common people also ran up and down all over the City, and by Shreikes and Cries gave a manifest indication of their inward grief of mind. Others with dejected Countenances seemed like persons astonished; and [b] each particular man lookt upon this as his own Calamity, and bemoan'd himself, because the common Good of all men was taken out of this their life.

[a] Κωκυτοῦ φωνάς. The last word must be expunged, although it occurs in all our Copies. Presently, it must be written τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐπικλεῖνλο, from the *Fuketian Copy*. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is ἀπικλεῖνλο. *Vales.*

* Or, *Genuine.*

[b] Ἐκάςε τε πένθ@. It must doubtless be written, ἑκάςε τὸ πένθ@ ἴδιον ποιεμένε. Concerning the publick mourning of all persons, at the Funeral of *Constantine the Great*, *Aurelius Victor* attests the same, in these words. *Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis. Quod sanè populus Rom. ægerrimè tulit: quippe cujus armis, Legibus, clementi imperio quasi novatam urbem Rom. arbitraretur. His dead Body was brought into the City that bore his own name. Which the people of* Rome *were sorely troubled at: in regard, by his Arms, Laws, and mild Government, they supposed the City* Rome *renewed as 'twere.* I know indeed, that these words of *Aurelius Victor* may be understood concerning the Citizens of *Rome*, who took it ill, because *Constantine*'s Body had been interred at *Constantinople* rather then at *Rome*. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that *Victor* thought otherwise; to wit, that all the Inhabitants of the *Roman* world were most sorely troubled at the death of *Constantine*. Which meaning is plainly confirmed by the following words: *Quippe cujus armis, legibus, clementi imperio, quasi novatam Orbem Romanum arbitraretur.* For so 'tis to be read, and not *urbem Romanam.* Vales.

CHAP. LXVI.

That His Body was carried from Nicomedia *to* Constantinople, *into the Palace.*

AFter this, the Milice took His Body [out of the Bed,] and laid it into a Coffin of Gold; which they covered [a] with Purple, and carried it to the City that bore his own name. And there they plac't it * on high, [b] in the statelyest Room of the Imperial Palace. Then they light up Tapers round it, which being put into Candlesticks of Gold, rendred the Sight admirable to those that beheld it, and such a one as had never been seen on earth, by any person that was ever under the Sun's Rayes, since the world was first made. For within, in the very middlemost Room of the Imperial Palace, the Emperours Corps lay on high in a Golden Coffin; and being adorned with Imperial Ornaments, the Purple namely and the Diadem, was encompassed by many persons, who watcht with, and guarded it night and day.

[a] Ἀλυργικῇ ἀλυργίδι. The one of these words is useless. The *Fuketian Manuscript* has only the Latter; whereto agrees *Turnebus's Book*. Vales.

* Ῥάθρων ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν, *upon lofty Benches or Seats.*

[b] Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παντὸς μεσῳέ-ρονλι. The reading in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copy* is truer, thus, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πάντων μεσῳέρονλι τῆ βασιλείων οἴκων: but it must without doubt be made οἴκῳ, as 'tis above, at *book* 3. *chap.* 10. Vales.

CHAP. LXVII.

That even after His Death, he was honoured by the Comites *and the rest, in the same manner as when he was alive.*

MOreover, the * *Duces*, *Comites*, and the whole Order of the Judges and Magistrates, whose usage it had heretofore been to [a] *adore the Emperour*, made not the least alteration in their former Custom, but came in at set times, and on their knees saluted the Emperour when dead, and laid in his Coffin, as if he had been yet alive. After these Grandees, those of the Senate, [b] and all the *Honorati*, came in, and did the same. After whom, multitudes of all sorts of people, together with women and children, approacht to the sight hereof. And these things were thus performed during a long space of time: the Milice having taken a Resolution, that the Corps should lie and be guarded in this manner, till such time as his Sons could come, who might honour their Father by * a personal attendance at his Funeral. [In fine,] this most Blessed [Prince] was the only Mortal who [c] Reigned after death; and all things were performed in the usual manner, as if he had been still alive: this being the sole person, from the utmost memory of man, on whom God conferred this. For, whereas he of all the Emperours had been the only one, who by actions of all sorts whatever had honoured God the supream King, and his Christ; he alone, and that deservedly, had these honours allotted him: and the supream God was pleased to vouchsafe him this, that even his dead Body should Reign amongst men. Whereby God clearly shewed them, whose minds are not * totally stupified, that † the Empire of his Soul is endless and immortall. In this manner were these things performed.

* *Generals*, or *Commanders in chief.*

[a] Τὸν βασιλέα μεσκυνεῖν. Concerning the manner of saluting the *Roman* Emperours, consult the Learned Dr *Howells History, Second Part, pag.* 52. *This Adoration* was little more than what is now a days used to Princes, namely, a kneeling to them, and bowing the head.

[b] Οἵτ' ἐπ' ἀξίας. That is, *the Honorati*. So the Latines termed those who bore honours, as I have at large remarked at the 14th *Book* of *Amm. Marcellinus*. Whereto add a passage of *Gaudentius* Bishop of *Brixia*, in *his Letter to Benevolus*. *Nam sicut Honoratorum nostræ urbis, ita etiam dominicæ plebis, domino annuente, dignissimum caput es.* Vales.

* Or, *Their own carriage of him.*

[c] After *Constantine*'s death, there was *an Interregnum*, nor did any *Augustus* Reign in the *Roman* world. Which *interregnum* [i.e. *a time when there was no Emperour,*] continued not only till *Constantine*'s Burial, but to the *fifth of the Ides of September*, as *Idatius* attests in *his Fasti*. So, for the space of three months and an half, the *Roman* world was without the Empire of an *Augustus*. For during that whole time, which is between the *eleventh of the Calends of June* and the *fifth of the Ides of September*, his Sons were styled only *Cæsars*. 'Tis certain, *Constantinus Junior*, in *his Letter to the Alexandrians*, which bears date after his Fathers death, in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, on the *fifteenth of the Calends of July*, has the Title of *Cæsar* only. *This Letter* is extant in *Athanasius*, in *his Second Apologie*, near the end. *Vales.*

* Or, *Turned into stone.*

† Τῶν ἀ-γήρῳ, &c; in *Stephens* 'tis τῷ ἀ-γήρῳ, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

In what manner the Army resolved, that his Sons should be forthwith proclaimed Augusti.

IN the interim, the *Tribunes* dispatcht away some choice men belonging to the Military Companies, who for their fidelity and good affection had heretofore been * acceptable to the Emperour; that they might make the *Cæsars* acquainted with what had been done. And these were the things which those men performed then. But the Armies in all places, as soon as they were acquainted with the Emperours death, incited thereto by Divine instinct as 'twere, with an unanimous consent resolved, as if their Great Emperour had been yet living, that they would acknowledge no other person as Emperour of the *Romans*, save only his Sons. And not long after, they determined to have them all henceforward, not stiled *Cæsares*, but *Augusti*; which [name] is the † *Cognisance* of supremacy of Empire. And these things were done by the Armies; who by Letters one to another, signified their own suffrages and Acclamations; and the unanimous consent of the Legions was in one and the same moment of time, made known to all persons wherever they dwelt.

* Or, *Well known.*

† Or, *Greatest Symbol of supream Empire.*

CHAP. LXIX.

The Mourning * *at* Rome *for* Constantine, *and the Honour* [*done Him*] *by Pictures after his death.*

* Or, *Of Rome.*

BUt the Inhabitants of the Imperial City, as well the Senate as people of *Rome*, when they were acquainted with the Emperours death, lookt upon that to be most doleful news, and more calamitous than any misfortune whatever; and therefore set no Bounds to their mourning. The Baths therefore and *Forums* were shut up, and the publick Shows [omitted;] as likewise whatever other Pleasures, as Recreations of Life, are usually followed by those who spend their time in mirth and jollity. Such also, as had heretofore abounded with delights, walk't the Streets with dejected Countenances. And all in general stiled [the Emperour] Blessed; a person dear to God; and one that was truly worthy of the Empire. Nor made they these Declarations in bare words only: but proceeding on to actual performances, they honoured him when dead, with dedications of Pictures, as if he had been still alive. For, having expresst a Representation of Heaven in Colours on a Table, they drew him making his Residence in an Ætherial Mansion, above the Celestial Arches. Moreover, they proclaimed his Sons the sole Emperours and *Augusti*, without the Colleagueship of any other person; and with humble supplications made it their earnest Request, that they might have the [a] Body of their Emperour with them, and might deposite it within the Imperial City.

[a] The same is attested by *Aurelius Victor*, in those words of his, which we quoted above, at *chap.* 65. *note* (*b.*) Vales.

CHAP. LXX.

That his Body was deposited at Constantinople, *by his Son* Constantius.

IN this manner, even these [Inhabitants of *Rome*] grac't this Emperour, who was honoured by God. But the [a] Second of his Sons, when he was come to the place where his Father's Corps lay, conveyed [b] [it] to the City [that bore his own name,] he himself going before the Hearse. The Companies of the Milice march't before, Troop by Troop in a Military Order: and behind followed an innumerable multitude of people. But the *Hastati* and *Scutarii* surrounded the Emperour's Corps. When they were come to the Church of our Saviour's Apostles, they deposited the Coffin there. And thus the new Emperour *Constantius*, honouring his Father, as well by his presence, as other befitting Offices, in a due manner performed * his Funeral obsequies.

* Or, *The things of a becoming Sanctity.*

[a] *Constantius Cæsar*, whom his Father had made Governour of the East, upon hearing of his Father's sickness, had in great haste taken a journey, that he might see his Father before he died. But the vehemency of his disease frustrated the Son's desire. For when he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, he found his Father dead; as *Julian* relates in *his first Oration concerning the praises of Constantius. pag.* 29. With *Julian*, the other Writers of History do likewise agree. *Zonaras* is the only Authour who relates, that *Constantius Cæsar*, who was then at *Antioch*, arrived whilst his Father was yet living; and that he honoured him, when dead, with a most magnificent Funeral. *Vales.*

[b] Τῇ πόλῃ τοῦτο προσεπιμίζειν. The last word save one is added by the Learned, from conjecture as I think. Nevertheless, there seems to be something more wanting: and perhaps *Eusebius* wrote thus. τῇ ἐκείνῳ ἐπωνύμῳ πόλῃ *to the City that bore his own name.* Hence it appears, that *Constantine*'s dead Body was kept at *Nicomedia* with all imaginable honour and reverence, till the coming of *Constantius Cæsar.* Who, after he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, conveyed his Father's Corps to *Constantinople.* Wherefore, the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken, who relates, that *Constantius* came directly to *Constantinople*, and there celebrated his Father's Funeral. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXXI.

The * *performance of the solemn prayers in that termed the* Martyrium *of the Apostles, at the* † *Funeral of* Constantine.

* Συναξις, *the sacred Assemblie.*

† Or, *death.*

BUt after he had withdrawn himself, together with the Military Companies; the Ministers of God, as likewise the Multitudes, and all the Congregation of the Faithfull, came forth, and by prayers performed the Rites of the Divine worship. At which time this Blessed [Prince,] lying on high * upon a lofty place, was celebrated with praises. Likewise, a vast number of people, together with those persons consecrated to God, not without tears and great lamentation, poured forth prayers to God for the Emperour's Soul, thereby performing a most gratefull Office to this pious Prince. Further, herein also God demonstrated his singular Favour towards his Servant: because [after] his

[a] A twofold sense may be given of these words. For, either *Eusebius* means, that *Constantius Cæsar*, when he had deposited his Father's Ark or Coffin in the Church, went presently out of the Church with the Souldiers; or else this is his meaning only, that *Constantius* having done that, withdrew out of the middle of the Church, that he might give place to the Priests. Which meaning is in my judgment truer. For *Constantius*, although he had not as yet been baptized, was nevertheless a *Catechumen*, as *Sulpicius Severus* tells us in the *Second Book of his History.* Vales.

* Ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς κρηπῖδος. See *Gellius, B.* 13. *Cap.* 10.

his death [b] he bequeathed the Empire to his own dear Sons, who were his Successours; and because, [c] agreeable to his own most earnest desire, the Tabernacle of his thrice-blessed Soul was vouchsafed a place with the Monument of the Apostles; to the end namely, that it might be honoured in the same degree with the name of the Apostles; and that it might be joyned with God's people in the Church; and might be vouchsafed the Divine Rites, and Mystick Service; and might enjoy a Communion of the Holy Prayers: [d] but, that He himself, possest of the Empire [even] after death, managing the whole Government by a Return to Life as 'twere, [e] *Victor*, *Maximus*, *Augustus*, might in his own name still [f] Rule the *Roman* State.

[b] Translatours thought that these words were spoken of God, who gave the Empire to *Constantine*'s Sons. But after a more attentive examination of the matter, I am of opinion that they are spoken concerning *Constantine* himself, who, even dead, delivered the Empire to his Sons. And this is confirmed by the following words. *Valesius.*

[c] Καὶ τὰ σπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ. It must, I think, be written, ᾗ χῇ τὰ σπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ. *Constantine* had wisht, that after his death, he might not, like other Princes, be consecrated, and reckoned amongst the *Divi*: but, that being buried with the Apostles, he might be a partaker of the prayers, which are wont to be offered to God by the Faithfull in honour of them; as *Eusebius* has said above, at *chap.* 60. Whence it appears, that here it must be written χῃ, not as it is in *Moræus's Book*, and at the margin of the *Geneva-Edition*, διὰ τὰ σπεδασθέντα, *through his own most*, &c. Nor will this place be perfect, even this way, unless these words be added, ἧς ὁπτελεσμῶν ευχῶν σὺν τῇ, &c. Which *Eusebius* confirms in the foresaid 60th *chapter*. The point must also be blotted out, which is set a little after, as well in the *Kings Copy*, as in the Common Editions; and it must be read in one breath, thus, σὺν τῇ ἧς Ἀποστόλων κατηξιῶτο μνήμῃ τὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ψυχῆς σκῆνος, &c. Than which there is nothing more certain; which makes me admire, that Translatours saw not this. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; ᾗ διὰ τὰ σπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ, τότε σὺν τῇ ἧς Ἀποστόλων καληξιῶτο μνήμῃ, ὡς ὁρᾶν εἰσέτι ᾗ νῦν, τὸ, &c. Nor is it otherwise in the Books of *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savil*: save only that Sr *Henry* has it, τότε δὴ τῇ ἧς ἀπ. &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* I found this place written thus; κατασπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ, τότε σὺν τῇ ἧς ἀπ. &c. Which reading comes nearer to our Emendation. Further, those words, ὡς ὁρᾶν εἰσέτι ᾗ νῦν, are spoken in a *Parenthesis*; and this is intimated by that punctation in the *Fuketian Copy*, which I have shown above. *Valesius.*

[d] Αὐξὸν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, &c. I write, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ᾗ μὴ θάνατον ἐπειλημμένος; which reading the following words do confirm. And so I found it plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valesius.

[e] Such was the Inscription, usually perfixt before the Laws and Letters of *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* does every where attest. *Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus.* He took the *Pronomen* [*forename*] of *Victor*, after his Victory obtained over the Tyrants. His Sons also, by an hereditary right as 'twere, retained that name, as their Letters inform us. Farther, from this place it appears, that after the death of *Constantinus Maximus*, for about three months space, that is during the whole time of the *Interregnum*, all Laws and Edicts were inscribed with the Name of *Constantine*, as if he had been living, in regard there was no other *Augustus* in the *Roman* world, as I have observed above. This place may also be meant concerning the Sons of *Constantine the Great*, who made use of the same Title and Name; and in whom their Father seemed to be revived. Which sense is confirmed by what follows. *Valesius.*

[f] Ἡγεμονίας κρατεῖν. I write ἐκράτει, that it may answer the verb κληξιῶτο, which occurs several lines above. Further, in the *Kings Copy*, at the margin of this chapter, the *Greek Scholiast* had written these words in honour of *Constantine*, εἰς αἰώνιον μνημόσυνον δεῖ τὸ ὄνομά σου, Ἀποστόλων τεσσαρακαίδεκαλε. The same Writer does in this work often besprinkle him with praises and good wishes. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is κρᾶτεῖ. *Valesius.*

CHAP. LXXII.

Concerning the Bird [*termed*] *the* Phœnix.

NOt like that *Egyptian* Bird: which being the only one of her kind, is said to die upon [an heap of] Spices, at her death making her self a sacrifice: and presently [as 'tis reported,] is restored to life again out of those very ashes; and raising her self by her wings, appears the same in kind that she was before. But in the same manner with his Saviour rather; who, like wheat sown, from one Grain diffusing himself into many, by the blessing of God hath brought forth an Ear of Corn, and hath filled the whole world with his fruits. In a like manner hereto, this thrice-blessed [Prince,] by the Succession of his Children, from being one, has been made [a] many: in so much that, throughout all Provinces, Statues are raised in honour of Him, together with his Sons; and the usual name of *Constantine* * obtaines even after his death.

[a] Πολυπλασίως. Sr *Henry Savil* at the margin of *his Copy* remarkes, that the reading should be πολυπλάσιος; to whom I agree: yet I had rather read πολυπλασίων. *Valesius.*

* *Is in use*, or *is embraced.*

CHAP. LXXIII.

In what manner they Stamp't Constantine *on Coyns, ascending up into Heaven as 'twere.*

MOreover, * Coyns were Stamp't bearing this impress: on the fore-side they express this Blessed [Prince] [a] with His Head covered: But, on the † Reverse [he was represented sitting] like a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, and taken up [into Heaven] by a || hand stretcht out to him from above.

* *Representations were stamps on Coyns*, or, *Money.*

† Or, *other part.*

|| *Right hand.*

[a] Ἐσκεκαλυμμένον τῇ κεφαλῇ χήματι. The last word is, in my judgment, to be blotted out; which in all probability crept out of the margin into the Text. For ὀχήματι had been written in the margin, which might explain the following word ἅρματι. But, that which occurs in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition*, namely διαδήματι, is in my judgment most egregiously foolish. For the propriety of the Greek Tongue admits not of that expression. Besides, in most Coyns *Constantine* appears with an Helmet on his Head. *Valesius.*

CHAP. LXXIV.

That whereas God had been honoured by Him, He was on the other hand deservedly honoured by God.

THese [Miracles] the supream God laid before our very eyes, in [the person of] *Constantine*, who was the only [Prince] of all the preceding Emperours, that had openly profest himself a [a] *Christian*; whereby God manifestly declared, [b] How great a difference

[a] Χειστιανῶν. Questionless it must be made χειστιανῷ. It is also to be written, μόνῳ ἧς πώποτε βασιλέων, *the only Prince*, &c; or at least those words are to be understood. Further, *Eusebius* excepts none of the *Roman* Emperours, whilst he says, that *Constantine* was the first of them all, who was plainly and openly a *Christian*. Which doubtless is most true. For although the Emperour *Philippus* is by some reported to have been a *Christian*; yet he did not openly profess the *Christian* Religion, as *Constantine* did. *Orosius* (Book 7.) writes in a different sense concerning *Constantine*, in this manner; *Primus Imperatorum Christianus*, &c; *the First Christian of the Emperours, except* Philippus, *who in my judgment was made a Christian during a very few years, for this reason only, that the thousandth year of* Rome *might be dedicated to Christ, rather than to Idols.* Valesius.

[b] Ὁ πόσον ἦν ἄρα αὐτῷ. I had rather reade, ὁπόσον ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ διάφορον, &c; that is, *How great a difference there was with him*, or, *how great a difference he made.* Valesius.

he

he made, between thoſe who thought good to worſhip him and his Chriſt, and them that had embraced a contrary [opinion.] Who having brought a War upon God's Church, thereby rendred him their Enemy and * Oppoſer. And indeed, the diſaſtrous and unfortunate cloſe of every of their Lives, has produced a moſt convincing Argument of the greatneſs of the divine hatred towards them: in the ſame manner that the death of *Conſtantine* has rendred the pledges of God's favour in reference to him, manifeſt and apparent to all men.

* Or, *Adverſary.*

CHAP. LXXV.

That Conſtantine *was more pious than* [*any of*] *the foregoing* Roman *Emperours.*

WHo being the Sole Emperour of the *Romans*, that had honoured God the Supream King with a Tranſcendency of piety; and the only one that had freely and boldly * publiſhed the Doctrine of Chriſt to all men; and the only perſon (as I may ſay,) that had raiſed his Church to ſuch a degree of Honour and Glory, as no one had ever done before; and the only perſon that † had totally deſtroyed the Errour of *Polytheïſm*, and confuted all the Rites and Modes of [ſuch a] Superſtition: is the only perſon alſo, that was vouchſafed ſuch [honours,] both in this Life, and after death, as no one, either amongſt the *Græcians* or *Barbarians*, is reported ever to have obtained; Nor can there be any one mentioned, amongſt the ancient *Romans* themſelves, from the Remoteſt Times to this preſent Age, who may be compared with this [our Prince.]

* *Preach't.*

† Or, *Had overthrown all the errour of*, &c.

THE

THE EMPEROUR Constantine's [a] Oration, [b] WHICH HE ENTITLED TO THE CONVENTION OF THE SAINTS.

[a] After his four Books concerning the Life and Piety of the Emperour *Constantine*, *Eusebius* had added *Two Orations*; the one whereof was the Emperour *Constantine's*, [Entitled] *To the Assemblie of the Saints*, or *To the Church of God*: the other was written by himself, *concerning the Fabrick and Sacred Presents of the Jerusalem-Martyrium*, as *Eusebius* himself does attest in *Chap.* 32, and 46 *of his Fourth Book*. But the Latter Oration of *Eusebius* is not now extant. And that former one [namely *Constantine's*] abounds with so many faults, that it would almost be better, if it were not extant. But whereas this is a singular monument of that Religious Prince, and an illustrious proof of his Studies and Disposition, I shall, I think, do what will be worth while, if I shall imploy my care and diligence, in mending and explaining it. *Vales*

[b] Ὃν ἔγραψε. In book 4. chap. 32, the reading is ἐπέγραψε, *he entitled*, which is in my judgment to be preferred. This therefore was the Title of this Oration, νικητὴς, μέγιστος, σεβαστὸς κωνσταντῖνος τῷ ἁγίων συλλόγῳ, *Victor, Maximus, Augustus Constantinus To the Convention of the Saints*. Vales.

CHAP. I.

The Preface makes mention of *Easter*; and, that *Christ, having been several ways beneficial to all men, hath had plots framed against him by those, on whom he has conferred favours.

THE †*more* [*than usual*] *Brightness and Splendour, both of the Day and Sun; the Preface of the Resurrection; the new* ‖ *Reparation of Bodies long since dissolved;* [a] *the Foundation of the promise, and the way leading to Life eternal, the day* [*namely*] *of the Passion is now come, Dearest Doctours, and all the rest of You* [*My*] *Friends!* [b] *Ye Multitudes of Believers are far more Blessed* [*than others;*] *Ye* [*who worship*] *God the very* [*Authour*] *of Religion, and who, as well by an inward sense of every particular Soul, as by outward Expressions, do without intermission praise Him, according to those Rules* [*contained*] *in the Divine Oracles. But, Thou Nature, Mother of all things! What of this sort hast Thou ever conferred upon the world? Or rather,* *what is in any wise Thy work? In as much as He* [*who is the Authour*] *of all things, was the Framer of thy* [c] *Sanctity also. For He it is, who has adorned Thee:*

† Or, *Brighter Splendour both, &c.*

‖ Or, *Joyning together.*

[a] Ὁμοῦ θ' ὑποθήκης. In *Morœus's Book*, as likewise in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition*, 'tis mended ὅρμιον; which word I doe not remember to have met with any where. But in *Scaliger's Copy* 'tis corrected ἔρμιον, which comes nearer to the Reading of the Manuscript Copies. Indeed, in the *Kings Copy* 'tis ἐρμαί: whence I conjectured that it should be written ἔρμα, that is, *the Foundation*. He does elegantly term the Resurrection of our Lord, *the foundation of the promise*. Nor has *Christophorson* done ill in rendring it *pignus promissionis, the pledge of the promise*; which is in a manner the same. For a pledge is given for an assurance; whence 'tis by *Græcians* termed ἐνέχυρον. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* I found it written ἔρμιον. *Vales*.

[b] Μακαριώτερος δὲ πολλῷ πλήθη. I assent not to Learned men, who joyn these with the foregoing words, and reade thus, μακάρια τε πολλὰ πλήθη, &c. For if we read thus, it will be a foolish repetition, in regard *Constantine* had said before, φίλοι θ' οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἄνδρες. In which words *Constantine* salutes all the Catholick people, in such a manner as Preachers are wont to do. Wherefore those words μακαριώτερα δὲ πολλῷ πλήθη, are the beginning of another period, wherein *Constantine* sets forth the happiness of the Catholick people. Further, I would more willingly read πλήθη τυγχάνετε, *ye multitudes*, &c. that *Constantine* may be made to speak to the people. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, this place runs thus; μακάρια τε πολλὰ πλήθη τῆς θρησκούντων, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς θρησκείας θεὸν διὰ τῆς ἐνδόσεων ἔχετε, καὶ δι' ἐνφωνήσεων ἀδιαλείπτως ὑμνοῦντων καὶ τὰ ἐν θεσπίσμασι μεγαγραφόμενα. Vales.

[c] Τῆς σῆς οὐσίας, *of thy Sanctitie*. At the margin of the *Geneva-Edition* there is a note set, that 'tis otherwise written ὑσίας, *substance*. But having look't into the matter more accurately, I am of opinion, that the common reading is to be retained. For *Constantine* says, that Nature is not the Framer of things, in regard She Her self

* Or, *The Word of God.*

* Or, *What manner of workmanship is thine?*

was made by God; nor is he only the Origine of Nature Herself, but of that Sanctitie also which is in Her. For 'tis God who hath adorned Nature. For the ornament of Nature, is a Life according to the Law and prescript of God. This is the meaning of this place, which *Christophorson* perceived not. For I say nothing of *Portesius*, whom I have found most unskilfull, in a manner every where. Yet, in the *Fuk. Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis οὐσίας, *substance*. Valef.

[d] Ἡ χῆ φύσιν ζωὴ, *agreeable to God. a life agreeable to Nature.* It must be written, ἡ χῆ θεὸν ζωὴ, *a life agreeable to God*, as 'tis apparent from the foregoing note. In one word θεοσέβεια, that is, *Religion, is the Ornament of Nature.* But, what sense there can be in the common reading, truly I can't perceive. So *our Eusebius* gave *his books concerning the Life of the Emperour Constantine* this Title, περὶ τοῦ χῆ θεὸν βίε. In the *Kings Sheets* 'tis, ἡ χῆ κόσμον ζωή. Valef.

[e] Ἐπικεκράτηκε γὰ. It must be written ἐπικεκράτηκε δὲ ὃ μέλειος ὂν ἀβλὰ φύσιν, &c. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἐπικεκράτηκε δὲ ὃ μέλειος τὰ ἀβλὰ φύσιν, τὸ ὅλῳ ἀπάντων θεὸν, &c. *Valef.*

* Or, *Erroneous.*

† Or, *Divine inspiration by the Prophets, particularly*, &c.

‖ Or, *Wicked impiety.*

* Τὸ δυσέλεγκτον τοῦ σκότους, *the inconfutableness* (if I may so say) *of darkness.*

[d] *in as much as the Beauty of Nature, is a* [e] *Life*

[e] *But, those things prevailed afterwards, which are directly contrary to Nature; [namely,] that no one should adore God [the Authour] of all things with a congruous worship; and, that it should be supposed, that all things were managed, not by Providence, but Chance, in a disorderly and * discomposed manner. And although † the Prophets inspired by the Divine Spirit; particularly and in expreſs words foretold these things, to whom Credit ought to have been given; yet ‖ impious injustice made its Resistance by all manner of devices; hating and reproaching the very Light of Truth; and embracing * the impenetrable darkness of Errour. Nor, was Force and Cruelty wanting; especially, when the Will of Princes gave assistance to the † rash and heady ‖ impetus of the Vulgar; or rather, when * they themselves headed an unseasonable Fury. Wherefore, this way of Life having been confirmed by the usage of many Generations, was the Occasion of dismal Calamities to the men of those times. But, as soon as ever the presence of our Saviour shined forth, immediately, instead of unjust Actions, Justice [was advanc't;] in place of a † most destructive Storm, arose a Calm; and all those things which had been predicted by the Prophets, were fulfilled. For, after [that Saviour of ours] was taken up on high to his Father's House, having ‖ enlightned the world with the Rayes of Modesty and * Continence, He founded a Church on earth, like some sacred Temple of Virtue; a Temple [that is] eternal and incorruptible; wherein might be piously performed due [Acts of worship] both to God the supream Father, and likewise an agreeable [service] to Himself. But what did the mad wickedness of the Nations invent, after these things? It endeavoured to † reject the Benefits and Favours of Christ, and to ruine the Church, constituted in order to the Salvation of all men; and in place thereof to substitute its own [f] Superstition.*

† Sudden, or, *unthought-on.*

‖ *Motion.*

* Or, *Their Will*; that is, *the Will of Princes.*

† Or, *Manifold.*

‖ Or, *Surrounded.*

* Or, *Sobriety.*

† Or, *Cast forth.*

[f] Δεισιδαιμονίαν δὲ ἀνθσ῾ In the *Kings Copy*, the two last words are wanting, and an empty space is left, capable of one word only. I doubt not but the reading should be, δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀνθετάγειν, *and in place thereof to introduce its own Superstition*; that verb ἀνέτρεπε being blotted out, which is wholly superfluous. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is written thus; Ἐκκλησίαν πρβῆσαι. ἀνέτρεπέ τε τὰ οἰκείαν δεισιδαιμονίαν, νόσ῾ αὖτες, &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis νόσ῾ αὖτες, &c. Sr *Henry Savil* at the margin of *his Copy* hath mended it, ἀνέτρεπε δὲ τὰ οἰκείαν δεισιδαιμονίαν, *but it overturned its own Superstition.* Upon a more diligent inspection into the thing, I am of opinion, that this place is thus to be restored; ἐκκλησίαν πρβῆσαι. ἀνέτρεπε δὲ τὰ οἰκείαν εὐδαιμονίαν, νόσ῾ αὖτες: that is, *The Nations, when they had resolved to ruine the Church of Christ, subverted their own felicity. Diseases [hapned] again, Seditions*, &c. The term δεισιδαιμονίαν may also be retained, that so the meaning may be this; *the Heathens, whilst they persecuted the Church, ruined their own Religion.* For the Church of God being attackt by the persecutions of the Heathens, vanquished the superstition and worship of false Deities. *Valef.*

Again [hapned] horrible Seditions, Wars, Fights, [g] *Morosity, [a luxurious] Furniture of Life, and a love of Riches: which having its Being in men contrary to nature (a thing that is the property of wickedness,) does sometimes recreate by false and specious hopes; at others, it astonishes with Fear.* [h] *But, let Her lie prostrate on the ground, being vanquished by Virtue: and (as 'tis fit She should,) let Her rend and tear Her self by reason of Her Repentance. But, at present we* [i] *must discourse of those matters which appertain to the Divine Doctrine.*

[g] Δυσπαπλίαι. *Turnebus* at the margin of *his Book* hath mended it δυσπαπλίαι, *Morosities.* Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written δυσεμπαλίας. But then some lines are omitted. And perhaps it should be written in one continued clause, δυσέμπλ῾ εἰς βλασκὴν, that is, *a moroſe Furniture of Life.* For, unless we read so, what will be the meaning of those following words, εἰς βλασκὴν, which *Constantine* reckons amongst the ill things? *Musculus* seems to have read, εἰαὶ῾ εἰς βλασκευὴ; for he renders it, *violenta Victûs astructio.* Presently, the *Fuketian Copy* words it thus; ὃ χῆ φυσικῶς ἴδιον πυνείας ὂν, πο῾ τὲ, &c; *which having its being in men*, &c; as we have rendred it. *Valef.*

[h] Αὖτη μᾶλ. In *Moræus's Book*, and in the *Geneva-Edition*, it is at the margin mended, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ μᾶλ, &c; excellently well, as those skilled in the Greek tongue do know. The word πυνείας, *wickedness*, is understood. The reading is ἀλλ' ἄυτη, in the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* also. *Valef.*

[i] Τηητέον. The correction of this place is due to the *Fuketian Copy*; wherein 'tis plainly written, ῥητέον, *must discourse.* Than which Emendation there is nothing more certain. *Valef.*

CHAP. II.

An * Addresse to the Church, and to his Hearers, that they would Pardon and amend his Mistakes.

* Or, *Precaution.*

HEar therefore, [a] *Thou Master of the Ship, who art possest of Chastity and Virginity! And Thou Church, that art the Nurse of immature and* † *unskilfull Age! To whose Care and Charge, Truth and* ‖ *Clemency are committed: From whose everlasting Fountain, flows a Salutary* [b] *Stream. Be Ye Candid Hearers also, Ye who worship God with sincerity, and for that reason are His Care: be Ye attentive, not so much to the words themselves, as to the truth of what is delivered: and [respect] not Me that Speak, but the* * *Religious Office of Devotion rather.*

† *Ignorant*, or, *untaught.*

‖ Or, *Humanity.*

* *Piety of Devotion.*

[a] Ναύκληρε, *Thou Pilot*, or, *Master of the Ship.* So *Constantine* terms a Bishop, with no less elegant a Metaphor, than when they are termed *Pastours.* And, whereas the Church is usually compared to a Ship, the Bishops who govern it, are rightly termed *the Patrons* or *Masters of the Ship*; they being also the Apostles Successours, whom Christ, from being Fishers, made Governours of the Church. Farther, he terms Him one indued with Chastity and Virginity; because the Prelates of the *Christians* were such, ἀγνοὶ χῆ παρθενίαι. *Valef.*

[b] Σωτήριον νᾶμα. The *Fuketian Copy*, *Kings Sheets*, and *Turnebus's Book have it written* πῶμα, Potion, or, *water to be drunk.* Presently, where the reading is, προσέχετε τὸν νῶν, *be ye attentive*; in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis προσέχετε τοίνυν, *attend therefore.* Valef.

For,

* Or, *Words.*

*For, what can the benefit and advantage of * an Oration be, when the mind of the Speaker remains undiscovered? Indeed, I do peradventure attempt Great things. But, that which occasions my Boldness, is the Love of God implanted in me: for, this [Love] puts a Force upon Modesty. Wherefore, my desire is, that Ye who are eminently knowing in the Divine Mysteries, should be joyned with Me, as My Assistants; to the end that, if any mistake shall happen * during My Speaking, You may go along with Me and correct it. Expect not any Perfect and Consummate † Doctrine from Me; but rather, give a kind reception to the || attempt of My Faith. Farther, may the most * benign influence of the Father and Son, be effectually present with us, whilst we are uttering those things, which [c] it shall Command and Suggest to Our Mind! For, if any person professing Rhetorick, or any other Art, shall suppose Himself able, without the Divine Assistance, with an accuracy to perfect His Work; He Himself, as also the Work He has undertaken, will be found ignorant, and imperfect. But, such persons as have once obtained the Divine influence, must neither loiter, nor be careless. Wherefore, having beg'd Your Pardon for the length of this Our [d] Preface, We will enter upon the † Head and Principal matter of Our design.*

* Or, *About my words.*

† *Knowledge*, or, *Learning.*

‖ Or, *Integrity of My attempt.*

* *Greatest*, or, *most powerfull Inspiration.*

[c] Ἅπερ ἂν αὐτῶ φράσει. It must be made ἄνυτη, and ἡ ἐπίπνοια τῦ πατρὸς, *the influence* or, *inspiration of the Father*, must be understood; as *Christophorson* read. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written thus, φθεγξομένοις ταῦτα, ἅπερ ἂν αὐτὴ φράσει, ἡ διανοία περαίνοι; *whilst we are uttering*, &c. as 'tis rendred. *Vales.*

† Or, *Perfection.*

[d] Τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀναβολῆς διαλησόμενοι. *Christophorson* has rendred both this, and the preceding period, very ill. For he thought, that the import of ἀναβολὴ here, was *delay*, or *deferring*; whereas at this place, that word signifies *a Preface*. For *Constantine* excuses himself, because he had made use of too long a Preface. Ἀναβολὴ is properly *the beginning of a Song*, which the *Chorus* was wont to sing in the first place. *Aristophanes* in *Irene page* 685, *de Dithyrambicis*; ξυνελέγοντ' ἀναβολὰς πιτύλωσι: where *the Scholiast* notes, that ἀναβολὰς are, τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ᾀσμάτων, *the beginnings of Songs*; and he cites a Verse of *Homer*. *Isocrates*'s words, in *his Panathenaicon*, are these; ἃ μὲν ἔν ἠδυλήθην ἢ περὶ ἐμαυτῦ, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥσπερ χορὸς πρὸ τῦ ἀγῶνος προαναβάλλεσθε, ταῦτα ἐστιν. This word therefore was afterwards translated from Singers to Orators; and they used ἀναβάλλεσθαι, instead of προοιμάζεσθαι, as *Hesychius* does attest. *Ulpianus* on *Demosthenes's Oration de Chersoneso*; ἀναβαλόμενος δὲ δι' ἐνὸς λήμματος, ἀντὶ τῦ προοιμιασάμενος· ἢ ἀναβολὰς, προοίμια. So *Aristophanes*, in *Irene*, page 717, has used προαναβάλωμαι and ἀναβαλεῖ in the same sense. Farther, from this place it appears, that the Preface of this Oration reaches as far as these words. *Vales.*

CHAP. III.

That God is both the Father of * *The Logos*, and the Framer of the [whole] Creation; and, that it were impossible for things to † consist, if their Causes were diverse.

* Or, *The Word*, i. e. *Christ.*

† *Exist*, or, *continue firm.*

GOD, [a] *who is above every Essence, being always that Good which all things desire, has no Generation; and consequently no Beginning. But He Himself is the Origine of all things that are brought forth.*

[a] Οὗπερ πλὴν ὄσιαν. I think we must reade thus, ὁ ὢν πλὴν ὄσιαν θεὸς, *God, who is*, &c. For, the chiefest Good is nothing else but the supream God. So below, at chap. 9. πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑφησάμενος ὃν ὢν πλὴν ὄσιαν. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, 'tis ὅπερ; which is an ill reading. *Vales.*

But He who has His Procession from Him, is united with Him again: the disjunction and conjunction being performed in Him, not locally, but intellectually only. For, * *that Fœtus exists not by any dammage of His Father's bowels, as, for instance, those things do which are born of Seed: but, by the disposé of [Divine] providence Our Saviour has appeared, that he might preside, as well over this visible world, as over all things and works framed therein. The Cause therefore, both of subsistence and Life, to all things which are contained within the Complex of this world, [is derived] from hence. Moreover, hence [proceeds] the Soul, and every Sense, and the * Faculties, by whose assistance those things which are signified by the senses, are perfected. What then does this Discourse † conclude? [Thus much,] that there is one President over all things which are; and, that all things whatever are subject to his sole Dominion, as well things Celestial, as Terrestrial; both Natural, and also [b] Organical Bodies. For, if the Dominion over all these things, which are innumerable, should be in the hands, not of one, but of many; [c] Partitions and Divisions of the Elements, (as 'tis in the ancient Fables,) and Envy, and a desire of having more, powerfully contending to overcome, would disturb the harmonious Concord of all things: in regard those many, would [d] manage that portion allotted to each of them, in a different manner. But, whereas this whole world does keep it self always in one and the same order, 'tis plain, that this is [e] not performed without Providence, and, that it has not proceeded from chance. But, who could ever have acknowledged a Framer of universal * Matter? To whom in the first place, or in the last, were prayers and supplications [to have been assigned?] How could it be, that by my worshipping one of them [f] by choice, I should not have been impious towards the rest? Or, having perhaps requested something necessary for this life, shall I return thanks to that God who has given me assistance; but, revile him who was mine opposer?*

* Or, *Offspring.*

* *Organs*, or, *instruments.*

† Or, *Manifest.*

* Or, *Generation.*

[b] Ὀργανικὰ σώματα. *Christophorson* has rendred it *artificialia*, such namely *as are made by some instrument, but are not begotten by Nature*: wherein nevertheless, I do not agree with him. For, whereas *Constantine* does Philosophize throughout this whole Oration; at this place also he has used *Natural and Organical Bodies*, in the same sense that Philosophers are wont to take them; namely, for Bodies that are endued with Organs or Instruments fit for operation. So *Aristotle* expresses himself, when he defines the Soul thus, *the Act of an Organical Body*. But, an *Organical Body* is more than a *Natural one*. For, there are some *Natural Bodies*, which want Organs, for instance, *Stones*, and other things of that sort. *Vales.*

[c] He alludes to the division of the world between those three Brethren, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; which division the *Greek Theologi* do talk of. *Vales.*

[d] Διοικουμένων, *would continue to govern.* In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is, διοικημένων, *would administer*, or, *manage.* Vales.

[e] Οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν. The Negative particle hath been added by the Learned, from conjecture, as I think; as also, the words which follow next, ὧδ' ἀπαυλομένης γεγονὸς τῦτον περίσσιον. All which words occur neither in the *Kings Copy*, nor in the *Old Sheets*, nor yet in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: neither do they in any wise agree with the preceding words. For *Constantine* does not now treat concerning Providence; but he asserts only this, that there is one Beginning of all things; which he proves thus; If there were more Gods than one, each God would govern his own allotment: but, they would be very little solicitous, that the whole world should always keep it self in one and the same order. But, we see the Contrary. Therefore, there are not more Gods than one. This is *Constantine's* first argument against the *Theologie* of the Heathens. I reade therefore, τῦ δὲ ἀεὶ; χῇ τὰ αὐτά τε ἢ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀμελῶς ἐχόντων. Thus the sense is most evident and plain. But, whereas those words which I have set above, are found in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turnebian Copies*; there is no need of our Emendation. *Vales.*

[f] Ἐξ αἱρέσεως; that is, *according to mine own arbitrement.* It might also be read, ἐξαιρέτως, *chiefly*, or, *most especially.* Vales.

But, to whom shall I make my supplication, that he may declare to me the occasion of my Calamity, and may vouchsafe me a deliverance from it? Let us suppose, that an answer has been given us by Oracles and Prophecies: § *but, that these things are not in their power, but belong to another God. What is the Compassion then? Of what sort is the providence of God towards man? Unless perhaps, some one of them, inclinable to be kinder, being more forcibly moved, shall give assistance against another, who is not in the least kindly disposed towards men. Moreover, Anger, and Discord, and Railing; and in fine, a confusion of all things would follow from hence; whilst not one of them would perform his own part; but, through covetousness not satisfied with his own affairs, would invade those that belong to others. What therefore will be the consequence hereof? Questionless, this discord amongst the Celestial powers, would ruine things under Heaven, and things on earth; the Order and Vicissitude of Seasons and times would vanish, as likewise the delight and use of those fruits produced at the several seasons of the year; the day would be destroyed, and the Rest of the night which follows the day. But enough concerning these matters. Let us now return to those reasons which can in no wise be refuted.*

§ Μὴ δὴ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας. This passage seems to me very obscure. *Christophorson* renders it thus; *Fac responsa nobis per oracula dari: ista tamen fieri non propriâ ac suâ vi sed ad deum aliquem pertinere.* But, what the meaning hereof should be, truly I can't see. But, having examined all things with more of attention, at length I found out the true meaning of this place. This therefore is what *Constantine* says. If there be many Gods; when I shall fall into calamity, to which of them shall I address my self, that he may acquaint me with the cause of my Misery, and free me from it. Let us suppose (says he,) that, for instance, *Apollo* has answered me, that 'tis not in his power to deliver me, but, that that belongs to another God. What is more plain than this sense? It must therefore be written, ἄλλῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνήκειν θεῷ, *but belong to another God.* Many such Oracles as these are extant in the Histories of the *Greeks*; where *Apollo* answers those who Consult him, that they must appease *Bacchus*, or *Saturn*, if they have a mind to be delivered from their Calamity. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning * their Errour who worship Idols.

* Or, *The Errour in reference to Idols.*

WHatever had a Beginning, must necessarily have an End also. Now, a temporal Beginning, is termed a † *Generation. But, the things produced by a Generation, are all Corruptible. Besides, Time defaces their Form and Beauty. How then can they, who* [*have their Original*] *from a corruptible Generation, be immortal? Now, such an Opinion as this hath been divulged amongst unthinking people, namely, that Marriages are usually made amongst the Gods, and children begotten. But, if they who are begotten, be immortal; and if* [*new Gods*] *are always begotten,* [a] *their Kind must necessarily be excessively numerous: after which Accession made,* [b] *what Heaven, what manner of Earth must it be, that can be capable of Containing such a growing Swarm of Gods? But, what can any one say in reference to those men, who joyn the Brethren-Gods in a Society of Marriage* [*with the Sister-Goddesses;*] *and who charge them with Adulteries, and Acts of Incontinency? We do confidently assert this also, that the very Honours and* * *Acts of worship, attributed to them by men, are mixt with* † *uncleannesses and Lust.*

† Or, *Birth.*

* Or, *Rewards.*

† Or, *Whoredoms and Wickednesses.*

[c] *Now therefore, some skilfull person, and a Statuary, having conceived in his mind the Form* [*of his future work,*] *frames it by the Rules of Art, and* * *soon after, a forgetfulness falling* [*upon him,*] *as 'twere, he flatters his own work, and worships it in place of an immortal God: whereas notwithstanding, he himself,* [d] *the Father and Framer of that Statue, must confess himself to be mortal. Moreover, they themselves do shew the Sepulchres and* * *Arks of those Immortals, and honour the dead with* † *Divine Honours: being wholly ignorant, that that which is truly Blessed and* ‖ *Immortal, stands not in need of Honour from Mortals. For, that which can be discerned by the mind only, and comprehended by the understanding, requires neither a Form whereby it may be known, nor admits of a figure, as its image or Resemblance. But, all these things are done, in favour of the dead. For, they were really men, whilst they lived,* * *and were endued with Bodies.*

[c] Ἤδη γάρ τις. I had rather read ἤδηγόν τις, &c. A little after, where the reading is, διανοίᾳ περιλαβὼν; at the margin of *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended περιλαβὰν; and so 'tis corrected in *Gruter's Copy.* Vales.

* Or, *In the interim.*

[d] Ἑαυτὸν πατέρα. 'Tis truer in the *Fuk. Copy*, ἑαυτὸν τὸ πατέρα, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Coffins.*

† Or, *Immortal.*

‖ Or, *Incorruptible.*

* Or, *Being partakers of the Body.*

CHAP. V.

That Christ the Son of God framed all things, and has appointed to every thing the term of its Existence.

BUt, why do I defile my tongue with impure expressions, when I am about to praise the true God? I am resolved in the first place to * *wash away that bitter potion as 'twere, with one that is pure. Now, this pure potion is* † *drawn out of that* ‖ *ever-flowing Fountain of Virtues, of that God who is extolled by Us. Indeed, I account it my proper Business, to praise Christ* [*both*] *by* [*an holiness of*] *Life, and a thanksgiving also, which is due to him from us, for those his many and signal benefits. I assert therefore, that 'tis he who hath setled the Beginnings of this Universe, and who hath* * *Created men, and* [a] *who hath established these things by a certain Law and Order. And immediately, when* † *they were newly brought forth, he removed them* [b] *into a certain blessed and flourishing*

* Or, *Purge.*

† Or, *Poured.*

‖ Or, *Everlasting.*

* Or, *Invented the Creation of man.* So *Valesius* renders it.

† That is, *Our first Parents.*

[a] Ἀνάγκη τὸ γιόν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the first word, there is an Empty space, capable of one word. I write therefore, πλημμυρεῖν ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν τὸ γιόν, *their kind*, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Τίς ἂν εὐεργὸς. It must be, τίς ἂν εὐεργὸς, as I found it mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy.* In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is τῆς εὐεργὸς, without the Conjunction. *Vales.*

[a] Καὶ τῷ τῶν λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα. The three former words have been added by Learned men from M.S. Copies. Nevertheless, they occur not, either in the *Kings Copy*, or in the *Old Sheets.* But I have set a point after the word νομοθετήσαντα, from the authority of the *Kings*, and *Fuketian Copy*, and from the *Old Sheets.* Which *Christophorson* having not perceived, he joyned this with the following period. Now, the meaning of this place, is this. *I affirm*, says he, *that as well man, as the other things which are in the world, are his workmanship, who hath constituted all these things in order*; that is, *the workmanship of the Supream God.* It must therefore be written, φημὶ δὴ τοῦτον τὰς ἀρχὰς, &c; as 'tis in Sr *Henry Savil's Book*, and as *Christophorson* seems to have read. Then I reade, τὸν καὶ τῶν τῷ λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα, *and who hath established*, &c; than which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is καὶ τὸν λόγῳ τῶν νομοθετήσαντα. Therefore, λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα has the same import with λόγῳ διατάξαντα, an expression which he makes use of hereafter. *Vales.*

[b] Here *Constantine* seems to place that Paradise, wherein God put

put *Adam*, without the Bounds of the earth. Which was the Sentiment of very many of the Ancients. *Stephanus Gobarus*, *chap.* 11. had handled this probleme; Ὡς ὁ παράδεισος ὅτε ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ τόπων μεταξύ, *that Paradise is neither in Heaven, nor on Earth, but between them.* And this was the Title of the *twelfth chapter*, *that Paradise is the Jerusalem above, and is in the third heaven*: and, *that the trees which are there, are endued with understanding and knowledge*: and, *that Adam, after his transgression, was cast down from thence, into the Earth.* Then [follows] a contrary assertion, *that Paradise is not in the third Heaven, but in the Earth.* 'Tis certain, *Tatianus*, in *his Oration Contra Græcos*, does affirm, that that Paradise, wherein *Adam* was placed by God, was not in this earth which we inhabit, but in another far better. His words are these, (which doubtless *Stephanus Gobarus* had quoted, in confirmation of that Opinion;) Μεσωικίδης οἱ ἀλίμονες, ὀζωειδῆς οἱ παραδόξοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀέρος κατεβλήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς μόνης, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἑκατέρου· κρείττονος δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διακοσμήσεως. Besides, *Tertullian* seems to have thought the same. For thus he writes concerning *Adam*, in *his Book de Patientiâ*. *Innocens erat, & Deo de proximo amicus, & Paradisi Colonus. At ubi semel succidit impatientiæ, desivit Deo sapere; desivit cœlestia sustinere posse, exinde homo terræ datus, & ab oculis dei dejectus*, &c. The same may be made out from *his Second Book against Marcion*, *Chap.* 2 and 10; where he uses the same Metaphor with *Tatianus*.——Were that Book now extant, which *Tertullian wrote concerning Paradise*; it might be more plainly known, that this, which I have mentioned, was his Opinion. Lastly, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (in *Excerptis Theodoti*, or in his Books ὑποτυπώσ. *page* 341, *Edit. Commelin.*) places the terrestrial Paradise, wherein *Eve* was made, in the fourth Heaven. But *Origen* had placed Paradise, whereof *Adam* was an Inhabitant, in the third Heaven; as *Methodius* informs us in *his Book de Resurrectione in Epiphanius pag.* 572. And before all these, *Valentinus* placed that Paradise, wherein *Adam* dwelt, above the third Heaven; and had affirmed it to be intellectual; as *Irenæus* attests, B. 1. *Vales.*

* Or, *Loaden.*

c Καρπῶν τε διαφόρων, &c. The Rules of Grammar require, that we should write καρποῖς τε διαφόροις. And so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Vales.*

d Ὅσον ποτὲ ἄνοσον. It must, I think, be thus; ὅσον τε ἄνοσον ἀπὸ τῆς ὠκεανῦ περιοχήσεως διοικεῖσθαι ὁμῶν ὁικῆσαι, and, *that all that*, &c. It might also be written in this manner, πιγαρὸν ὅσον ποτὲ τὸ ἄνοσον, &c. *wherefore, all that healthy place —— was inhabited*; and so there needs no alteration. *Vales.*

e After these words, Learned men have added these, καὶ ὁπόσα μαι, *and Sciences*; which I found written also at the margin of *Moræus's Book*. Nevertheless, they are wanting, not only in the *King's Copy*, and in the *Sheets*, but in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* also. *Vales.*

f Ἁρμονίας ἐμφύτους μετοχῆ. I write μέτοχον, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. A little before, where the reading is φύσεσι δὲ καὶ ἕδνεσι διάφορον, *but in nature and species very different*; I read ἕδνεσι, *conditions*; in which manner I also found it written in *Turnebus's Book*. *Vales.*

† Or, *Adorned the most perfect complement of the Universe.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Fate; that what is discourst of it, is false; [and this] is demonstrated, both from humane Laws, and * things created; which are moved, not disorderly, but in a regular manner; by which order of theirs, † they demonstrate the † Command of the Creator.

* Or, *Those matters in reference to the Creation.*

† *Determination*, or, *Prescript.*

BUt very many men, not so considerate as they should be, make Nature the Cause that has given Beauty and Gracefullness to all these things: some others of them [ascribe it] to Fate, or Fortuitous Chance; [a] assigning to Fate the power of these matters. Nor doe they understand, that when they speak of Fate, they utter a name indeed; but declare no Act, nor any substance proposed as a Subject. For, what can Fate it self be, * in reference to it self, when Nature shall have produced all things? [b] Or, what shall Nature be thought to be, if the Law of Fate be inviolable? Moreover, whereas 'tis said to be a Fatal Law, 'tis plain (in regard every Law is the Work of some Law-maker,) that even Fate it self, if it be a Law, is the Work and Invention of God. All things therefore are subject to God, nor is there any thing that has no share of his power. We do also allow, that Fate both is, and must be thought to be the Will of God. But, in what manner do Justice, Temperance, and the other Virtues [derive their Being] from Fate? Or, whence [proceed the Vices] contrary to these Virtues, injustice namely, and Intemperance? [c] For, wickedness [has its Original] from Nature, not from Fate: and Virtue is [nothing else] but good performances and Offices, of the Disposition and Morals. * But, if those things (which from a good purpose of mind are done well, or which on the contrary are performed otherwise,) have a different issue, according as it seems good either to Fortune or Fate; how will [d] all Right, and a giving of every person his due [proceed] from Fate? But now, Laws, and discourses, which perswade to Virtue, and deter from Vices; praises also, and discommendations; punishments likewise, and all those things whatever, wherewith men are incited to Virtue, and drawn off from wickedness;

[a] Τὴν τόπων ἐξουσίαν. Before these words *Muculus* has set a point. For thus he renders this passage. *Qui potestatem horum fato tribuunt, ne hoc quidem intelligunt*, &c. *Christophorson* has followed *Muculus*. Vales.

* Or, *By it self.*

[b] Ἢ τὶ μᾶλλον εἴη ἡ φύσις. It must, I think, be written, ἢ τὶ ἂν εἴη φύσις νομίζοιτο; Or, *what shall*, &c. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* 'tis, ἢ τὶ ἂν ἡ φύσις νομίζοιτο. But in the *Kings Sheets* I found it written, ἢ τὶ μᾶλλ εἴη ἡ, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Εἶτε τε δὲ πονηρία. I read, εἰ δὲ ἤτε πονηρία, &c. Further, this place is imperfect, as 'tis apparent; and it would be hard to supplie it without the Copies. Nevertheless, this seems to be *Constantine's* way of arguing. *If*, says he, *the Virtues be from Fate, then so are the Vices also. But, the Vices cannot be from Fate. For wickedness is either from Nature, or from the will. Therefore, 'tis not from Fate. But, if any one shall say, that Virtue indeed and Vice are of the Will; but, that the Will should do right, or otherwise, this is from Fate: in what manner then can justice, which is nothing else but a constant and perpetual desire of giving every one their due, be from Fate?* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ἢ τε δὲ πονηρία. But Sr *Henry Savil* remarks at the margin of *his Book*, that perhaps it should be written, εἴτε δὲ, &c; and presently mends it, ἔχει κἀλορῶματα. *Vales.*

* Or, *But, either Crimes, or, on the other hand, brave performances, which are* [*the property*] *of a good and right purpose of mind, if they happen sometimes one way, at others, another, according*; &c.

[d] Πάντα τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντα. The last word is added by Learned men from Manuscript Copies; which, nevertheless, I can in no wise approve of, though it does occur in the *Fuketian Copy*. I write therefore, πάν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἄξιαν ἀπενεμόμενον ἑκάστῳ, πῶς καθ' εἱμαρμένην, *How will all right*, &c. The meaning is the same with what I have said above. Nevertheless, the written reading may be born with, that by πάντα τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντα may be meant those things which are reckoned up by *Constantine*, to wit, Laws, Rewards, punishments, Exhortations, and the rest of this sort, which contain justice in them. *Vales.*

how can these be said to proceed from Fortune or Chance, and not from justice rather, which * Even is the property of the provident God? For, * He that which is agreeable occurs, on account of mens living in this, or that manner. gives men those things, which they deserve for their following [c] this or that Course of Life: sometimes Pestilences [do rage,] and Seditions; and Scarcity and Plenty do by turns succeed one another; making Proclamation as 'twere in plain and express words, [f] that all such things as these do most fitly agree with our lives. For the Divine Essence rejoyces at the * probity of men; but abominates all manner of impiety. And, as it embraces a mind, whose Sentiments concerning it self are moderate; so it hates arrogancy which raises it self higher than is becoming a Creature. The [g] Ὧν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα. After the first word I found a blank in the Fuketian Copy, proofs of [g] all which matters, although they are very perspicuous, and do lye before our eyes; are yet [h] then more apparently manifest, [i] as often as, making a descent into Our Selves, and as 'twere contracting Our minds, We weigh with Our Selves the Cause of them. capable of one word. It must, I think, be made up thus, ὧν πάντων εἰ καὶ, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Vales.

* Or, Good inclinations.

[c] Τὸν ποῖον. Make it ποιὸν, with the accent in the last syllable, as I found it set at the margin of Moraeus's Copy. I read also, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαντᾶν, from the Manuscripts. 'Tis certain, the Fuketian Copy gives us this reading; διὰ γὰρ τὸν ποιὸν ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαντᾶν. Vales. In Robert Stephens 'tis, τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπαρτᾶν.

[f] Τὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. I read ὅτι πάντα, &c, that all such, &c; as I found it mended in Moraeus's Book, at the margin. So indeed 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. Vales.

[g] Ὧν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα. After the first word I found a blank in the Fuketian Copy, proofs of all which matters, although they are very perspicuous, and do lye before our eyes; are yet then more apparently manifest, as often as, making a descent into Our Selves, and as 'twere contracting Our minds, We weigh with Our Selves the Cause of them. capable of one word. It must, I think, be made up thus, ὧν πάντων εἰ καὶ, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Vales.

[h] Τηνικαῦτα μὴν τοσάκις. The last word must be blotted out; in regard 'tis not to be found, either in the Kings Copy or in the Sheets, or Stephens's Edition. The place was rather to have been mended in this manner; ὅμως τηνικαῦτα ἡμῖν φανερώτερον ἐναλάμπουσιν. That is; Although it be certain, and evidenced by many instances, that Famine, Pestilence, and such sort of Calamities, are sent from Heaven in order to the punishing of mens wickedness; yet, that does much more manifestly appear, as often as those Calamities happen. For then we come to Our Selves, and understand the Causes of those things. Nevertheless, the reading in the Fuketian Copy is, τηνικαῦτα τοσάκις. Vales.

[i] Ὁσάκις γὰρ. It must, I think, be τοσάκις, or, if you had rather, τοσαυτάκις. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, ὁσάκις ἂν.... συναγειράμενοι. And in the end of the period, λογιζόμεθα; excellently well. It must therefore be written, ὁσάκις ἂν ἡμεῖς συναγειράμενοι, as often as, recollecting our selves. Vales.

Wherefore, 'tis my assertion, that we ought to lead lives that are * sober and calm, not raising Our † thoughts above the condition of Our Nature; but taking this into Our serious consideration, that God the Inspector of all Our Actions is continually present with Us. Moreover, let us another way examine, whether this assertion be true, namely, that the disposal of all affairs [k] does depend upon Fortune and Chance. Whether therefore, the Celestial Bodies, and the Stars, the Earth and the Sea, the Fire and the Winds, the Water and the Air, and the Vicissitude of times, and the seasonable Returns of Summer and Winter; whether [I say] it ought to be believed, that all these have hapned * without reason and fortuitously, rather than were created. 'Tis certain, some persons, wholly void of understanding, do affirm, that men have found out many of these for their own use and advantage. And truly, whereas Nature does plentifully supply us with all manner of riches; we may grant, that, in reference to things which are terrene and corruptible, this Opinion † wants not something of reason. But, are then things immortal and immutable, the Inventions of men also? For, of these, and of all other things of this nature, (which are removed from our senses, and can be comprehended by the mind only;) [l] not man, a Creature made of matter, but the intelligible and Eternal Essence of God is the Framer. Besides, the Course and Order of that Constitution, is the work of providence also; [namely,] that the day is bright, being enlightened by the Sun; that the night succeeds the setting of the Sun; and, that, when it has succeeded it, it is not left wholly [m] void [of Light,] by reason of the Quire of the Stars. But, what shall we say concerning the Moon; which, when at the greatest distance from the Sun, being in a direct opposition to him, is at the Full; but, is lessened, * as often as 'tis in a Conjunction with the Sun: do not these things manifestly declare the † knowledge of God, and his sagacious wisedom? Farther, [n] the usefull and seasonable warmth of the Solar Rayes, whereby the Fruits are brought to maturity; the Blasts of the winds, which are of great use in making the year fruitfull and healthy; the refreshment of showers, and the admirable Harmony of all these, according to which they are all managed in a due and well-ordered manner: [lastly,] that perpetual Order of the Planets, which at fit and stated times make their Returns to the same * point; is not the Command of God hereby manifested, and likewise the perfect and entire dutifullness of the Stars, which pay an Obedience to the Divine Law? Moreover, the Tops of Mountains, and the hollow depths of Valleys, [o] and the smooth Levels of far-spreading Fields; do these seem to exist without the providence of God? The prospect whereof is not only [p] gratefull, but the use also is delightfull and pleasant. The * Spaces likewise and † Breaks of the Waters and the Earth, (which are of use partly for tillage, [q] and partly for conveyance of those things we stand in need of from forreign Regions;) do they not most clearly demonstrate the accurate and exact care of God? For, the Mountains contain water within their Bowels; which when the Plain has received, and || by the moysture thereof has sufficiently refreshed

* Or, Moderate and quiet.

† Or, Mind.

[k] Ἐκ τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου συνέστηκεν. I had rather read, συνέστηκεν, or συνέστηκε, has had a dependence upon, &c. Further, in the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading of this place runs thus, ὡς εἰ ἢ πάντων πε.... διάταξις ἐκ τύχης, &c. Vales.

* Or, Rashly.

† Or, Partakes of some reason.

[l] Οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἔμψυχον ζῶον ὁ ἀνθρώπινος. Write, οὐκ ἄνυλον ζῶον ὁ ἀνθρωπος, not man, &c: But Christophorson read, οὐκ ἄνυλος ζωὴ ἀνθρώπου, not the life of man, which consists of matter; which reading I condemn not, but the former Emendation pleases me best. ——— Nevertheless, the Fuketian Copy does plainly favour Christophorson's Version. Vales.

[m] Μὴ ἄμοιρον αὐτῶν. Understand τοῦ φωτὸς, of light. Wherefore there is no need of Christophorsons conjecture; nor of Sr Henry Savil's, who mends it ἄμαυρον, dark. Vales.

* Or, By reason of its Converse with him at a nearer distance.

† Λόγον ἐγκέφαλον--Θεοῦ, God's conception of mind; Valesius renders it intelligentiam.

[n] Τὸ, τ' ὀπηδήσιον. I read τὸ δὲ ὀπηδήσιον, as 'tis mended at the margin of Moraeus's Book. Presently, make it ἀνέμων τε πνεύματα. And again, a little lower, τό τε εἶδος τῆς διαταξεως εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπογεωσαμένων τόπον. And thus I found it plainly written in the Fuketian Copy save that there it is ἀνέμων δὲ. Vales.

* Or, Place.

[o] Ὁμαλότης δὲ. It must be ὁμαλότης τε, as that Learned man had remarked in Moraeus's Book. And so the reading is in the Fuketian Copy. Vales.

[p] Ἐπιτερπὴς ἡ διὰ. The word ἐπιτερπὴς should be expung'd here. For at this place 'tis more elegantly understood. Sr Henry Savil has mended it at the margin of his Book, in this manner, ἃ χρεία συνεργεῖται. Vales.

* Or, Dimensions.

† Or, Divisions.

[q] Καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς χρείας παρακομιδῆς. I read, καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἧς ἐν χρείᾳ παρακομιδὴν, &c.; than which, nothing is more certain. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies 'tis, καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς χρείας παρακομιδὴν. Further, I have rendred διασεισις, dissidia, following the authority of Amm. Marcellinus, who somewhere expresses himself so. Christophorson has likewise rendred it well, divortia Terrarum, the divorcements of the Earth. Vales.

|| Or, Has sufficiently moystened the ground in order to a refreshment.

fresht

freſht the ground; it pours forth the reſidue of it into the Sea: and the Sea tranſmits it to the Ocean. And, dare we yet affirm, that all theſe things come to paſs fortuitouſly, and by accident? When as notwithſtanding, [r] we are in no wiſe able to declare, with what ſhape or Form Chance is endued: a thing which has no ſubſiſtence, either in the underſtanding, or ſenſe; but is only the empty ſound of a name ‖ without the thing, which makes a noyſe about our Ears.

[r] Οὐ δυνάμεθα. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb.* Copies this place is thus worded, ὃ νοοῦντες ἐν ποίῳ τινὶ σχήματι καὶ μορφῇ χαρακτηρίζεται τὸ αὐτόματον, we underſtand not in what manner of form and ſhape chance is characteriz'd. *Valeſ.*

‖ Or, *without a ſubſiſtence.*

CHAP. VII.

That, * in things which we can't underſtand, we ought to glorifie the Creator's Wiſdom; nor muſt we ſuppoſe Chance, or any thing elſe [ſave God,] to be the cauſe [of them.]

* Or, *As to things incomprehenſible.*

For Chance, 'tis moſt certain, is a Term [invented] by men, whoſe thoughts are raſh and inconſiderate; and who cannot † underſtand the cauſe it ſelf: but, by reaſon of their weakneſs of apprehenſion, ſuppoſe that all theſe things, whereof they are unable to give a reaſon, have been framed and ordered without any thing of reaſon. There are indeed ſome things endued with an admirable nature, the certain and evident knowledge of the Truth whereof, lies deep: of which ſort is the Nature of Warm Waters. For no perſon can readily aſſign the reaſon of ſo great a fire. And 'tis ſtrange, that [that fire,] though encompaſſed round with cold water, nevertheleſs, ſhould not looſe its Native Heat. And theſe things are found to be very rare, and few in number thorowout the whole world; for this reaſon, as I perſwade my ſelf, that men might eaſily know the power of [Divine] providence; which has ordered two moſt contrary Natures, Heat namely and Cold, to ſpring from one and the ſame Root. Indeed, the things are many, and almoſt innumerable, which God hath beſtowed on men, in order to their comfort and delight: but, the fruit of the Olive-tree and of the Vine, are chiefly [to be accounted ſuch.] Of which two, [a] this has a power of recreating and exhilerating the mind. But the other is fit not only for delight: but of uſe in order to the curing of Bodies. The perpetual and everlaſting courſe of Rivers deſerves likewiſe the higheſt admiration; which, by their flowing night and day, give a repreſentation of an eternal and never-ceaſing life. Alſo, the continual viciſſitude of night and day, is in the ſame manner admirable.

† Or, *Apprehend their own opinion.*

[a] Ἐπέχειν λόγον. Learned men have mended this place thus; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναπαύσεως ψυχῆς καὶ φαιδρότητος ἐπέχειν λόγον. But, whereas the particle γὰρ occurs neither in the *Kings Copy*, nor *Robert Stephens's Edition*, I had rather read ἐπέχειν; which is plainly confirmed by the ſucceeding words. For it follows, τὸ δ' ἕτερον πρὸς τὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν σωμάτων χρήσιμον. Nevertheleſs, the *Fuk. Sav.* and *Turneb. Copies* do plainly confirm that emendation of Learned men. The ſame *Fuketian Manuſcript* ſets two points after the word ἀπολαύσεις; right. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

That God does plentifully ſupply men with thoſe things that are uſefull; but, with ſuch as are for delight, [He furniſhes them] in an indifferent manner only; beſtowing both ſorts, ſo as may be agreeable to their profit and advantage.

*ALL Theſe words have been ſpoken by Us, in confirmation of this Truth, that nothing has been done without reaſon, or without underſtanding: but, that Reaſon it ſelf, and alſo * Providence, are [the Works] of God. Who has likewiſe † produced the ſeveral kinds of Gold, Silver, Braſs, and of the other Metals, in a manner and meaſure that is fit and agreeable. For with thoſe things, the uſe whereof was like to be manifold and various, [men] are by his order plentifully furniſhed: but, ſuch things as are of uſe [b] for the delight of the world, and for Luxury only; [them he hath beſtowed,] both liberally, and alſo ſparingly; [obſerving a Mean] between a parcimony and a profuſeneſs. For, if the ſame plenty of thoſe things which were made for ornament, had been granted; the Searchers after Mettals, by reaſon of their overmuch avarice, would have deſpiſed thoſe [Mettals] that are of uſe for Huſbandry, and Building, as well of Houſes, as Ships; Iron namely, and Braſs; and would have neglected the gathering of them together: but would have made it their whole buſineſs, to provide ſuch things as ſerve for delight, and a vain and fruitleſs ſuperfluity of Riches. Wherefore, there is (they ſay) more of Difficulty and Labour, in finding Gold and Silver, than in finding all other Mettals whatever: for this reaſon namely, that the ſoreneſs of the Labour may be oppoſed to the vehemency of the deſire. How many other works of Divine Providence may beſides be reckoned up; whereby, in all thoſe things which it has plentifully conferred on us, it does plainly incite the Life of men to Modeſty and the other Virtues, and draws [them] off from unſeaſonable and importunate deſires? To find out the reaſon of all which things, is a greater Work than can be performed by man. For, how can the underſtanding of a corruptible and infirm Creature, [c] arrive at the accuracy of truth? How can it apprehend the pure and ſincere Will of God from the beginning?*

* Or, *Let all theſe words be, &c.*

[a] Τὴν προνοιαν ἐν Θεὸν. In *Morænus's Book* 'tis mended, τῶν Θεῶν; as *Chriſtophorſon* read; and as we have rendred it. And ſo 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Valeſ.*

† *Reſerved*, or *treaſured up the nature of Gold*, &c.

[b] Πρὸς τέρψιν κόσμου καὶ ἀφθονίαν, *for the delight of the world, and for plenty only.* The word ἀφθονίαν is corrupted; in the place whereof I would rather put ἀσωτίαν, *Luxury*. Yet, the ordinary reading may be born with. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἀφίκοιτο. It muſt be ἐφίκοιτο, as I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, after I had long before conjectured, that it was ſo to be written. Moreover, I point the whole place thus; πῶς γὰρ ἂν τῆς κτίσεως ἀκηράτου ἀληθείας ἐφίκοιτο ἡ, &c. Πῶς ἂν πλὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Philoſophers, who, becauſe they deſired to know all things, erred as to their Opinions; [a] and ſome of them were expoſed to dangers. Alſo, concerning the Opinions of *Plato*.

[a] In the very Title of the chapter there is a fault. For what can theſe words mean, καὶ κινδύνοις ἔνιοι περιπεσόντες τῆς πλάτωνος δόξης. But I think the place muſt be made good in this manner; καὶ περὶ τῆς πλάτωνος δόξης. *Alſo, concerning the Opinions of Plato.* And ſo 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But, both in the *Fuketian Copy*, and alſo in the *Kings Sheets*, this chapter is begun from theſe words, πόσα δ' ἄλλα τῆς θείας περιοίας, *How many other works*, &c. *Valeſ.*

WHerefore, *we ought to attempt thoſe things that are poſſible, and which exceed not the capacity of Our Nature. For, the perſwaſiveneſs* [b] *of ſuch matters as are found in Dialogues and Diſputations, does uſually draw away moſt of us from the truth of things. And this befell many of the Philoſophers, whilſt they* [c] *exerciſe their wits in diſcourſes, and in finding out the Nature of things. For, as often as the Greatneſs of things tranſcends their enquiry, they* * *involve the Truth by various methods of arguing. Whence it happens, that their Sentiments are contrary, and that they oppoſe one anothers Opinions: and this* [*they do*] *when they would pretend to be wiſe. From whence* [*have been occaſioned*] *Commotions of the people, and ſevere Sentences of Princes* [*againſt them;*] *whilſt they think, that the uſages of their Anceſtours are ſubverted by them. And their own ruine has very frequently been the conſequence hereof. For* Socrates, *proud of his knowledge in diſputing;* [d] *when he would undertake to render Reaſons that were weaker, more ſtrong; and would frequently make Sport in contradicting; was killed by the envy of thoſe of his own Tribe, and of his fellow-citizens. Moreover* Pythagoras, *who pretended highly to the exerciſe of Temperance and Silence, was taken in a Lye. For, he declared to the* Italians, *that* [e] *thoſe things long before predicted by the Prophets, which he had heard whilſt he was a Traveller in* Ægypt, *were revealed by God to him as 'twere in particular.*

[b] Τῶν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις γινόμενον. In the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis truer written, γινομένων. But in the *Kings Sheets* that word is omitted. I had rather write alſo, τὸ γέτοι πιθανὸν ἦν ἐν τοῖς, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[c] Διαλεγέσθαι. In the Sacred Scriptures this verb is uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, as to ſignifie, *to exerciſe his wit*; as *Jacobus Tuſanus* has long ſince obſerved. *Valeſ.* See *Pſal.* 119. 15; where this word occurs.

* Or, *Hide.*

[d] Καὶ τὸν χείονας λόγους βελτίους ποιῶν. The ſenſe requires, that theſe words ſhould be added, καὶ τὸν βελτίους χείονας, *and the ſtronger, more weak.* This was the device of *Protagoras*, who promiſed young men, that he would make that reaſon which was ſtronger, more weak; and on the contrary, that which was weaker, more ſtrong; τὸν ἡττῶνα λόγον κρείττονα ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸν κρείττονα ἡττῶνα. Againſt the *Sophiſts* who promiſed theſe things, *Socrates* diſputed continually, that he might convince them that they knew nothing; and he purſued them with their own weapons, that is, arguments of Logick. *Valeſ.*

[e] Πάλαι τότε. It muſt be made πάλαι ποτε, from the *Fuketian Copy*.——What *Conſtantine* ſays (namely, that *Pythagoras*, after he was come into *Egypt*, and had heard what the Prophets had heretofore predicted; divulged thoſe things afterwards all over *Italy*, as if God had revealed them to him;) ſeems to me ſcarce probable. Indeed, that *Pythagoras* came into *Egypt*, and there received from the Prieſts, the Myſtick Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; this, I ſay, is atteſted by *Porphyrius* in *his Life*, and by many others. Moreover, we are told by *Ariſtobulus*, *Clemens*, and *Euſebius*, that *Pythagoras* had many things out of the *Books of Moſes*. But, that he had learned the Prophecies of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and had afterwards divulged them amongſt the *Italians*; is a thing affirmed by none of the Ancients, that I know of. And perhaps this place is to be underſtood, not concerning the Prophecies of the *Jews*, but thoſe of the *Egyptians*. For there were Prophets amongſt the *Egyptians*, as I have obſerved in *my notes on Euſebius's Eccleſ. Hiſt.* See book 4. chap. 8. *note (c.)* Which thing perhaps led *Conſtantine* into a miſtake. Who having read, that *Pythagoras* had learned many Secrets from the Prophets of the *Egyptians*, that is, their Prieſts; underſtood that as meant concerning the Prophets of the *Hebrews*. Valeſ.

Laſtly Plato, *the mildeſt and ſweeteſt tempered perſon of them all, and the firſt man that drew off mens minds from the ſenſes, to things intelligible, and ſuch as always continue in the ſame ſtate; accuſtoming men to look upwards,* [f] *and inſtructing them to raiſe their eyes to things ſublime; in the firſt place taught, that God was above every* * *Eſſence: wherein he did well. To Him he ſubjoyned a Second; and in number diſtinguiſhed the two Eſſences, although the perfection of them Both be one; and notwithſtanding the Eſſence of the Second God,* † *proceeds from the Firſt. For He is the Framer and Governour of the Univerſe; and therefore tranſcends* [*all things.*] *But He who is the Second from Him, miniſtring to His Commands,* || *aſcribes the Conſtitution of all things to Him, as to the Cauſe. Therefore, according to the moſt accurate way of Philoſophizing, there will be but One who takes the Care of all things, and conſults their Good; God* The *Logos *namely, who has beautified all things. Which* Logos *Himſelf being truly God, is alſo the Son of God. For, what other Name ſhall any one impoſe upon Him, beſides the appellation of a Son, who at the ſame time ſhall not commit a ſin of the deepeſt dye? For, He who is the Father of all, is deſervedly eſteemed the Father of His own Word alſo. Thus far* Plato's *Sentiments were right. But, in thoſe things which follow, He is found to have wandred far from the Truth; whilſt he both introduces a multitude of Gods, and alſo aſcribes different Forms to each of them. Which was the occaſion of a greater miſtake amongſt unthinking men: who do not conſider the Providence of the moſt High God; but pay a veneration to Images framed by themſelves, made according to the likeneſs of men, and ſome other Creatures. And thus it hapned, that that excellent* [g] *Wit, and that Learning worthy of the higheſt Commendation, being mixt with ſome ſuch errours as theſe, had in it leſs of purity and perfection. The ſame perſon ſeems to Me, to reprove Himſelf, and to correct that diſcourſe; whilſt he atteſts in expreſs words, that the Rational Soul is the Spirit of God. For* [h]*, He divides all things into two ſorts, intelligible namely and ſenſible: [the Former ſort is ſimple and uncompounded,] the Latter conſiſts of a Frame of Body. And, that is apprehended by the underſtanding; but this is perceived by Opinion with ſenſe. Therefore, that which partakes of the Divine Spirit, in regard 'tis unmixt and immaterial, is alſo eternal, and has for its allotment an endleſs life. But, that which is ſenſible, becauſe 'tis diſſolved the ſame way whereby it was at firſt framed, has no portion in an endleſs life. But, the Doctrine which* * *he delivers in the following words, is highly admirable; that thoſe who have lived well, the Souls namely of holy*

[f] Καὶ διδάξας. The conjunctive particle is wanting in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. I write therefore, ἀναβλέψαι τ' ἐπὶ τὰ μετάρσια διδάξας, *and inſtructing*, &c; as Sr *Henry Savil read.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Subſtance.*

† Or, *Has its being.*

* Or, *Remits the Cauſe of the Conſtitution of all things to Him.*

* Or, *Word.*

[g] He means *Plato* himſelf; whoſe excellent Wit, all the Ancients, yea the *Chriſtians* alſo, were admirers of. *Valeſ.*

[h] Διῃρῶν δὲ πάντα. *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read διϊῶν τε. The place in *Plato*, which *Conſtantine* means, occurs in *his Timæus* pag. 28. Valeſ.

* *Plato.*

holy and good men, after their departure out of the Body, are conſecrated in the moſt beautifull [Manſions] of Heaven. [Which Aſſertion of his does not only deſerve admiration,] [i] *but is alſo highly uſefull. For, what perſon giving credit to him, and expecting ſuch a felicity, will not order his life in the beſt manner, will not exerciſe Righteouſneſs and Temperance, and will not have an Averſion for wickedneſs? Agreeably to theſe words alſo, he has ſubjoyned, that the Souls of wicked men are toſſed up and down in the Streams of* Acheron *and* Pyriphlegon, *floating* [k] *like the Remains of a Shipwrack't Veſſel.*

[i] Ἀλλὰ καὶ βιωφελῶς. Before theſe words, after the verb κατηγορῶν, in the *Geneva-Edition* theſe words are inſerted, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ μόνον δυνατὸν, *which aſſertion*, &c: *Chriſtophorſon*, *Scaliger*, *Bongarſius*, and *Gruter* put in theſe words; as 'tis remark't at the margin of *that Edition*. I likewiſe found the ſame emendation in *Moræus's Book*, in *Turnebus's*, Sr *Henry Savil's*, and in the *Fuketian Copy*; in which Copies alſo 'tis βιωφελές. *Valeſ.*

[k] Ναυαγίων τρόπον. I have rendred it, *Navis fractæ reliquiæ*, *the Remains of a Shipwrack't Veſſel*; that is, *The Tackle or Furniture of the Ship*. For after a Shipwrack, theſe proviſions and utenſils of the Veſſel, are toſſed up and down in the Sea. But *Chriſtophorſon* renders it *Merces*, *the Wares or Goods of the Merchant*; a rendition that can in no wiſe be agreeable here. For when a Veſſel is loſt at Sea, moſt commonly the Goods ſink to the bottome. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

[a] Περὶ μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον τὰ γεγραμμένα. It muſt be μὴ μόνον, *not only*, as the Learned man, at the margin of *Moræus's Book*, had conjectured it ſhould be. And thus *Chriſtophorſon* read; nor is it otherwiſe written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

[a] **Concerning thoſe men, who do not only reject the *Dogmata* of the Sacred Scriptures, but them of the Philoſophers, alſo: and, that we either ought to give the Poets credit in all things, or in nothing.**

NEvertheleſs, *there are ſome men ſo depraved as to their minds, that, when they reade theſe very diſcourſes, neither care, nor are abaſhed with any thing of fear: but, as if they heard ſome forged Stories and Fables, they contemn and laugh [at them.] They highly extol a Variety and Fluency of expreſſion; but abominate the ſolidneſs and ſeverity of the* * Dogmata. [b] *But, yet the ſame men give credit to the Fables of the Poets; and fill all* Greece *and the* Barbarous Regions *with vain and* [c] *falſe Stories. For the Poets affirm, that ſome men, Sons of the Gods, do judge Souls after death; and they conſtitute them the Inſpectors and Triers of thoſe departed, and celebrate their Sentences, and Judiciary proceedings. But theſe very Poets commemorate the Fights of the* Dæmons, *and* † *Rights of War amongſt them. They divulge the Fates of the ſame [Gods] alſo. And affirm, that ſome of them are by nature cruel and auſtere; that others of them are ſtrangers to all Care over men; and, that ſome of them are moroſe. Moreover, they bring in [the Gods] lamenting the ſlaughter of their own Sons; as if they were unable to give relief, not only to ſtrangers, but to them alſo whom they love moſt entirely. They alſo feign them lyable to the ſame Paſſions and Troubles with men; whilſt they ſing their Wars and Wounds, their Joyes and Mournings. And they ſeem worthy of credit, when they affirm theſe things. For, whereas they attempt Poetry, incited thereto by ſome Divine motion; 'tis fit we ſhould believe, and be perſwaded by them, in reference to thoſe things which they utter,* † *when moved by a Divine Spirit. They likewiſe relate the Calamities of the Gods and* Dæmons. *Indeed, their calamities are* [d] *wholly agreeable with Truth. But ſome body will ſay, that 'tis lawfull for Poets to lye. For this ['tis aſſerted] is the Property of Poetry, to recreate the minds of the Hearers: but, [that is ſaid] to be Truth, when what is ſpoken, is in it ſelf no otherwiſe, than ſo as 'tis delivered. Let this be the property of Poetry, ſometimes to conceal and withdraw the Truth. But, they who lye, never lye in vain and for nothing. For they do this, on account either of Gain and Profit; or elſe, being (as 'tis likely) conſcious to themſelves of ſome ill practiſe, they hide [the Truth,] out of a fear of that danger which the Laws threaten them with.* [e] *But doubtleſs, it might (in my judgment) be poſſible for them, when relating nothing ſave the Truth concerning the Divine Nature, neither to lye, nor act impiouſly.*

and have rendred it accordingly.

* That is, *The more ſublime and hidden Doctrines and parts of the Chriſtian faith.*

[b] Μύθοις τε πεπλάσθαι. I reade μύθοις δὲ, &c. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ψευδέσι φήμαις. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it ill, *Præconiis celebrant*. Φήμαι here imports nothing elſe but the Fables, wherewith the Poets filled the world. So a little lower, ſpeaking of the ſame Poets, he ſays, εἰμαρμένας τε αὐτῶν διαφημίζουσι, *They divulge the Fates of the ſame [Gods] alſo*; and ſo in the *eleven th chapter*, where he inveighs againſt Blaſphemy or Impiety. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Laws*.

† Ἐνθουσιάζοντες, *when acted by a Fanatick fury.*

[d] Παντάπασιν ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεται. It muſt, I ſuppoſe, be παντάπασιν; which I have followed in my Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ἦν δ' ἄν δυνατὸν. I had rather reade, ἦν δὲ ἄρα δυνατὸν. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Our Lord's Coming in the fleſh, what it was, and for what reaſons it has hapned.

IF *therefore there be any perſon unworthy of [an acquaintance with] the beſt way of living,* [a] *and be conſcious to himſelf, that he hath lived wickedly and in a diſordered manner; may he repent and look towards the Deity, having firſt clear'd the eye of his mind, and being made a ſtranger to his former moſt vitious courſes. Nevertheleſs, he ought to reſt ſatisfied, if even in his declining age he may* [b] *attain wiſdom. But, no Learning [that has proceeded] from men, was ever any aſſiſtance to Us. But, whatever things are commendable in mens Lives and Morals, amongſt thoſe that have underſtanding*

[a] Σύνοιδέ τε πῷ. It muſt be written σύνοιδέ τε ἑαυτῷ, and *be conſcious to himſelf*; which I admire the Learned did not think of. Further,

from the beginning of this period, that is, from theſe words ἐκ δὲ εἰ τις δεῖν ἀνάξιος, the *eleventh chapter* begins, both in *the Sheets*, and in the *Fuketian Copy*. And in *this Manuſcript*, wherein the Contents are prefixt before each Chapter, this is the Inſcription of this Chapter; περὶ τῆς κατ' αἴσθησιν τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας, τίς τε ὁπόσα γεγόνασι· καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ γνόντων τὸ μυστήριον, &c; *Concerning Our Lord's coming in the fleſh, what [it was] and for what reaſons it has hapned. And concerning thoſe who knew not this Myſtery*; &c. But in the *Kings Sheets*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, which *Chriſtophorſon* has followed, this chapter is divided into two, and, *concerning thoſe who knew*, &c, is the title of a new chapter. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὴν σοφίαν ἐυτυχῶσιν. Doubtleſs it muſt be ἐυτυχήσειν, or ἐυτυχήσειεν, *may attain*; which I wonder neither *Chriſtophorſon*, nor *Scaliger*, nor others perceived; who have mended it, τῆς σοφίας ἐυτυχήσωσιν. But, 'tis not Greek to ſay ἐυτυχεῖν τῆς σοφίας, but ἐυτυχεῖν τινὶ σοφίαν. Yet in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τῆς σοφίας ἐυτυχήσωσι. *Valeſ.*

are

are all accounted the Gifts of God. Moreover, [c] against those poysoned darts which the Devil has framed, I have no mean Buckler which I may oppose; the knowledge namely, of those matters which are acceptable to God. [d] Out of which [knowledge] having selected those things that are sutable to the discourse in hand, I will attempt to laud the Father of all things. [e] But, be Thou Thy Self (O Christ, Thou Saviour of all!) favourably present with this design of Our devotion, and do Thou adorn Our discourse concerning Thine own power, prescribing to us the way and method of uttering praises.

[c] Δηλητήριον ἄντικυς. Questionless it must be written δηλητηρίων ἀντικυς, that is, against those poysoned darts. Where, ἄντικυς is a preposition; which Scaliger, Bongarsius, Curterius, and others saw not. So Constantine expresses himself in the fifteenth Chapter, near the beginning, πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ ἐνδιδάξας, ἀντικυ τῆς ἐν τῆς ἀντικειμένης φύσεως φθόνου. Yet in the Fuketian Copy, and that of Turnebus, 'tis ὡς κατὰ δηλητηρίων ἄντικυς. Vales.

[d] Ἐξισᾶ πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον. Who would not admire, that Scaliger, Bongarsius, and the rest (out of whose Copies the emendations are taken, and set at the margin of the Geneva-Edition,) should not have seen the true emendation of this place; which, nevertheless, is very obvious and easie. For, the words being parted, which had grown together into one, it must be written thus, ἐξ ἧς τὰ πρὸς τοῦ, &c. The word γνώσεως, knowledge, is understood; which word was made use of a little before. But Christophorson renders this place thus; Hæc igitur commodè ad eum sermonem qui à me institutus est, delegi. Whence it appears, that either he has followed that emendation which occurs in the Books of Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruter; (which amendment I also found in Moræus's Book,) or else that Scaliger and the rest, having followed Christophorson's Version, mended it in this manner: which latter I think truer. But, that amendment can't be born with. For, it departs too far from the footsteps of the vulgar reading, if instead of ἐξισᾶ, you write τὰ πίνυν. Yet in the Fuketian and Savil. Copies, 'tis τὰ πίνυν, &c. Vales.

[e] αὐτῷ τε σωαιρόμενον. In Moræus's Book the Learned man had at the margin mended it, αὐτός. I think this whole place is to be read in one breath, thus; αὐτὸς δὲ σωαιρόμενον τῇ τῆς καθοσιώσεως σπουδῇ πάλιν χειρὸ, &c. But, be Thou, &c. Which amendment the Kings Copy does confirm; wherein a point is set before the word αὐτῷ. From those words therefore the twelfth chapter is to be begun; although in the Kings Copy, and in Robert Stephens's Edition, a new chapter is begun from the word πάλιν. The Fuketian Manuscript does plainly confirm our conjecture; wherein the reading is, αὐτὸς τε σωαιρόμενον τῇ τῆς καθοσιώσεως σπουδῇ, πάλιν, &c. But in the Kings Sheets I found it written, αὐτῷ τε σωαιρομένῳ, as Christophorson read. In the same Sheets a new chapter is begun from those words which follow presently, φασὶ δὴ τινες, &c; Some inconsiderate, &c. But, there is no need of beginning a new chapter here; in regard one is begun a little before, at, If therefore there be, &c, both in the Sheets, and in the Fuketian Copy. Vales.

Farther, let no person expect, that he shall hear † an Oration garnished with a singular elegancy of words. For I know accurately well, that that Oration which is soft and loose, and composed to please and allure, will be unacceptable to the prudent; when they who speak, make noyse and applause, rather than a sober and modest discourse, their Care and Business. Some inconsiderate and impious men do affirm, that Our Christ was deservedly condemned to punishment; and, that he who is the Authour of Life to the living, was himself deprived of life. But, 'tis not in the least strange, that [f] those who have once dared to be impious, and who have *taken a resolution neither to be afraid, nor conceal their own wickedness, should assert this. But, that has exceeded the utmost degree of folly and madness, which they seem to have perswaded themselves of; that the immortal God underwent Force from men, and did not [suffer,] meerly out of his own benignity and kindness [towards them.] Nor do they consider, that magnanimity [g] and patience, is neither to be *changed by ignominy, nor removed from its natural constancy and firmness by reproach; but, by consideration and an height of mind, does always break and beat back their fierceness, who invade and assault it. The Clemency of God had indeed resolved, wholly to destroy injustice, and to advance Modesty and Equity. And therefore, having gathered together the [h] wisest of men, † it instituted a most beautifull and most advantagious doctrine to mankind; to the [i] end it might make the Good and Blessed, to emulate and admire his own providence, in reference to worldly affairs. Than which, what can be termed a greater Good? God Himself ‖prescribing the Laws of Justice, and rendring those, who shall deserve to be his disciples, like himself: to the end that, Goodness and Virtue being diffused amongst all persons, an everlasting felicity might be procured for men. This is a Glorious Victory; this is true power; this is a mighty work, and most befitting [God;] the amendment namely of all people, and the reducing them to a better Temper. And to Thee O Thou Saviour of all, with praises and acclamations we ascribe the glory of this Victory! [k] But, Thou, O wicked and infamous Blasphemy, who dost advance Thy self by Lyes, Reports and Rumours every where published; Thou [I say] deceivest young men; and by perswasion dost impose upon youths, and those men who are endued with a childish disposition; drawing them off from the worship of Him who is [l] truly God; and erecting Images, to which they may pray, and pay an adoration!

* Or, Names and things beautified with a certain delectableness.

† Or, Disturbed.

† That is, God's Clemency.

‖ Or, Administring justice.

[f] Τὲς ἀσεβεῖν ἅπαξ τολμήσαντας. Doubtless it must be written, τοὺς δ' ἀσεβεῖν ἅπαξ τολμήσαντας, καὶ μήτε δι' ἀγνοιαν, μήτ' ἐγκαλύπτειν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πονηρίαν καταγοῦντας, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο λέγειν; But, 'tis not in the least strange, &c; as 'tis written in the most excellent Fuketian Copy; whereto agree Sr Henry Savil's, and Christophorson's Copy. Vales.

[g] Καὶ ἀνεξίκακον τῆς θείας. The two last words are added from Gruter's Book; which do likewise occur written at the margin of Moræus's Copy. But, whereas they are not either in the Kings, or Fuketian Copy, or in Robert Stephen's-Edition, there is no reason which may compel us to add them here. And perhaps it must be written, τὸ ἀνεξίκακον τῆς φιλανθρωπίας; that term being brought hither which occurs in the foregoing line. Farther, this Disputation of Constantine is, in my judgment, designed against Porphyrius, or some other Gracian Philosophers; who objected this against the Christians, because they asserted that Christ was crucified, and put to death by men. For thus they argued against the Christians. If Christ be God, how could Force and Violence have been made use of against Him by men, in regard 'tis plain, that men are able to do nothing against God. Vales. In this Edition of Valesius's, the term ἀνεξίκακον is left out, by a mistake of the Press I suppose; for 'tis in Stephens.

[h] Τὲς σοφωτάτυς τῶν ἀνδρῶν. So Constantine calls the Apostles; who nevertheless, 'tis manifest, were illiterate and unskilfull persons. So also lower in this chapter, he terms the same persons εὐπεφυκότας, that is, men endued with an excellent wit. It was indeed Constantine's Sentiment, that we were to think honourably of the Apostles, whom the Church had so high a veneration for. But the holy Fathers speak far otherwise concerning the Apostles, and especially John Chrysostome; who confesses, that the Apostles were persons wholly ignorant and unskilfull; and from thence fetches a most cogent argument in confirmation of the Christian faith; that illiterate men [had prevailed upon] the Philosophers; that the meanest sort of Fishermen of Judæa had perswaded the Romans, who were Conquerours of the world, to worship a person that was Crucified. Constantine repeats the same thing hereafter. Vales.

[i] Ζηλῶσαι. This term seems to be used instead of ζηλωτὰς ποιῆσαι; [and we have rendred it accordingly.] The meaning of this place is to be fetcht from a passage which occurs hereafter in this chapter where Constantine expresses himself thus; τὸ δὲ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερέχον, ἐν τῷ τοὺς εὐπεφυκότας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, θείᾳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ ζηλωτὰς ποιῆσαι βίᾳ, &c; But, this is the eminentest gift of Thy Clemency, that Thou hast rendred men, indued with a good, &c. For these two places borrow light one from the other. In the Fuk. Turneb. and Savil. Copies, the reading is ζηλῶσαι, not ζηλῶσαι. Vales.

[k] From these words a new chapter is begun in Robert Stephen's Edition, and in the Kings Copy; wherein these words are set at some little distance from the words foregoing. But in the excellent Fuketian Manuscript, and in the Sheets, there is no distinction made here. Vales.

[l] Τῷ ὄντι θεῷ. I had rather write it adverbially, τῷ ὄντως; [and have rendred it so.] And thus I found it plainly written in the Fuketian Copy. Vales.

That

That so, being deceived, the Reward of their own senselessness may [m] *await them. For they accuse and calumniate Christ the Authour of all Good, who is both God, and the Son of God. Is not this God deservedly worshipped by the* * *Soberest and most prudent Nations and people? Who being possest of all manner of power; and always continuing firm to his own purpose, has not made the least abatement of his innate Clemency. Be gone therefore, Ye Impious! (For that is permitted to You, in as much as no punishment is now inflicted on Your wickedness;) Be gone, I say, to your slaughters of Victims, and to Your Banquets, Festivals, and Drunken Debauches. Wherein, under the Mask of Religion, you make pleasures and intemperance your business. You pretend indeed to perform Sacrifices; but in reality you serve your own Lusts. For you know nothing of Good, not so much as the first Command of the Great God; who has both prescribed Laws to mankind, and also given it in charge to his Son, that he should form and govern the Lives and Morals of men: to the end that they who shall lead their lives well and soberly, may, according to the Judgment of His Son, have a second Life allotted them, which will be blessed and happy. I have declared* [n] *God's Decree concerning the Life of men, neither wandring in ignorance, as many do; nor yet led by guess, or conjecture. But some body will perhaps say, whence is this appellation of a Son; or, what is the manner of* this Begetting; *For there is but One only God, and He is wholly a Stranger to all Mixture and Copulation. But, it ought to be considered, that Generation is twofold; the one from* † *Conception, which is known to all men; the other, from an Eternal Cause. The manner of which* [Generation,] *by the favour of Divine Providence that person sees even amongst men,* [o] *who is dear to God. For, any wise man knows the Cause of the Disposition and order of the Universe. There being nothing therefore which has not a Cause; 'tis necessary, that before all things which are, their Cause should exist. Whereas then the world, and the things therein, do exist; and whereas the preservation of those things does exist also; 'tis necessary, that before all things which are, the Preserver should exist. So that, Christ Himself is the Cause* [p] *of preservation of things, and preservation, the Effect. In the same manner as the* [r] *Father is the cause of the Son; and the Son, the Effect. Now, that Christ Himself existed before all things, we have already proved sufficiently. But in what manner came He down to men, and* [why descended *He*] *into the world? The Intent and purpose* [s] *of his Coming, as the Prophets have predicted, proceeded from His care over the Universe. For 'tis requisite, that the Framer should take care of His own Works. But, when he was about to* * *assume a terrene Body, and to stay upon Earth for some time, (necessity requiring this;) He devised for Himself a new way of being born. For the Conception* [was] *without a Marriage; and the* † *Child-birth of a pure Virginity; and a Virgin the Mother of God; and a Temporal Beginning of an Eternal Nature; and a* || *Perception of an intelligible Essence; and a* [t] *matter of an incorporeal Brightness. All things therefore, which then were seen, were agreeable hereto.* [u] *A bright Dove,* [*such a one as heretofore*] *flew out of* Noah's *Ark, descended into the Bosome of the Virgin. Those other things are likewise consonant, that were the consequences of this* * *unspotted* [w] *Marriage, which is purer than all Chastity, and they are to be rejected. For, they both disturb the whole meaning of this place, and also occur not in the Manuscript-Copies.* Valesius.

[m] Μένειν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα. At this place μένειν is taken in the same sense, wherein *manet* amongst the *Latines* is sometimes used; as when 'tis said, *te manet Capitolina palmata*, that is, *is provided for Thee*. *Græcians* take the verb μένειν in the same sense. So in *Constantius's Letter to the Alexandrians*, which *Athanasius* records in *his Apologetick to the Emperour Constantius*; ἀλλ' ὁ γοητικὸς καὶ λαμπρὸς, οὐδὲ κείσαν ἔμεινε κατ' ὀπτόν. Nevertheless, the Learned have from their own Copies long since mended it ἀναμένειν, *may expect*, or, *wait*: which emendation I found in the Books of *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savil*. The *Fuketian Copy* has ἀναπάνευν, *come upon them*. Valesius.

* Or, *Modestest.*

[n] He means the Decree of God concerning the assuming manhood, or concerning the Incarnation, by which the life of men was repaired. 'Tis apparent therefore, that the Chapters are well digested by us; unless any one should have a mind, to make *the tenth chapter* reach to these words; which I should willingly yield to. *Valesius.*

† Or, *Birth.*

[o] Ὡς ἐκείνῳ φίλος ὑπάρχῃ. *Robert Stephens*, in those various Readings which he has remarked at the close of *his Edition*, gives notice, that in some Copies this place is read thus; ὃς ἐκείνῳ φίλος ὑπάρχῃ, *who is dear to him*, that is, *to God*. Which doubtless is the true writing. For *Constantine* sayes, that the manner of a Natural Generation is known to all; but, that very few know the way of the Divine Generation; those namely whom God shall have a peculiar affection for. In the *Kings Copy* the reading is φίλος. But in the *Sheets* 'tis written, ὃς ἐκείνων φίλως. But the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* give the true reading. *Valesius.*

[p] Τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας. The *Genevan-men* did ill, in admitting the two last words into the Text, from the conjecture of *Scaliger*, as 'tis noted at the margin. But, 'tis plain enough, that

[q] Τὴν δὲ σωτηρίαν τὸ ἄτιον. *Christophorson* saw nothing at this place. But 'twas obvious to have been observed, that the reading here ought to be τὸ αἰτιατὸν. For here *Constantine* compares the Son *with preservation*, and the Father *with the Preserver*. As therefore the Father is the Cause of the Son, but the Son, the Effect, or τὸ αἰτιατὸν: So the preserver is the Cause of the safety of all things; but safety is the Effect, or τὸ αἰτιατὸν of the Preserver. *Valesius.*

[r] The ancient Divines, those especially amongst the *Greeks*, affirmed, that one person in the Trinity, God the Father namely, was the Cause; but, that the other Two, to wit the Son and Holy Spirit, were the *Causata*, i. e. the *Effects*. So *Athanasius in Quæstion. Secund.* chap. 11. and 12. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἄιτιος, ἀλλ' αἰτιατός, *But the Son is not the Cause, but the Causatum*. So also *Johannes Damascenus* in *his first Book de Imaginibus*, not far from the Beginning. *Imago*, says he, *Dei invisibilis est ipse Filius*, &c; *The Image of the invisible God is the Son Himself, who bears the Father in Himself, and is in all things the same with Him, save in this one, that He is from Him, as from the Cause. For the Natural Cause is the Father, from which the Son proceeds.* Also, *Gregory Nazianzen*, in *Orat.* 29, which is *de Dogmate*, does in express words assert, that the Father is the Cause of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But, amongst the *Latines*, *Marius Victorinus* has expresst himself in the same manner, in *his first Book against Arius*. —— Valesius.

[s] Ἡ μὲν προαίρεσις τῆς καθόδου. Our Copies varie not here. Yet I would rather read τῆς παρουσίας, that is, *of the Lord's Advent*. Valesius.

* Or, *Approach to worldly Body.*

† Or, *Birth.*

|| Or, *Sense.*

[t] Ἀσωμάτου φανότητος ὕλην. It must, I think be written φανότητος, as *Christophorson* read. For *Constantine* alludes to that place of Saint *Paul*, wherein *Christ* is termed *the Brightness of the Glory of God the Father*. See *Hebr.* 1. 3. In the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, 'tis φανότητος. *Valesius.*

[u] Ἀϊσλήσασα πτερυγί. In the *Kings Copy* at the margin, the word λαμπρᾷ is written, which is an explanation of the term ἀϊσλήσασα. The emendation therefore of *Scaliger* and the rest is needless, who read ἀϊθρήσασα. Farther, this story of *Constantine's* is taken out of the *Apocryphal Books*, wherein 'twas related, that the Holy Ghost, under the shape of a Dove, descended into the Bosom of *Mary*, according as the Angel had foretold to her. And perhaps these things were related in this manner, in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. But *Christophorson* supposes that Dove to be meant here, which *Noah* heretofore sent out of the Ark: and that that Dove was a figure of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards to come upon the Virgin *Mary*. But I would rather read here, ἀϊσλήσασα πτερυγὶ οἵα ἡ πάλαι ἐκ τῆς νεὼς λάφυκι ἀποπεμφθεῖσα, &c; *a Bright Dove*, &c. Thus the sense is plain and elegant. *Valesius.*

[w] Γαμήλιον. After this word, as plac't in the Greek Text, I have set a point, from the authority of the *Kings Copy*: which *Christophorson* having not perceived, corrupted the meaning of this whole place, by adding some words. For thus he read; γαμήλιον, ὀνομαζομένου ἐν ἀπορρήτοις σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμαστοῦ. Nevertheless, the *Fuketian Copy* does plainly confirm this reading and punctation of *Christophorson*; save that it has, τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία. As it is also in *Turnebus's Book*. Valesius.

more

more excellent than Continency it self. The [wonderfull] Wisdom of God from his very Cradle: and Jordan, [the River] which afforded Him water for Baptism, receiving Him with a Reverence. Besides this, a Royal Unction * joyned with the knowledge of all things. A doctrine also, and power which performed wonderfull things, and healed incurable diseases. † And a swift and unhindred Assent to Humane prayers. And his whole life in general was beneficial and usefull to men. But, his Preaching [was such as might] not instill prudence, but wisedom: For his disciples did not learn those termed the [x] Civil Virtues, but the paths which lead to an intelligible world; and laboured in the Contemplation of that Nature, which always continues in one and the same State; and made continual researches into the notion of the Supream Father. Now, as to his Favours and Acts of kindness, they were in no wise mean. Instead of [y] Blindness, sight; instead of faintness and a weakness of body, a sound and healthy constitution; Lastly, instead of death, a Restoration to Life. I omit that plentifull provision of Necessaries for food in the Wilderness, and that abundance of all sorts, * raised from small quantities of Victuals, wherewith numerous multitudes were for a long space of time sufficed. This Thanksgiving, according as we are able, we render to Thee, Christ Thou God and Saviour, the Supream Providence of the Great Father! Thou who savest us from Evils, and teachest us a Most Blessed Doctrine. For I speak not these words, that I might praise Thee, but in order to my giving Thee thanks. For who is he amongst men, that hath ever praised Thee according to Thy worth? For Thou art He, who art said to have created things of nothing; [z] and to have given them light; and with Order and Measure to have beautified the † confused heap of the Elements. But this is the eminentest Gift of Thy Clemency, that Thou hast rendred men, endued with a good disposition, Emulatours and Admirers of a Divine and Blessed life; [a] and hast taken order, that, having been made Merchants of those things which are truly good, they should impart their own wisedom and happiness to many others; and that they themselves should reap the immortal fruit of Virtue; being freed from Intemperance, but made partakers of Clemency; having mercy before their eyes, but hoping for the * Promises of Faith; lastly, [b] embracing Modesty and all manner of Virtue, [instead of injustice,] which the former Life of men had cast upon their Morals, [that it might be cut off] from him who makes provision for all things. For, no other person could be found, who might bee a fit Physitian for the curing such great Evils, and that injustice, which had prevailed in that age. Providence therefore coming even to the Earth it self, easily composed and beautified all things, which by wickedness and intemperance had been disordered. Nor [did Christ perform] this secretly and in a concealed manner. For he knew, that there were some men, who with prudence and understanding would [c] contemplate his own power: but, that others, in regard as to their Nature they were like irrational creatures, would * relye upon their own senses rather. [d] Wherefore, that no person, whether good or ill, might be in doubt; [he performed it] openly, and hath exposed this Blessedness and admirable Cure to publick view: restoring again to life, those that were dead; and commanding, that such as had been deprived of their senses, should again recover their former soundness of sense. But, that he rendred the Sea solid, and in the midst of a Storm ordered a Calm to arise; and in fine, that (after he had performed wonderfull works, and from an incredulity had brought men over to a most strong Faith;) He † ascended up into Heaven; whose work was this, save God's, and [a performance] of a most transcendent power? Nor did that time, which was neerest to his Passion, want those Sights that were highly admirable; when the darkness of night obscured the brightness of day, and * totally eclips'd the Sun. For, a terrour had seized all people every where, [who believed] that the end of all things was now come, and that a Chaos, such a one as had been before the Composure of the World, would now prevail. Moreover, the Cause of so great a Calamity was inquired into, and what horrid impiety that might be, which had been committed by men against the Deity. [e] Till such time as, with a pleasing greatness of mind, God had with

* Or, Agreeable.

† Καὶ εὐχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ταχεῖα καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστος βεβαίωσις; which Valesius renders thus, *Mira denique celeritas in hominum precibus audiendis, Lastly, a wonderfull swiftness in hearing mens prayers.*

x Τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρετάς. Philosophers make two sorts of Virtues; the one πρακτικὰς, *practical*; which *Constantine* does here term πολιτικὰς, *Civil*; the other θεωρητικὰς, *contemplative*, which leade our minds to the contemplation of God. Whence, some of *Pythagoras*'s disciples were termed πολιτικοὶ, others σεβαστικοὶ, as the *Old Author concerning the Life of Pythagoras*, in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca chapt.* 259, informs us. Farther, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading of this place runs thus; διδάσκων τοὺς φοιτητὰς, ὡς τὰς πολιτικὰς λεγομένας ἀρετὰς διδάσκα ἐκμανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἀτρεπτὰς αἰσθάσας ἥν τε πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον, &c. The same also is the reading in the Books of *Turnebus* and Sr *Henry Savil*. But I agree with Sr *Henry*, who, after he had written this reading at the margin of his own Book, blotted it out again, having added this note; *Lectio vulgata retineri potest, paucis immutatis; the common reading may be retained, a small alteration being made.* Vales.

y Ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς ῥώσεως, *instead of soundness*. Doubtless it is to be written, τῆς πηρώσεως, *Blindness*. Presently, from the *Kings Copy* I have mended it, ἀντὶ δὲ παρέσεως, *instead of a faintness and weakness of body*. And so it is in Sr *Henry Savil's Copy*. A little before, I had rather write, τὰ γέ τοι ἧς ἐνεργειημάτων, &c; instead of τὰ γάρ τοι, &c. Vales. In *Robert Stephen's*, instead of παρέσεως, the reading is παραυξέσεως.

z Τὸ δὲ φῶς αὐτοῖς ἀνάψαι. I reade, τό τε φῶς, &c. *and to have given*, &c. In the *Kings Sheets*, and in Sr *Henry Savil's Book*, the reading is σὲ δὲ φῶς, &c. But the *Fuketian Copy* has it, σέ τε. Vales.

a Καλαυξεῖν θ'. *Christopherson* does here understand the verb παιῆσαι, in common. Which though I condemn not, yet it does not seem necessary. In the *Fuketian Copy*, this place is thus read, ἀφεστὼ ἀπαυζόμωροι, ἧν ὁ θεσπὶς βίος ἀνθρωπίνων ἠδῶν ἐκδεδεγμένος ὅδεν χδ, &c. without those words πλὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ προνοίαν. Vales.

† Or, *Disordered confusion.*

b Ἀπαυζόμωροι. After this word in the Greek, something seems to be wanting. Nor can it be made sense, unless you add these words, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδικίας ἥν ὁ θεσπὶς βίος, &c. Which writing I have followed in my Version. Vales.

* Or, *Expectation.*

c Τὴν ἑαυτῶν δυναμεῖν πρὸς δύναμιν, *would contemplate their own power.* I doubt not but it should be read πλὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν, *his own power.* Which is plainly evidenced from the following words. For *Constantine* gives the reason, why Christ, who had come to cure the Diseases and Vices of men, and to bring news of a blessed and happy life in heaven, would perform so many Miracles on earth, by restoring eyes to the blind, health to the sick, life to the dead. This therefore, he says, he did, in favour of those whose understandings are more slow and heavy; that they might not doubt of his virtue and power, in regard they saw him perform so many Miracles. These are they, whom a little after he terms φαύλους, *ill men.* Vales.

* Or, *Stick to.*

d Διὰ φανέρωσιν ἅπαντος. I have, as I think, restored this place very happily; although *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and others, whose amendments occur at the margin of the *Geneva-Edition*, saw nothing in it. But I have restored this place to its former Lustre, and have in a manner made no alteration at all; thus; διὰ φανερῶς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀμφιδάλλοι, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. There is nothing more certain than this reading. Indeed, the *Fuketian Copy* agrees with the reading of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*. But I have found from many places, that the authority of *this Copy* is sometimes weak. Which thing is evident enough, even from this one place. Vales.

* Or, *Stifled out the Sun.*

e Ἕως ὅτε ἠπίως. I write ἕως ὅτε ἠπίῳ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. Vales.

with contempt look't upon the contumely of the Impious, and had reſtored all things, and beautified the whole Heaven with the uſual * *courſe of the Stars. The Face therefore of the world, which* [f] *in a manner had been wholly covered with mourning and ſadneſs, was again reſtored to its* † *Native beauty.*

* Or, *Daunce.*

† Or, *Own.*

[f] Τοιγάρ τοι πρσῷ. There was no need of the Emendation of the Learned, who make it ποσῶς; in regard πρσῷ may alſo be uſed adverbially, inſtead of ὅπῃ ποσόν. Yet in the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis ποσῶς. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning thoſe who knew not this Myſtery; and, that their ignorance is voluntary; and, what great bleſſings await thoſe who have died in Confeſſion.

[a] From theſe words the *twelfth chapter* is to be begun: *Concerning thoſe who knew not this Myſtery*; &c. For hitherto *Conſtantine* has treated about the Coming of Our Lord, and on what account Chriſt deſcended to the Earth. But now he treats of thoſe perſons, who have been ignorant of this Myſtery. *Valeſ.*

[a] *But, ſome one of thoſe, with whom 'tis uſual to blaſpheme, will peradventure ſay, that God was able to have made the will of men better, and more tractable and mild.* [*I demand*] *therefore, what better method, what more effectual attempt in order to the amendment of ill men, than God's own ſpeaking to them? Has not He, when preſent and rendred viſible to all, taught them modeſtie and ſobriety of life? If therefore the Command of a God who was preſent; hath availed nothing; how could* [*the admonition*] *of one abſent and un-heard, be of force? What therefore was the Obſtacle of that moſt Bleſſed Doctrine? The perverſe, untractable, and fierce humour of men. For, when with an angry and diſpleaſed mind we receive thoſe things which are well and fitly enjoyned, the* * *acuteneſs of our underſtanding is dull'd as 'twere, and clouded.* [b] *Beſides, it was pleaſure to them, to neglect the commands; and in a loathing and diſdainfull manner to give ear to the Law that was made. For, had they not been negligent and careleſs, they had received rewards befitting their attention, not only in this life preſent, but in that to come alſo, which is really and truly* The Life. *For, the reward of thoſe who obey God, is an immortal and eternal Life. The attaining whereof is poſſible to them only, who ſhall know God, and ſhall propoſe their own lives, as* † *Pattern, or, Sample.* *ſome perpetual* † Exemplar, *for their imitation,* [c] *that have reſolved to live by way of Emulation with a deſire of excelling. On this account therefore the Doctrine was delivered to the wiſe, that what they ſhall command, might* [d] *in a pure mind be preſerved with care, by their companions; and that the obſervance of God's Command might thus continue true and firm. For, from ſuch an obſervance, and from a pure Faith, and a ſincere Devotion towards God, ſprings a fearleſneſs and contempt of Death.* [*Such a mind as this*] *therefore, gives a reſiſtance to the Storms and Tumults of the world,* [e] *being fortified in order to Martyrdom, by an inexpugnable ſtrength of Divine Virtue. And when with a magnanimity it has conquered the greateſt Terrours, it is vouchſafed a Crown from Him,* [f] *to whom with courage and conſtancy it hath born witneſs. Nevertheleſs, it does not boaſt in reſpect hereof. For, it knows I ſuppoſe, that even this is the Gift of God, that it has both endured Tortures, and hath alſo chearfully fulfilled the Divine Commands. Farther, ſuch a life as this is followed by an immortal Memory, and an Eternal Glory; and that moſt deſervedly. For, both the life of a Martyr is found to be full of modeſty, and of a Religious obſervance of the Divine Commands; and* [g] *his death likewiſe* [*appears*] *full of magnanimity and* * *Gallantry. Wherefore, Hymns, Pſalms, commendations, and praiſes are after this ſung to God the Inſpectour of all things; and ſuch a* [h] *Sacrifice of thanksgiving as this, is performed in memory of theſe perſons:* [*a Sacrifice*] *not polluted with bloud, and void of all manner of violence. Neither is the Odour of Frankincenſe required, nor a kindling of the Funeral-pile: but a pure Light only, as much as may be ſufficient for the enlightning them, who pray to God. Sober* [i] *Feaſts and Banquets are likewiſe celebrated by many, made for the relief and refreſhment of the indigent, and to help them who have been deprived* [*of their Eſtates and Country.*] *Which* [*Banquets*] *ſhould any one think to be burthenſome and inconvenient, his Sentiment would be repugnant to the Divine and moſt Bleſſed* † *Diſcipline.*

* Or, *Sobriety of the mind is ſpoyled and defac't.*

* Or, *Nobility.*

† Or, *Doctrine.*

[b] Τὶ δὲ ὅτι πρσφιλὲς ἦν. I had rather write, ἔτι δὲ ὅτι, &c; *Beſides*, &c. For *Conſtantine* brings two reaſons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Chriſt. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τοῖς πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ζῆν πρσηκμάζοις. 'Tis an elegant Greek-phraſe, this, πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ζῆν; ſpoken concerning thoſe who frame their lives in order to the imitation of every thing that is beſt. For they who have a mind to make a great progreſs in Virtue, ought to ſet ſome perſon before their eyes, whom they may imitate. Thus the Emperour *Julian* framed his own Actions and Morals, in imitation of Prince *Marcus*, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates. *Valeſ.*

[d] Παραφυλάσσηται καθαρᾷ ψυχῇ. It muſt be written καθαρᾷ ψυχῇ, *in a pure mind*; as the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Wherein likewiſe it is, ἀληθῶς τε ἦ, excellently well. *Valeſ.*

[e] Πρφρασμῷ πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον. In the *Books of Scaliger, Bongarſius*, and *Gruter*, this place is worded thus; ἀναταγωνίσῳ θείας ἀρετῆς μάχῃ φερομένῳ πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον: which writing I likewiſe found in the *Fuketian Copy*. But S^r *Henry Savil* in *his Copy* has mended it thus, ἀναταγωνίσῳ τε θείας ἀρετῆς μάχῃ φέρεται πρός, &c. And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* read. But the common reading, which I found in the *Kings Copy*, and in *the Sheets*, is in my judgment far better; and therefore we have followed it in our Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ὃς γενναίως ἐμαρτύρησε. I doubt not but it ſhould be, ᾧ γενναίως, &c, *to whom*, &c; which I wonder *Chriſtophorſon* and the reſt perceived not. *Valeſ.*

[g] Ἡ τελευτὴ πλήρης. Queſtionleſs it muſt be written, ἥ τε τελευτὴ πλήρης, *and his death*, &c; that the ſenſe may be compleat. Farther, this place concerning the Martyrs, is a moſt elegant one. *Valeſ.*

[h] And this paſſage is very remarkable, concerning the Sacrifice of thankſgiving, which was offered to God in memory and honour of the Martyrs. For ſo theſe words θυσία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τελείται are to be explained, which *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not. For the *Chriſtians* did not offer ſacrifice to the Martyrs; but only to God; giving him thanks, that he had conferr'd on them a Crown of Martyrdom, as S^t *Auguſtine* writes, Book 8. *de Civitat. Dei, Chap. the laſt.* And this is what *Conſtantine* does here term θυσίαν τῆς εὐχαριστίας, *a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving*. But, becauſe the *Chriſtians* offered to God this unbloudy Sacrifice, at the Monuments and Sepulchres of the Martyrs, that they might give him thanks for the rewards of the Martyrs, and for their Crowns and Victories; therefore *Conſtantine* ſays this honour was given to the Martyrs. *Valeſ.*

[i] Concerning theſe Banquets and Feaſts of the *Chriſtians*, which were made at the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, mention is made by S^t *Auſtin*, at *the book and chapter now cited*, in theſe words. *Quicunque etiam epulas ſuas eò deferunt*, &c. *Alſo, whoever carry their Banquets thither, which is not indeed done by the better Chriſtians, and in many parts of the world there is no ſuch Cuſtome: Yet, Whoever do that, when they have ſet them* [*there,*] *they pray, and take them away that they may eat them; or diſtribute alſo of them to the indigent; they will have them ſanctified there, by the merits of the Martyrs, in the name of the Lord of the Martyrs.* Farther, at firſt theſe Feaſts were ſober and moderate. But afterwards, when licentiouſneſs was arrived at a greater height, they were perverted to Drunkenneſs and Laſciviouſneſs. And therefore in moſt places they were wholly

abolished, as S^t *Austin* attests, *Epist.* 64. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is σωφρονέστατα δὲ πολλῷ καὶ συμπόσια, &c; not πολλῶν, as 'tis in the the ordinary Editions. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

That a difference of the parts of the Creation is necessary; and that a propensity to Good and Evil, springs from the will of men: and therefore, that the Judgment [of God] is necessary, and agreeable to Reason.

BUt now, *some persons do boldly and inconsiderately presume, to find fault with God* [a] *even in this matter. What was his meaning* [*say they,*] *that he has not framed the nature of things, one and the same; but has commanded, that even most things should be produced different, and therefore should be endued with a nature and disposition that are contrary? Whence springs a diversity of the Morals and Wills of us men. It had peradventure been better, both as to what respects an obedience to the Commands of God, and as to an accurate* * *Contemplation of Him, and in reference to a confirmation* [b] *of the Faith of every particular person; that all men had been endued with one and the same disposition. But* [*we answer,*] *'tis altogether ridiculous to desire, that all men should be of one and the same humour and disposition:* [*and 'tis absurd*] *not to consider and remark this, that the* [c] *constitution of the whole world is not the same, with that of those things which are in the world: or this, that Natural things are not of the same substance with those that are Moral: Or Lastly this, that the Affections of the Body are not the same with those of the Mind.* [d] *For,* [*the rational Soul does far excel*] *this whole world; and is so much more blessed than Creatures that are earthly and lyable to Corruption, by how much it is nobler and more divine: neither is mankind void of the divine goodness. Nevertheless, all men are not promiscuously and without any thing of difference* [*partakers of the Divine Goodness:*] *but those only, who have search't into the Divine Nature, and who have proposed to themselves this, as their chief purpose of Life and primary Study, the knowledge namely of things Divine.*

[a] Καὶ ἐν τῷ μέμφεσθε. I had rather write, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, *even in this matter*; as I found it mended in the margin of *Moræus's Book*. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* Knowledge, or, *Comprehension.*

[b] Κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου πίστιν. It must, I suppose, be τὴν καθ' ἑκάστου πίστιν, *of the faith of every particular person*. Vales.

[c] Οὐκ ἤ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου διάταξις. I had rather make it, οὐχ ἥπερ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου διάταξις, αὕτη καὶ ἡ τῶν κοσμικῶν; which we have expreſt in our Version. *Vales.*

[d] Τὸν μὲν γὰρ σύμπαντα κόσμον. After these, there are many words wanting, as 'tis apparent from the Contents of the Chapter. We chose to get out any sense from a corrupt and imperfect place, rather than with *Christophorson* to expunge the whole passage. S^r *Henry Savil*, in *his Copy*, has also expunged this whole period, as far as those words, τῆς δὲ θείας ἀγαθότητος, &c. *Neither is mankind*, &c. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* that whole period is wanting. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

That a created Nature is at a vast distance from an Essence which is uncreated: and, that man * approaches neareſt to God, by a virtuous Life.

* Or, *Is made a neighbour to it*; that is, *to an uncreated essence, by a life according to Virtue.*

MOreover, *to compare things that are made, with them which be eternal, is questionless the highest degree of madness. For these have neither beginning, nor end. But those, in regard they are brought forth and begotten; and because they have received a beginning both of their existing, and of their living for some set time; must consequently of necessity have an end also. But, how can those things which are* [a] *begotten, be any ways compared with him, who hath commanded them to be begotten?* [b] *For, if these things were equal to him, the Command whereby he ordered them to be produced, would in no wise fit and be agreeable to him. But, neither can things celestial be compared with him; in the same manner that the sensible world* [*is not to be compared*] *with the Intelligible; nor Images, with the Originals.* [c] *But, is not the confusing and mixing of all things, a thing wholly ridiculous? in regard the dignity of the Divine Nature would be* * *clouded,* [d] *by a comparing of it with men, or with beasts. And, is not a desire of power, which might strive to equal the power of God, is not* [*I say such a desire*] *to be esteemed as peculiar to madmen and such as abhor a sober, modest, and virtuous course of Life? For if with earnestness we strive to attain divine felicity, we ought to leade our lives according to the Command of God. For by this means, when we shall have lived in Conformity to that Law appoynted by God; being made superiour to all Fate, we shall take up our Residence in immortal and eternal Mansions. For, this is the only strength in man, which is like to the divine power,* [*namely*] *a sincere and unfeigned worship paid to God; and a conversion to him; and a contemplation and knowledge of those things which are acceptable to the Deity: not to be enclined towards the Earth; but as far as we are able, to raise our minds to things sublime and celestial. For by such an endeavour*

* Or, *Covered.*

[a] Τὰ δὲ γενόμενα. *Christophorson* seems to have read γεννώμενα, *begotten*; which reading pleases me best. *Vales.*

[b] Εἰ γὰρ μανία. I am of opinion, that this place is to be corrected thus; εἰ γὰρ ὅμοια ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲ πρέπουσις τῷ γινομένῳ, προσηκόντως ἂν ἐκείνῳ ἐρεμίζοιτο; For, if, &c. That is, *if the things which are made, be equal to God, that Command whereby he has ordered them to be made, would not be agreeable to him. For, an equal can't have authority and empire over an equal.* Away therefore with the Emendation of Learned men, which I found in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Moræus's Book*; namely this, εἰ γὰρ μανία ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ παρεξισάζειν, ἡ πρέπουσις τῷ γινομένῳ, &c; *For if it be madness to liken these things to him, the Command*, &c. But if you reade thus, there is no sense; nor will the following words cohere with the foregoing. *Christophorson* had indeed found it so in his Books, as 'tis visible from his Version. But, the common reading is supported by the authority of the *Kings Copy*, and the *Old Sheets*. Vales.

[c] Ἡ δὲ σύγχυσις πάντων. *Musculus* seems to have read σύγχεισις, which I am extraordinarily pleased with; For he renders it; *Quomodo autem omnium comparatio non ridicula est*, &c; *But, how is not the comparing of all things ridiculous*, &c. Certainly, 'tis either thus to be read, or to be understood thus. For *Constantine* terms *that equalling of all things*, a confusion. *Vales.*

[d] Εἰ τὰ γε θεῖα συγκείνοι. Without doubt it must be συγκείνοιτο. For thus *Constantine* argues. *Even things Celestial*, says he, *cannot be compared with God. Much less things Terrestrial, and Brutes.* This is the meaning of this place. But the *Manuscript Copies* of *Christophorson*, S^r *Henry Savil*, *Gruter*, and M^r *Fuket*, word this place thus; ἀπαχρυπτομένης τῆς τοῦ θείου τιμιότητος πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ γε θεῖα συγκείνει, *in regard the dignity of*, &c. Which reading seems to me better, and more elegant. *Vales.*

endeavour as this, [c] *a Victory is procured for us,* * *of equal value with many Bleſſings. The cauſe therefore of the diſſimilitude of things,* † *which is plac't in a diſtance both of dignity and power, has this reaſon. Wherein they who are wiſe, do willingly acquieſce, and are eminently thankfull. But the ingratefull, and the fooliſh, receive a puniſhment* [t] *befitting their arrogance.*

[c] Τὸ νικᾶν ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν φησί. He ſeems to allude to thoſe paſſages we meet with in the ſecond and third Chapter of the Revelations; where God ſays: *Vincenti dabo* Coronam, &c; *To him that overcometh I will give a Crown,* &c. Indeed the life of a *Chriſtian* man is wont to be compared to Champions, as it frequently occurs in S[t] *Paul's Epiſtles.* But the word φησὶ is redundant, after the uſual manner of *Gracians,* as 'tis well known to thoſe skilled in the *Greek Tongue. Valeſ.*

* Or, *In place of many goods.*

† Or, *Both as to dignity, and in a diverſity of power.*

[t] Τὴν ἐυεργεσίαν. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis πρὸς ἐυεξίαν, as *Robert Stephens* has alſo remarked in *his Various Readings.* I read therefore, πρὸς ἀξίαν, *befitting,* or, *agreeable to*; with *Chriſtophorſon, Scaliger, Gruter,* and others: or πρὸς ἐπαξίαν, which comes nearer to the footſteps of the written reading. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, κὴ πρὸς ἀξίαν. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XV.

What Precepts Our Saviour delivered, and what Miracles He wrought; and how beneficial He hath been to thoſe who own a ſubjection to Him.

FArther, *the Son of God exhorts all men to Virtue, and conſtitutes himſelf a Teacher to ſuch as are prudent,* [*inſtructing them*] [a] *in the Father's commands. Unleſs we forget our ſelves, being wretchedly ignorant, that for the ſake of our advantage, that is, on account of mens bleſſedneſs, He travelled up and down on earth; and having called together to himſelf the beſt men of* [b] *thoſe times, he delivered them a moſt uſefull Doctrine, the preſervative as 'twere of a ſober life; teaching them Faith and Juſtice, againſt the Envy of the* * *Malitious Devil, whoſe delight it is to* [c] *allure and deceive the unskilfull. Therefore, he viſited the ſick; and eaſed the infirm of thoſe ills, wherewith they were ſurrounded. He likewiſe adminiſtred comfort to thoſe, who were reduced to an extremity of poverty and indigency. He highly extolled* [d] *a ſober modeſt and quiet temper of mind, joyned with reaſon; and gave command, that with a courage and patience of mind we ſhould bear all manner of injury, and every ſort of contempt: teaching us, that the* [e] *Viſitation of his Father is of this ſort: ſo that, they who could magnanimouſly endure accidents, might always obtain the Victory. For he affirmed, that this is the moſt ſuperlative degree of ſtrength,* [*namely*] *a conſtancy of mind joyned with Philoſophy; which is nothing elſe but a knowledge* [f] *of what is True and Good, accuſtoming thoſe who get riches fairly and juſtly, to impart what they poſſeſs, by a kind and liberal diſtribution to the poorer ſort. But he wholly forbids maſterſhip, and bearing ſway over others; openly declaring, that as he came to give aſſiſtance to the humble, ſo he would deſiſt from favouring thoſe, who ſhould diſreſpect the humble. Having therefore made Tryal of the Faith of thoſe people ſubject to him, by ſuch and ſo powerfull an Experiment, he rendred them not only Contemners of the terribleſt and moſt formidable things, but moſt genuine diſciples alſo of an hope and confidence in himſelf. Moreover, he once ſharply rebuked, and by his words repreſt one of his Companions, who had* * *been over much heated with anger. That* [*Diſciple*] *had* [g] *with a drawn ſword made an aſſault upon ſome body; expoſing his own life, that he might aſſiſt our Saviour. But* [*his Lord*] *commanded him to be quiet, and to put up his Sword; reproving the man ſeverely, becauſe he had diſpaired of a defence and refuge in Him Himſelf. And he enacted a Law in expreſs words, that* [h] *whoever ſhould begin an aſſault upon another with the hands of Violence, or ſhould attempt to injure him who had begun, or* [*whoever in general*] *ſhould make uſe of the ſword, ſhould periſh by a violent death. This is moſt undoubtedly the Celeſtial wiſedom, to chooſe to be injured, rather than to injure; and, as often as neceſſity ſhall require, to be in a readineſs to undergo, rather than do evil.* [i] *For, whereas the miſchief of being injurious is very great; not he who ſuffers the wrong, but he that does it,* * *incurrs the heavieſt puniſhment. Farther,* [k] *'tis in the power of him who pays an obedience to God, neither to do, nor ſuffer an injury; provided he places his confidence in the protection of God, who*

[a] Τῶν τῆς σωτῆρος φιλοσοφημάτων, *in the Saviour's Commands.* It ſhould, I think, be made, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας φιλοσ. *in the Precepts of Salvation*; as 'tis noted in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition.* You may alſo write, περὶ τῆς πατρὸς, &c, *in the Father's Commands.* For the miſtake ſeems to have riſen from a contracted way of writing. In the *Kings,* and *Fuketian Copy,* and in *the Sheets,* at this place 'tis thus written, σρς. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τῶν τηνικαῦτα βιωφελῶν, &c. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place thus: *Et ex illis qui id temporis hominum vitæ adjumento fuerunt, longè optimos advocaſſe ad ſe, and had called to himſelf, by far the beſt of thoſe men, who at that time were an aſſiſtance to the life of men.* But, who ever expreſt himſelf in this manner, τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ βιωφελῶν, *the beſt men of the moſt uſefull?* Wherefore, I doubt not, but this place is thus to be mended and pointed; κὴ καλέσας ὡς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ τηνικαῦτα, βιωφελῆ παιδείαν ἐπαιδαγώγησε, *and having called together unto,* &c, as we have rendred it. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies,* the reading is περὶ τηνικάδε. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ὡ δελεάζειν μόν. In *Turnebus's,* and *Moræus's Book,* 'tis mended δελεάζειν κὴ ἐξαπατᾶν, &c, *to allure and deceive,* &c. But the *Fuketian Copy* has it truer written, ἢ δελεάζειν κὴ ἐξαπατᾶν. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τὸ μετ' εὐλόγε. In *Robert Stephens's Edition* it was Printed, τὸ μὴ λόγε τῆς φρονήσεως μέτριον; which reading is confirmed by the *Kings* and *Fuketian Copy,* and by *the Sheets.* But in *Moræus's Book* I found it mended μετ' εὐλόγε; and I don't underſtand why the *Geneva-men* admitted this emendation into the Text. Τῆς φρονήσεως μέτριον has the ſame import with μετριοφρονεῖν. S[t] *Paul* calls it *Sapere ad ſobrietatem, to think ſoberly,* or, *to ſobriety. Valeſ.*

[e] Ἐπίσκηψίν τινα τῆ παλεῖ. I had rather write ὀπτικὴν ψιν, as 'tis noted in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition.* For, 'tis our common uſage to term ſuch Calamities as theſe, which do ſometimes happen to good men, *the Viſitations of God.* But *Chriſtophorſon* has followed the common reading, and renders it *Mandatum, the Command. Valeſ.*

[f] Τῆ ἀληθῆ κὴ τῆ ἀγαθῆ. In *Moræus's Book* the Learned man has mended it at the Margin, πάσαθῆ, which diſpleaſes not. For there are many *Platonick* Expreſſions in this Oration. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Given place to anger.*

[g] Ξιφήρη τινα ὀπφοιτῶν. I read ξιφήρης, as 'tis in *Moræus's Book*; wherein 'tis alſo mended, τινὶ ὀπφοιτῶν, not ill. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis likewiſe ξιφήρης τινὶ ὀπφοιτῶν, and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[h] Πάντα φῆ ἀδίκων χειρῶν καταῤξαντα. This place is thus to be reſtored from the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies,* νομοθετῶν διαῤῥήδην, πάντα φ ἀδίκων, &c. As to the following clauſe, ἢ πρὸς τὸν καθυβρίζοντα ἀδικεῖν ὀπιχειρήσαντα, I had rather write thus, ἀντιδικεῖν ὀπιχειρήσαντα, *or ſhould attempt to reſiſt him,* &c. *Valeſ.*

[i] Μείζων γὰρ ὄντ τῆ ἀδικεῖν κακῆ. In *Moræus's Book,* the Learned man hath ſet theſe words at the margin, σωκρατικὸν περὶ ἀδικίας. There are indeed many paſſages in this Oration, taken out of *Plato's* Philoſophy; which the Learned Reader will of himſelf acknowledge. *Valeſ.*

[k] Τῷ δ' ὑπηκόῳ τῆ θεῆ ἐξὸν. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies,* the reading is ἐξόν. *Valeſ.*

who is present with, and gives him assistance; to the end no one of His Subjects may receive any harm. But, how should he [endeavour] [1] to assist himself, who puts his trust in God? For, by this means a [m] Fight betwixt two would ensue, and a doubtfull and uncertain Victory. But, no man of understanding preferrs dubious matters, before those that are fixt and certain. But, how will he make any scruple about God's presence and assistance, who has had experience of so many perills, and has always been easily delivered from dangers, by the [n] sole will and pleasure of God; who has walkt thorow the Sea, which by our Saviour's command was paved, and afforded a solid and firm way to the people that passed over it. For this, as I suppose, is the most evident and firm * Basis of faith, this is the Foundation of confidence; when we behold these admirable and incredible things performed and perfected by the command of the provident God. Hence likewise it happens, that [o] when any one falls into the trial of Calamities, he does [p] not repent himself of his Faith, and retains his hope in God firm and unshaken. Which habit being once firmly fixt in the mind, God takes up his habitation in the inmost thought. And whereas he is invincible; that mind also, which in its inmost thought [q] possesses him that is thus invincible, can never be vanquished by those dangers that surround it. [r] Besides, we have learn't this very thing from God's own Victory; who, whilst he was making provision for the good of all men, when reproacht and insulted over by the impious and unjust, received no damage from his passion, but obtained a most Glorious Victory over wickedness, and was encircled with an immortal Crown: having brought to effect the design and purpose of his own providence and love, towards the just; but, trampled upon the Cruelty of the unjust and Impious.

* Groundwork.

[1] Αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ βοηθεῖν. Scaliger, Gruter, and others have mended it, βοηθεῖν θεῷ δαρῶν, which emendation I likewise found written in *Moræus's Book*. It might also be written, βοηθεῖν ἔμελλε, the two last words being left out; which, as every one sees, are not very necessary here. But the *Fuketian Manuscript* agrees with those Books of *Scaliger and Gruter*. Vales.

[m] Μάχη δ' ἦν. I doubt not but it should be written, ὅπως γὰρ μάχη μὴ ἦν μεταξὺ δυοῖν. Where ἦν is made use of instead of εἴη, or ἔμελλεν ἔσῃ. But the Translatour who rendred this Oration of *Constantine* into Greek, had but little skill in the Greek tongue, and was careless enough, as 'tis apparent from many places. *Constantine* gives a reason here, why the worshippers of the supream God would never revenge themselves, nor resist force by force. For, should they do that, saith he, they must fight with their adversary, but they would be uncertain of the Victory. But, if they shall in no wise defend themselves, then they have a most certain Victory; for God fights for them. This is the meaning of this place, which (I admire at it,) neither *Christophorson* nor *Musculus* understood. Vales.

[n] Μόνῃ θεοῦ νεύματι, by the will of the only God. It must be made μόνῳ &c, by the sole &c, as I found it mended in *Moræus's Book*. And a little after I read παραχρῆμα ὀδὸν, as 'tis in the same Book. For θελήσεως is understood. In the *Fuketian Copy* and *Old sheets*, the reading is μόνῳ θεοῦ νεύματι. Vales.

[o] Ἡνίκα ἂν τις περιπίπτει πείρᾳ κακῶν. I would rather write πεῖρα, in the *Nominative case*. For that seems to me far more elegant. Presently, the reading must doubtless be, καὶ τὸ ἀτρεπτον ἔχειν, &c. For the verb ἐξαρνεῖται is understood, which is used a little before. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets*, the reading is, ἡνίκα ἂν τις περιπίπτῃ πεῖρα κακῶν, καὶ τὸ ἀτρεπτον ἔχῃ, &c. *when any trial of Calamities falls out*, &c. Vales.

[p] Μὴ μεταμέλειν. In the *Fuketian Manuscript*. 'tis μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι. Vales.

[q] Τὸ δήπιτον. At the margin of the *Moræan Copy* 'tis mended, τὸν δήπιτον ἔχουσα, *possesses him*, &c. Which reading *Christophorson* has followed. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. Vales.

[r] Παρὰ δὲ. I read περὶς δὲ, τοῦτο μεμαθήκαμεν, *Besides, we have*, &c; where περὶς is taken *adverbially*, for περισσῶς. Vales.

CHAP. XVI.

That the Coming of Christ is foretold by the Prophets; and, that He was appointed for the destruction of Idols, and Idolatrous Cities.

MOreover, his *Passion* was long since foreshewed by the *Prophets*; and his *Corporal Nativity* foretold. The very time likewise of his *Incarnation* was predicted, [a] wherein the *Shoots springing from injustice and intemperance, which are hurtfull to just actions and Morals, might be destroyed*; and [wherein] *the whole world might be made partaker of Prudence and Modesty*; that *Law* namely, which our *Saviour* has promulged, prevailing upon the minds of almost all men; the worship of the *Deity* being confirmed and establisht; and superstition wholly abolished. On account of which [superstition,] not only *slaughters of irrational Creatures, but Sacrifices of humane Bodies* also, and detestable *pollutions of Altars were exercised: for according to the* Assyrian *and* Egyptian *Laws*, * innocent men were Sacrificed to Brazen or earthen images. Wherefore, the Fruit they reapt, was agreeable to such a Religion.* Memphis [*says he*] *and* Babylon *shall be made desolate; and both of them, with the Gods of their Countries, shall be left uninhabited. Nor do I relate these things from report and hear say; but I my self was present and saw them*; [b] *and was made an eye-witness of the miserable and calamitous fortune of those Cities* [c] Memphis *lyes desolate, that Pride and Glory of the then most powerfull* Pharaoh. *Constantine* says, that he himself had been a spectatour of the ruine and destruction of those two Cities, *Memphis* namely and *Babylon*, which had heretofore been most potent. We must therefore make enquiry, at what time *Constantine* might go to those places. Whilst he was but a youth he went into *Egypt*, at such time as he had a Military Employ in the Court of *Diocletian*, by whom he was kept as an Hostage. For *Diocletian* waged a War many years in *Egypt*, against *Achilleus* who had rebelled in *Egypt*, as *Eutropius* relates. Out of *Egypt*, *Constantine* went afterwards, in company with *Diocletian*, into *Syria*, and past through the Province of *Palestine*, where he was first seen by *Eusebius*, as he himself attests. Now *Diocletian* had made a journey into *Syria*, that with his own Forces he might assist *Galerius Cæsar*, who waged a War with the *Persian*. And he made a long stay in *Syria*, in order to his making a Peace with the *Persians*, as we are informed from *the History of Petrus Patricius*. At that time therefore *Constantine* might take a View of the Rubbish and Remains of the City *Babylon*. Vales.

* Or, just Souls.

[a] Καὶ τῆς ἀδικίας. In *Moræus's Book*, at the margin 'tis mended, καὶ ὡς τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, &c; which reading *Christophorson* has expresst in *his Version*. To me this expression seems scarce *Greek*. Therefore I had rather write, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, *wherein*, &c. Yet in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, καὶ ὡς τὰ τῆς, &c. Vales.

[b] Ἐποπτης τε γεγόμενος. Constantine

[c] I am of opinion, that this place is corrupted meerly by the misplacing of the words. For the sense is most apparent, if you restore the words in this manner; μέμφις ἠφάνισται, ἡ τῶν δυνατωτάτων τότε φαραὼ ὑπερηφία· ὃν μωσῆς καὶ τὼ θείαν πρόσταξιν κατέβραυσε; *Memphis lyes desolate*, &c. What is more plain than these words? The import of ὑπερηφία here, is *glory*, τὸ καύχημα, *that boasting*, wherewith namely *Pharaoh* puft himself up. Away therefore with the conjecture of *Christophorson*, *Gruter*, and others. And this was heretofore our conjecture concerning the reading of this place. But after we had gotten the *Fuketian Copy*, we found out the true and genuine reading. For in *that Manuscript*, this passage occurs worded thus: ἐποπτης τε γεγόμενος τῆς οἰκτροτάτης νῦν πόλεως καὶ δυσυχοῦς μέμφις· ἠφάνισται δὲ μωσῆς καὶ τὼ θείαν πρόσταξιν τὼ τῶν δυνατωτάτων τότε φαραὼ χώραν, &c. And thus 'tis plainly read in *Turnebus's*, and *Gruter's* Book; save only, that that punctation we have made use of, is peculiar to the *Fuketian Copy* only; wherein, after the word μέμφις, a point is set. *The Translatour* therefore of *this Oration* has used μέμφις in the *Genitive case*, whereas he ought to have said μέμφεως. Moreover, οἰκτροτάτης is put instead of οἰκτροτάτου. This then is the import of this reading; *and was made an eye-witness of Memphis the miserablest and most unfortunate of Cities. But Moses, according to the Divine Command, has laid wast the Country of the then most powerfull Pharaoh*, &c. Farther, according to this reading, *Constantine* affirms, that *Memphis* only was seen by him; which I do indeed look upon to be truer. For he could never see *Babylon*, in regard

regard he had never gone into *Assyria*. In the *Kings Sheets*, the reading of this place runs thus; τῆς δικλεᾶς ἧς πόλεων τύχης· μέμφις ἠρήμωσε, &c; as in the ordinary Editions. But in the *Kings Copy* 'tis ἠρήμωται, as *Stephens* has publisht it. Sr *Henry Savil* in *his Book* has mended this place thus; πόλεων τύχης· μέμφις ἠρήμωται· ἠρήμωσε δὲ μωσὴ, &c. But, that expression μέμφις ἠρήμωται would be foolish and trifling, nor would it agree with the following words. Besides, neither has *Christophorson* retained those words in *his Version*. Vales.

[a] Ὃν ὑβρίσια κατέδραυσε. *Christophorson* renders it, *quem insolentiâ elatum perfregit, whom raised with insolency he broke in pieces.* Whence it appears, that he put in ἐπηρμένον, or some such word. But there is no need of this Emendation, in regard ὑβρίσια may be taken in the *Nominative Case*. Indeed, in all *Our Copies*, *the Kings*, *the Fuketian*, and *the Sheets*, this word occurs without *the* ἰῶτα *subscript*. So he expresses himself below, *chap.* 19, ἡ ἄγνοια τὰς ψυχὰς ἧς ἀνθρώπων ἔδραξε, &c. *Vales.*

[b] *Whom* Moses *ruined according to the Divine Command: and destroyed his Forces (which had gained the Victory over many, and the greatest Nations,) whilst well fortified* [c] *and compleatly furnished with Arms; not by the shooting of Arrows, or the throwing of Darts; but by an Holy Prayer only, and a quiet Supplication.*

[c] Καθοπλισμένον. It must I think be made καὶ καθοπλισμένον, *and compleatly furnished with Arms*. Presently, where the reading is ἡμέρῳ λιτανείᾳ, *a quiet supplication*; I had rather write ἠρεμαίῳ, *humble*. In the *Fuketian Copy* and the *Kings Sheets* the reading is πεφεγγμένον τε καὶ καθοπλισμένον. Nor does Sr *Henry Savil*'s conjecture displease me, who has mended it, πεφεγγυῖᾳ καὶ καθοπλισμένῳ. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the wisedom of *Moses*, which was emulated by the Wise Men amongst the Heathens; also concerning *Daniel*, and *the Three Children*.

FArther, *no people ever were, or could have been blesseder than* * *that* [*Nation*;] *had they not voluntarily alienated their minds from the Divine Spirit. But, what man is he, that can speak concerning* Moses *according as he deserves? Who having reduced* † *the confused multitude of the* Jews *into Order, and beautified their minds with Obedience and Modesty; instead of Captivity, conferred on them Liberty; instead of their sadness, rendred them joyfull. Who raised those mens minds to such an height, that by reason of the* [*unhop'd-for*] *change of their Affairs for the better, and because of their fortunate successes and Victories, they became puft up with pride and insolence. Who in wisedom so far excelled those that had lived before him, that those persons which are most celebrated by the Gentiles, whether wise men* [a] *or Philosophers, have been Emulators of His Wisdom. For* Pythagoras *having imitated his wisedom, has been so highly fam'd for his Modesty, that that most* * *prudent and sober person* Plato, *proposed his abstinence as a pattern for his own imitation.* [b] Daniel *also, he who foretold things future, who shewed a* * Specimen *of a most transcendent greatness of mind, and who was egregiously eminent for the* * *Sanctity of his Morals and his whole Life; what and how rigorous a Cruelty did he vanquish, of that Tyrant which then reigned in* Syria? *His name was* Nabuchodonosor; *all whose Race being now extinct, that vast and formidable power is transferred to the* Persians. *The riches of that Tyrant, were, and to this very day are, much spoken of in all mens discourses; as likewise his unmeet and foolish Care about a misbecoming worship; and* [c] *his great plenty of Metals of all sorts, for the making of Gods; and the tops of Temples* [*which he erected,*] *reaching as high as Heaven it self; and lastly, his horrid Laws about Religion, made and designed for Cruelty. All which* [d] Daniel *despised, on account of his sincere piety towards him who is truly God; and foretold, that that inconvenient earnestness of the Tyrant, would be the occasion of some great and sore mischief. Nevertheless, he prevailed not with the Tyrant. For an affluence of Riches is a mighty hindrance to sober and good thoughts. But, at length the King manifested the cruelty of his own mind; having given order, that this just and guiltless person should be cast to the wild beasts, that he might be torn in pieces. Moreover, the Consent of those Brethren in undergoing Martyrdom, was highly couragious: whom posterity afterwards imitated, and procured transcendent glory, on account of their faith towards our Saviour. Who appearing unhurt by the fire, and furnace, and by those other Tortures appointed to consume them; by the approach and Touch of their pure Bodies repelled the fire contained within the furnace. But after the ruine of the* Assyrian *Empire, which was* [e] *destroyed by Thunder-bolts;* Daniel *by* [*the direction of*] *Divine Providence, betook himself to* Cambyses *King of the* Persians. *But, Envy,* [*vexed him*] *here also; and, besides Envy, the destructive Treacheries of the* * Magi; *and a continued succession of many, and those the greatest perils. Out of all which he was easily delivered, by Christs assisting providence, and flourisht, being the* * Exemplar *of all manner of Virtue. For, whereas he poured forth his prayers to God thrice a day, and performed great and* [f] *unusual Miracles,* † *and Works highly memorable; the* Magi, *induced*

* The Israelites.

† Or, *A disordered people.*

[a] Καὶ φιλοσόφους. A particle seems to be omitted here, which if inserted, the passage would be made far more elegant. I write therefore, ἤ τοι σοφὸς ἢ καὶ φιλοσόφους, that is, *whether wise men or Philosophers*. Vales.

* Or, *Modest.*

[b] After he has spoken concerning the *Egyptians*, and concerning the destruction of *Memphis*; he passes to the *Assyrians*, and to the desolation of *Babylon*. And on occasion of the *Egyptians*, he has inserted the praise of *Moses*. But now treating concerning the *Assyrians*, he prosecutes *Daniel*'s praises, who lived a Captive amongst the *Assyrians* or *Babylonians*. Vales.

* Pattern.

* Or, *Beauty.*

[c] At this place these words [εἰς τιμὴν θεῶν κατασκευὴν ἀνθρώπειαν, καὶ ναῶν] are wanting in the *Greek Text* of *Valesius's Edition*; omitted I suppose by the carelessness of the Printer; though *Valesius* has taken no notice of this mistake, in *his Errata*. They occur in *Robert Stephen's Edition*; from whom we have inserted them into our Version. Nor has *Valesius* omitted them in *his Translation*.

[d] Ὁ Δανιὴλ καταφρονήσας. After these words, *the Antiquarius* who transcribed the *Kings Copy*, offended at the multitude of faults wherewith the Copy abounded, here made an end of writing. And he has attested this in these words set at the bottome of the page: .... ὑσας πρὸς τὸ πέλας ἧς σφαλμάτων τὰς βιβλίας, ἐπέσχον πῶ χεῖρα τὸ γεγράφειν, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐνῆν τῷ προϊσυπτῳ, καθὼς ὃν ἧς γεγραμμένων ἔστι τεκμήρασθαι τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντας; .... *to the Sea of faults of this Book, I stopt my hand from writing, because there was nothing sound in the original Copy, as the Readers may conjecture from what is written.* Vales.

[e] Ἀναιρεθείσης κεραυνῶν βολαῖς. I can't imagine whence *Constantine* had this, his affirming namely, that the kingdom of the *Assyrians* was destroyed by the casting of Thunder; which I don't remember, to have read any where else. Neither do I well understand that. For, Men, Towers, and Cities may be destroyed by Thunder-bolts, as the Poets have told us concerning the *Phlegyæ*. But, truly I can't see, how a kingdom could be ruined by Thunder. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is κεραυνῶν βολαῖς. *Vales.*

* Magicians, or, *Wise men.*

* Pattern.

† Or, *Of Works*, &c.

[f] Ἐξαισίους ἀρετὰς. *Constantine* had *in Latine* termed it *Virtutes*; which word is in the Sacred Books usually taken to signifie *Miracles*, as every one knows. The Translatour of this Oration has done ill, in rendring it ἀρετὰς; whereas he ought rather to have translated it δυνάμεις. *Vales.*

thereto by Envy, calumniated the very prevalency of his prayers; making the King acquainted, that that great power of the man [g] was very dangerous: [h] and [at length] they perswaded him, that this very person, who had been the Occasioner of so many, and such eminent Blessings to the State of the Persians, should be condemned to be devoured by fierce Lyons. Daniel therefore, [in this manner] condemned, not that he should be destroyed, but in order to his eternal glory; was shut up in the Den. And whilst he was conversant amongst the wild-beasts, found them more gentle and tamer, than those by whom he had been shut up. [i] For, a prayer of modesty and soberness, giving assistance by its powerfulness, tamed all those Beasts, though by their own nature they are fierce and raging. Which things being made known to Cambyses, (For 'twas impossible, that the performances of so great, and such a Divine power should lye concealed;) he was stricken with an amazement at the wonderfulness of what was told him; and he repented himself, because he had been so easily prevailed upon by the Calumnies of the Magi. Nevertheless he * had a desire to be an eye-witness of that spectacle. [k] And when he beheld Daniel praising Christ, both his hands being lifted up on high; but [saw] the Lyons couching, and as 'twere worshipping the footsteps of the man: immediately [he condemned] the Magi, who had perswaded him hereto, [to the very same punishment, and shut them up in the Den of the Lyons.] But the wild-beasts, which a little before had fawned upon and made much of Daniel, set upon the Magi, forthwith, and, agreeable to their own fierceness of Nature, tore all of them in pieces.

[g] Ἐπχίνδυνον σφόδρα. In the *Fuketian Copy*, this place is thus pointed; διέβαλλον ἐπχινδυνον. σφόδρα δὲ τῶ πασαν τῶ, &c; calumniated the very prevalency of his prayers, as dangerous: and sorely accused in the Kings presence, that great power of the man. Vales.

[h] Ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν. I write, καὶ ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν, and [at length] they perswaded him; as 'tis mended at the margin of *Moraus's Book*. But, this relation contradicts the Sacred Scripture. For, the *Magi* are not in the Sacred Volumes said to accuse *Daniel*, But *the Presidents and Princes*: Nor is he called *Cambyses*, who ordered *Daniel* to be cast to the wild-beasts, but *Darius the Median*; concerning whom the Opinions of *Chronologers* are various. For most of them will have him to be *Cyaxares*, son to *Astiages*. But *Scaliger* affirms him to be *Nabonnidus*; to whose opinion our *Petavius* agrees. The consent of which two persons I value highly. For, whereas they are wont to dissent in most things; whereever we see them agree, it is the greatest Argument of Truth. Nevertheless, *Abydenus* in *his History of the Assyrians*, seems to contradict their Opinion. For he writes, that *Nabuchodonosor*, inspired by God a little before his death, foretold the *Babylonians*, that not long after, their City should be ruined. For, that *Mulus* the *Persian* should come, who should put the yoak of slavery on them. But, that *Medus*, the glory of the *Assyrians*, should be his Assistant in the besieging of that City. For so I render these words of *Abydenus*, ἃ δὴ σωαίπ@ ἔσαι μήδης. 'Tis certain, the Greek words have no other import, than that which I have mentioned. Now, if *Medus* was *Cyrus's* Companion and Assistant in besieging *Babylon*, and in reducing it to slavery; then *Medus* is not *Nabonnidus*. But *Scaliger*, who will have *Darius Medus* to be *Nabonnidus*, does thus explain *Abydenus's* words, that by *Medus's fault that Calamity would befal the Babylonians*. But *Abydenus* has not said ἃ δὴ ἄπ@, but σωαίπ@; by which term is signified *a Society and Communion of some fact, with another person*. So the Son of God is termed σωαίπ@, because together with the Father He is the Authour of all things, 'Tis therefore plain from *Abydenus's* words, that *Medus* is not *Nabonnidus*. Vales.

* Or, *Attempted.*

[i] Πάντας γὰρ ἐυχῆ. I had rather write it in the *Nominative Case*, thus, πάντας γὰρ ἐυχὴ κοσμιότη@ καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀρετῆ συναιρομένη, πάντας ἀπειργάζετο, For, a Prayer, &c. The meaning is, *so great is the power of prayer, that it tameth the most savage Beasts.* Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, ἐυχὴ κοσμ. καὶ σωφ. ἀρετῆ σωαιρομένη, &c. *Vales.*

[k] Καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἄνδρα. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets* 'tis, καὶ ἰδεῖν. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning *Sibylla Erythræa*, who prophesied in an *Acrostick* of Verses, manifesting [Our] Lord and [His] Passion. The *Acrostick* is this; JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS.

BUt, *I am* * *desirous likewise of mentioning* [a] *some Testimonies concerning the Divinity of Christ, taken from Forreigners. For by this means, even they whose usage it is to speak reproachfully of Christ, will also acknowledge Him to be God and the Son of God; if they will give credit to the Discourses of their own party.* Sibylla Erythræa *therefore, who says that She lived in the Sixth Age after the Flood,* [b] *was the Priestess of Apollo: She wore a Crown on her head, in the same manner with that God who was worshipped by Her; and kept a* Tripod, *about which a Serpent was twisted; and gave forth Oracles to those who consulted Her: having* [c] *by the folly of Her Parents been enslaved to this worship, from which nothing that is decent and virtuous, but immodest Fury only is produced; agreeable to those very things which are related concerning* Daphne. *This woman therefore, entring in great hast one time into the* * Adyta *of Her unseasonable Superstition, and* [d] *being really filled with Divine Inspiration, uttered a Prophecy in verses, containing all those things which should happen in reference to God: plainly setting forth the History of the Advent of* Jesus, *by those Letters which stand in the front of every verse; which sort of Poem is termed an* Acrostick. *Now, the* Acrostick *is this,* JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS. *And Her Verses are these.*

* Or, *Ready to, mention, &c.*

[a] Τῶν ἀλλοδαπῶν τι μαρτύριον. The *Fuketian Copy* and *Kings Sheets* have it written μαρτυρίων, *Testimonies*; which is righter. For *Constantine* does not produce only one Testimony, but two. *Vales.*

[b] Ἱέρειαν τῦ Ἀπόλλων@. I embrace the amendment of Learned men, which I also found in *Moraus's Copy*; ἱέρεια ἦν τῦ Ἀπόλλων@, *was the Priestess of Apollo.* So indeed 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets*. Vales.

[c] Τῇ ἠλιθιότητι. He had better have said, διὰ τὴν ἠλιθιότητα. *Vales.*

* *Places in Heathen-Temples, which no body went into, but the Priests.*

[d] Καὶ θείας ὀπτηνοίας ὄντως ἠνωμένη μέση. Whatever persons amongst the *Christian* Writers, produced the Oracles of the *Sibylls* in confirmation of the *Christian* Faith; they were constrained to say the same concerning the *Sibylls*, which *Constantine* does here; namely, that being inspired by a Divine Spirit, they uttered predictions concerning Christ. So *Justin* in *his Paraenesis to the Grecians*; ἔστι δὲ ὑμῖν ῥᾴδιον δοσέβειαν ἐκ μέρους ἔξω τῆς παλαιᾶς σιβύλλης ἔκ τιν@ δυναστείας ὀπτηνούσας διὰ χρησμῶν ὑμᾶς διδασκούσης, μανθάνειν, &c; But, 'twill be easie for us, to learn the true worship of God, *in part from the Old Sibyll, who from some powerfull inspiration, teaches us by Oracles*, &c. Agreeably whereto S^t *Augustine* writes, in *his de Civitate Dei B.* 18. *Chap.* 23; and S^t *Jerome* in *his first Book against Jovinianus.* For he says, that Divination was by God allowed to the Sibylls, as a reward of their Virginity. And S^t *Austin* is not afraid of enrolling them in the City of God. But *Gregory Nazianzene* in *his Poem to Nemesius*, says that *Hermes Trismegistus* and *Sibylla*, whatever they predicted concerning God, *did not foretell those things by Divine Inspiration, but had them out of the Sacred Books of the Hebrews*, which they had incidently perused.

Οὐ θεόθεν, βίβλων δὲ ἐφαβλεύσασιν ἐμεῖο.

Indeed, *Gregory of Nazianzum*, and those most Holy Fathers of the Church did believe, that those verses were really composed by the *Sibylls*; whereas notwithstanding, they were made by idle people, and published for the *Sibyll's* Verses, about the times of the Emperour *Hadrian.* 'Tis certain, no writer ancienter than *Justin*, has made mention of them. And *Celsus*, who, as we have shown above, lived in the Empire of *Marcus Antoninus*, affirms that the *Christians* had forged and inserted many passages into the *Sibylline Verses*. *Origen* records his words, in B. 7. νῦν δὲ παρεγγεγράφειν μὴ εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα εἰκὸς δύναται. I know indeed, that *Origen* denies this.

For

For thus he anſwers *Celſus*; that he ought to produce ancienter Copies of the *Sibylline Verſes*, wherein thoſe verſes, which he ſaid had been inſerted by the *Chriſtians*, were not in any wiſe to be found. It might doubtleſs have been eaſie for *Celſus* to do that, and by this argument to have evinced the falſity of thoſe verſes. But, there are other arguments, whereby this may be proved. For, if the *Sibyll*'s Predictions concerning Chriſt had been ſo clear, why has not S^t *Paul* made uſe of Her Teſtimony, in his Epiſtles, and when he ſpoke to the *Athenians*; eſpecially, in regard he diſdained not to cite *Aratus*, and other Heathen-Poets. Doubtleſs, if the *Sibyll* had written this *Acroſtick* concerning Chriſt, there is no reaſon, why we ſhould ſcruple to reckon Her amongſt the Prophets, and even in the firſt place. For, none of the Ancient *Hebrew-Prophets* wrote ſo clearly and diſtinctly of Chriſt, as are theſe verſes of the *Sibyll*, produced by *Conſtantine*. And yet, neither *Origen*, nor any of the Holy Fathers ever allowed this, that the *Sibylls* ſhould be reckoned amongſt the Prophets: yea, they eſteemed thoſe who believed thus, to be Hereticks; and termed them *Sibylliſtæ*, as *Origen* informs us in *his fifth Book againſt Celſus*. Where he anſwers *Celſus*, who had objected, that the *Chriſtians* were divided into ſeveral Sects; for, that ſome of them were *Pſychici*, others *Spiritales*; that ſome of them worſhipped the God of the *Jews*, others did not; that ſome, were *Sibylliſtæ*, &c. His words are theſe; εἶπε δέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ σιβυλλιστὰς· πάνυ ὀφθῆναι φιλοκάλους τινῶν ἐγκαλούντων τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσι θεοφόρητον γεγονέναι τὴν σίβυλλαν, καὶ σιβυλλιστὰς τοὺ τοιούτους καλεσάντων. Valeſ.

* I had at firſt reſolved, to have put theſe *Greek Verſes* into an *Engliſh Acroſtick*, that is, to have made every verſe begin with one of the Letters of theſe words [*Jeſus Chriſt, Son of God, Saviour, Croſs*] in their due order; as they do in the Original: agreeably whereto *Valeſius*, *Muſculus*, *Chriſtophorſon*, and *Curterius* have done them into *Latine Verſe*. But, on tryal I found it a thing very difficult (at leaſt to me) to be well performed in our Language. Beſides, I judged it a matter of leſs conſequence to omit the *Acroſtick*, than to give the Reader a lame and imperfect Verſion of the Original. Which muſt neceſſarily have been done, had I been tied up to begin every Verſe with one of thoſe particular Letters.

* When the Great Day of Judgment ſhall appear,
The melting Earth ſhall then diſſolve with fear.
A King Immortal ſhall from Heav'n deſcend,
At whoſe Tribunal the whole world attend.
Both Juſt and Wicked ſhall, when Time grows old,
Their mighty God in fleſh array'd behold;
Armies of Saints on His Right hand ſhall come,
Whilſt Humane Souls expect their final doom.
Th' Univerſe ſhall be a dry Barren Strand,
And Thorns ſhall flouriſh on the ſcorched Land.

Men ſhall with indignation caſt away
Their Wealth, and Idols in that dreadfull day.
The parched Earth, and Heaven in flames ſhall fry,
And [c] ſearching fire drain the Ocean dry:
All fleſh which in the Grave impriſon'd lay,
Shake off their Fetters, and return to Day.

[c] Ἰχνέυων. This verſe was omitted; from *Moræus*'s *Book*, the *Fuketian Copy*, the *Kings Sheets*, and from *that Edition of the Sibylline Verſes, which Seb. Caſtalio publiſhed*, it is to be ſupplied in this manner,

Ἐκκαύσει δὲ τὸ πῦρ γῆν, θέρμον τὴ δὲ θάλασσαν
Ἰχνεύων·

Although I had rather read ἰχνεῦον, in the *Neuter Gender*. Now, that this verſe was omitted, we are informed from the *Old Verſion* in Saint *Auſtin*, *de Civit. Dei*, B. 18, *Chap.* 23; which runs thus:

Exuret terras ignis, pontumque polumque
Inquirens.

Further, they had expunged this *Greek Verſe*, for this reaſon, becauſe the *Acroſtick* ſeemed to be entire without it. Nor did they perceive that in the *Acroſtick*, the name of *Chriſt* is written with a *diphthong*, thus, χρειστὸς: the reaſon of doing which I don't underſtand. Yet the *Latine Acroſtick* in Saint *Auſtin* has retained it. Indeed, the *Old Greeks* made the name of *Chriſt* to conſiſt of eight Letters, writing it χρειστὸς, with a *diphthong*, as *Irenæus* informs us, *Book* 1. *Chap.* 10. Valeſ.

Fire 'twixt Good and Bad ſhall diff'rence make,
And filthy Droſs from purer Metal take.
Mens ſecret Deeds ſhall all be open lay'd,
And th' obſcure Mazes of their Hearts diſplay'd.
Gnaſhing their Teeth, they ſhall their Fate bewail:
The Stars harmonious daunce, and th' Sun ſhall fail.
[f] The Orbs rol'd up, ſhrink into darkeſt night,
The Labouring Moon ſhall loſe her borrow'd light.

[f] Οὐρανὸν εἰλίξει. So the reading is in the ordinary Edition of the *Sibylline Verſes*. The *Old Verſion* does likewiſe confirm this writing; for thus it runs, *Volvetur Cœlum*, &c. Yet I doubt not but it ſhould be made εἰλίξειν. For ἐκλείψει is underſtood, which occurs a little before. *Valeſ.*

Mountains with Plains on the ſame Level lye;
Valleys ſhall gape no more, nor Hills be high.
On the proud Billows Ships ſhall ride no more:
And Lightning the Earth's Face ſhall ſhrivel ſore.
The [g] crackling Rivers with fierce Fire ſhall burn,
Which ſhall their ſtreams to ſolid Chryſtal turn.

[g] Ποταμοὶ καχλάζοντες. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is, ποταμοί τε καχλάζοντες, &c. *Valeſ.*

The Heav'nly Trump ſhall blow a dolefull ſound,
[h] And th' worlds deſtruction, and its ſin reſound.

[h] Ὠρύσσει τὸ μέλλον.

In *Caſtalio's Edition* this verſe is written thus,

Ὠρύσσει μύσῳ μελέων καὶ πήματα κόσμε

which reading the *Old Verſion* in Saint *Auſtin* confirms; where 'tis thus rendred

Sed Tuba tunc ſonitum triſtem dimittet ab alto
Orbe, gemens facinus miſerum varioſque Labores.

In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ὠρύσσει μέλῳ καὶ πήματα κόσμε. Valeſ.

The yawning Earth [i] Hell's vaſt Abyſs ſhall ſhow;
All Kings before God's juſt Tribunal go.

[i] Ταρταρέην χάος. In the Edition of the *Sibylline Verſes*, the reading is truer, thus

Ταρτάρεον δὲ χάος τότε δείξει γαῖα χανοῦσα.
Valeſ.

Then Liquid Sulphur from the Skye ſhall ſtream,
God ſhall pour down Rivers of vengefull flame.
All men ſhall then the Glorious Croſs deſcry,
That wiſht-for ſign unto a faithfull eye:
The Life of pious Souls, their chief delight;
To Sinners an offence, a diſmal ſight:
[k] Enlightening the called with its beams,
When cleans'd from ſin in twice ſix limpid ſtreams.

[k] Φωτίζων πιστὸς, *enlightening Believers*. In the *Edition of the Sibylline Verſes* the reading is κλητὸς, *the call'd*; which I am better pleaſed with, both becauſe the term πιστὸς is made uſe of a little before, and alſo in regard it cannot be rightly ſaid of the Faithfull, that they are illuminated by Baptiſm. For the Faithfull are not enlightned by Baptiſm, but the Gentiles rather who are called to the Faith. But, after they ſhall have been illuminated by the Sacred Laver, then they are termed the Faithfull. Farther, the twelve Streams denote, as I ſuppoſe, *the twelve Apoſtles*. Valeſ.

His Empire ſhall be boundleſs, and that God
[l] Shall Rule the Wicked with an Iron Rod.
This God, Immortal King, deſcrib'd in Verſe,
Our Saviour, dying ſhall man's doom Reverſe.

[l] Ῥάβδῳ ποιμαίνουσι. *Betuleius* has well remarked, that the *Sibyll* does allude here to the *ſecond Pſalm*. ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, *Thou ſhalt rule* [*or, feed*] *them with a Rod of Iron*. Whence it appears, that what we have obſerved above from *Gregory Nazianzene*, is true; namely, that the *Sibyll*, or whoever wrote the *Sibylline Verſes*, hath borrowed many paſſages out of the Sacred Scriptures. Therefore, in my opinion 'tis plain, that theſe Verſes (as *Cicero* has long ſince told us,) were not publiſhed by a *Sibyll* poſſeſt with a Prophetick Fury; but were written with a conſiderate and compoſed mind, by ſome body under the Cover of a *Sibyll*'s name. *Valeſ.*

And theſe things were predicted by the Virgin, who ('tis likely) was divinely inſpired. But, I judge Her to be bleſſed on this very account, becauſe our Saviour has made choice of Her to be a Propheteſs of his own Providence and Care in relation to us.

CHAP. XIX.

That this Prophecy concerning Our Saviour, was not forged by any of the *Christians*; but was written by *Sibylla Erythræa*, whose Books *Cicero* rendred into Latine Verse, before the coming of Christ. And, that *Virgil* makes mention of this *Sibyll*, as also of a Virgin delivered of a Child: but He sang of this Mystery, * obscurely; out of a fear of those then in power.

* Or, *In Riddles.*

[a] In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Old Sheets*, this chapter is begun from these words; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τῇ παρθένῳ, &c; *And these things were predicted*, &c; after the end of the *Acrostick*. Valef.

[a] BUt, *many persons (although they confess* Sibylla Erythræa *to have been a Prophetess, yet) disbelieve* [*this prediction.*] *For they suspect, that some body of our Religion, not unskilled in the Art of Poetry, made these Verses, and put a false Title to them, and affirmed them to be the Predictions of the* Sibyll; *in regard they contain Sentences that are of great use to the Life of man, whereby both the immoderate use of pleasures is restrained, and a way also is opened to a sober and temperate Life.* [b] *But, the Truth it self is apparent and exposed to the view of all men; in as much as the diligence of* * *those who profess our Religion, hath made so accurate a Collection of the* Series *of Times, that no body can now suspect, that that Poem was composed after the Coming and Condemnation of Christ*; [*nor can it be now supposed,*] *that the common Report is false, namely, that these Verses were long before by way of Prophecy uttered by the* Sibyll. *For, 'tis by common consent acknowledged, that* [c] Cicero, *after he had read this Poem, translated it into* Latine, *and inserted it into his own Works. This* Cicero *was taken off by* Antony, *whilest he was in power. Again,* Antony *was vanquished by* Augustus, *who reigned six and fifty years. His successour was* Tiberius: *in which time the presence of our Saviour shined upon the World, and the Mystery of the Most Holy Religion began to flourish, and a* [d] *new Progeny and Succession of people was* † *established. Concerning which, 'tis my Sentiment, that the* Prince of the Latine Poets *speaks, in these words.*

[b] Ἐν φανερᾷ δ' ἀληθείᾳ. I embrace *Christophorson*'s Emendation, who read ἐν φανερᾷ δὲ ἡ ἀληθεία, *But, the truth it self*, &c. *Valef.*

* Or, *Our men.*

[c] The passage in *Cicero*, which *Constantine* means, is extant in *his second Book de Divinatione*, where he makes mention of some Verses of the *Sibyll*, and of an *Acrostick*. But, that *Acrostick* spoken of by *Cicero*, can no way be proved to be the very same, with this which *Constantine* produces here. Yea, the contrary may be gathered from *Cicero*'s words. For, in that *Acrostick* mentioned by *Cicero*, the *Romans* were warned, that they should choose themselves a King, if they would be safe; as *Cicero* does there attest. Therefore, the first Letters of those Verses shewed, as 'tis probable, the name of *Julius Cæsar*. But in this *Acrostick* produced by *Constantine*, there is no such thing extant. Wherefore 'tis not to be doubted, but *Cicero* meant an *Acrostick* different from this, though *Sebastianus Castalio* thought otherwise, as did likewise several other persons. Besides, what *Constantine* adds is false; namely, that *Cicero* rendred this *Greek Acrostick* concerning Christ, into *Latine*, and inserted it into his own Books. *Valef.*

† *Begun*, or, *instituted.*

[d] Νέα τῷ δήμῳ διαδοχή. Here also we must acknowledge the unskilfullness of the Translatour, who has made use of δήμῳ instead of ἔθνος. For δήμῳ χειστιανῶν is no good expression; but it should be ἔθνῳ χειστιανῶν. *Valef.*

[c] Νέων πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐφαάνθη. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets*, I found it written νέα πλῆθος. *Valef.*

Now from high Heaven springs a [c] new progeny.

And again, in another [f] *place of* His Bucolicks.

[f] Βυκολικῶν τόπων. 'Tis apparent that it must be made τόπῳ, *place*. And so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Further, neither the *Fuketian Manuscript*, nor the *Old Sheets*, begin a new chapter here. *Valef.*

Sicilian Muses, Sing we one Note higher.

What is plainer than this? For He adds.

Last times are come, *Cumæa*'s Prophecy.

Meaning namely Sibylla Cumæa. *Nor is he content herewith; but has proceeded farther; as if necessity it self required His Testimony. What says He therefore?*

And Time's great Order now again is born.
The maid Returns, *Saturnian* Realmes return.

Who therefore is that Virgin which returns? Is it not She, who was full of, and great with child by the Divine Spirit? And what hinders, but She who is great with child by the Divine Spirit, should always be a maid, and continue a Virgin? [*The wisht-for King*] [g] *shall also return again, and by His coming shall comfort the world. For the Poet adds.*

[g] Ἐπανήξει δὲ ὁ ἐν δευτέρων. Add these words ὁ ἐρατὸς βασιλεύς, *the wisht-for King*; of whom mention is made in the last Verse

Ἥκει παρθένῳ αὖθις, ἄγει δ' ἐρατὸν βασιλῆα.

Nevertheless, in *Virgil*'s Verse there is no such expression as this. But *Constantine*, as it may be supposed, had altered *Virgil*'s Verses a little; and had designedly expunged *Saturn*'s name, that he might serve his own design. *Valef.*

[h] To th' infant, chast Lucina, favouring be,
Who ending iron ages, through all lands
Shall golden plant:——
If any prints of our old Vice remain'd
By Thee they'r Void, [i] and Fear shall leave the land.

[h] Τὸν δ' νεωσὶ πω. The last word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets*. But *Turnebus* had noted at the margin of his Book, that perhaps it should be written πάλιν. *Valef.*

[i] Καὶ στυγαί τε. This verse is in my judgment to be restored thus;

Ἀλγεά τε στυγαί τε κεδνάσουται ἀλιτρῶν.

But the verse which precedes this, wants no mending. Yet, in the *Fuketian Copy* and *Turnebus's Book*, 'tis written thus,

Τῷ μὲν δὲ ἄρχοντι τὰ μὲν ἕλκεα πάντα βεβήλεια.

Valef.

Which words we perceive to be spoken plainly, and also obscurely by way of Allegory. *For,* [k] *to those who make deeper Researches into the force and meaning of the Verses,* [*to them I say*] *they give a clear prospect of Christ's Divinity.* [l] *But, least any one of the* Grandees *in the Imperial City, might take occasion to accuse the Poet, because he had written* [*what was*] *repugnant to the Laws of his own Country, and had overthrown the Opinions concerning the Gods, which had in former times been delivered by their Ancestours;* [*on this account*] *he designedly obscures the truth. For he knew, I*

[k] Τοῖς μὲν βαθύτερον. I read τοῖς μὲν δὲ βαθύτερον, &c; or rather βαθύτερος. And a little after, where the reading is τῆς τῆ χειστῷ θεότητος, *Christ's Divinity*; these words seem necessary to be added, ἄγει πλὴν παρουσίαν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis written, πλὴν τῆ χειστῷ θεότητα ἄγοντα; and so 'tis in Sr *Henry Savils Book*. Valef.

[l] Ὅπως τε μὲ πῆς. I write, ὅπως δὲ μή πῃς, &c, *But, least any one*, &c; which is an amendment wholly necessary, and 'tis strange to me, that neither *Scaliger*, nor any of the other Correctors saw it. For whereas these words, τοῖς μὲν βαθύτερον, &c, went before; of necessity it must follow here, ὅπως δὲ, &c; that the sense may be compleat. For *Constantine* says that *Virgil* spoke both plainly, and obscurely. And, that he had obscurely intimated the Divinity and Advent of our Saviour: but, had spoken plainly and openly after the manner of the Heathens, and had named Altars and Temples. The *Fuketian Copy* confirms our conjecture; wherein 'tis written exactly so, as I had long before guess'd it should be. *Valef.*

suppose,

[m] Ἐπώνυμον τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τελετῆς. I reade τελετῆς, *Mystery*; as *Christophorson* likewise read. He has made use of ἐπώνυμον, instead of σωτήριον. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis τελεπτῶ. *Vales.*

suppose, the Blessed and Salutary [m] *Mystery of our Saviour. Therefore, to the end he might avoid the outragious Cruelty* [*of men,*] *He led the minds of His hearers, to an usage whereto they were accustomed: and says, that Altars must be erected, and Temples built, and Sacrifices performed to the New-born Child. The other words which He has subjoyned, are likewise agreeable;* [*in favour*] *to those who might entertain such Sentiments. For he says.*

CHAP. XX.

Other Verses of *Virgilius Maro*'s concerning Christ, and the interpretation of them; in which 'tis shown, but obscurely, as the usage of Poets is, that *The Mystery* is disclosed.

HE a God's life shall take, with Gods shall see
Mixt *Heroes*, and Himself their Object be:
Namely the just.
Rule with paternal power th' appeased earth,
Which shall to Thee (sweet child) undreſt, bring (forth
Berries, [a] wild Ivy, and shall pay First-Fruits
Of mixt *Acanthus*, with *Egyptian* Roots.

[a] Κιττὸν. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned man had mended it at the margin, κισσὸς; that it might answer to *Virgils Verse, Errantes Hederas, Wild Ivy.* But the *Greek Rendition* is looser and less bound up to the Original; and in many places 'tis far wide of *Virgils* meaning. *Vales.*

Farther, this admirable person, a man that was accomplisht with all manner of Literature; in regard he had an accurate knowledge of the Cruelty of those times; [*has added these words;*]

(bear:
[b] The Goates themselves shall home full udders
Nor shall the Herds the mighty Lyons fear.

[b] Σοὶ δὲ ὦ παῖς. I doubt not but it should be written,

Σοὶ δ' ἄγραι δαλεροῖς μασῖς ὑπαβρεμιδιῶσι.

Which emendation is so necessary, that without it the sense is not plain. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* the reading is, σοὶ δὲ παῖς δαλερὰ φησι, &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis, σοὶ δὲ παῖς δαλερὸν φησὶ μασδὸν, &c. *Vales.*

Wherein he speaks very true. For Faith will not be afraid of the Grandees of the Imperial Palace.

[c] Flowers shall thy cradle sprout; the Serpent shall,
And the deceitfull herb of [d] Venome fall:
In each place * Roses of *Assyria* grow.

* Or, *Amomum.*

[c] Ἄνθεα αὐτὰ. The *Fuketian Copy* instead of these words, has these ἄστ' ἐνιπὴν: *the Sheets*, ἄστ' ἐνιπὴν. *Vales.*

[d] Ὄλλυται πόωσι. With *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*, I read ποίη. For it answers to those words of *Virgil*, *& fallax herba veneni.* But in *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended at the margin, ὄλλυται ἄτη. But, if you had rather reade πόη, then it must be made ὄλλυτε, that the verse may stand good. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ποιήσεως. In *the Kings Sheets*, πόωσις. *Vales.*

[e] Τούτων τ' ἄμεν. At my peril write, τοῦτον δὲ ὕδεν ἀληθέστερον, &c: in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis τούτων ὕδεν. *Vales.*

[e] *Than which nothing truer, nothing can be said more agreeable to our Saviour's Excellency and Virtue. For the power of the Holy Ghost hath presented the very Cradle of God, as 'twere some most fragrant flowers, to a* [f] *new Generation. But the Serpent is destroyed, and the poyson of that Serpent* [*is taken away,*] *who first deceived our First Parents, seducing their Minds from their innate* [*Temperance*] *to the enjoyment of pleasures;*

[f] Νεολαίαν. In *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended, νεολαῖα ὤπασε γόνα. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Copy.* But in *the Sheets* 'tis νεολεία. Further, the meaning of this place is very intricate. *Musculus* renders it thus; *Ipsis namque Dei Cunabulis Spiritûs Sancti Virtus fragrantes quosdam flores, novum scilicet progeniem dedit. For, to the very Cradle of God, the power of the Holy Spirit hath given some fragrant flowers, to wit a new progeny.* But *Christophorson* translates it in this manner; *Ipsa enim Dei Cunabula Spiritû Sancti Virtute fragrantes flores novæ soboli extulerunt; For the very Cradle of God by the power of the Holy Spirit, hath brought forth fragrant flowers to a New off spring. Musculus* therefore read αὐτοῖς ἀπεφαίνοις νεολαίαν γόνον. But *Christophorson* only read δυνάμει instead of δύναμις; which I rather approve of. By νεολαίαν γόνον he means the new people of the *Christians:* concerning whom *Virgil* hath spoken above, in this Verse;

Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.

Vales.

[g] *that they might* [*not*] *understand the destruction which hung over them. For, before the Coming of our Saviour,* [*that Serpent*] *had* * *Subverted the minds of men, which were blinded with an ignorance of the immortality of the Just, and* † *Buoy'd up with no hope that was profitable and advantagious. But after His Passion, when the Body wherewith he was clothed, had for some time been separated,* [*from His most Holy Soul;*] [h] *by the Communication of the Holy Ghost, the* [i] *possibility of a Resurrection was discovered to men: and if any spot of humane impieties were left remaining, it was wholly washt off in the Holy Laver. Then 'twas, that* [*Christ*] *ordered His Subjects to take courage; and from His adorable and most illustrious Resurrection, commanded them to hope for the like things. On a good account therefore it is spoken, that the Nature of things venomous is destroyed. Death it self is likewise destroyed; and the Resurrection is* * *confirmed.* [k] *Moreover, the Stock of the Assyrians is destroyed also, who were the first beginners and chief promoters of a faith in God.*

* *Broken,* or, *discouraged.*

† *Held up,* or *sustained.*

* Or, *Sealed.*

[g] Ὅπως γνοῖεν. I have added a Negative particle here; thus, ὅπως μὴ γνοῖεν, *that they might not understand*; which emendation the following words do mightily confirm. But if any one shall have a mind to defend the ordinary reading, I shall not much gainsay it, in regard both may be maintained. *Vales.*

[h] Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κοινωνίας. *Constantine* had made use of the term *Spirit*, instead of *Soul.* But the Translatour seems to have taken it as meant of the Holy Spirit; as if *Christ* had had His Divinity in place of a Soul, which was the Heresie of *pollinaris.* In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the word χωρισθέντος, *separated*, a *Comma* is placed. Wherefore it is to be considered, whether those words, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κοινωνίας, ought to be joyned with these which follow, ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, &c; or rather to be parted from them by a *Comma*; that the meaning may be this; *that by the communication of the Holy Spirit, which Christ after His passion poured upon men, the possibility of a Resurrection was manifested.* Vales.

[i] Τὸ δύνασθαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως. I don't approve of *Christophorsons* Version, who has rendred this place thus, *Resurrectionis vis hominibus patefacta est, the power of a Resurrection was made known to men.* Nor has *Johannes Portesius* rendred it otherwise. But, I question not, but τὸ δύνασθαι has the same import with that expresst in my Version. *Constantine* says therefore, that 'twas made known to men after Christ's death, that 'twas possible for Bodies to rise. For before, the faith of a Resurrection was dark and obscure, even amongst the *Jews.* Which was the reason, that they feared death so much. *Vales.*

[k] Ἀπώλετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχηγεῖον γόνος. *Christophorson* hath interpolated this place, by blotting out the two former words. Sr *Henry Savil* also in his Book has expunged these words, ἀπώλετο δὲ, in the same manner with *Christophorson.* But both those persons are much mistaken. For *Constantine*, whose skill in Grammer was but mean, had construed *Virgils* Verse in this manner;

Occidet Assyrium: *Vulgò nascetur* Amomum.
The Assyrian [*Stock*] *shall fall:* Amomum *shall grow every where.*

And this is evident, both from this place, and also from the Version of

of the Greek Translatour, who renders this Verse of *Virgil* thus, ἀσύφελον τ' ὄιχεται· ἀλλὰ δὲ χῆ τέμπ' ἀμώμον. For so this Verse is worded in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, and exactly according to *Constantine*'s mind. Farther, as to this whole *Eclog* of *Virgil*'s, the *Christians* always affirmed, that it was translated out of the *Sibylline Verses*, and ought to be understood concerning *Christ*'s Birth. Nor can these words be spoken of any body else, but of *Christ*,

Hoc duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.

Thus, besides *Constantine*, S^t *Austin* understood these words, in *his Epistle to Volusianus*, and in *his* 155 *Epist.* In *his Epistle to Volusianus*, he gives this interpretation of the *Assyrian Amomum*, namely that thereby is meant the Opinion of *Pherecydes* the *Assyrian*, who was the first that asserted the Immortality of the Soul. But this interpretation of S^t *Austin* can't be born with, in regard *Pherecydes* was not an *Assyrian*; but, a *Syrian*, that is, of the Island *Syros*. Wherefore, *Constantine*'s explanation is to be preferred, who says, that by the name *Amomum the Faithfull* or the *Christians* are meant; because they are ἄμωμοι, that is *without fault*. But, that 'tis therefore termed *Assyrium*, because from the *Assyrians* sprang the first beginning of Faith. For *Abraham* an *Assyrian*, was the first who believed in God; whence he had the Name of *the Father of Believers*. Vales.

* Or, *Our Ladies rose.*

[i] Πλὴθος δὲ θρησκευόντων θεοσεβείᾳ. I embrace S^t *Henry Savil*'s conjecture, who at the margin of his Book has noted, that perhaps it should be θεαγωγείᾳ. *Vales.*

And whereas he says, that * Amomum *shall grow every where*, [i] *he gives the multitude of the* Christians *that appellation. Which* [*multitude,*] *like a vast number of branches flourishing with most fragrant flowers, springs from one and the same root. Most Learnedly spoken, O* Maro, *Thou wisest of Poets! And all the following words are likewise agreeable hereto.*

As soon as Thou the *Hero*'s praise shalt know
And read Thy Father's Acts,
And unto Virtue's knowledge can'st attain:

By the praises of the Heroes, *he means the Works of just men: and he terms the Constitution of the world and its accurate composure which is to last for ever, the Virtues or Acts of the Father. Perhaps also* [*he means thereby*] *the Laws, which the Church, beloved by God, does make use of*; * *directing to such a Course of life as is correspondent to* [*the Precepts of*] *Justice and Temperance. But, the* † *raising of the Life of men (who stand in some middle rank between the Good and Bad,)* [m] *to things more sublime, is worthy of admiration also; when as notwithstanding,* [*such a life*] *admits not of any sudden alteration.*

* Or, *Following.*

† Or, *Enlargement.*

[m] Τὸ ἀνημμένον παραύξησις. The *Preposition* must be added, which by mistake was omitted in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; thus, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνημμένον. For so 'tis written in the *Kings Sheets*, and in *Turnebus's*, and *Moræus's Book*. But I am better pleased with that reading, which is proposed from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; which I likewise found in the *Fuketian Copy*; viz. ὄπῃ τὸ ἀνηρμένον. For, ἀνάγειν is a Verb proper to the *Platonick Philosophy*, out of which several passages in many places of this Oration are taken. Hence comes the *Sensus Anagogicus*, the *Mystick Sense*, which occurs frequently in *Proclus*; and that saying of *Plotinus*, extolled by *Synesius*, δεῖ ἀνάγειν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον πρὸς τὸ ὅλως θεῖον. *Vales.*

The Fields shall mellow wax with golden grain.

That is, the Fruit of the Divine Law shall be produced for the use [*of men.*]

The blushing grape shall hang on Thorns, unset;

Which things were not at all visible in the wicked and depraved life [*of men.*]

And th' hardned Oakes with dewy hony sweat.

[*In which words*] *he describes the folly and hardned temper of mind, of the men who then lived. And perhaps he likewise shews, that those who on God's account have* [n] *been exercised with Labour, shall receive some sweet fruit of their own patient sufferance.*

[n] Τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόνων ἀνέσεως. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ πόνον ἀνέσεως. I write therefore, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ πόνον ἀνεῦσεως, *those who on God's*, &c; which emendation is most undoubtedly certain. *Constantine* explains that Verse of *Virgil*'s;

Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella.

He says therefore, that by this verse is meant those who undergo most sore labours for God's cause, or on God's account, shall receive most sweet fruit of their Labours. *Vales.*

Some steps of ancient fraud shall yet be found:
Thetis to tempt with Ships, and to surround
Cities with walls, bids Earth in furrows tear.
A second *Typhis*, a new *Argo* bear
Choice *Heroes:* and another War, imploy
Again a Great *Achilles* sent to *Troy*.

Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets! For Thou hast * *advanced* [o] *Poetick Licence as far as it was becoming. For, it was not Thy designe to utter Oracles, in regard Thou wert not a Prophet. I suppose likewise, that the present danger was an hindrance, which danger hung over their heads, who would go about to confute those Rites instituted by their Ancestours. As warily therefore, and as safely as 'twas possible, He has represented the Truth to those who are able to understand it, whilst he lays the blame upon Towers and Wars, which at this very present are really visible in the Life of men; and describes our Saviour going to the* Trojan *War. Now, by* Troy [*He means*] *the whole world.* [p] *For* [*Christ*] *waged a War against the opposed Forces of wickedness; His Mission into the world being occasioned partly from the good will and pleasure of his own providence, and partly from the Order of the Supream Father. But, what says the Poet after these words?*

* *Exercised*, or, *made use of.*

[o] Τὴν καὶ ποιητικὴν ἔξουσίαν. I like *Portesius's Version*, (who renders it *Poeticæ Licentiam*,) better than *Christophorson's*, who translates it *poeticam facultatem*, as *Musculus* had likewise rendred it. For *Græcians* term that ἔξουσίαν, which the *Latines* call *Poeticam Licentiam*, *Poetick Licence*; as, I remember, it frequently occurs in *Themistius*. Further, the *Old Sheets* begin a new chapter here, from these words ὦ σοφώτατε ποιητά, *Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets!* Which in my judgment is better. Here therefore the *twentieth chapter* is to be placed. *Vales.*

[p] Ἐπολέμησεν ἀντικρυς τῆς ἀντικειμένης. In the *Fuketian Copy* and *Turnebus's Book*, this place is written thus; ἐπολέμησε γὰρ ἀντικρυς μὴ τῆς ἀντικειμένης καὶ πονηρᾶς δυναμεως. But S^t *Henry Savil* had mended it in *his Copy*, ἐπολέμησε γὰρ ἀντικρυς καὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης. *Vales.*

Here when full years shall make Thee perfect man,

That is, when, after Thou art arrived at Man's Estate, Thou shalt have pluckt up by the roots those Mischiefs, which infest the Life of men; and shalt have adorned the whole world with Peace.

[q] The Saylor shall forsake the Ocean;
Nor navigable pines shall traffick Ware;
But each part of the world shall all things bear.

[q] Οὐ χ ὅσοι αὐτοῖσιν. Who sees not, that it should be written, ἃ χ ὅσοι ναύτησιν, &c. In the third verse from hence, I read αὐτὴ δ' ἀπαρξῖ: for γαῖα is understood. *Vales.*

* Nor earth feel harrows, nor the vine the hook;—

* After this verse, there is one of *Virgils* verses left out, in this quotation of *Constantine's*; this namely; *Robustus quoque jam tauris juga Solvet Arator*; that is, *Nor shall his Steers the brawny Tiller yoak.* Besides this, some other verses are left out hereafter, in this quotation.

Nor

Nor wool with various colours shall deceive.
But in the meadows Rams [r] shall scarlet have;
And changing, sometimes golden fleeces wear.
And feeding Lambs shall native purple bear.---
Attempt great honours, for the time draws near,
Dear Race of Gods, Great Stock of *Jupiter*!
Behold! The world shakes on its ponderous axe,
See, Earth, and Heavens immense, and th' Ocean's (tracts;
How all things at th' approaching Age rejoyce!
Oh that my [f] Life would last so long, and voyce,
As would suffice Thy Actions to rehearse:
Not *Orpheus* then should vanquish me in Verse,
Nor *Linus*, though their Parents present be;---
Should *Pan* strive with me, by *Arcadia's* doom,
Although a God, *Pan* should be overcome.

[r] Παρτρέφει λευκάσπιν. I had rather write παρπρέφει, as 'tis in *the Sheets*. For πρέπειν τῇ ἑαυτῆ is an elegant phrase. I also write πάρα, in a word by it self, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*.

A little after, I would rather reade ὄφρα εὐπικτα δάμεθλα, in the *Imperative*. For 'tis a rendition of this Verse of *Virgil's*, *Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum*. Valef.

[f] Ζῶντά τ' ἔχε νήδυμον ἰαχύς. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned man hath mended it, ζῶντά γ' ἔχε. But, neither is the Verse made good this way. Wherefore, I should rather reade ζῶντα σχῇ. For these words are spoken in the *Optative Mood*. In the following Verse write σὴν ἀρετὴν, from *Moræus's Book*. This Amendment admits of no doubt. But, concerning the former we must think further. For that place may, I think, be restored with less trouble, if you alter the punctation only, in this manner,

Γηθόσυνόν τ' ἀιῶνι ἀπειρεσίῳ κάσμον κῆρ
Εἶδέ μι γηγενέων, ζῶντά τ' ἔχε νήδυμον ἰαχύς.
Σὴν ἀρετὴν κελαδεῖν, &c.

Nothing more certain. Ἔχε is put for ἔχοι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ζῶντά γε νήδυμον ἰαχύς. σὴν ἀρετὴν, &c; without the Verb ἔχε. Further, the Reader is to be acquainted, that all these Verses of *Virgil*, as well in the *Fuketian Copy*, as in *the Sheets*, are not written from the head; but the first words only of every Verse are severed some little space from the preceding. Which is therefore done, because these Verses are not recited without intermission, but with frequent interlocutions of *Constantine's*. Valef.

* Or, Immense. *Behold, says he, the Joy of the * tottering World, and of all the Elements.*

CHAP. XXI.

That 'tis impossible for these things to be spoken concerning a meer Man: and, that unbelievers, by reason of their ignorance of the Divine worship, know not even whence they have their being.

SOme one of their number, whose Sentiments have less of prudence in them, will perhaps suppose, that these things are spoken concerning the Birth of a man. [a] *But, what reason can there be assigned, that upon the Birth of a Son of Man, the earth should be unsown and unplowed; and, that the Vine should not need the edge of the Hook, nor any other care or cultivation? How can these things be thought to be spoken concerning the Off-spring of a Man?* [b] *For Nature is the Handmaid of the Divine Will, and does not execute humane Commands. Besides, the Joy of [all] the Elements denotes the Advent of God, not the Birth of any Man. And this, namely the Poets praying that the term of his Life might be prolonged, is a certain Evidence of Divine Invocation. For, 'tis our usage to ask life and safety of God, not of men. Thus therefore* Sibylla Erythræa *[speaks] to God. Why, O Lord, says She, dost Thou lay upon Me a necessity of Prophesying; and not rather keep Me, raised on high from the Earth, until the day of Thy Most Blessed Coming? But* Maro *adds these Verses also, to those we have quoted above.*

[a] Ποῖον δὲ ἔχει λόγον. I had rather write, ποίῳ ἂν ἔχοι λόγῳ; and have rendred it accordingly. *Valef.*

[b] Ἤτοι γάρτοι φύσις. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis ἤτε γὰρ φύσις, For Nature, &c. *Valef.*

[c] Begin Sweet Child, with smiles Thy Mother (know:
Who ten long Months did with thy burthen go.
Sweet Child begin: [d] cheer'd by no parents look,
To's Board no God, t' Her Bed no Goddess took.

[c] Ἄρχεο μειδιόων ἀνορῶν. *Robert Stephens* was the first that published this Verse in this manner, from conjecture as I suppose. For in the *Kings Sheets* and the *Fuketian Copy*, it is written thus, ἄρχεο μειδιῶν ὃς ἂν ὁρῶν, &c. From which words it was most easie to restore the true reading of this place. Thus therefore I mend it;

Ἄρχεο μειδιόωσαν ὁρῶν τὸν μητέρα κεδνὴν
γνωεί̈ζειν.

Than which emendation, there is nothing more certain. *Valef.*

[d] Σοὶ δὲ γονεῖς ὑ πάμπαν. Neither *Constantine*, nor the *Greek Translatour* apprehended the true meaning of *Virgil's* words. For, he understood them in this manner, as if *Virgil* had said, that the Parents had not smiled on the child; nor, had a God taken him to his Table, nor a Goddess to her Bed. *Constantine* supposed, that that verse of *Virgil*,

Incipe parve puer cui non risere parentes, &c.

was to be read in one breath, without any distinction or stop: whereas nevertheless, after the word *puer*, a point is to be set; a thing which even Boyes know. *Christophorson*, because he perceived not this, interpolated *Constantine's* following words, by adding a Negative, against the mind of the Authour, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies. Farther, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἐφημείως ἐγέλασαν; which is truer, if I mistake not. Indeed, in *the sheets* 'tis ἐφημειώς. *Valef.*

For how should his Parents have smiled on him? [e] *For God, who is His Father, is a Power void of Quality. And He Himself wants all figure, but [exists] in the circumscription of others; nor is he endued with an humane Body. Who likewise is ignorant, that* [f] *the Spirit of God is* * *unconcern'd in a Marriage Bed? For, what desire, what* † *Appetite [can there be] in the affection of the chiefest Good, whereof all other things are desirous? What can be wholly common to Wisedom and Pleasure?* [g] *But, it may be permitted them to speak these things, who [feign to themselves] a certain humane [Generation of Christ:]* [h] *and who make it not their business, to cleanse their mind from every ill fact and word.*

* Void of, or, has no part in.

† Love, or, longing.

[e] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν. 'Tis apparent to any one, that it ought to be written, ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πατὴρ θεὸς, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὢν θεὸς, ἀποιός ἐστι δύναμις. Valef.

[f] Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. By the Holy Spirit *Constantine* seems to mean *the Divinity*, or *the Divine Nature*, as we have already remarked in the foregoing chapter. For he explains those words translated out of *Virgil*, ἐ δ' ἥλω λεχέων; which are spoken of Christ, not concerning the Holy Spirit. Therefore, at this place I chose to render it *the Spirit of God*; rather than *the Holy Spirit*, as *Portesius* and *Christophorson* have done. *Valef.*

[g] From these words it appears, that that mistake, which we have taken notice of above, was not committed by *Constantine* himself, but by the *Greek Translatour*, who misunderstood *Virgils* last Verses. For *Constantine* himself took those Verses of *Virgil* in their true sense, as 'tis visible from hence. For, when he had quoted *Virgils* words; (which run thus;

Cui non risere Parentes,
Nec Deus hunc Mensâ, Dea nec dignata cubili est.)

presently, finding fault with the Poet as 'twere, he adds these words. *How*, says he, *could his Parents smile on him, in regard His Father is God, who wants both a body, and figure also. Besides, how can a Bed and a Table be any ways agreeable to God, who, 'tis manifest, is wholly void of a Marriage-bed, nor is he affected with the pleasures of meates.* Then he adds these words, (whence what I have said, plainly appears, namely that *Constantine* understood *Virgil's* Verses excellently well;) *Verùm illis qui humanam quandam Generationem exponunt, concedamus ut ita loquantur; But, let us permit those, who set forth a certain humane Generation, to speak thus.* In which words he excuses *Virgil*, in regard he was ignorant of Christ's Divine Generation. But in the *Greek translation*, wherein *Virgils* Verses are expounded ill, this period has no coherence with the foregoing words. *Valef.*

[h] Οἱ δὲ τὸν ψυχὸν αὐτῶν. I embrace the conjecture of Learned men, which I likewise found noted in Sr *Henry Savil's Book*; ὑδὲ τὸν ψυχὸν, &c; *and who make it not*, &c. *Valef.*

I here

I here appeaal to Thee, O Piety! I implore Thy Assistance in reference to those things which are spoken: Thou, who [i] *art* [*nothing else but*] *the Law of Chastity* [*and Holiness;*] *the most desirable of all Goods; the School-mistris of a most Holy Hope; the most certain and unfeigned Promise of immortality! Thee I adore, O Piety and Clemency! To Thee we owe eternal thanks, for the benefit of thy Cure,* [k] *which we stood in need of! But, the Generality of Men, void of Thy assistance, by reason of their innate hatred towards Thee, have an Aversion for God also. Nor do they understand, that the very Cause, as well of their Life and Being, as of all other persons who are impious, depends upon that service and worship,* [*which is paid*] *to the Deity. For the whole world, and whatever is contained therein, is* [l] *His Possession.*

[i] Ἁγνόν πνα νόμον ὑπάρχουσα. The Rules of Grammar enjoyn it to be written ὑπάρχουσαν, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Further, this is a most elegant definition of the *Christian* Religion; but 'tis basely corrupted by an ill punctation. I reade therefore; πάντων τε ἁσαθῶν ἐυκτιστάτιν, ἐλπίδ' ὁσιωτάτης διδάσκαλον, ἀθανασίας ὑπόχεσιν ἀκίδηλον; *the most desireable of all Goods*, &c. Nothing certainer than this reading, nothing more elegant. *Constantine* terms Religion the School-mistris of a most Holy Hope, in regard She teaches us to hope for things Celestial, and to place all our hope in God, not in earthly and frail Goods. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὁσιότιτ' & διδάσκαλον. ἀθανασίας ὑπόχεσιν ἀκίδηλον. There is the same punctation in *the Sheets*. Vales.

[k] Οἱ δενθέντες, *we stood in need of*. It must questionless be written, οἱ ἰαθέντες, *whereby we were healed*. For 'tis elegantly said, σαῖς θεραπείαις ἰαθέντες, That is, *healed by Thy Remedies*. Vales.

[l] Ἐκείνε κτῆμα. I had rather write, ἐκείνε κτίσμα, *His Work*, or, *workmanship*. Vales.

CHAP. XXII.

The Emperour's Thanksgiving, wherein He ascribes His Victories, and all His other Blessings, to Christ; also a Reproof of *Maximinus* the Tyrant of those times, who by the severity of his Persecution had increased the Glory of the *Christian* Religion.

INdeed, I my self do ascribe mine own Felicity, and all that I am possest of, to Piety, as to the Cause thereof. Whereto the Event of [a] *all things, which have been answerable to My desires and wishes, does bear witness: My Battels; My Victories over mine Enemies; and My Trophies* [*are an Evidence hereof.*] *The* [b] *Great City knows these things, and celebrates them with praises. The same likewise is the Sentiment of the Inhabitants of My most beloved City; although, deceived by false hopes, She hath chosen a Prince unworthy of Herself: who forthwith underwent a Condigne punishment, and such as was agreeable to his own audacious impieties. But, I look upon these things as unfit to be mentioned now; by Me especially, who am directing My Discourse to Thee,* [*O Piety!*] *and who do make it my whole Care,* [c] *how I may address my selfe to Thee, in discourses that are* * *pure and seemly. Nevertheless, I will say something, which shall neither appear foul nor indecent. A fierce and implacable War, abounding with* [*instances of*] *Madness and Cruelty, was by the Tyrants* [*waged,*] *both against Thee, O Piety!* [d] *and against all Thy most Holy Churches. Nor, were there some persons wanting in the City* Rome, *who rejoyced in such great and publick Mischiefs. A* [e] *Field was likewise pitcht in order to an Engagement. But, Thou camest forth, and didst voluntarily* [f] *deliver up Thy selfe, being supported by a Faith in God.* [g] *Then the Cruelty of the impious, having, like some furious fire, without intermission preyed upon all things which it met with, procured for Thee an admirable, and ever-to-be-celebrated Glory. For, on this account* [*it was,*] *that a veneration* [*of Thee*] *seized the very Spectatours themselves. You might indeed have seen the Executioners and Tormenters, wearied out with torturing the* [h] *Bodies of the Pious, and sorely perplext at the Labour and Trouble they met with: but the Bonds* [*you might have beheld*] *broken; and the Engines of Torture loosed; and the fires which were brought, extinguished: but,* [*on the contrary,*] *the constancy and Boldness* [*of the Pious*] *not in the least weakened or abated. What advantage therefore hast Thou made, by attempting these things,* [i] *O Thou wickedest of Men? What was the occasion of this thy outragious Fury? Thou wilt peradventure say, that* [*thou performedst these things*] *in honour to the Gods. What Gods were those? Or what Notion conceivest thou in thy mind, that is worthy of the Divine Nature? Didst Thou suppose the Gods to be angry in the same manner with Thee? If therefore they were such, it was expedient to wonder at their Resolution, rather than obey their impudent Commands, whereby they* * *ordered* [k] *just men to be unjustly slain.*

[a] Τῶν κατ' ἐυχὰς ἁπάντων. Any one might with good reason guess, that it ought to be written, πάντων κατ' ἐυχὰς ἁπαντώντων, But whereas the sense is plain without this Emendation, I think no alteration is to be made here. Vales.

[b] Μεσαλόπολις. So the *Greeks* are wont to call *Rome*, as may be made appear by innumerable instances. Thus *Tatianus* terms it, in *his Oration adversus Gracos*, where he speaks concerning the worship of *Jupiter Latiaris*; as also *Porphyrius*, in *his Book de Abstinentiâ*. Moreover, *Eusebius*, in *his Tricennalian Oration concerning Constantine's praises*, terms *Rome* thus, as we shall see there. Vales.

[c] Πῶς ἂν ἁσναῖς. I had rather write, ὅπως ἂν ἁσναῖς &c, *that I might address*, &c. Vales.

* Or, *Chast and good.*

[d] Καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις. Before these words there is an *Asterisk* plac't in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; whereby 'tis shown, that some words are wanting here in the *Manuscript Copies*. But, the *Geneva-Edition* has taken out those *Asterisks* which had been diligently noted by *Robert Stephens*, especially in the end of this book. Further, some words are wanting here, which I make good thus, σοί τε & πάσαις ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις σε ἐκκλησίαις; *Both against Thee*, &c. For, he speaks to the *Christian* Religion. Vales.

[e] He means the field, wherein the Martyrs underwent their last punishment. For, it was the usage, as well amongst the *Grecians*, as *Romans*, that Criminals should have punishments inflicted on them, without the Gates; as I have at large remarked in *my notes on Amm. Marcellinus*. Whence it was, that Offenders led to punishment, were said *ad campum duci, to be led to the field*. So Saint *Austin* in *his first Book against the Epistle of Parmenianus*, chap. 8. Vales.

[f] Ἐπέδωκας ἑαυτὸν ἐπερειδομένην. It must be, σαυτὸν ἐπερειδομένη, &c. That is, *and didst voluntarily deliver up thy self, being supported*, &c. *Constantine* alludes to the courage of the Martyrs, who voluntarily offered themselves to the Judges, and ran to death on their own accord, without compulsion. Indeed, ὀπιδίδεναι is not said, but concerning *Him, who does any thing voluntarily*; as, for instance, concerning Christ, who of his own accord delivered Himself for the salvation of mankind. *Christophorson* therefore has rendred this place ill, thus, *teipsum adversariis opposuisti. thou hast opposed thy self against the Adversaries*. Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy*, wherein 'tis written, ἐπέδωκας σαυτὸν ἐπερειδομένην. Vales.

[g] Θνητῶν δυσεβῶν ὠμότης, *the Cruelty of impious Mortals*. In mine own judgment I have happily found out the emendation of this place. For, whereas before these words, the term πίσις occurs, the two last Letters of this word being repeated; I have restored the place thus; εἶθ' ἡ θεὸς δυσεβῶν ὠμότης, &c. *Then the cruelty of the impious*, &c. Nothing more certain. Away therefore with *Gruter's* and *Christophorson's* conjecture, who reade, θνητῶν δὲ δυσεβῶν, &c. Yet the *Fuketian Copy* confirms that reading of *Gruter's*. But I have observed before, that many ill corrections are found in *that copy*. Vales.

* Or, *Perswaded.*

[h] Τὰ θεῖ ἐυσεβῶν σώματα. After these words *Christophorson*, *Scaliger*, and others add ἦν εἰδεῖν, *you might have seen*; as I also found it in *Moræus's Book*, and in the *Fuketian Copy*. But, there is no need of adding these words here, in regard the term θεωμένης precedes, whereto all these words, ought to be referred. Nevertheless, I do acknowledge, that the discourse would be far more perspicuous, if you should add these words. Vales.

[i] He speaks to one of the persecutors; *Maximinus* namely, as 'tis in the Title of this Chapter. For he persecuted the *Christians* with more of Cruelty and Malice, than the others. Vales.

[k] Δικαίων ἀνδρῶν σφαγὰς. The reading, I think, ought to be ἀνδρῶν δικαίων, &c; unless there be a fault in the word ἐσφάγντων. Vales.

But,

But, Thou wilt perhaps affirm, [*that these things were done by Thee,*] *on account of the institutions and establishments of Thy Ancestours, and by reason of the Opinion of Men. I pardon Thee. For those institutions are exactly like to the Actions done by Thee, and* [*flow from*] *one and the same* [*Fountain of*] *ignorance. Thou thoughtest perhaps, that there was some excellent power and virtue, in Images made in the shape of a man, by Workmen and Artificers. Wherefore, Thou paidst a worship to them; making it Thy whole business, that they should not at any time be polluted with filth; those Great and Eminent Gods, forsooth! standing in need of humane* [i] *Care.*

[i] Ἐπιμελείας εἰδωλα. The last word must be blotted out, in adding which, *Christophorson*, *Scaliger*, and *Gruter* did ill. I found the same term added likewise, in the *Fuketian* and *Moræan Copies*. But it is not at all necessary; only, after the verb ῥυπωθεῖεν, or *polluted with filth*, a *Semicolon* must be placed. And thus *Portesius* understood this place; who has indeed rendred these words more happily than *Christophorson*, in this manner. *Omnis illa Cura tua, Omne studium ne sordibus opplerentur. Ita Magni primariique Dii humanâ se ope sustinebant: istam diligentiam requirebant.* And so *Musculus* also. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Polity of the *Christians*: and, that the Deity rejoyces in those who leade Virtuous lives: and, that we ought to expect a Judgment, and a Retribution.

COmpare Our Religion with Your [*Rites.*] *Is there not amongst Us a genuine Concord, and a lasting Humanity and Goodness of Nature? Is there not amongst Us such a Reprehension for a fault, as may produce amendment, not ruine?* [a] *And a cure, which* [*may bring forth*] *safety, not Cruelty? Is there not amongst Us, a* [b] *sincere Faith also, in the first place towards God; and then, towards the Natural Community of men? Do not We exercise a Compassion towards those, against whom Fortune has waged a War? Is there not an honest plain and sincere life, and such as does not cover wickedness with* [*the mask of*] *any subtil fraud; and a knowledge of him that is truly God, and of his Monarchy? This is true Piety; this is a Religion that is sincere, and wholly uncorrupt. This is the most prudent course of life; and they who have embraced it, tend directly to an eternal life, making their passage through some splendid High-way as 'twere. For no person, who enters upon such a course of life, and who purifies his mind from* [*all pollution of*] *His Body, does wholly die: but he must be said to perform the Office appointed Him by God, rather than to die. For He who has confessed God,* [c] *does not give place, either to Contumelie, or Rage.*

[a] Θεραπείαν δὲ, I read θεραπείαν τε, *and a Cure.* The word φύσεων is understood, which is made use of a little before. The reading might also be, θεραπεία τε; and a little after, ἡ πίστις εἰλικρινὴς; which perhaps is righter. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ πίστιν εἰλικρινῆ. It appears from the following words, that instead of πίστιν, *faith*, it should be δέησιν or ἀγάπην, *Love*. For Love is in the first place towards God, then towards our neighbour. But Faith is not but in the one and only God. Therefore πίστιν can't in any wise be agreeable here. Besides, in regard he treats at this place concerning Reprehension; on that account Charity or Love is a fitting term. For a kind rebuke begets Charity. But, 'tis better to read here, ἡ πίστις εἰλικρινὴς, as I have said already. And so *Musculus* read, as it appears from his Version. *Vales.*

[c] Οὐ χίνεται πάρεδρον ὕβρεως. What the import of this term πάρεδρον is, we have observed in the foregoing *Books of Constantine's Life*; (*See Book* 1. *Chap.* 27. *note* (*b.*) and Book 2. Chap. 52. note (*a.*)) For Translatours have in no wise hit the meaning, of this term; which nevertheless, was easie to have been done here. *Christophorson* renders it thus, *Qui deum ingenuè confitetur, non contumelia, non iracundiæ sponte succumbit.* From which words, there is no body but would extract this sense, *that He who confesses God, is not angry, is not Contumelious.* But, the meaning of the Greek words is far different; namely, *that he who confesses the Name of Christ, before the Judge, does not yield to the Reproach and fury of the persecutors.* Vales.

But, couragiously enduring necessity, has the Trial of his sufferance as his [d] *Viaticum, in order to his procuring himself the Divine Clemency.* [e] *Nor is it to be doubted, but the Deity gives a kind reception to* * *men endued with Virtue. For it would be most absurd, that as well* [f] *persons in great power, as men of an inferiour Rank, should shew themselves gratefull towards those, and should compensate their favours, by whom they are either reverenced, or have kindnesses shown them: but, that He who is above all, and who is the Ruler over all, and is the Chiefest Good it self, should be negligent in making a Retribution.* [g] *Who does accompany us thorowout all Our Lives, and is present with us, as often as we do any Good. And forthwith commends and rewards Our Fortitude and* [h] *Obedience: but defers the complement and perfection* [*of that Reward till another time.*] *For, the whole Account of Our lives shall then be cast up. And if all things be found well and right, the Reward of an Eternal life shall follow: but, a condigne punishment shall be inflicted on the wicked.*

* Or, *The Virtue of men.*

[d] Ἐφόδιον τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐμενείας. *Christophorson* seems to have read εὐνοίας, *Benevolence*; which I don't approve of. For, no sense can be gotten out of this reading. Farther, ἐφόδιον may be rendred *instrumentum, aid*, or, *assistance*; as *Amm. Marcellinus* expresses himself, Book 29. *pag.* 393. *Cæsar Dictator aiebat, miserum esse instrumentum senectuti, recordationem crudelitatis.* Where see what I have long since remarked, at *pag.* 389 *of my notes.* I have rendred it *Viaticum, Voyage-provision*, or, *all things necessary for a journey.* Nor has *Musculus* rendred it unfitly, in this manner; *toleraniæ experientiam compendii vice habet ad consequendam Dei Benevolentiam; He has his sufferance, in place of an advantage, in order to his obtaining God's favour.* Vales.

[e] Οὐδὲ χὸ ἀμφίβολον. In *Moraus's Book*, the Learned man had set these words at the margin; παλαιωτικὸν ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας; that is, *a passage of Plato's taken out of his Common Wealth*, B. 10. Indeed, in that Book, *Plato* disputes concerning those Rewards, which are given by God to just men, both in this life, and after death. But the argument whereby *Constantine* proves that, occurs not in *Plato*; at least, I don't know that it does. *Vales.*

[f] Τῶν ἐξουσίας ἐπειλημμένων. I doubt not but it is to be written thus; τοὺ μὲν ἐξουσίας ἐπειλημμένους καὶ ὑποδεεστέρους, εἰ θεραπεύοιεν τυγχάνοιεν ἢ ἐυεργετήσαντες ἐυτοῦ τινες, ἐυχαρίστως κατιδεῖν, &c. That is, *For, it would be most absurd, that as well persons, &c.* In which words, the term *reverenced* is referred to *persons in great power*; and likewise, *have kindnesses shown them*, has a reference to *men of an inferiour Rank*; which *Christophorson* perceived not. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in Sr *Henry Savil's*, the reading is, κἂν θεραπεύσωσι μὴ τυγχάνοιεν οἱ ἐυεργετήσαντες; which reading I like not. But *Musculus* read, εἰ καὶ θεραπεύσαντες τυγχάνοιεν οἱ ἐυεργετήσαντες; not ill. *Vales.*

[g] Ὁ συμπαρομαρτεῖ. Doubtless it must be written, ὃς συμπαρομαρτεῖ. For, 'tis referred to ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ πάντας, *He who is above all*, that is, *the Supream God.* Whom though he has termed τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ, *the Chiefest Good it self*; yet, ὃς in the *Masculine Gender*, ought to follow. *Vales.*

[h] Εὐδοκίας. *Christophorson* renders it *Propensam Voluntatem, ready will.* *Musculus* translates it *Benevolentiam, Benevolence.* I chose to render it *obedientiam, obedience.* For, this is the import of the Verb εὐδοκεῖν, *morem gerere, obsequi Voluntati Divinæ, to follow, to obey the Divine Will.* Εὐδοκία therefore, to render it exactly, is *allubescentia, a willingness to please.* In which sense 'tis taken in Saint *Luke*, in that Antheme of the Angels, after our Lord's Birth; ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. This term occurs frequently, in both Testaments, as others have already observed. In the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis ἐυδοκίας. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning *Decius*, *Valerianus*, and *Aurelianus*, who ended their lives [a] miſerably, becauſe of their Perſecution of the Church.

[a] In the very Title of the chapter there is a fault, but ſuch a one as may eaſily be mended. For, inſtead of ἀθλήσεως, it muſt be written ἀθλίως, *miſerably*; as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

I *Ask Thee now*, Decius! *who heretofore didſt inſult over the Labours of the Juſt; who hatedſt the Church; and didſt inflict puniſhments on thoſe who had lived holily:* [b] *what doeſt Thou now do, after this life? With what, and how afflictive Miſeries art Thou now preſt? Indeed, that interval of time, which was between Thy Life and Death, has ſufficiently demonſtrated* **Thine Infelicity: when, having been overthrown with Thy whole army in the* Scythick *Fields, Thou didſt expoſe the* Roman *Empire, ſo highly celebrated in all places, to the contempt and ſcorn of the* † Goths. *Thou alſo*, Valerian! *After Thou hadſt declared the ſame Bloudineſs and Cruelty towards God's Servants, haſt made a manifeſt diſcovery of God's Holy and Juſt Judgment; being taken priſoner by the Enemy, and carried up and down in Bonds, dreſt in thy purple, and thine other Imperial Attire: but at length, by the* [c] *order of* Sapor *King of the* Perſians, *Thy ſkin was pull'd off, and preſerved from corruption by ſalt, whereby Thou wert made an Eternal Trophy of Thine own Calamity. And Thou* Aurelian! *The* * *chief promoter of all impieties, by how manifeſt a Stroke of Divine Vengeance,* [d] *whilſt raging with fury Thou ranneſt thorow* Thracia, *wert Thou ſlain in the midſt of the High-way, and filledſt the Tracks of the publick Road with Thine impious Bloud?*

[b] Τί δεινὸν περάσεις. At my peril write, τί δὴ νῦν περάσεις, *what doeſt Thou now doe*; in which manner I alſo found it mended in *Moræus's Book*, at the margin. Nor is it otherwiſe written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But in the *Sheets* 'tis, τί δὴ νῶ. *Valeſ.*

* Τὴν σὴν ξυμφοράν, *Thy ſucceſs.*

† Or, *Getæ.*

[c] Ἐκδαρῆναι κελευσθείς. In *Moræus's Book*, 'tis well mended, thus, κελευσθείς. Further, concerning the Emperour *Valerian*'s ſkin, which was flea'd off by the *Perſians*, and ſalted; other Writers do likewiſe ſpeak. *Petrus Patricius* mentions it, in *his Excerpta Legationum*, in which Authour *Galerius* upbraids the *Perſians*, becauſe they detained *Valerian* priſoner, he having been circumvented by fraud, to the laſt period of his old age; and becauſe after his death, they moſt wickedly preſerved his ſkin, and thereby fixt an immortal Brand of infamy upon his dead Body. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Flame of*, &c.

[d] Διαλῃζόμενος. The *Geneva-men* did ill in inſerting the particle ἂν, from the Books of *Scaliger*, *Bongarſius*, and *Gruter*; as they tell us: which particle I likewiſe found added in *Moræus's Copy*. But, whereas that conjunction does diſturb the ſenſe, and occurs not, either in the *Kings Sheets*, or in *Stephens's Edition*; I am of opinion, that 'tis to be removed. Yet the *Fuketian Copy* retains it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning *Diocletian*, who with infamy reſigned the Empire; and, by reaſon of his perſecuting the Church, was ſtricken with Thunder.

BUt Diocletian, *after that Bloudy Cruelty of his Perſecution, being condemned by a ſentence which he pronounc't againſt himſelf*; [a] *becauſe of the harm he received by the loſs of his wits, was puniſhed by being ſhut up in one deſpicable Houſe.*

[a] For what reaſon *Diocletian* reſigned the Empire, is a thing not agreed on amongſt Writers. Some tells us, that *Diocletian* (in regard he was a Curious Searcher into things future, when he had found by the Anſwers of the Soothſayers, that moſt ſore Calamities hung over the *Roman* State;) voluntarily relinquiſh't the Empire. This is atteſted by *Aurelius Victor*. Others write, that *Diocletian* being grown old, when he perceived himſelf to be leſs fit for the management of the Government, both by reaſon of his age, and on account of his unhealthineſs; took this Reſolution. Thus *Eutropius*, a moſt faithfull, and moſt elegant Writer. The ſame is recorded by *that unknown Authour*, in the *Panegyrick* which he ſpoke to *Maximianus Herculius* and *Conſtantine*. *Sed tamen*, ſays he, *utcunque fas fuerit, cum principem quem anni cogerent, & valetudo deficeret, receptui canere. Te verò in quo adhuc ſunt iſtæ integræ ſolidæque vires*, &c. There are thoſe who write, that *Diocletian*, when he ſaw the *Chriſtians* could not be overcome by him; by reaſon of grief and impatience, reſigned the Empire; as we may reade in *Zonaras*. But *Conſtantine* does affirm in expreſs words here, that *Diocletian* voluntarily removed himſelf from the Empire, on account of the loſs of his wits. And who is he, that dares contradict *Conſtantine*'s Teſtimony, in regard he had lived in *Diocletian*'s Court; nor could any of theſe affairs be unknown to him. *Euſebius* relates the ſame alſo, in the *Eighth Book of his Hiſtory*. But, there are many things, which may make us doubt concerning this matter. For firſt, although *Diocletian* ſurvived his Reſignation of the Empire a long while, yet he never gave any indication of a diſtracted mind. Even that very one ſaying of his, (which was his anſwer to *Herculius* and *Galerius*, inviting him to re-aſſume the Empire.) how much of wiſedom is there in it? *Utinam Salonæ poſſetis viſere olera noſtris manibus ſata, I wiſh you could come to ſee the Pot-herbs ſown with our hands at Salona.* Therefore, in that Retirement he was always honoured by all the Emperours of that time, who paid a dutifull obſervance to him, as to a Father. Hear *Eumenius* in the *Panegyrick* which he ſpoke to *Conſtantine*. *Atenim divinum illum virum*, &c; *But, that Divine Perſon, who was the firſt that was a partner of and reſigned the Empire, repents not of his own Reſolution and deed. Happy and truly Bleſſed man, to whom now a private perſon, your dutifullneſs, who are ſo great Princes, doth pay an honour!* Would *Diocletian* have been ſo highly honoured by four Emperours that were *Auguſti*, had his Intellectuals been depraved? Or, would *Eumenius* have termed him *a Divine Perſon*, on this account eſpecially, becauſe he was the firſt that had reſigned the Empire, if that had been done by him, by reaſon of his madneſs and dotage? Laſtly, *Diocletian* had taken a Reſolution of reſigning the Empire, long before the Perſecution; then namely, when he triumphed over the *Perſians* and other Barbarous Nations, at *Rome*. For there, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he required an Oath of his Colleague *Herculius*, that they ſhould both reſign the Empire on one and the ſame day. This, *Eumenius* informs us of, in the *Panegyrick* now cited. *Hunc ergo iſtum qui*, &c. *This man therefore was aſhamed to imitate that perſon, who had been made a Brother [in the Empire] by him; it repented this man, that the other had ſworn in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.* Now, *Diocletian* triumphed at *Rome*, with his Colleague *Herculius*, on the *eighteenth year of his Empire*, as *Jerome* relates in *the Chronicon*; that is, on the year before the Perſecution was raiſed againſt the *Chriſtians*. 'Tis certain, the *Authour* of the *Panegyrick* ſpoken to *Maximianus* and *Conſtantine* does atteſt, that that Reſolution was taken by *Diocletian*, and communicated to *Herculius*, long before his Reſignation: his words are theſe. *Tale eſt Imp. quod omnibus nobis incluſo gemitu mœrentibus facere Voluiſti: non quidem tu Reip. negligentiâ, aut Laboris fugâ, aut deſidiæ cupiditate ductus, ſed conſilii olim, ut res eſt, inter vos placiti conſtantiâ*, &c. Which things being ſo, how can that which *Conſtantine* ſays, ſtand good, that *Diocletian* ran mad after the Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, and for that reaſon voluntarily removed himſelf from the Empire? Indeed, I might be eaſily induced to believe, that *Diocletian* was ſeized with a ſickneſs, after the Perſecution was begun, and was for ſome time diſtracted; eſpecially, in regard *Conſtantine* and *Euſebius* do conſtantly affirm that. For this uſually happens to ſick people, and ſpecially to melancholick perſons; of which ſort *Diocletian* was, as may be gueſſed from *his Coyns*. But, I deny, that for this reaſon he reſigned the Empire. Further, in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, the reading of this whole place runs thus. Ἐαυτῷ καταψηφισάμενος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς παραφροσύνης βλάβην μιᾶς ἐυκαταφρονήτῳ οἰκήσεως καθειρξμῷ ἑαυτὸν πεύσας· ἵν' ὅσιμα τὴν τῶ κεραυνῶ βολὴν δεδιὼς διαζῴη ἢ ἐπίλοιπον βίον. τί, δὴ τούτῳ συνήνεγκε πρὸς ἢ νῦν ἢ πόλεμον ἐγείρασθ' λαλεῖ, &c. *Valeſ.*

What was the advantage therefore which he got, by his raiſing a War againſt our God? This, I think; that he might finiſh the remaining part of his Life, in a continual fear of being Thunder-ſtruck. The City Nicomedia *does atteſt this: nor, are they ſilent, who ſaw the thing with their own eyes; of which number I my ſelf am one.* [b] *The Palace was deſtroyed, and* Diocletian's *own* * *Room; Thunder, and a fire from Heaven ruining and devouring it.*

* Or, *Houſe.*

[b] He means the Palace of *Nicomedia*, which was conſumed by an accidental fire, a little after the Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians* was raiſed by *Diocletian*. And the Emperours themſelves,

ſelves, and the reſt of the Heathens, blamed the *Chriſtians* as the Authours of this fire, and therefore raged againſt them with ſeverer puniſhments; as our *Euſebius* relates in the *Eighth Book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory, Chap.* 6, about the cloſe of the Chapter. But *Conſtantine* atteſts, that that Palace was conſumed by fire ſent from heaven. Whoſe teſtimony has ſo much the more authority, becauſe he himſelf was preſent, when theſe things were done at *Nicomedia*. And *Diocletian*, aſtoniſhed by this clap of Thunder, ſeems till his death to have continued ἐμβεβρονθηκότα, always fearing he ſhould be ſtruck with Thunder. 'Tis certain, this Narrative of *Conſtantine*'s ſeems to intimate this. From hence it appears, how egregiouſly miſtaken *Chriſtophorſon* is, in tranſlating the Title of this chapter. For he thought, that *Diocletian*'s Palace had been burnt, after his reſignation of the Empire: whenas, nevertheleſs, that hapned whilſt *Diocletian* as yet held the Empire, and made his Reſidence in the Palace of *Nicomedia*. Valeſ.

> *Indeed, the event of thoſe things had been predicted by prudent perſons. For they were not ſilent, nor did they conceal their lamentation of affairs, which were managed with ſo much of indignity: but with freedom ſpake their minds openly and in publick, and diſcourſed one with another* [*in this manner.*] *What outragious fury is this? How extravagant is this arrogancy of power, that men ſhould dare to wage a War againſt God; and ſhould reſolve to inſult over and reproach the moſt holy and moſt righteous Religion; and* [*ſhould not ſcruple*] *to Plot and Contrive the Ruine of ſo numerous a multitude, and of ſuch juſt men, when there is not the leaſt fault in them?* [c] *O Rare Inſtructer of the Modeſty of all Subjects! O* [*Excellent Teacher*] *of that care which the Army bore towards their own Citizens! The Breaſts of their own Countrymen were wounded by thoſe,* [d] *who had never ſeen the backs of their Enemies in a fight. But at length, Divine Providence inflicted on them the puniſhment of ſuch impious facts; and yet, not without damage to the Empire.* [e] *'Tis certain, the ſlaughters committed were ſo numerous,* [f] *that had they been made* [*in Battels*] *againſt the Barbarians, they might have been ſufficient to have procured us a perpetual Peace.*

[c] Σωφρονύνης διδάσκαλον. The laſt word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

[d] Either he ſpeaks theſe words concerning the *Tyrones*, who having been newly enrolled amongſt the *Militia*, had never yet engaged with an Enemy; or elſe concerning thoſe cowardly and faint-hearted Souldiers, whoſe uſage it was to flee out of the Fight, and had never conquered their Enemies. Indeed, *Diocletian*'s Army is ſaid to have done nothing memorable, ſave only the taking of the *Achillcum* at *Alexandria*, by a long Siege. Farther, 'tis very hard to underſtand what *Conſtantine* ſhould mean, when he ſays, that thoſe Souldiers had wounded the Breaſts of their own Citizens, that is, of the *Chriſtians*. 'Tis probable, that *Diocletian*, in regard he was incenſed againſt the *Chriſtians*, by whom he ſuppoſed his Palace to have been fired, had given his Souldiers order, that whatever *Chriſtians* they could find in the City or in the Fields, they ſhould ſlay. 'Tis certain, many thouſands of *Chriſtians* are related to have been ſlain at *Nicomedia*, under *Diocletian*, and *Maximian*: the memory of which perſons thus murdered, is by the *Grecks* celebrated, on the *fourth of September*, and *on the twenty eighth of December*. Valeſ.

[e] Τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο σφαγαί. This period is removed out of its place. For, it ought to have been placed immediately after the word διεφθάρθαι in this manner: μεταφερέα διεφθάρθαι· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο σφαγαί, ὅσαι εἰ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγένοντο, ἱκαναὶ ἦν πρὸς διωνίαν εἰρήνην. τέλος γὰρ, &c. That is, ——*who had never ſeen the backs of their Enemies in a Fight. 'Tis certain, the ſlaughters committed were ſo numerous, that had they been made* [*in Battels*] *againſt the Barbarians, they might have been ſufficient to have procured us a perpetual peace. But at length, Divine Providence inflicted on them the puniſhment of ſuch impious facts; and yet, not without damage to the Empire. For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperour*, &c. What can be clearer than theſe words, what more plain? Queſtionleſs, he muſt be very obſtinate, who ſhall deny, that theſe words are thus to be reſtored. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ὅσαι εἰ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγένοντο. There may be a double meaning of this place. For, either it may be rendred thus, as *Porteſius* has turn'd it. *Sanè cædis & ſanguinis tanta vis fuit, ut ſi Barbarorum eſſet, ad fœdus ſempiternum ſufficeret.* *Indeed, ſo great was the abundance of ſlaughter and bloud, that had it been of the Barbarians, it might have ſufficed for a perpetual League.* Or elſe, with *Chriſtophorſon*, it may be tranſlated in this manner. *Tot planè factæ ſunt cædes, quot ſi in barbaros factæ fuiſſent, ſatis multæ ad æternam pacem conſtituendam videri potuiſſent.* *So many ſlaughters were committed, that had as many been made againſt the Barbarians, they might have ſeemed enough to have eſtabliſht an Eternal Peace.* And this latter ſenſe pleaſes me beſt. *Lucan*'s opinion is wholly the ſame, in the beginning of *his Pharſalia*, when he ſays;

> *Heu quantum potuit terræ pelagique parari*
> *Hoc quem civiles hauſerunt ſanguine dextræ!*

Yet, inſtead of ὅσαι, it would be better written, ὥστε. For it follows, ἱκαναὶ ἦν. *Valeſ.*

> *For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperour, when afterwards it came under the Command of a* [g] *worthleſs perſon, who by force had ſeized upon the Empire of the* Romans, (*h Divine Providence having at length ſet at Liberty that great City;*) *was totally ruined in many and thoſe* * *bloudy Battels.* [i] *Moreover, the Cries to God of thoſe that were oppreſt, and who ardently deſired their Native freedom; the Praiſes alſo and Thanksgivings paid to God, after a deliverance from thoſe Miſchiefs, when Liberty* [k] *and contracts with Juſtice were reſtored to them; do not theſe things all manner of ways declare the Providence of God, and his Paternal Love towards men?*

[g] He means *Maxentius*, as 'tis apparent from the following words. Now, how *Diocletian*'s Army ſhould come under the Command of *Maxentius*, is not difficult to gueſs. After the Reſignation of *Diocletian*, *Galerius Maximianus* received his Forces; part whereof he delivered to *Severus Cæſar*, for the defence of *Italy*. Some little time after, when *Maxentius* had ſeized the Empire of *Rome*, *Galerius* ſent *Severus* with his Forces againſt him. But *Maxentius* having corrupted *Severus*'s Army by fraud, and with promiſes, brought them over to his own ſide. After this, when *Galerius* had made an Expedition againſt *Maxentius* with a greater number of Forces, he alſo was deſerted by a like Revolt of his Souldiers. Thus *Diocletian*'s Forces came under the Command and power of *Maxentius*. Valeſ.

[h] θεσπίας θεὸς τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Turnebus's Book*, this place is read thus, θεσπίας τε θεὸς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἐκ εὐπαιξᾶσα. Valeſ.

[i] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ. It muſt be, ἀλλὰ μὴν αἱ θεῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐκφωνήσεις, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ. *Valeſ.*

[k] Καὶ ἥδη μετὰ δικαιοσύνης συμβολαίων. *Conſtantine* does glory, becauſe, having cruſht the Tyranny of *Maxentius*, he had reſtored to the *Romans*, Liberty and Contracts with juſtice. For, after the ſlaughter of the Tyrant, whatever things had been done, either by Him or his Judges, were null'd. Therefore, if any one had been preferred to a dignity by him, he was reduced to his former condition, and was forc't to bring in the *Codicills* [or, *Patent*] of the dignity he had obtained, to the Lawfull Prince. The Sentences alſo, and Decrees, which the Judges had made in thoſe times, were taken away out of the *Publick Scrinia* and *Offices of Record*. Laſtly, that whole time of the Tyranny was accounted for nothing, in the ſame manner as if it had never been. Wherefore, neither was it of advantage for the preſcription of a long time. Compacts alſo and Bargains, and Contracts of what ſort ſoever, which had been made between private perſons during that ſpace of time, were in like manner null'd, and that even with the ſtricteſt authority and power. But lawfull Princes, after they had gotten the Victory over Tyrants, and had reſcinded all their Acts; were wont to confirm Bargains, Sales, Donations, Manumiſſions, and ſuch like Acts of private perſons, by granting an indulgence of a publick conſtitution: leaſt, if all theſe ſhould be made null, the quiet and ſecurity of private perſons might be diſturbed. Hereof we have information, from the Emperours Laws in the *Theodoſian Code*, B. 15; *De infirmandis his quæ ſub Tyrannis geſta ſunt.* Whence we underſtand, why *Conſtantine* ſays, that he had reſtored Contracts to the *Romans*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is συμβόλων, not συμβολαίων. To this uſage *Rufinus* ſeems to allude, in the end of his *ninth Book*, when he ſays. *Edictis namque frequentibus per omnem locum propoſitis, non ſolùm tyrannicas adverſus Chriſtianos depulerat leges, juſque civile reddiderat*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVI.

That God is the Cauſe of the Emperour's Piety; and, that we ought to ſeek proſperous Events from God, and to impute them to Him; but muſt aſcribe faults to our own ſloth and negligence.

> BUt, *when they commend my Labour and Service, which took its riſe from the Inſpiration of God; doe they not plainly avouch, that God is*

the Authour of my Valorous Actions? [a] *Nothing more certain. For, 'tis God's property to do whatever is best: but, 'tis the property of men, to pay an obedience to God. Farther, this is, I suppose, the best and most excellent Ministery; when a man, before his taking an affair in hand, makes such provision, that all things be done with the greatest safety. Indeed, all men know, that the* [b] *most Holy Ministery of these very hands, is owing to God, together with a pure and most sincere Faith; and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of men, by Prayers and Supplications joyned with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected: in regard, so much of utility has* [c] *redounded to all persons, both privately and publickly, as each man could have desired, not only for himself, but for his deareſt Relatives. They have likewise seen Fights, and have been Spectatours of a Battle, when Divine Providence* [d] *bestowed Victory on the people: and they have beheld God favouring and assisting our Prayers. For righteous Prayer is a thing invincible; and no man ever miſt of his design, who besought God holily. For, there is no* [e] *pretence left for a Repulse; save only where Faith is wavering. For God is always favourably present, and gives a gracious Reception to the probity of men. Wherefore, sometimes to slip and stumble, is a thing common to men: but God is in* [f] *no wise the Authour of humane Lapses and Mistakes. All persons therefore whatever, who are Followers of Piety, ought to give thanks to the universal saviour,* [g] *both for our and their own safety, and for the flourishing posture of the publick affairs: and with holy Prayers, and continual Supplications, to render Christ propitious to us, that he would preserve and perpetuate his own Favours. For he is the invincible Assistant and Defender of the Just: He is the best Judge; the Prince of immortality; the Donour of Eternal life.*

[a] Πάντων γε μάλιστα. It must be πάντως; and before this word an interrogation is to be set, as *Christophorson* seems to have read. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὴν ἁγίαν δὲ ταύτην τῶν χειρῶν λατρείαν. I can't approve of *Christophorsons* Version, who renders it; *Manuum ad cœlos sublatarum cultum, the worship of hands lift up to Heaven.* I doubt not, but λατρεία here has the same import with *Ministerium, Ministery.* For *Constantine* says, that men ought to give the Ministery or Service of their own hands to God; and that, with a pure and sincere Faith. He has made use of διακονίαν and ὑπηρεσίαν above, in the same sense. Truly, I can't perceive, how χεῖρες can be taken in such a sense, as to signifie *hands lift up to Heaven*, or, *prayers.* Besides, the following words do most apparently refute *Christophorson's Version.* For *Constantine* adds, καὶ σὺν ταῖς χερσὶν, &c; *and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of men, by Prayers and Supplications joyned with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected.* For, after *Constantine* hath said, that men ought to give the Service of their hands to God, he adds, that not only the hands are to be lent to God, but Prayers also and Supplications are to be used, that the affairs which we have undertaken to perform, may succeed happily. This is what *Græcians* are wont to say in a common proverb, σὺν εὐχῇ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει; whereby they shewed, *that together with prayer the hand was to be put to the work.* Farther, when *Constantine* says ἁγίαν δὲ καὶ καθαρὰν χειρῶν λατρείαν, he speaks concerning himself, in the same manner that *Æneas* does in *Virgil.*

——————— *Si Pergama dextrâ*
Defendi possent, dextrâ hâc defensa fuissent. Valeſ.

[c] Πρὸς γενομένης ὠφελείας. It must be written in one word, προσγενομένης; which I admire *Scaliger* and the rest did not perceive. So 'tis certain, the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Valeſ.

[d] He means the people of *Rome*, who in regard they were oppreſt by the Tyranny of *Maxentius*, put up their prayers for *Constantine*, against *Maxentius.* And this sense may be born with. But having lookt more narrowly into the thing, I have a suspicion that there is something of a fault here. And perhaps the reading should be, τῷ νίκην τῷ ἐμῷ στρατεύματι βεβαιώσης, *bestowed Victory on my Army.* Valeſ.

[e] Πεπαιδευμένη πρόφασις. At this place πρόφασις is made use of to signifie *prætextum, a pretence* or *colour*; which term in *Constantine's Latine Oration* being not understood by *the Translatour*, he rendred it in this manner: but, would have done better, had he made use of the word προφάσις. *Christophorson* therefore, and *Portesius* have done ill, in rendring it *mundum, the world.* Valeſ.

[f] Ἀνελπίστῳ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνων πταισμάτων. It must be written πταισμάτων, *Errours*, or *miſtakes*; as I found it mended in *Moræus's Book.* And this the *Geneva-men* have already put us in mind of, from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; whereto agrees the *Fuketian Copy.* Valeſ.

[g] Τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας. I am not of the same mind with *Scaliger, Bongarsius*, and *Gruter*, who mend this place thus, τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, *for our own safety.* I had rather reade, τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας; which reading I have followed in my Version. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written, τῆς τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. But in *the Sheets* 'tis, τῆς τε ἡμετέρας αὐτῷ. *Valeſ.*

Eusebius Pamphilus's ORATION IN PRAISE OF THE EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE, SPOKEN AT HIS Tricennalia.

The [a] Prologue [to the Oration] in Praise of *Constantine.*

[a] It was heretofore the usage of the *Sophists*, before their Orations to make a kind of a Flourish as 'twere, in a short Preface; after the manner of Harpers, who before the Song, sing some thing for Tryal-sake. This Preface was commonly termed προοίμια. So in *Themistius's fifteenth Oration*, and in *Libanius's Declamations*, it often occurs. Hence, προοίμια is by *Theodoret* taken to signifie *a Prologue*. Vales.

I Come not hither with a Composure of Fables, nor with an Elegancy of Expressions framed to captivate the Ears; that by the Voice of Syrens as 'twere, I might charm [my Hearers:] nor, that in Golden Cups, namely the beautifull flowers of words bedeckt with the most exquisite art of Rhetorick, I might present the delicate potions of pleasure, to persons in Love with those things. But rather, paying an Obedience to [the Precepts of] the Wise, I perswade all men, to shun and avoid the publick Roads; and entreat them, that they would not herd with The Many. I am come therefore, that I might [b] begin amongst You a * New Song of the Emperour's Praises. And although numerous persons have attempted to tread the same † path with me, yet [c] I will decline the Foot-steps of men, and will go in an untrodden way, into which 'tis impious to enter with unwasht feet. Indeed, they who affect Vulgar Discourses, and Expressions worn with the ‖ Witticisms of Lads, and who Court a pleasing and popular Muse; may daub mens Ears with Humane Narratives; whilst they submit the Arbitrage [of all things] to pleasure. But such as be initiated in the Mysteries of Universal Wisedom it self, (in regard they are Masters of the knowledge of things Divine and Humane;) accounting the choice of what is better, to be the highest felicity; [such I say] esteem and preferre the God-lov'd Virtues of our Emperour, and his Pious Actions, before his humane accomplishments and Deeds; leaving those His Secondary Excellencies, to be celebrated by inferiour persons. For, whereas the Emperour's mind is endued with a knowledge of matters Divine and Humane; and whereas those have a reference to God; but these, to Men: Let them, [d] whoever namely are fit for the performance of this allure and please the minds of his Hearers. So above, ψευσέοις δεπάεσσιν is a poetick expression. *Vales.*

* Or, *Newer.*

† Or, *Dance.*

‖ *Sophisms*, or, *Subtilties.*

[b] Ἐπιῤῥάμβω. Write ἐπαῤῥόωμεν, from the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[c] Πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων. It must be made πάτον ἀνθρώπων, *the path*, or *footsteps of men*. For 'tis a noted halfe-verse of *Homer's* concerning *Bellerophon*, which *Cicero* renders in the very words I have made use of in my Version, namely, *Hominum Vestigia Vitans*. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis plainly written, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων. Farther, *Eusebius* has designedly besprinkled this Prologue, with many pieces of verses taken out of the Poets, as with flowers; that by this kind of Elegance he might

[d] Ὅστι δὲ οἵπερ δὴ ὀπιδέοι. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ὅσοι δήπερ οἱ ὀπιδέοι, *whoever namely are fit*, &c. The Verb εἰσὶν *are*, must be understood. But *Christophorson* the Translatour of this Oration, in regard he perceived not these things, has confounded the whole meaning of this place, in his Version. In the *Fuketian Copy*, these words ὅστι δὲ are wanting; excellently well. *Vales.*

Office, suggest things are both illustrious Humane to such as stand without the Sacred Rails. For, even these things and transcendent, and of great use to mankind. Yea, all the perfections visible in our Emperour, are eximious; [c] *nevertheless, they are far outdone by His Diviner Excellencies. But, let those persons, who are within the Holy Sanctuaries, and who have entred into the* Adyta *and invious Recesses [of the Church;] (after they have shut the doors against prophane and impious Ears,) unfold the secret Mysteries of the Emperour, to those men only who are initiated therein. Farther, when they have cleansed their Ears in the Fountains of Piety, and mounted their understanding upon the sublime wing of the mind it self, let them lead a dance about [God Himself] the supream King, silently learning the Divine [Mysteries.] And let the Oracles, not those which are the products of Divination,* [f] *or rather of rage and madness; but them that are uttered by the illumination and inspiration of the Divine [Spirit,]* [g] *be our Instructers in the Sacred Rites: [let them give us information] concerning the Kingdom it self; and concerning the Supream King; and concerning that Divine Guard which surrounds the Universal Governour: as also, concerning that Copy of Royal Power which is amongst us, drawn from that Original of the Celestial Kingdom; and concerning that other false one, which does counterfeit the Impress thereof: and lastly, concerning those things which do accompany* * *each sort of Empire.* [h] *Having therefore learned the Divine Mysteries from these [Oracles,] as from some* Hierophantæ, *we will thus begin our Divine* [i] *Discourses.*

[c] Πλὴν ἔτι λειπόμενα. So also the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*; yet I had rather reade, πλὴν ὅτι, *nevertheless.* Valesius.

[f] Μᾶλλον ἢ μανίας. A transposition of words usual with *Eusebius*, instead of ἢ μᾶλλον μανίας. Presently, the reading in the *Fuketian Copy* is ὑπνοίαις, not ἐπινοίας. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Both the one and the other Order; that is, the true Royal-power; and the counterfeit,* or, *false one.*

[g] Τῶν τελείων ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνων διδάσκαλοι. Doubtless it is to be written, ἡμῖν τελετῶν, *in the Sacred Rites,* or *Mysteries*; which emendation is confirmed by these words which follow presently, οἷς δὴ τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς τελετὰς ἱεροφαντέμενοι, *Having therefore learn't the Divine,* &c. For *Eusebius* says, that the Sacred Books, wherein are contained the Divine Oracles, are our Teachers of the Sacred Mysteries, and are as 'twere some *Hierophantæ.* Valesius.

[h] Ἱεροφαντέμενοι. It has the same import with what he has said above, namely τελούμενοι, *learning the Divine Mysteries.* For ἱεροφάντευειν signifies the same with τελεῖν. Wherefore ἱεροφαντεῖδης will import the same with τελεῖδης. The Chief-Priests of the *Eleusinian Sacra* were, at *Athens*, termed *Hierophantæ*, who delivered and consigned the Rites of *Ceres.* Whom, persons initiated did so highly Revere, that they would never call them by their own names. *Eunapius* tells us this, in *His Life* of *Maximus the Philosopher*, in these words: τῷ δὲ ἱεροφάντῃ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ὅστις ἦν τὸνομα, ἔμοι θέμις λέγειν, &c; *But, what his name was, who at that time was Hierophanta, it is unlawfull for me to declare: for, he had initiated me who write these things; and had enrolled me amongst the Eumolpidæ. Lucian* (or whoever else is the authour of it) attests the same *in Lexiphane*; where one *Megalonymus* an *Athenian* says, that when he had gone out one day to visit the Magistrate, he found the *Daduchus* [*Torch-bearer,*] and *Hierophanta*, and some other Ministers of the Sacred Rites, who haled one *Dinias* before the Magistrate, accusing the man because he had called them by their own names; whereas it was unlawfull to call them by their own names, after they had been consecrated: ἔξκλημα ἐπάγοντας, ὅτι ὠνόμαζεν αὐτούς. ἢ ταῦτα εὖ οἶδας, ὅτι ἐξ ὅτου ὠσιώθησαν, ἀνώνυμοί τέ εἰσι, κ' ἄκλητοι ὀνομασοί. Although *Lucian* says more than *Eunapius.* For *Eunapius* has told us, that it was unlawfull only for those who had been Consecrated at *Eleusina*, to call that *Hierophanta* by his proper name, from whom they had received initiation. But *Lucian* affirms, that that was forbidden to all persons in general. Hence 'tis, that amongst *Libanius's Epistles*, some occur with this Title, τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, *to the Hierophanta.* And in the *Fifth Book of Symmachus's Epistles*, the first three are inscribed, *To the Hierophanta.* For, in regard both those persons had been initiated at *Athens*, they lookt upon it as a thing unlawfull, to call the *Hierophanta* by his own name. *Valesius.*

[i] Θείων ἐφαψώμεθα. The *Geneva-Printers* had left out a word, which we have supplied from the *Fuketian Manuscript*, thus, θείων ὀργίων ἐφαψώμεθα, *we will begin our Divine Discourses,* or, *Mysteries.* Valesius.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S
[ORATION IN PRAISE OF] THE
EMPEROUR
CONSTANTINE,
SPOKEN AT HIS TRICENNALIA.

CHAP. I. *THIS is the Great Emperour's Solemn Festival; wherein We who are the Servants of the Emperour, inspired with the Instructions of Sacred Discourses, do rejoyce. He who gives beginning to, and Rules this Our Festival, is the Great Emperour Himself. Him I term The Great Emperour, who is truly Great. Him I mean, (nor will the Emperour, who is here present, be offended thereat, but will rather, together with Us, highly approve of this Our Discourse concerning the Divinity;)* * *who is beyond the Universe; the Supream over all; the Highest; the most Immense. The Thrones of whose Empire, are the Celestial Arches; and the Earth, the Footstool of His Feet.* [a] *Nor can any one* †*perfectly comprehend Him in His mind. For, the Glorious Light which surrounds Him, by the unspeakable Splendour of its Rayes, drives off all persons, and hinders them from beholding his Divinity.* ‖ *Him the Celestial Hosts do encompass*

* Τὸν ἐπέκεινα κόσμου θεὸν ὄντα. These words are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy.* Valesius.

† Or, *Worthily.*

[a] Οὐδ' εἴ τις ἀπαξίως. It must, I think, be written, οὐδ' ἐν τις; *Nor can any one,* &c. Nevertheless, something seems to be wanting here. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, οὐδέ τις ἀπαξίως νοῆσαι τοῦτον δύναιτ' ἄν; which is right. *Valesius.*

‖ Or, *About him the Celestial Hosts make their Rounds.*

compass: *His Guards are the Supernal Powers; Him They acknowledge their Master, Lord, and Emperour. The innumerable multitudes of Angels, and the Companies of Arch-Angels, and the Quires of Holy Spirits,* * *deriving* [*their Splendour*] *from the Rayes about Him, as 'twere from some everlasting Fountains of Light, are illustrated. Likewise, all the Lights, and especially those Divine and Intellectual Kinds of incorporeal Lights, which have their place beyond Heaven; do celebrate this Great Emperour with the highest and most Divine Hymns. The vast Firmament, like some azure Curtain, is drawn between, which separates those without, from them who are conversant within the Palace. Round this* [*Firmament,*] *in the same manner with the* [b] *Light-Bearers in the Imperial* Porticus's, *run the Sun and Moon, and those other Luminaries of Heaven: which do both highly honour the Emperour Himself and also at His beck and word, afford the Splendour of an inextinguishable Light, to those who are without Heaven, and who inhabit a Gloomy Region. Whereas therefore I do presume, that Our Victorious Prince Himself also, does with praises celebrate* [c] *this Greatest Emperour; therein, in my own judgment, I* [d] *seem to do very well: in regard I am truly sensible, that* * *all power amongst us is derivative from Him. Him also the Religious* Cæsars *do acknowledge to be the Fountain of all* † *Blessings: having received this Command from their Father. Him, the Milice; the numerous multitudes of the people, as well in the Countries as Cities; and the Governours of Provinces assembling in the Church, do Religiously adore: being instructed by Our* [e] *Great Saviour and Master. Lastly, all mankind in general, all sorts of Nations, Tribes, and Languages; and all persons, as well collectively and in one Body, as severally and apart; although in other matters they differ in their Sentiments, yet agree in this very one confession; invoking this One and Only God, by natural reason, by notions self-learnt, and which proceed not from the instruction of any Teacher. What, does not the whole* * *Mass of the Earth acknowledge him Lord? By the Plants and Living Creatures produced out of it, does it not evidently demonstrate its Submission to* [f] *his command who is far superiour in power? The Torrents also of Rivers overflowing with their waters, and the plentifull streams of Fountaines, perpetually issuing* [g] *out of the unknown and immense depths of the Earth, do profess him to be the Authour of this inexplicable and miraculous performance. The Gulfs of the Sea, inclosed within unfathomable depths, and the swollen Waves* [h] *which are raised to a vast height, and strike the adjacent Earth with terrour; as soon as they approach the Shores, dread Him, being bound by the Command of His Divine Law. Moreover, the* * *Determinate Quantities of Winter Showers; and the astonishing noise of the Thunder; and the flashings of the Lightning; and the variable and inconstant blasts of the Windes; and lastly, the aierie* † *Tracks of the Clouds, do plainly exhibit his presence* [i] *to those, who can in no wise take a view of him with their own eyes. The all-enlightening Sun also, who hath* * *finished so vast a number of ages, acknowledges him only as his Lord; and, in entire obedience to his command, never dare, go beyond his fixt Bounds. The Moon likewise, (*[k] *which for the splendour of her light is far inferiour to the Sun,) being lessened and again increased at set periods of Times, obeys the Divine Commands. And the Beautie of Heaven, which glisters gorgeously with the Dances of the Stars, and* * *moves with Order and Harmony, and measures over its own Circles; proclaims God to be the Donor of all manner of Light. Likewise, all the other Celestial Luminaries, having by his Beck and Word made up one harmonious Consort, finishing their long Course by the Circles of so vast a number of ages, like Charioteers run over the Rounds of their Ætherial Stages. The successive Returns of nights and dayes, the changes of Seasons and Times, and the Order and Harmony of the Universe, do celebrate the manifold wisedom* [l] *of his infinite and immense power.] Those invisible Powers, which flye about the Plains that lye streacht through the Air, do render to this God, due and befitting praise. The whole World therefore with a joynt consent doth laud this Great Emperour. The Heavens above, and those Quires which are higher than the Celestial Arches, do reverence Him: the Hosts of Angels praise Him with inexpressible Hymns: and the Spirits which are*

* Or, *Drawing.*

b Δαδουχοῦντες. *Eusebius* does elegantly compare the Sun and Moon to the *Light-Bearers* or *Footmen*, who were wont to go before the Emperour with Torches and Lights, as I have noted at *Amm. Marcellinus.* Vales.

c Τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα χειστὸν, *this Greatest Emperour Christ.* The last word must be blotted out. For what *Eusebius* has said hitherto, he has spoken not concerning Christ, but of God the Father; to whom the antient Divines did properly assigne the Monarchy. Besides, the following words do plainly shew, that these are not spoken concerning Christ. Nevertheless, if any person be scrupulous of expunging any thing, he must set a distinction after the word βασιλέα, that the meaning may be this; that God the Father, the highest King of all, is celebrated with Hymns, both by *Christ*, and by *Constantine.* For *our Eusebius* does a little lower say the same thing concerning *Christ.* Vales.

* Or, *He only* [i.e. *God*] *is the Authour of Empire to us.*

† Or, *Goods.*

d Εὖ μάλα δοκῶν ποιεῖν. It must, I think, be written, δοκῶ ποιεῖν; which reading I have followed in my Version. But some words are undoubtedly wanting here, which may be supplied in this manner; τῆτον ἡμῖν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, χειστὸν καὶ αὐτὸν καλλίνικον ἡμῶν βασιλέα ἀνυμνεῖν σωτηριωδῶς, ἀνυμνεῖ ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς, εὖ μάλα δοκῶν ποιεῖν, &c. That is, *Our Emperour well knowing, that this Greatest King is with Hymns celebrated by Christ, who himself also is our most invincible King; He Himself likewise extols him with Praises and Hymns, thereby doing that which is right and well; for he understands, that he only is the origin of Empire to us.* Thus the sense is most plain; nor do I think, that *Eusebius* either wrote, or thought otherwise. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written, εὖ μάλα δοκῶ μοι ποιεῖν. *Vales.*

e The Translatour thought these words were spoken concerning *Constantine*; which truly I don't condemn. Yet, they may also be meant of *Christ.* *Vales.*

f Τὴν πρὸς τὸ νεῦμα τὸ κρεῖττον ὑποταγήν. This place is corrupted, which nevertheless you might easily mend. At my peril therefore write, τὴν πρὸς τὸ νεῦμα τὸ κρεῖττον ὑποταγήν, *its submission to the command of the Deity*; which amendment is most undoubted. *Vales.*

g Ἐξ ἀϊδῶν ὑδάτων ἀπείρων. These four words are, in my judgment, to be blotted out, as being superfluous, and but little agreeable to this place. But if any person shall have a mind to retain them, they must be transposed in this manner; πηγῶν τε καὶ ἀενάων ἐξ ἀϊδῶν ὑδάτων ἀπείρων πηγάζουσι ῥύσεις. Although another participle would be substituted. For, πηγῶν πηγάζουσαι ῥύσεις is no good expression. It would be better, were it made ἀναμιγνύουσαι, as *Eusebius* expresses himself lower; or rather ἀναμιγνῦσαι. *Vales.*

h Εἰς ὕψος διεξόδια. The last word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

† Or, *Paths.*

i Τὴν ὡσπερ θέαν αὐτοπτεῖν. It must I think, be, τοῖς πρὸς τὴν αὐτὸ θέαν αὐτοπτεῖν ἀδυνάτοις, *to those, who can, &c.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τοῖς πρὸ τῶ αὐτῷ θέαν αὐλοπτεῖν; right. *Vales.*

* Or, *By his course fullfilled so, &c.*

k Ὑποχωρεῖσθαι τὸ φέγγος ἡλίου. The Translatour renders this place thus; *Lunam quoque, cujus Lumen multò obscurius est quàm Solis; the Moon likewise, whose light is far more obscure than that of the Sun.* But I think it should be written, τὸ φέγγος ἡλίῳ; that is, *the Moon which goes under the light of the Sun.* Vales.

* Or, *Goes on.*

l Τῆς ἀπειρομεγέθους δυνάμεως. I had rather write, τῆς ὑπερμεγέθους δυνάμεως. Instead of σοφίαν ἀναπέμπουσιν, another verb must be substituted; viz. ἀνυμνοῦσιν *do extol*, or ἀνακηρύττουσιν *do proclaim.* For that verb ἀναπέμπουσιν is not at all agreeable here, and has crept in hither by mistake, out of the following period. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τὴν πολυποίκιλον σοφίαν γεραίρουσιν, *do celebrate his manifold wisedom*; without those words τῆς ἀπειρομεγέθους δυνάμεων, *of his infinite and immense power*; nor do these words occur in the *most ancient Palatine Manuscript.* Vales.

the Off-springs of Intellectual Light, do pronounce Him their Parent and their God. Those Ages * *unlimited by Time, which were before this Heaven and this World; and besides, infinite other Ages, before all constitution of things visible, do acknowledge one sole and supream Master and Lord. Lastly, He Himself, who is in all, and before all,* [m] *and after all, His only-begotten Son and praexisting Word; the Great High-Priest of the Great God; ancienter than all Time and all Ages;* [n] *devoted and consecrated to the worship of His Father, is the First and Only Person who makes Supplication to Him for the Salvation of all men. Who enjoyes a preheminence in the Government of the world;* [o] *but possesses an equal share of Glory with His Father, in His Father's Kingdom. For, He is that Light which transcends all things; which dances about the Father, and which by its intervention Separates that Nature which is without a Beginning and without a Generation, from the substance of things begotten. Which Light also, streaming from above, from the Deity which wants both beginning and end,* * *diffuses it self without, and illustrates the Region above heaven, and all things that are within heaven, with the Rayes of Wisdom, which are far more Glorious than the splendour of the Sun. This is He, who is the Leader of the whole World; the Word of God who goes before all, and through all, and is in all things, as well Visible as invisible. By whom and through whom, Our Emperour dear to God, bearing a resemblance of the Celestial Empire, in imitation of the Deity, directs and manages the Helm of Government over all things upon the Earth.*

* Or, *Which were before all Time.*

[m] Καὶ μετὰ πάντας. I don't see how this expression can be made use of, in reference to *The Word*; that *That is before all things, and after all things*; unless we mean it concerning *The Word incarnate*. In which sense there is a passage in *The Revelation*; *I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last*. It may also be meant concerning *The Word*, who, although He was begotten before all ages, is nevertheless continually begotten by the Father. And this is what is said in *the Psalms*; *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee*, &c. Thus *The Word* is before all things, and after all things, and in all things, not by a succession of time, but by reason of an eternal Generation. For, he is the origin and End of all things who begins and terminates all things which are, or which can be. Nevertheless, *Eusebius*'s words may be understood otherwise, if they be construed with the verb διαλάσκεται. So, the meaning will be this; *The Word does appease God the Father before all persons and after all persons.* But the former exposition is truer. For in this manner *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in *his Epistle to Hermammon*, speaks concerning the Son of God; οὐδὲ τῷ κείσθαι ἐπείδετο τὸ πρὸ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, *Neither had he regard to the judgment of Him who was before all, is in all, and above all.* Which passage is quoted in the *Seventh Book of the Eccles. Hist. Chap.* 10. *Novatianus* likewise, in *his Book de Trinitate, Chap.* 14, says Christ is before all things, and after all things; before all things, *as God*; but after all things, *as Man*. Vales.

[n] Τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς καθωσιωμένῳ τιμῇ. The Tarnslatour has rendred it ill, *dignitatis paterna particeps, partaker of His Father's dignity*; whereas it ought to have been rendred, *devotus ac dicatus cultui patris, devoted*, &c. 'Tis an expression like that inscription, which is commonly extant on the Base of Statues which they had dedicated to the Emperours, DEVOTUS NUMINI MAJESTATIQUE EJUS. But, these words smell ranck of *Arianism*. For whoever asserts, that God the Word is devoted to the worship of God the Father; doubtless that person speaks too meanly of The Word, and seems not only not to equal The Word to God the Father, but rather to make Him subject to the Father. Of the same stamp is that expression which *Eusebius* adds, *that The Word makes supplication to the Father for the Salvation of all men*. Which, if it be meant concerning God the Word, as He is the Word, can no wise be born with. But, if it be understood concerning Christ, that is, concerning the Word after He had assumed the humane Nature, it is most true. The same opinion is extant in *his Second Book against Marcellus Chap.* 7. where *Eusebius* says, that the Son doth worship, adore, and glorifie God the Father. Farther, a little before, the reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is, ὁ παντὸς κρείττων, καὶ πάντων αἰώνων πρεσβύτατος. Vales.

[o] Ἴσοις δὲ τῆς πατρικῆς βασιλείας, *but, possesses an equal share*, &c. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, δευτερείοις δὲ τῆς, &c; *But, holds the second place in His Father's Kingdom*: which expression the publishers being not able to endure, they thought it was to be changed into ἴσοις, that so the Son might be made equal to the Father. But, that *Eusebius* wrote as I have said, is apparent, first from the very Series of his Oration. For, at this place *Eusebius* distinguishes the Government and Regiment of the Universe, from the Kingdom of God the Father. And in the Government of the Universe, he does indeed say, that the Son holds the principal place: but, that he has the Second place in the Kingdom of His Father: πρωτείοις μὲν τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς, δευτερείοις δὲ τῆς πατρικῆς βασιλείας ἐνδοξαζόμενος. You see, that πρὸ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, that is, *the Kingdom of the Universe*, is opposed to the Kingdom of God the Father. To πρωτείοις therefore, τὰ δευτερεῖα ought also to be opposed. Secondly, τὰ ἴσα τῆς βασιλείας is not *Greek*. Lastly, *Eusebius*, in *his Books of Demonstrat. Evang.* does always term the Son, *the Second Cause*: And, in *Book* 5. *Chap.* 4. *Demonstrat. Evang.* he says πρὸ δευτερείων ἠξιώθης. Vales.

AND That Only-begotten Word of God, Reigns together with His Father, from ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But this Our Emperour, [a] *always dear to Him, being supplyed with some Imperial Emanations from above, and fortified* [b] *with the Surname of a Divine appellation, governs upon earth during many and long periods of years. Farther, that Universal* * *Preserver renders Heaven, and the whole world, and the Celestial Kingdom, fit for his Father. But this* [Our Emperour,] *who is His Friend, brings all those persons living upon Earth, that are the Subjects of His Empire, to the Only-begotten Word and Saviour, and makes them fit* [c] *for His Kingdom. And, that Common Saviour of all, by an invisible and divine power, drives off at the greatest distance from His Fold (in the same manner that a good Shepherd does wild-beasts,) those Rebellious Powers, which flew up and down thorow this Air that is nearest the Earth, and* * *broaded the Souls of Men. But this* [Our Emperour,] *His friend, adorned from above by Him with Trophies erected against his Enemies; by the Law of War subdues the open Adversaries of Truth, and chastizes them. That person, existing* † The Logos *before the world was framed, and the preserver of all things; delivers rational and saving Seeds to His Companions, and renders them reasonable, and instructed in the knowledge of His Father's Kingdom. This* [Our Emperour,] *His Friend, as 'twere some Interpreter to the Word of God, recalls all mankind to the knowledge of God: crying out in the hearing of all men, and with a loud voice promulging the Laws of* [d] *true Piety and Verity, to all persons living upon the Earth. That Universal Saviour opens the Celestial Gates of His Father's Kingdom, to those who remove from hence thither. This* [Our Emperour,] *following the Example of the Deity, after He hath cleansed His Empire on earth, from all the filth of impious Errour, invites the* * *Assemblies of Holy and Pious men, into the Sacred Houses and* † Basilicæ; *making it his chiefest care, that the whole Navy, with the Command*

CHAP. II.

[a] Ὁ διαρκὴς δὲ τούτῳ φίλος. This place is, in my judgment, thus to be restored; συμβασιλεύων ὢν ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπειρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας διαρκεῖ. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ φίλος, &c; *continues to Reign together with His Father, from ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But, Our Emperour, dear to Him*, &c. Vales.

[b] Τῷ τῆς θείας ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιρρύμῳ. 'Tis not clearly enough made out, what this Surname of a Divine appellation should be, wherewith *Constantine* was honoured and signalized. Does *Eusebius* mean the name of *Victor*, which was given to *Constantine*, as we have remark't above? Or rather, the surname of *Maximus*, which is proper to God? The very Name *Constantine* may also be meant, the import whereof is, *He that is*. Now, the Sacred Scriptures do inform us, that this is the proper Name of God. Lastly, we may here understand the surname of *Christianus*, *Christian*; an appellation which *Constantine* loved most entirely. Vales.

[c] Πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλείαν. I read with the Translatour, πρὸς τὸν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν, *for His Kingdom*. Vales.

* Or, *Saviour.*

* Or, *Stuck upon the*, &c.

† Or, *The Word.*

[d] Τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the word ἀληθοῦς is wanting; which is the truer reading. Vales.

* Or, *Quires.*

† Or, *Churches.*

Command and management whereof He is entrusted, should be preserved together with the people on Boord. And He is the only person of all those that ever yet governed the Empire of the Romans, *who having now been honoured by God the Supream King, with* * *thirty years Reigne, celebrates this Festival, not to terrene Spirits, as the usage of the Ancients was, nor to the Apparitions of* Dæmons *which seduce the unskilfull multitude, nor yet to the frauds and* [c] *feigned Narratives of impious men: but, pays his thanks to that God, by whom he has been honoured, being truly sensible of those Blessings which He has conferred on him. Not polluting his* † *Palace with blood and gore, agreeable to the Rites of the Ancients; nor appeasing terrene* Dæmons *with smoke and fire, and with Sacrifices of Beasts wholly consumed by fire on the Altars; but consecrating a most gratefull and acceptable Sacrifice to the Supream King Himself, His own Imperial Soul namely, and His Mind which is most worthy of God. For this is the only Sacrifice wherewith God is well pleased: which Our Emperour has learnt to offer, with the purified thoughts of his mind, without either fire or bloud* [f]*: giving confirmation to his piety by those unerring Sentiments and Opinions treasured up in his mind; setting forth the praises of God in lofty and magnifick Orations, and by Imperial Actions emulating the Clemency of the Deity: and wholly devoting himself to God, and, like some great Gift, making a present of himself to Him, the First-fruits as 'twere of the World, with the Administration whereof he hath been entrusted. This greatest Sacrifice therefore, the Emperour in a due manner Offers,* [g] *before all other. But he Sacrifices like a Good Shepherd, not*

Offering glorious Hecatombs of Firstling-Lambs:

but rather, bringing over the minds of those rational flocks, which are fed by Him, to the knowledge and worship of God.

* Or, *Three periods of Decads.*

† Or, *Large.*

[c] Ἀκρίσις ἀδίων ἀνδρῶν. The word ἀκρίσις is corrupted; in place whereof, what term should be substituted, I don't know. Unless the word ἀκριβάσιοι will please. For he praises *Constantine*, because he would not admit the *Ethnick Orators* to *his Decennalia*. Vales.

† Or, *Imperial Houses.*

[f] Ζηλῶν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνακείμενον. These words ought to be expunged; which are not set in their due place here, but must be put in lower, in this manner; ἀδιαψεύστοις μὲν δόξμασι, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κρατύνων. λόγῳ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ γεραίρων τὸν θεολογίαν, πράξεσί τε βασιλικαῖς τὸν τῶν κρείττονα ζηλῶν φιλανθρωπίαν. ἀνακείμενον αὐτῷ, ᾗ μέγα δῶρον, &c; *giving confirmation to his piety, &c.* There is nothing more certain than this Emendation; nor did the Translatour read otherwise, as 'tis apparent from his Version. Wherefore this seems to be a mistake of the Printer. This our Emendation was long afterwards confirmed to us by the *Fuketian Copy*; wherein 'twas exactly written as I had conjectured; save only, that 'tis there worded, ὅλον τε ἀνακείμενον, *and wholly devoting himself*, &c. *Vales.*

[g] Πρὸς τῆς ἁπάντων. It must be made πρὸ τῆς ἁπάντων, or πρῶτος, *before all other*, or, *first*. Vales.

CHAP. III.

BUT *God, highly pleased with such a Sacrifice as this, and with delight accepting this Gift offered to Him; praises the* * Hierophanta *of this venerable and eximious Sacrifice, and makes an addition of* † *many periods* [*of years*] *to his Reigne; augmenting his favours towards him, in a manner correspondent and proportionate to those Acts of Piety, wherewith He is worshipped by the Emperour. And He has permitted him to celebrate all these Festivals with the highest prosperity of the Monarchy; at each period of the* Decennalian Festivity, *advancing one of his Sons to the Colleague-ship of the Imperial Throne* [a].

* *See the Prologue to this Oration, note (b.)*

[a] Καὶ ὥσπερ εὐθαλῆ. These words, as far as ἀνακείμενον, are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the most ancient *Palatine Copy*, as the *Geneva-men* have told us. *Vales.* *Valesius* takes no notice of this clause, either in the *Greek Text of his Edition*, or in *his Version*. In *Curterius*'s translation of this Oration (for I have not the *Geneva-Edition* by me,) it is worded thus; *Et velut plantæ florenti virenti-que temporum incrementa donata.*

For, [b] *in the first* Decennium *of his Empire, he proclaimed his eldest Son, who bears the same name with his Father, a Partner of the Imperial* * *Realm: after that, his second Son, who was the next to him in age, at his second* Decade: *and in like manner his third, at his third* Decade, *which we now celebrate.* [c] *And, whereas his fourth period* [*of ten years*] *is now current; in regard the spaces of times do more and more extend themselves, he increases the Empire by a Copious* † *Colleagueship of his Stock,* [d] *and by Creations of* Cæsars; *fulfilling the Oracles of* [e] *the Divine Prophets, which they long since proclaimed in this manner:* And the Saints of the most High shall take the Kingdom. *Thus therefore, God Himself the Supream King conferrs upon the most Pious Emperour,* * *an Increase both of years and children, and renders his Government of the Nations upon Earth, fresh and flourishing, as if it had been but now begun.*

* Or, *Heritage.*

† Or, *Society.*

* Or, *Increases of Times,* &c.

[b] Κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον τῆς βασιλείας δεκαετηρίδα, *in the first Decade of his Imperial period.* If we make a more exact enquiry into the thing, it will be found false, that *Constantine Junior* was created *Cæsar* by his Father, in the first *Decennium* [*ten years*] of *Constantine*'s Empire. For *Constantine Junior* was created *Cæsar* by his Father, in the Consulate of *Gallicanus* and *Bassus*, on the *Calends of March*, in the year of Christ 317. This was the *eleventh year* of *Constantine*'s Reigne. Wherefore, *Constantine Junior* was not created *Cæsar* within the first *Decennium*, but within the second rather. This place of *Eusebius* must therefore be favourably interpreted, and κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον δεκαετηρίδα, must be taken for ἀμφὶ τὸν, &c; *about*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Ἤδη δὲ τῆς τετάρτης ἀνακυκλουμένης δεκαετηρίδος. The Emperour *Constantine* published *his Tricennalia* in the Consulate of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, on the *eight of the Calends of August*, which day began the *thirtieth year* of his Empire. From this day therefore, in the foresaid persons Consulate, on the year of Christ 335, began the *fourth Decennalian* period of *Constantine*'s Empire, according to the computation of *Eusebius*: whereas nevertheless, it ought rather to begin from the following year, namely, *his thirty first year*. But these things are not wont to be so exactly cast up, by Orators. *Vales.*

[d] He means *Dalmatius* and *Hannibalianus*; the former of whom was declared *Cæsar*, the other *King*, by *Constantine*, in the thirtieth year of his Empire, on the *fifteenth of the Calends of October*, as it occurs in *Idatius's Fasti*. Saint *Jerome* (in *the Chronicon*) tells us, that *Dalmatius* was made *Cæsar*, in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. Where he has made use of the term *Tricennalia*, instead of *the thirtieth year of his Empire*: whereas nevertheless, *Tricennalia* is properly the *first day of his thirtieth year*. For the *Roman* Emperours celebrated their *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, and *Vicennalia*, on the *first day of the fifth*, *tenth*, and *twentieth year* of their Empire. For these words signifie nothing else, but the *Natalis* [*Birth-day*] of the Empire, which was celebrated with the greatest Pomp and Festivity, every recurring fifth and tenth year. Now, this Festivity lasted one or two days, in which time the *Ludi Circenses* and *Theatrales* were exhibited. Therefore, whereas *Dalmatius* was not created *Cæsar* on the *eighth of the Calends of August*, which day began the thirtieth year of *Constantine*'s Empire; Saint *Jerome* has expresst himself improperly, who has told us, that that *Cæsar* was created in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. Our *Eusebius* does here more truly place that, after *his Tricennalia*, the *fourth Decennalian period* of *Constantine*'s Empire now beginning. For, after the celebration of the *Tricennalia*, they began a new period; as if the thirtieth year, which was but just begun, had been now finished. And, as *Lawyers* are wont to say, that in dignities, a begun-year is accounted for a compleat one: so also they were wont to do, in the *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, and the other Festivals of this sort. Thus, the place in *Amm. Marcellinus's fourteenth Book* is to be understood; where he speaks concerning *Constantius's Tricennalia* in these words. *Arelate hiemem agens Constantius, post Theatrales Ludos atque Circenses ambitioso editos apparatu die 6. idus Octobris, qui Imperii ejus annum tricesimum terminabat, &c.* For *Amm. Marcellinus* has undoubtedly made use of *the thirtieth year compleated*, instead of *the thirtieth year begun*, on account of that very reason which I have mentioned. *Vales.*

[e] Περὶφ θείων. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis θείων προφητῶν. And, a little after, ὅπω δῆτα χρόνων, &c. This place, which *Eusebius* cites out of the Divine Prophets, occurs in the *seventh Chapter of Daniel*. Vales.

And

*And * he himself solemnizes this Festival [in honour] to Him; having made Him the Conquerour over all his Enemies and Adversaries; and exhibiting Him as the Pattern of true Piety, to all persons upon the Earth. But our Emperour, like the Light of the Sun, illustrates men, whose habitations are in places most remote from one another, with the glorious † Presence of His Cæsars, as 'twere by some Rayes transmitted from himself to the greatest distance. And on Us who inhabit the East, He hath bestowed a [f] Shoot truly worthy of himself: another of his Sons [he hath assigned] to another portion of men: and again, another [He has placed] otherwhere; like so many Lamps and Lights, which derive their Brightness from that Light diffused from Himself. Farther, having joyned together for himself, the Four most valiant Cæsars, like so many young Horses, * and fixt them under one Set of Harness belonging to the [g] Imperial Chariot, and fitted them with the Raines of Divine Concord and Unity; He Himself sits above, like the Charioteer, and puts them on; and drives over the whole world, wherever the Sun makes his Visits; and is personally present in all places, and inspects all affairs. Lastly, being adorned with a representation of the Celestial Empire, having His eyes fixt upon Heaven, He directs and manages the affairs of Mortals, in a conformity to that Original Draught; and is encouraged and strengthened by a resemblance of the Monarchy of God. For, this the [sole] King over all, hath bestowed on the Nature of Men only, [h] of all those Creatures which are on Earth, [that it should express a likeness of his Divine Monarchy.] [i] For, He is the Law of Imperial power, whereby 'tis Decreed, that all should be subject to the Empire of One. Moreover, Monarchy does far excell all other Constitutions, and Forms of Government whatever. For Polyarchy, which is opposed to it, being a sort of Regiment wherein many Govern with an equality of power and honour, ought rather to be termed Anarchy and Confusion. On which account, there is one God, not two, nor three, nor yet many. For, to assert a multitude of Gods, is plainly to affirm, that there is no God at all. One King: and [k] his Word and Imperial Law, One: which [Law] is not declared by words and syllables; nor is it written in Paper, or cut upon pillars, that it should be consumed by length of Time: but it is the living and self-subsisting * God the Word, who disposes and orders his Fathers Kingdom, to all those who are under Him, and after Him. Him the Celestial Hosts do surround, and Myriads of Angels which are the Ministers of God; and innumerable Troops of the Milice plac't above the World, and of invisible Spirits; who residing within the Inclosures of Heaven, use their utmost diligence about the Order and Administration of the whole World. Over all whom, the Royal † Logos is the Captain and Prince, as 'twere some Præfect of the Supream Emperour. The Sacred Oracles of Divines term Him, The Master of the Milice, and The Great High-Priest, and The Prophet of the Father, and The Angel of the Great Council, and The Brightness of His Father's Light, and The Only-Begotten Son; and [give Him] innumerable other such Titles as these. Whom when the Father had Constituted The Living Word, and The Law, and The Wisdom, and The Complement of all Good; He made a Present of [l] This Greatest Blessing, to all those who are Subject to His Empire. But, He pierces thorow all things, and goes every where, and in a plentifull manner displays His Father's Favours to all persons; and has stretcht forth the Resemblance of the Imperial Power, even as far as those rational Creatures which live on earth; having adorned the mind of man, which is framed according to His Own Likeness, with Divine * Faculties. Hence 'tis, that in the mind of man there is a participation of the other Virtues also, derived from a Divine Emanation. For, He only is wise, who is also the Sole God: He only is essentially Good: He only is strong and powerfull. And He is the Parent of Justice: the Father of Reason and Wisedom; the Fountain of Light and Life; the Dispenser of Truth and Virtue; and lastly, the Author of Empire it self, and of all Dominion and Power.*

* That is, God.

† Or, Splendours.

[f] Τὸν ἐπέξιον αὐτῷ καρπόν. He means *Constantius Cæsar*. For he had at first been sent by his Father, to Govern the *Gallia's*. But afterwards he was removed into the *East*; as *Julian* informs us in *his first Oration de Laudibus Constantii*, and *Libanius* in *his Basilic*. Vales.

* Or, *To one Yoke of the Imperial Chariot*; so *Valesius*.

[g] The Translatour saw nothing here; he has rendred this place, thus, *Porro imperii quadrifariam dispertiti jugum, quasi quatuor equis, id est sibi, & tribus filiis Cæsaribus Fortissimis imponens.* But *Eusebius* does expresly name four *Cæsars*, whom he compareth to four Horses, who being coupled together in one Yoke, drew the Imperial Chariot; over which *Constantine* presided, as Charioteer. Now, the four *Cæsars* were, *Constantinus Junior*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*, Sons of the Emperour *Constantine*; and *Dalmatius* the Son of *Dalmatius*; concerning whom we have spoken above. *Vales.*

[h] Τὸν ὅπῃ γῆς, μόνον. This place tortured me a long while. But at length I have found out the most undoubted Emendation of it. I write therefore; τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἦν ὅπῃ γῆς μόνη, ἦν ἁπάντων δεδώρηται βασιλεύς. That is; *For, this the* [sole] *King over all*, &c. *Euseb-is* repeats the same hereafter, in *chap.* 4: where he reckons up the Favours, which mankind hath received from God the Word. Βασιλικόν τε τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον ἀπεργάζεσθαι, μόνον ἦν ὅπῃ γῆς βασιλεύειν καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι. τοῦτ' εἰδέναι ἀναδείξας. But the Translatour, instead of μόνον, seems at this place to have read νόμον. For thus he renders it. *Istam enim imperii formam Lex, quæ rex omnium est, humano generi tribuit.* Vales.

[i] Νόμον γὰρ θεοῦ. These words are spoken concerning the supream King and God; who really is the Law and Rule of Royal Power. The reading at this place might likewise be μόνον; that so the meaning may be this, *that God only is possest of the Royal Power, in regard he alone rules over all, and holds the Monarchy.* Therefore, in the foregoing period, it must, I think, be written in this manner, μόνη μόνου ἦν ἁπάντων δεδώρηται βασιλεύς. Nor do I think, that *Eusebius* wrote otherwise. For the sentence is most plain and elegant, if we read thus. And this period will excellently well cohere with the foregoing one. *Vales.*

[k] Ὁ τότε λόγος, καὶ νόμος βασιλικὸς εἷς. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the *Comma* is wanting, excellently well. For the Son of God is the Word and Law of God the Father, as *Eusebius* says a little afterwards. *Vales.*

* Θεὸς λόγος. *Valesius* renders it, *Dei sermo, word of God.*

† Or, *Word.*

[l] Μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν δῶρα. The term ἀγαθὸν must be expunged, or else the word δῶρα: for one of those words is superfluous. Yet I had rather blot out the latter. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter, *in chap.* 12. Vales.

* Or, *Powers.*

CHAP. IV.

*BUT, Whence has man the knowledge of these matters? Who hath declared these things in the hearing of Mortals? Whence has a Carnal tongue the Liberty, of uttering those matters, which are forreign both to flesh and body? Who ever saw the invisible King, and discovered these Excellencies in Him? 'Tis true, the Elements, which are joyned in an Affinity with Bodies, and the things made up of those Elements, are perceived by the * senses of the Body. But, no person hath boasted, that with the eyes of the Body He hath ever had a sight of that invisible Kingdom, by which all things are Governed: nor, has mortal Nature ever beheld the Beauty of Wisedom. Who hath seen the Face of Justice, with † eyes of flesh? Whence was the Notion of Legal Government and Royal Dominion*

* Or, *Sense of Bodies.*

† Or, *The sense of flesh.*

Dominion suggested to men? From whence could Imperial Power [*be known*] *to man, who is made up of flesh and bloud? Who hath declared to those on earth, the invisible* * *Form, which can't be expres's't by any figure; and the incorporeal* † *Essence which wants all external Lineaments? Questionless, there was one Interpreter of these things, the Word of God who pierceth thorow all things. Who is the Father and Maker of that rational and intellectual substance which appears to be in men: who being the Only Person that is united to the Divinity of the Father, watereth his own Sons with his Fathers* ‖ *Effluxes. Hence have all men,* Greeks *and likewise* Barbarians, *those natural and self-learnt Reasonings: hence those Notions of Reason and Wisedom: hence the Seeds of prudence and justice: hence the* † *Inventions of Arts: hence the knowledge of Virtue* * *and the gratefull name of Wisedom, and the Venerable Love of Philosophick Learning. Hence the knowledge of all that is Good and Commendable: hence the Representation of God Himself formed in the mind, and a Course of Life fitly answering the divine worship. Hence is man furnished with a Royal Power, and with an invincible Empire over all things that are in the Earth. But, after* The Logos, *who is the Parent of Rational Creatures, had impreſt upon the mind of Man a Character agreeable to the Image and likeness of God, and had made Man a Royal Creature; (having conferred this on him only, of all those Creatures which are on Earth, namely that he should have a knowledge, both of Governing, and of being Governed; and also, that even from this Life he should* [a] *begin to meditate upon, and to fore-learn that promised Hope of the Celestial Kingdom; for the sake of which Kingdom, He Himself came, and, as a Father of His children, disdained not personally to enter into a Converse with Mortals:)* [b] *He Himself, cultivating His own Seeds, and renewing His heavenly Supplies and Favours, declared to all men, that they should partake of the Celestial Kingdom. And he invited all persons, and exhorted them, that they should be ready for their journey upwards, and should furnish themselves with a Garment befitting their calling. And by an unspeakable power he filled the whole world, which is enlightened by the Sun's Rayes, with his Preaching; by a likeness of the earthly Kingdom, expressing the Kingdom of Heaven. To which he incites and encourages the whole Body of mankind to hasten, having shewed all men this Confidence and good Hope.*

* Or, Forms.

† Or, Substance.

‖ Outflowings.

† Καταλήψεις, Comprehensions.

* Σοφίας τε φίλον ὄνομα, καὶ σεμνὸς φιλοσόφου παιδείας ἔρως; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *Et nomen Philosophiæ, & Venerandus amor Sapientiæ, and the name of Philosophy, and the Venerable Love of Wisdom.*

[a] Μελετῶν τε καὶ προδιαζόμενος. It must, I think, be written προμελετῶν. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself *in chap. 6.* where he speaks thus concerning God the Word; μέτεστι τε ζωῆς πᾶς ὁ θνητὸν βαυύσι εἶον διαθεσμοθετήσας, προμελετᾶν ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς ἐκεῖ τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα ζωῆς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συνεχώρησε. The sentence is in both places the same. For, in the one place he speaks concerning the Celestial Kingdom; in the other, concerning Life eternal: and says, that some assays, proofs, and fore-exercises of each, are granted to men in this life, by the Divine Word. Wherefore I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote in this manner, προμελετᾶν τε καὶ προοιμιαζόμενος ἐνδένδε τῆς, &c. And thus the sense is most perspicuous. But the word ἀναδείξας, which went before, must be understood. A long while after I had written this Note, having at length procured the *Fuketian Copy*, I found my conjecture confirmed by its authority, at least in part. For in *that Manuscript* the reading is, προμελετᾶν τε καὶ προδιαζόμενος, *begin to meditate upon, and to fore-learn*; incomparably well. *Vales.*

[b] Τὰ δ' αὐτῆς γεωργῶν. I had rather write, τὰ τε αὐτῆς. Further, this whole page of *Eusebius's* is put together very unfitly, by reason of the too great number of Verbs, which occur in the Imperfect Tense. Whence 'tis, that his Discourse becomes irksome and unpleasant. *Vales.*

OF Which hope, Our Emperour most dear to God, is even in this life made a partaker; in regard he is adorned by God with innate Virtues, and has received into his mind the Celestial Effluxes derived from that Fountain. For he is rational from that Universal Reason: wise, from a communication of that Divine Wisdom: good, from a participation of that Goodness. And he is just, by being a partaker of that Justice: and temperate, from that * Original of Temperance; and strong, by having that Supream Strength imparted to him. [a] He therefore may most truly be stiled Emperour, who hath fashioned his mind with Royal Virtues, to a likeness of the Celestial Empire. But, that person who is a stranger to these, and who has renounc't the King of this Universe; neither hath acknowledged the Celestial Parent of Souls; nor cloathed himself in a Garb befitting an Emperour; but hath * filled his mind with deformity and filthiness; and instead of Imperial Clemency, hath gotten the Rage of a Savage Beast; instead of an ingenuous disposition, the incurable poyson of improbity; in place of Prudence, Folly; instead of Reason and Wisedom, † a want of Reason and consideration, the foulest of all Vices: from which, as [b] *from a bitter Root, most pernicious Sprouts do spring, namely,* a sottish [c] *and intemperate Life; Avarice; Murders; Fightings against God; Impieties: he* [*I say*] *who is addicted to all these Vices, though he may seem sometime to Govern by Tyrannick Violence, yet cannot deservedly and in reality be stiled an Emperour. For, how should he represent a likeness of the Monarchical power* [*of heaven,*] *who bears a thousand false and adulterate Resemblances of* Dæmons, *impreſt on his mind? How should he be a Prince and Lord over all, who hath procured for himself so infinite a number of Cruel and hard Masters? A servant to filthy pleasure; a servant to an excessive madness for women; a servant to money gotten by injustice; a servant of anger and rage; a servant of fear and dread; a servant of bloudy* Dæmons; *and* [*lastly*] *a slave to soul-destroying Spirits. Therefore, (Truth it self favouring us with its assent and Testimony,) this Emperour, dear to the Supream God, is the sole Person that can truly be styled an Emperour: who only is free; or rather, who really is Lord. Who is above the desire of money, and superiour to the Love of women: a Vanquisher of pleasures, even of them which Nature does allow of. Who is not overcome by anger and rage, but has those passions perfectly within his own power. He is really Emperour, and bears a Title* [d] *answerable to his practise: being* [e] *truely*

CHAP. V.

* Exemplar, or, Pattern.

[a] Χρηματίσει ἄρ', He therefore will most truly be styled, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, χρηματίσειεν ἄρ', *He therefore may most*, &c; which is far the better reading. *Vales.*

* Or, Hath bound up his mind in, &c.

† Or, The most filthy irrationality.

[b] Ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πικρᾶς ῥίζης πομάς, *as from a bitter potion.* The Translatour renders it, *tanquam ex amarâ stirpe, as from a bitter Root.* Which doubtless is more elegant. For πόμα and βλάστημα are not in the least suitable one to the other. Yet *Eusebius* seems to allude here, to the Cup of iniquity; concerning which 'tis said in the *Psalmes*, *all the Sinners of the Earth shall drink out of it*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Καὶ σωφρ. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote καὶ ἄσωτος. For 'tis an elegant *Paranomasia*, εἰ ἀσωτος καὶ ἄσωτος, which the Latine tongue can't express. In the *Fuketian Copy*, these words καὶ σωφρ are wanting. *Vales.*

[d] Φερώνυμον τῇ πράξει. The two last words are wanting in the *Fuk. Copy.* Vales.

[e] Νικητὴς ἐτύμως. He alludes to *Constantine's* pronomen [*forename.*] For *Constantine* had taken to himself the *Pronomen* of *Victor*, as I have noted at *The Books concerning Constantine's Life.* Vales.

Victor;

Victor; *for he has gotten the Victory over those Passions, which are wont to overpower and conquer the minds of men. Who is formed according to that Primitive* * Idea *of the supream Emperour; and in his mind, as in a glass, expresses those Rayes of Virtues darted from that Celestial Original. From which* [*Rayes*] *he is made temperate; Good; Just; Valiant; Pious; a Lover of God:* [f] *and, which is peculiar to him only, this our Emperour is really a Philosopher. For he is one that truly knows himself; and is sensible, that the supplies of every thing which is good, are bestowed on him from without, or rather from heaven. One who demonstrates the August Title of his Monarchical Power, by the Eximious Ornature of his Imperial Robe; and who is the* [g] *sole person, that is deservedly clothed with the Imperial Purple, which becomes him. This is the Emperour, who night and day invokes the Heavenly Father; who in his Prayers* * *implores his Assistance; who burns with a desire of the Celestial Kingdom. For, whereas he understands, that things present are in no wise* † *to be compared with God the supream King, (in regard they are mortal and frail, and, like a River, transient, and continually perishing;) therefore he desires the incorruptible and incorporeal Kingdom of God. That Kingdom he prayes that he may obtain; by a sublimity of thought, raising his mind above the Arch of Heaven, and being inflamed with an inexpressible desire of those Lights which shine there. In comparison with which Lights, he accounts the most valuable things of this life present, to be in nothing different from darkness. For he sees, that the dominion over men (in regard 'tis nothing else but a small and short administration of a mortal and temporary Life;) is not much better than the authority and power of Goatherds, Shepherds and Neatheards: yea rather, that 'tis more troublesome, or a Sovereignty over a* [h] *moroser sort of Cattel. And, as to the Acclamations of* The Many, *and the Voices of Flatterers,* [i] *he esteems them to be troublesome, rather than delightfull; by reason of* * *the solidity of his disposition, and the sincere discipline of his mind. Moreover, as often as he beholds the* [k] *dutifulness of His Subjects, his innumerable Forces, and those vast multitudes, as well of Horse as Foot, that are at his Beck and Command; he is not in the least stricken with admiration, nor does he swell with pride at his authority and power over them: but, turning his thoughts* [l] *upon himself, he* * *acknowledges, in himself also, the common nature of all men. He laughs at the Garment made of Cloth of Gold interwoven with a variety of flowers, at the Imperial Purple, and at the Diadem it self: when he beholds the multitude stricken with an admiration of these things, and, wholly like children, gazing on this glorious pomp, as on some Bug-bear.* [m] *But he himself is not in any wise so disturbed as they are; but does cloath his mind with the knowledge of God, as with a Garment Embroidered with Temperance, Justice, Piety, and the other Virtues; which is a dress that does really and truly become an Emperour. Besides all this, as for riches which are with so much earnestness desired by men; I mean Gold, and Silver, and whatever sorts of Stones are had in admiration; he understands them to be really Stones wholly unprofitable, and useless matter. Such therefore as they are in their own nature, such and so highly does he esteem them; as things that are not in the least conducive in order to the diverting of ills and calamities. For, of what prevalency are these things towards the removal of Diseases, or the avoiding of death? Nevertheless, although he knows these things accurately well, being instructed by the very use of them;* [n] *yet he is in no wise disturbed in his mind, at the decent Garb of his Subjects; but laughs at those persons, who by reason of their folly and simplicity* † *admire these things. Farther, he abstaines from surfeiting and drunkenness, and from exquisite dainties and delicate dishes; in regard they are the proper businesses of Gluttons: it being his Sentiment, that these things appertain to others, not to himself. For he is convinc't, that such debauches are extreamly hurtfull, and do cloud and darken the intellective faculty of the Soul. On account of all these reasons, the Emperour, instructed in the knowledge of Divine matters, and endued with a great mind, aspires after better things than those of this present life: calling upon the Celestial Father, and earnestly desiring His Kingdom; and performing all things with a singular piety; and Lastly, delivering the knowledge of the Supream God and Emperour, to all those Subject to his Empire,* * *whom, as the best of Masters, he has undertaken to instruct.*

[f] Ὁ δὴ ᾧ μόνῳ φιλόσοφος. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, ἀληθῶς δὴ ᾧ μόνῳ; which is truer. *Vales.*

[g] Some body will make an enquiry here, why *Eusebius* should say, that only *Constantine* was cloathed with the Imperial Purple. For, there were at that time four *Cæsars*, who wore the Purple. Indeed, *Amm. Marcellinus* informs us, that the *Cæsars* wore the Purple; in *his Sixteenth Book*, where he tells, how *Constantius* declared *Julian*, *Cæsar*. But it may be answered, that *Eusebius* does not say absolutely, that only *Constantine* was clothed with the Purple; but, that he alone deservedly wore the Purple. *Vales.*

* Or, *Calls upon him.*

† Or, *Worthy of.*

[h] Δυσκολωτέραν. I reade δυσκολωτέρων θρεμμάτων, *a moroser sort of Cattel*; which I wonder the Translatour saw not. For man is the moroseſt of all Creatures, and is governed with the greatest difficulty. *Vales.*

[i] Πρὸς ὄχλου πάθος. I write πάθεσι, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. The Translatour understood not this expression; which we may render into *Latine* word for word, in this manner: *molestiæ potius deputat quàm voluptati, he places them to the account of trouble, rather than of pleasure.* Vales.

* *The Constancy of his Morals*: so *Valesius*.

[k] Τὴν μὲν ὑπηκόων δορυφορείαν, *the Guard of His Subjects*. It must, I think, be written, δωροφορείαν. For, at this place *Eusebius* means two sorts of Subjects; namely, *those in Arms*, and *the Provincials*. Whereof *the latter* pay money and tributes to the Emperour; which *Eusebius* and *Themistius* do term δωροφορεῖν, with a soft word covering the bitterest thing of all. But, *the former* received money, as their Pay. *Vales.*

[l] Εἰς ἑαυτὸν. It must doubtless be written, εἰς ἀυτὸν, *upon himself*; which I admire the Translatour perceived not. *Vales.*

* Or, *sees.*

[m] Οὐδαμῶς αὐτὸς. The words are misplac't here, as it is plain to any one. I reade therefore, ἀδαμῶς δ' αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια πεπονθὼς, ὑπεξήμην τῇ θείᾳ, &c; *But he himself*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is ill, δι' ὑπεξόμην τῇ θείᾳ, *by reason of His knowledge of God.* Vales.

[n] Ἀπαθεῖ λογισμῷ διατίθεται. 'Tis the same with what he has said above, ἀδαμῶς δ' αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια πεπονθὼς. Further, this whole passage is thus to be distinguished and explained; ὅμως δ' ἐν καίπερ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὑπεξημένως αὐτῶν τῇ χρήσει, πρὸς εὐπρεπῆ μὲν ἀεχμάδων κόσμον ἀπαθεῖ λογισμῷ διατίθεται. That is, *Nevertheless, although*, &c. Which is the same as if he should say: *he desires not the wealth or riches of His Subjects, nor does he envy them their comely garb and dress, as envious and covetous princes are wont to do.* Such a one was *Valentinianus the Elder*, who hated all those that were rich and well-clothed, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates. *Constantine* was not of that mind: for he both valued very little his own habit and dress; and also was not troubled, at his Subjects being gorgeously apparelled. I have therefore spent some words in explaining this passage; because it was both obscure, and also not understood by the Translatour. *Vales.*

† Or, *Are astonished at*, &c.

* Or, *who are instructed by a good master as 'twere.*

MOreover, *God affording him, as an Earnest, some Pledges of a future Retribution, conferrs on him* [a] Tricennalian *Crowns, platted*

CHAP. VI.

[a] Τειακονταετηρικὰς στεφάνους. He alludes to the Golden Crowns, which the Provincials were wont to present the *Roman* Emperours with, not only at their entrance upon the Empire, but in their *Quinquennalia* also, and *Decennalia*. Vales.

and

and made up of prosperous and happy Circles of years. And having now compleated three Cycles of ten years, he permits the whole Body of mankind to celebrate [b] *publick, or rather universal Feasts. But, in the interim that Mortals rejoyce on earth,* [*crowned*] *with the flowers of the knowledge of God, it would not be absurd to imagine, that even the Quires in Heaven, incited by the Laws of Nature, do rejoyce likewise together with those that dwell on Earth. And* [*'tis probable,*] *that even the supream King himself, like an indulgent Father, is affected with Gladness, whilst He beholds Good Sons paying a due worship to God: and, that for this reason chiefly, He does honour the Prince and Authour of those* * *things, with many Circles of years. In so much that, he is not satisfied with giving him thirty years Reigne;* [c] *but extends it to the longest time, and perpetuates it to an immense* Ævum. *Now, entire* * Ævum *neither grows old at any time, nor does it dye: neither can the minds of mortals discern, either its Beginning or End. Nor does it suffer its own Center to be perceived,* [d] *nor that time which is termed* its present, *to be comprehended by* † *any one;* [e] *much less* Time future, *or* Time past. *For,* this Latter *is not, in regard 'tis* [f] *already gone. And the* Time future *is not yet come; wherefore, it is not. But,* [*that part of it*] *termed its* Time present, *flyeth away whilst we think or speak, yea sooner. Nor is it at all possible, that it should be apprehended as* Time present: *for we must of necessity, either expect things future, or contemplate things past. For* [The present] *slips away, and flies as quick as Thought. Thus therefore entire* Ævum *suffers not it Self to be subjected to the thoughts and accounts of men; but disdains to serve them. Nevertheless, it refuses not, to acknowledge* [g] *God its own King and Lord; and it carries Him sitting on its Back, priding it self in all those* [h] *Gayeties,* [*which it hath received*] *from Him. But God sitting above, and driving it on, has not bound it fast with a Golden chain, according to the fiction of the Poet; but, curbing and holding it in with the cords of an unspeakable wisdom, as 'twere with some Reins; with all imaginable Harmony he has constituted in it, Months and Times, Seasons and Years, and the interchangeable distances of Nights and Days; and has circumscribed it with various Limits and Measures. For,* Ævum, *of its own nature, is* [i] *direct or straight, and* * *reaches to an immensity; and has taken the name of* Ævum, [k] *as 'twere ἀεὶ ὤν* [*that is,* always existing;] *and is it self like its own parts; or rather, being void both of parts and distance, doth increase, being prolonged into* † *rectitude only. But God hath divided it by middle* || *Segments, and, like a right line stretch't into Longitude, hath severed it by points, and hath included in it a vast multitude.*

[b] Παννήμους δὲ μᾶλλον. Any one may see, that it should be written thus, πανδήμους, μᾶλλον δὲ κοσμικὰς ἑορτάς. For *Eusebius* says, that these Feasts of *The Tricennalia* were celebrated, not onely by a numerous confluence of the people, but also by the common joy of the whole world. For some Feasts are publick, others private. Some are peculiar to Cities, others to a whole Province. Some are Feasts of the whole *Roman* world; as *the Calends of January*, the *Birth day of the Emperours*, their *Quinquennalia*, and the like. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written as I had conjectured. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Blessings.*

[c] Μένειν δὲ αὐτῷ. This place, in my judgment, is to be restored thus: ὡς μὴ ἀπαρκεῖν τρεῖς ἐν δεκάσι πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν νέμειν, αὐτὴν δὲ ὅπῃ μήκιστον καὶ εἰς μακρὸν προπέμπειν αἰῶνα; *In so much that, he is not satisfied*, &c. The mistake arose from the word νέμειν, which the *Transcribers* changed into μένειν, by an easie mistake. But, if any one has a mind to retain μένειν, then it is to be written προπέμπειν. *Valesius.*

[d] Οὐδὲ τὸ νῦν αὐτῷ λεγόμενον. Questionless it is to be written, οὐδὲ τὸ νῦν αὖτε λεγόμενον ἐφιεὶς τοῖς ἐθέλουσι δεχέσθαι. So the Translatour read also, and so we have rendred it. *Eusebius* himself confirms this emendation; for soon after this, he writes thus concerning *the present time*, τὸ δὲ γε νῦν αὖτε λεγόμενον, ἅμα νόημα, &c; *But* [*that part of it*] *termed its time present*, &c.

[e] Μήποτε τὸ μέλλον. The Translatour renders it, *nedùm futurum Tempus aut præteritum; much less Time future, or Time past.* Whence 'tis apparent, that he read μήποτιγε τὸ μέλλον, excellently well. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, μή πως τὸ μέλλον. *Valesius.*

[f] Ὁ δὲ παρῆλθε. I write, ἤδη δὲ παρῆλθε, and have rendred it accordingly. For he speaks concerning the time past. A little after I read, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὅλως ὅπως λαβεῖν, *Nor is it at all possible*, &c. Valesius.

[g] Τὸν δ' αὖτε βασιλέα. In my judgment it should be, θεὸν δ' αὖτε βασιλέα; in which manner also the Translatour read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Eusebius* alludes to a passage of Saint *Paul* the Apostle, who calls God βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων, *the King of Ages*. Valesius.

[h] Τοῖς ἐξ αὖτε χαλλωπίσμασι. He means the days, months, and years; and the vicissitudes of seasons, &c; wherewith God hath adorned *Ævum*. *Valesius.*

[i] Εὐθυγωνὴς ὤν. I read εὐθυτενής. *Valesius.*

* *Is extended*, or, *prolonged.*

[k] Ὥσπερ ἀεὶ ὤν. *Proclus* (Book 4. on *Plato's Timæus* pag. 241;) produces the same *Etymologie* of αἰὼν; at which place he discourses at large concerning *Ævum*, according to the Opinion of the *Platonists*. See the same *Authour*, in *chap.* 53, *and* 54, of *his Platonick Institutions*. But *Eusebius* does partly follow *Plato*'s Opinion, and partly recedes from it. For, whereas he says, that *Ævum* does neither grow old, nor dye; that 'tis uniform, and always like it self; that it wants parts, and distinction or difference; in that he agrees with *Plato*. But, when he affirms, that it goes on and increases; when he makes past, present, and future time, to be *Species* or, *Kindes* of it; in this he disagrees, both from *Plato*, and from himself. For, what ever proceeds on and increases, must of necessity have parts. In *Plato*, *Ævum* is nothing else but *Eternity*. For *Plato* makes *Ævum* immoveable; according to the likeness whereof, he affirms, that God created *Time*, which he gives this definition of, *a moveable Image of an immoveable Ævum, proceeding on in number and order*; as it occurs in *his Timæus*. *Chalcidius*, on *Plato's Timæus*, is right: *temporis*, says he, *proprium progredi; ævi propria mansio*, &c: *'Tis the property of Time to go forward: continuance is the property of Ævum, and a perseverance in being always the same. Also, there are parts of time, namely days, nights, and years: Ævum has no parts. Likewise, the Species of Time are several, past, present, future: the substance of Ævum is uniform, in the sole and proper Present.* But *Eusebius* took *Ævum* for *Sæculum*, or rather, *for the whole Mass and Collection of Times*, as I may so say. For his words are, ὁ σύμπας αἰών. 'Tis certain, in the Sacred Scriptures, αἰὼν and αἰῶνες are taken *for time*. For *Time* is taken two ways. The one is *Particular*, which is attributed to things single or particular. The other *general*, which is not more agreeable to this thing, than to that. And *This* the Ancients termed *Ævum*, as *Censorinus* informs us in *his Book de Die Natali, chap.* 16. Where he defines *Ævum* in this manner; *tempus unum & maximum*, &c; *one and the greatest Time, immense, without beginning, without end, which always was in the same manner, and always will be, nor does it belong more to any one man, than to another.* Then he adds, that *this Ævum* is divided into three times, past, present, and future. In which he plainly agrees with our *Eusebius*. The same is likewise asserted by *Marius Victorinus* on *Cicero's Books de Inventione Rhetoric. Chap.* 75. But *Gregorie Nazianzene*, *Orat.* 35 *and* 42, takes *Ævum* for *Eternity*; where see what *Psellus* and *Elias Cretensis* have noted. *Valesius.*

† Or, *Those that are desirous.*

|| *Pieces*, or, *Shreds.*

* See note *(k.)* in *this chapter.*

† *A straight*, or *right line.*

And, whereas it was one, and exactly like an Unite; He hath bound it with a variety of numbers; and, from its being without Form, hath made in it * *manifold and various Forms. For first of all, He framed in it matter void of Form, as some substance fit to receive all Forms. In the second place, He created Quality in matter, by the power of the number Two; making that beautifull, which before was void of all comelineſs. Afterwards, by* [*the help of*] *the number Three, He framed a Body,* [l] *compounded of Matter and Form, consisting of three Dimensions, namely, Latitude, Longitude, and Profundity. Then, from the number Two doubled, he devised* † *the Quaternion of the Elements; Earth; Water; Air; Fire; which he produced as some everlasting*

* Or, *A manifold variety of forms.*

[l] Σύνθετον ἐξ ὕλης ἑποίν. It should, I think, be written, σύνθετον ἐξ ὕλης ἀποίης, καὶ εἴδους σῶμα. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the word ἑποίν is wanting; excellently well. *Valesius.*

† Or, *The Elements which are four in number.*

everlasting Fountains, in order to the * supply of this Universe. Farther, the number Four begets the number Ten. For, One; Two; Three; Four, make up the number Ten. The number Three † multiplied by the number Ten, hath || produced the space of a month. And a month by twelve Circuits or Turns, finishes the Course of the Sun. Hence the Circles of Years, and the changes of Seasons, have delineated and expreſt Ævum, which before was void both of Form and shape, as 'twere in a variety of Paint [made up] of many flowers; in order to the ease and delight of those, who therein * run over the Course of Life. For, as those persons (who in hope of winning Prizes, perform the Courses in a Race,) have the distances set out to them, by Stadia or determinate quantities of Ground: and as they who travel long journeys, find the publick Road † beset as 'twere, with some Mansions and Stages; least any person, by having his expectation drawn out to an immense length, should be quite tired, and abate of his alacrity and vigour of mind: after the very same manner also, God the Supream Emperour, having confined the whole Mass of Time within the Lines of Wisedom, leads and manages it; and like a Charioteer, governs it variously, according as it seems good to Himself. The same Moderatour of the Universe, having bedeck't Ævum, which before was void of figure, with beautifull colours and fresh flowers; has adorned the day with Brightness and the Rayes of the Sun: but, over the night he hath spread a || darker colour, and has made the Lights of the Stars to glister therein, like some Bits or Spangles of Gold. And having light up the bright Rayes of the Day-Star, and the various Splendour of the Moon, and the most resplendent Companies of the Stars; he has Crowned the whole Heaven, as 'twere some large Embroidered * Vesture, with the manifold Beauties of Colours. Also, when he had extended the Air from a vast height to a great depth, and by its help had [m] cooled the length and breadth of the whole world; he commanded it to be grac't with all sorts of Birds; having opened this vast Sea as 'twere, wherein all those [Creatures] which pass thorow the Air, as well the [n] invisible as visible, might swim. Lastly, having poyz'd the Earth in the middle like the Center, he encompassed it with the Ocean; [o] priding it self in that its green-coloured Mantle. And after he had made This the Residence, Nurse, and Mother of all Creatures that are therein; and had moystened it partly with showers, and partly with waters issuing from Springs; He commanded it to flourish and grow green with all sorts of Plants and beautifull flowers, in order to the delight and pleasure of humane Life. And having therein formed a most excellent and honourable Creature, dear to the Divinity it self, according to His own Image; namely * Man, endued with a mind and knowledge, and the Offspring of Reason and Wisedom; on him He conferred the Government and Empire over all the other Creatures, which creep upon the Earth and have their sustenance from it. For, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, Man was the deareſt to God; and like an indulgent Father He permitted, that all sorts of irrational Creatures should pay their Service and Obedience to Him. ['Twas] man, for whose sake He made the Sea navigable, and Crowned the Earth with all manner of Plants. On him He bestowed knowing and intellective faculties and powers, in order to his being rendred capable of all manner of Learning and Sciences. Into his hands He hath delivered, as well those Creatures which swim in the Depths, as the fowls which fly in the Air. To him He hath laid open the knowledge and contemplation of things Celestial; and hath discovered [to him] the Courses of the Sun, and changes of the Moon, and the Circuits of the Planets and fixed Stars. [Lastly,] 'twas man alone, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, to whom He gave order, that he should acknowledge the Celestial Father, and with Hymns should laud and praise the Supream Emperour of entire Ævum. Besides all these things, that Great Framer of the World, hath begirt immutable Ævum with four changes of the year; the Winter-season He has bounded with the Spring: [p] but the Spring, which is the beginning of the Seasons of the year, He has weighed as 'twere in an equal Ballance. Then, when He had Crowned Universal Ævum with the manifold fruits of the Spring, [q] He delivered it to the parching heat of the Summer. After this, having allowed a cessation from Labour as 'twere, He hath refresht it with the interval of Autumn. Lastly, when he has washt * it (being as 'twere some Royal Steed,) in the moyst Falls of Winter showers, and has rendred it Slick and Gay by the waters which flow from † above, and has sufficiently fatned it with the continual waterings of the Rain; He again places it at the fore-gates of the Spring. When therefore the Supream Emperour, had in this manner bound fast His own Ævum, within the Circle of the whole year, by such Reins of Divine wisedom as these; He delivered it to be managed by a [r] Greater Governour, namely, His own only-begotten Word; to whom, as being the common preserver of all things, He has committed the Reins of this Universe. But He, having

* Χορηγίαν; *Valesius* renders it, *utilitatem*, *profit*, or, *service*.

† Or, *Joyned with*.

|| Or, *Found out the nature of*, &c.

* Or, *Ride*.

† *Limited*, or *circumscribed*.

|| Or, *Blacker*.

* *Veil*, or *Hood*.

[m] Ψυχώσας δυνάμει. This whole passage is, in my judgement, to be read in this manner; μήκιστε καὶ πλάτη τῦ τότε ψυχώσας δυνάμει, *and by its help or power had cooled*, &c. In which manner the Translatour read. And so I found it written in the *Fuk. Copy*. Vales.

[n] He seems to mean the *Aerial Dæmons*, concerning whom he hath spoken above, in the beginning of *this Oration*. Farther, we may understand here as well the *Good Dæmons*, as *the bad*. For the good Spirits also, whom we term Angels, pass thorow the air; as 'twere some Embassadours and Interpreters, carrying our desires to God, and bringing to us answers, and favours from God. Of which, even the ancient Philosophers were not ignorant. But, the Translatour thought, that at this place *Eusebius* spake of fishes. Concerning the *Aerial Dæmons*, S[t] *Austin* (*Epist.* 49.) speaks thus. *Quanto pernitiosius est sacrificare Dæmoniis, &c*; *How much more destructive is it to sacrifice to Dæmons, that is, to an ill Spiritual Creature, which dwelling in this neareſt and dark heaven, as in its Aerial prison, is predestinated to Eternal punishment.* ——— Vales.

[o] Κυανῷ χρώματι καλλωπιζομένην. I write καλλωπιζομένην. He speaks elegantly, in saying that the Earth is clothed with the Ocean, as with a green Mantle. So *David*, *Psalm* 104. 6. *Thou coveredst it with the Deep as with a Garment*: namely the Earth, as *Theodoret* explains it, and S[t] *Jerom* on *Haggai Chap.* 1. Farther, those words [σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ] must be blotted out, as being superfluous, and wholly disagreeable to this place; wherefore we have omitted them in our Version. They are a piece of a Verse of *Homer's*, out of *his Second Iliad*. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, σμαραγεῖ τε πόντος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς θεοδόλης κυανῷ χρώματι καλλωπιζομένη. Vales.

[p] Ἔαρος δ' ἐνιαυσίαν ὥρᾶν ἀρχήν. I had rather write, ἦρ δέ, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales*.

[q] Τοῦτον μεθεμένδωκεν. Something seems to be wanting here, which we may make up in this manner; θέρους ἀκμῇ τοῦτο ἀμαθῶς μεθεμένδωκεν. But, upon a more diligent enquiry into the thing, I am of opinion, that nothing is wanting here. I reade therefore, θέρους ἀκμῇ τοῦτον παραμένδωκεν, *He delivered it*, &c; understand τὸ αἰῶνα, *Ævum*: nor did the Translatour reade otherwise. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, θέρους ἀκοῇ τοῦτον μεταπαραμένδωκεν. *Vales*.

* That is, *Ævum*; as appears from the following period.

† Or, *Himself*.

[r] He terms the Son greater, not than the Father Himself; but means Him to be greater than all others. And perhaps any body would guess, that *Eusebius* had written, ὑπὸ μείονι, *by a Less*. Vales.

having

*having received an Inheritance as 'twere, from a most excellent Father; and having bound together all things, which are contained as well in the inner, as more outward Compass of Heaven, in one harmonious consent; [r] proceeds straight forward: and with all imaginable equity makes provision of those things that are of use to his rational Flocks on earth. And having appointed a certain and fixt space of living to Mortals, He has given all men leave, that even in this Life they should be exercised in the * preludes of a better and an eternal life. For He hath taught, that after the Term of this present Age, there is a Divine and happy Life; treasur'd up and reserved for them, who in the hopes of Celestial enjoyments, have undergone the Combat of this Life. And, that there shall be a Translation and Removal of those, who have spent their Lives soberly, modestly, and piously, from hence to a better allotment: but, for them, who shall have been detected of impieties in this Life, [He has given notice,] that there is an agreeable place provided. After this, (as 'tis wont to be in the distributions of Prizes and Rewards in the Games,) having with a loud voice pronounced various Crowns [to be due] to the Victors, He Crowneth [t] different persons with the different rewards of their Virtues. But, for a Good Emperour adorned with piety, he declares far greater and more valuable Rewards of his Conflicts to be provided. Some Beginnings whereof he permits to be celebrated even here, namely, a Festivity compoſed of perfect numbers; [u] of Tens trebled, and of Threes ten times repeated. Whereof the first * Ternary, is the Off-spring of an Unite: an Unite is the Mother of Numbers, and does preside over all Months, Seasons, and Years; and also, over all Circles of Times. Moreover, it may deservedly be styled the Beginning, the Foundation, and the Element of all Multitude; being termed μονὰς, from μένειν, to stay or continue. For, whereas all Multitude is lessened and increased, according to the diminution or addition of Numbers; an Unite alone has stability and firmness, as its allotment; being separated from all Multitude, and from those Numbers produc't from it self. And therefore it bears a lively Resemblance of that Indivisible † Essence, which is severed from all others; by the power and participation whereof, the nature of all things doth subsist. For, an Unite is the Framer of every Number; in as much as every Multitude does consist of a composition and addition of Unites. Nor is it possible, without an Unite, to have a conception in our thoughts of the substance of Numbers. But, an Unite it self, subsists without a Multitude; being separated at the greatest distance from, and far better than all Numbers; making and constituting all things; but, it self receiving an increase from none. Nearly related hereto is the* Ternarie, *which in like manner can neither be cut in sunder, nor divided; and is the first of Numbers that are made up of Even and Odd. For the even number Two, having an Unite added to it, hath produced the* Ternarie, *which is the first of odd Numbers. Moreover, the* Ternarie *first shewed [Men] Justice, by teaching them Equality: for it has a Beginning, Middle, and End, all equal. And these things give a representation of the Mystick, most Holy, and Royal Trinity: which though it consists in a nature that is void of Beginning and * Generation, yet containes in it Self the Seeds, and Reasons, and Causes of the Substance of all things which have Generation. And the power of the* Ternarie *may deservedly be thought the Beginning of all things. But the number Ten, which containes the End or Term of all numbers, Stops and Bounds all things [proceeding] as far as it self: and 'tis with good reason styled full, and every way perfect: in regard it comprehends all the Species, and all the measures, of all Numbers, † Ratio's, Concords, and Harmonies. 'Tis certain, Unites being by composition increased, are terminated by the || Denarie: and having the* Decade *allotted to them, as their mother, [w] and fixt Boundary; as 'twere in the* Cirque *they run round this* * Meta. *Then, having performed a second Circuit, and again a third, and a fourth, and so on as far as Ten; of ten Tens they make up the Hundredth Number. After this they return to the first* † Carceres. *From whence they begin again, and proceed on to Ten; and having run round the Hundredth Number Ten times, going back again, they perform long Courses round the same* Metæ; *returning by a Circuit from themselves into themselves. For, of the number Ten, an Unite is the tenth part; and ten Unites make up one* Denarie. *But, a* Denarie *or* Decade *is the Limit, the [x] Meta, and the fixt and stated Boundary of Unites: the* Meta *of the infinity of Numbers; but, * the End, that is, the perfection of Unites. Moreover, the* Ternarie *joyned together with the* Denarie, *and having performed the third period of ten Circuits, produces that most natural Number, the Number Thirty. For, that which in Unites is the* Ternarie, *the same in* Denaries *is the* Tricenarie *or* Thirtieth Number. *And this is the firm and certain Limit of that great Luminary, which is the second from the Sun. For the Course of the Moon, from one conjunction with the Sun to the next, compleats the Circle of a Month: after which, She again receives a Beginning of Birth as 'twere, and does again begin new Light, and new Days: [y] being grac't with thirty Unites; honoured with three* Decades; *and beautified*

[r] Εὐθείᾳ πρεαίνει. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis truer written, εὐδίᾳ; and after the verb πρεαίνει a middle distinction is placed. *Vales.*

* Or, *Prefaces.*

† Or, *Substance.*

[t] Ἄλλοις ἐφ' ἑτέροις. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote ἄλλως μὲν ἑτέροις ἀρετῶν βραβείοις στεφανοῖ, *He crowneth different*, &c: which writing the following words do manifestly confirm. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written, ἄλλως ἐφ' ἑτέροις. *Vales.*

[u] Μονάδων δὲ τριπλασίονων. The first word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*; and the want of it is no fault, if I mistake not. But there is also another fault here. Wherefore this whole place is, in my opinion, thus to be corrected; ἐορτὴν ἤδη πανηγυρίζειν ἀριθμῶν ἐορτὴν τελείων ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ συγκειμένην. Δεκάδων μὲν τριπλασίονων, τριάδων δὲ δεκαπλασίονων, *He permits to be celebrated*, &c. Than which amendment there is nothing more certain. For the Festivity of the *Tricennalia*, concerning which *Eusebius* treats, consists of perfect numbers; to wit, Tens trebled, and Threes ten times repeated. *Eusebius*'s following words, concerning *The Denary*, or *Number Ten*, do plainly confirm our Emendation. *Vales.*

* Or, *Number Three.*

[w] Πηξάμενον τέλος τερμόνα. It must, I think, be written, καὶ πηξάμενον, &c, *and fixt Boundarie*. So he calls the *number Ten*, because 'tis the Term and *Meta* of Numbers. But, by fetching an Elegant Metaphor from the *Cirque*, he says that *Unites* do run round the number Ten, as 'twere the *Meta*. Wherefore, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ was to have been translated *tanquam in Circo, as 'twere in the Cirque*. Hence 'tis, that a little after this, he names the *Carceres* also, where his words are, ἐπὶ τὸν πρώτον ἀνατρέχουσιν ἀφετηρίαν, *they return or run back to the first Carceres*. *Vales.*

* *Goal*, or, *Limit.*

† *Place of setting out.*

[x] Καμπὴν τελειωτικὸν. The words must, I think, be placed otherwise, and read thus, καμπὴν, ὅρον καὶ τελειωτικὸν, *the Meta, and the fixt and stated Boundarie*. 'Tis the same with what he says hereafter, ὅρον καὶ πάγιον, *the firm and certain Limit*. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὅρον καὶ καμπήν. *Vales.*

* Or, *The Limit and the End of Unites.*

|| Or, *Number Ten.*

[y] Τριάκοντα μὲν κοσμηθεῖσα

σα μονὰς. tified with ten Ternaries. With the very ſame
Doubtleſs [*Graces*] *is the Empire of Our* Victor Au-
it muſt be guſtus, *and Lord of the*
made μονάσι, *unites*; which I *whole world,* [z] *adorned, by*
admire the Tranſlatour per- *the Beſtower of all things*
ceived not, in regard the fol- *that are good; and enters*
lowing words do plainly ſhew *upon a beginning of new*
it. Farther, that the Ancients *bleſſings: having hitherto*
were wont to meaſure the *Lunar* *accompliſhed the* Tricenna-
Moneth by thirty dayes, *Euſebius* lian *Feſtivities only; but*
has informed us above in *this O-* *now from hence forward en-*
ration; as alſo *Geminus* in *his* *tring upon longer intervals of*
Iſagoge. The *Fuketian Copy* does *Times*; and * *eſpouſing the hopes*
likewiſe confirm our Emendation. * Or, Promiſing. *of future Bleſſings, in the Celeſtial King-*
Valeſ. *dom. Where not one only*
[z] Πρὸς τῶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρος τετιμημένῳ. It muſt be made τετιμηκότα, as may be plainly gathered from the following and preceding words. For it follows, ἐπληρώσατο, ἐφαπτόμενα, and προμηνύματα. And the foregoing words are, τὰ τῆς κοσμοκρατορικῆς ἀρχῆς. Which expreſſion ſeems to me rough and unpleaſant: and I ſhould chooſe barely to ſay, ἡ κοσμοκρατορικὴ ἀρχὴ τετιμημένη, &c. And this Emendation is likewiſe confirmed, by the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

[a] Ἡλίᾳ κρείττονα ἐπαλομένων. Perhaps it ſhould be ἐπαγομένων. So indeed I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

[b] Ἐν ἀγαθῶν ἀκηράτοις χάλλεσιν. The *Fuketian Copy* has ἀκεράτοις, *pure*: perhaps *Euſebius* had written ἀοράτοις, *inviſible*. Valeſ.

Sun, but troops of innumerable Lights daunce about the Supream Emperour: every one of which [a] *is far more Glorious than the Sun it ſelf; and do ſhine and gliſter, with the ſplendour of thoſe Rayes ſhot from that Eternal Fountaine* [*of Light.*] *Where* [*there is*] *a life of* † Or, Soul. *the* † *mind, in the* [b] *incorruptible Beauties of Goods: where* [*there is*] *a life, void of all grief and trouble: where* [*there is*] *an enjoyment of temperate and moſt holy pleaſure: Time without Time; a long and endleſs Ævum, enlarged to Spaces bounded by no Term: not any more* [*diſtinguiſhed*] *by the intervals of dayes and months; nor meaſured by the Circles of Years, and the periods of Seaſons and Times: but ſufficient for one life continued to an immenſity. Which is not enlightned by the Sun, nor illuſtrated by the multitude of the Stars, or* * Splendour *of the Moon: but has that Luminary it ſelf, God the Word, the only-begotten Son of the Supream Emperour. On which account, the Divine Diſcourſes of Myſtick Theology, do declare Him to be that Sun of Righteouſneſs, and a Light which far tranſcends all Lights. We do firmly believe, that the very ſame perſon does illuſtrate thoſe moſt bleſſed Powers, with the Rayes of Juſtice, and the beams of Wiſedom: and, that He does take the Souls of men, adorned with true Piety, not into the Circumference of Heaven, but into His own Boſom; and, that he does really confirm and fulfill His own promiſes. But the eye of Mortals hath not ſeen, nor hath any ear heard; neither can a mind cloathed with fleſh, be able to diſcern and look into thoſe things, which are prepared for them who have been adorned with Piety: as likewiſe for You alſo, Moſt Religious Emperour! To whom alone, of all perſons that ever were, God Himſelf the Supream Emperour of this Univerſe, has granted this, that You ſhould cleanſe and reform the Life of men. To whom alſo He hath ſhown His own Salutary Sign; by the power whereof having conquered Death, He* [c] *celebrated a Triumph over His Enemies. Which Trophy of Victory, and* Amulet *of* Dæmons, *when You had oppoſed againſt the Images of Errour; You* [d] *gained the Victory over all impious Enemies and Barbarians, as alſo over the* Dæmons *themſelves, who are another ſort of Barbarians.*

* Or, Rayes.

[c] Ἧσειρε θρίαμβον, *raiſed a Triumph.*

He had better have ſaid, ἦγε, *Lead*, or *celebrated*. For 'tis not ſaid, ἐγείρειν θρίαμβον, but ἄγειν. Indeed, ἐγείρειν may properly be ſaid concerning a *Trophy*. Valeſ.

[d] Ἧσεν τὰ νίκη. *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read, ἦρατο νίκας; and thought that theſe words were ſpoken concerning *Chriſt*. But, after I had lookt more narrowly into the thing, I perceived, that theſe words are ſpoken in the Second Perſon. For *Euſebius* ſpeaks to the Emperour himſelf. 'Tis certain, thoſe words καὶ πάντων ἀθέων πολεμίων τε καὶ βαρβάρων, *over all impious Enemies and Barbarians*, do evince that this is ſpoken concerning the Emperour. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

FOR, *Whereas there are in us two* * *Subſtances conjoyned, namely, Soul and Body; whereof the Latter is expoſed to view, but the other remaines inviſible: againſt both theſe, two ſorts of Enemies and Barbarians, the one covertly, the other openly, have ſet themſelves in array. And, the one of them oppoſes Bodies againſt Bodies: but the other aſſaults man's naked Soul it ſelf, with all ſorts of incorporeal Engines. Farther, thoſe viſible Barbarians, like ſome ſavage* [a] Nomades, *in nothing different from wild-beaſts, make an attack upon the meek and gentle Flocks of Men; ruine and depopulate Countries; enſlave Cities;* [*ruſh*] *out of the Deſert, like fierce and furious Wolves, and fall upon the inhabitants of Cities; after which they deſtroy as many as they can. But the inviſible Enemies, I mean the Soul-deſtroying* Dæmons, *who are far more fierce and cruel than all Barbarians; flye about the Regions of this Air, and by the Engines of miſchievous* Polytheiſme, *had reduced all mankind under their power: in ſo much that, the true God was not by them any longer look't upon as God; but they wandred up and down in manifold errour, without any worſhip of the Deity. For, having procured for themſelves Gods from I know not whence, who have not any Being or Exiſtence in any place whatever; they wholly neglected and undervalued Him who is the only, and the true God, as if He were not. Hence it was, that the Generation of Bodies was by them reputed and worſhipt as a God; as alſo, a contrary Deity hereto, to wit, the deſtruction and diſſolution of Bodies. And the former of theſe Gods, in regard He was the Authour of Generation, was honoured with the Rites of* Venus. *But the Latter, becauſe He abounded with Riches, and in Strength excelled Mankind, was named* Pluto *and* * Orcus. *For, whereas the Men of that Age, acknowledged no other life, ſave that which takes its beginning from Generation; therefore they aſſerted the Cauſe and Origine of that Life to be a God. And, whereas they believed Men not to exiſt any more, after death; they declared Death to be the Vanquiſher of all, and a Great God. Then, concluding, that on account of that diſſolution by death, they were in no wiſe accountable hereafter for what was performed here; they reſolved upon living ſuch a life, as in effect was no life; perpetrating ſuch facts, as deſerved to be puniſhed with ten thouſand deaths. For, they had not their minds taken up, with the thoughts of God; they expected not*

* Or, Death.

[a] Νομάδες πῶς. The Tranſlatour has done ill in rendring it, *Paſtores, Shepherds*. I would rather retain the *Greek* word, or elſe render it *Vagos, Wanderers*. For ſo the *Latines* termed thoſe *Barbarians*, who ſitting on their Horſes, or in Waggons, were carried this way and that way, without any Houſe or ſettled habitation. Such perſons as theſe, becauſe, in order to their getting food, they would range about to find places abounding with paſture; were termed νομάδες. A little after, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, λυμβρόμενοι ὅσους ἂν δύνωνται, *deſtroying as many as they can*. Valeſ.

not the Tribunals of the Divine judgment; nor call'd to remembrance the * Nature of their own Souls: but acknowledging a subjection to one Cruel Patron, Death; and fully perswading themselves, that [b] the destruction of bodies effected by it, was the dissolution [and annihilation] of the whole man; they declared Death to be a great and a rich God; and for that reason gave him the name of Pluto or Dis. Death therefore was to them a God; and not he alone; but whatever else they accounted valuable in comparison of Death; namely, those things which were conducive, in order to the rendring their Lives pleasant and delicate. For, the pleasure of the † Body was by them accounted a God; nourishment was a God; the growth of those things [that produce nutriment,] a God; the fruit of Trees, a God; Drunkenness and Luxury, a God; the desire of || things Carnal, a God; the Pleasure of those things, a God. Hence [came] the Mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina; hence the Ravishment of the Virgin [Proserpina] by Pluto, and Her Restoration again. Hence Bacchus's Initiations and Ceremonies; and Hercules vanquished by drunkenness, as by a more powerfull God. Hence the adulterous Rites of Cupid and Venus. Hence Jupiter himself enraged with a Lust after women, and in Love with Ganymede: hence the fictions of Lascivious Fables, concerning Gods addicted to pleasure, Wantonness, and Luxury. With such therefore, and so many Darts of * impious superstition as these, the Cruel Barbarians, and profest Enemies to the Supream King, gaul'd the Inhabitants of the Earth; and at length reduc'd the whole Body of mankind to a Subjection to themselves; in so much that, Monuments of impiety were erected by them, in all parts of the earth; and Temples and Shrines of false Divinity, built in every Corner. Moreover, [c] those persons then thought to be in power, were so miserably enslaved to Errour, that they appeased their Gods, with the slaughters of their own Country-men and Relations; and sharpened their Swords against the defenders of Truth; and [commenc't] an implacable War, and lifted up impious hands, not against forreigne and barbarous Enemies; but against their Domesticks and Friends, and against their Brethren, Kinsmen and dearest Relations; who by a purity of Life and Sobriety, and with purposes of true Piety, had resolved to pay a worship and observance to the Deity. After this manner, these men, seized with a distraction of mind, sacrificed persons consecrated to the Supream King, to their own Dæmons. But They, in regard they were couragious Witnesses of true Piety, and had been accustomed to prefer a glorious death in defence of truth, before life it self; did not in the least value so severe a Tyranny: but rather, as it became the Souldiers of God, being fortified with the * Arms of Patience, they despised and laught at every sort of death; namely Fire, Sword, and the † piercings of Nails; the wild Beasts; the depths of the Sea; the cutting off, and afterwards searing of Limbs; digging out of Eyes; mutilations of the whole Body; and lastly, Famine, the Mines, and Bonds. All which, by reason of that Love and ardency of Affection they bore to their own King, they accounted sweeter than all the pleasures and enjoyments [of this life.] The minds likewise of the tenderer Sex were Valiant and Stout, endued with a Courage nothing inferiour to that of men; some of whom underwent the very same Combats with men, and obtained equal rewards of Valour. Others, when drag'd away to be ravished, sooner resigned their Lives to Death, [d] than their Bodies to ravishment. And vast other numbers of them, not enduring so much as to hear the Menaces of Ravishment, wherewith they were threatned by the Presidents of Provinces; with a valiant mind endured all sorts of Tortures, and [the Execution of] every Capital Sentence. In this manner the Vauntguard of the Supream Emperour, with an undaunted Courage of mind maintained the Fight, against their Army who paid a worship to many Gods. But the [Dæmons,] who are the adversaries of God, and enemies to the salvation of men; demonstrating more of Cruelty than any the most savage Barbarian, rejoyced in such Libations of humane bloud. And their Assistants and Ministers, quaff't to them such Cups as these, filled with blood unjustly shed; providing for them this direfull * and impious Banquet, to the ruine and destruction of humane kind. Affairs being in this posture; what ought to have been done by God, the King of those that were oppresst? Ought He to be careless of the safety of his dearest [Dependents,] and to neglect his own servants, when in this bloudy manner assaulted? [f] Doubtless, He can never be termed a prudent Pilot, who shall suffer his Vessel, together with the men on Board, to be sunk; without contributing any thing of his own assistance, in order to the preservation of the Ships-company. Nor, can that person be styled a [g] wary and provident General, who shall render up his Allies to the Enemy, unreveng'd and undefended. Neither will a good Shepherd be unconcerned for, and [h] careless of a Sheep straying from the rest of his flock: but will rather leave all the other, which are safe and in good condition; and will most readily suffer any thing whatever, on account of preserving that Sheep which has strayed; being ready, should there be a necessity, to encounter even with fierce and ra-

* Or, Substance.

[b] Καὶ ἡλῶ ἐκ τόπων ἧς σωμάτων φθορέν. At my peril write ἐκ τότε, by it; understand death. And so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*. A little before, the *Genevamen* had left out a word; which, from the *Fuketian Copy*, I have supplied in this manner, ἀξια δρώντες δίγον. *Vales.*

† Or, Flesh.

|| Or, Bodies.

* Or, God-opposing Errour.

[c] Οἱ γῶν τότε κρατεῖν νομιζόμενοι. By these words *Eusebius* either means the Emperours themselves, who had persecuted the *Christian* Religion; or else all the Heathens. For these prevail'd at that time, before the *Christian* Religion had obtained throughout the whole world. As therefore *the Christian Religion* was afterwards termed, ἡ κρατήσασα δόξα, and the *Christians*, οἱ κρατήσαντες; (as I have noted at the Books of *Eusebius's Eccles. Histor.*) so the Gentiles, as long as their superstition flourish't, are rightly termed οἱ κρατήσαντες. Yet below, at the beginning of the *ninth Chapter*, he has used τοῖς τότε κρατοῦσι to signifie *the Emperours*. *Vales.*

* Or, Virtue.

† See Pag. 150, note [*]

[d] Ἡ τὸ σῶμα φθορᾶς ἀγαπήσασι. In the eighth Book of his *Eccles. History*, chap. 14, whence this passage is taken almost word for word; the reading is truer, thus, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδῶσαι, than expose their bodies to be defiled. *Vales.*

[e] Καὶ ἐυσεβῆ παρασκευάσαν. and pious banquet. I reade ἀσεβῆ, *impious*, with the Translatour; in the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis written, δυσεβῆ. *Vales.*

[f] Οὔτε κυβερνήτης ἄν ποτ' ἂν λεχθείη. I should chooſe to write, ἄτε κυβερνήτης ὢν ποτ' ἂν, &c; *Doubtless, He can never*, &c. So in the following period, I think it should be mended, ἄτε στρατηγὸς ὢν ποτ' ἂν ψύχοιτο ἀφειδὴς, ὡς, &c; *nor can that person*, &c; where ὢν is put for ἐκεῖνον. *Vales.*

[g] Γένοιτο ἀφειδὴς. I know indeed, that a Commander *who spares not his own Life*, may be termed ἀφειδὴς. But, in regard this is a commendation befitting a *Souldier*, rather than a *Commander*; and because the term ἀφειδὴς is wont to be most commonly taken in an ill sense; therefore, at this place I would more willingly read εὐφειδὴς, that is, *a wary and provident General*. So *Amm. Marcellinus*, speaking concerning *Corbulo* the most fam'd Commander of the *Romans*, gives him this Elogy, *Provinciarum fidus defensor & cautus, a faithfull and wary Defender of the Provinces*. Nevertheless, if any one had rather retain the common reading, I will not gain-say it. *Vales.*

[h] Παιδοι ἀνδρέμμα. The amendment of this place was obvious. For who sees not that it should be, παιδοι ἂν δρέμμα in which manner I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

ging Beasts. But, the supream Moderator's care was not employ'd about a Sheep that wants reason; but He was highly concern'd for his whole Army; for the sake of those, who on his account were assaulted. Of whose Combats, and conflicts in defence of Piety, when he had approved; and had honoured them, who were now removed to him, with the rewards of Victory, [i] with himself; he enrolled them amongst the Angelick Quires in Heaven. But, others of them he continued still upon earth, as Seeds that might restore and give new life to Piety, for the good of posterity; that they should both be spectatours of his vengeance upon the impious, and might also become Relatours of those things which they had beheld with their own eyes. After this, when he had stretcht forth his right hand, in order to his being avenged of his Adversaries; by his very Nod, on a sudden he destroyed them; having first punished them with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven; and compell'd them, even against their wills, with their own lips to recant their own horrid wickednesses. But these, who were mean and contemned, and by almost all persons look't upon as forsaken and hopeless, he has raised from the ground, and highly exalted. And this, the supream Emperour [God,] effected from Heaven; when he had presented to us his own Servant, as some invincible Warriour. (For our Emperour, by reason of his transcendency of Piety, rejoyces in his being stiled The Servant of God.) Whom God has made Conquerour over all sorts of Enemies whatever, having raised up him alone, against many. For, they were numerous; and almost infinite, as [k] being the friends of many Dæmons. [l] Yea rather, they were nothing: whence it is, that at present they are nothing. But this One Emperour, [*is] of One, [and bears] the Image of That One Supream Emperour. They, [induced thereto] by an impious mind, destroyed pious men by bloudy Murthers. But he, imitating his own Saviour's example, and being only skilled in this; the preservation namely of men; has sav'd alive even the impious themselves, teaching them true Piety and Religion. Then, in regard he is really Victor, he hath vanquished that twofold sort of Barbarians: civilizing the fierce and untractable Tribes of men, by prudent and rational Embassies; compelling them to own, and * submit themselves to their Betters; and from a Lawless and brutish life, reducing them to Civility and Humanity. But, as for that cruel and enraged Sort of invisible Dæmons, he does really and manifestly [m] prove, that they were long since vanquished by God. For the Common Saviour of the Universe, had by an invisible Power routed those invisible Spirits. But this Our Prince, the Supream Emperour's Lieutenant-General as 'twere, [n] has pursued the vanquished; spoyling † those who were long since dead and consumed; and plentifully distributing the Booty amongst the Souldiers of [God] the Victor.

[i] Παρ' ἑαυτῷ. I reade παρ' ἑαυτῷ, *with himself*; in which manner *Eusebius* is wont to expresse himself. A little after, the reading should be ἐξησίλαι γνησιόμυοι, *might also become Relatours*: the *Fuketian Copy* confirms both these Emendations. *Vales.*

[k] Ἅτε καὶ δαιμόνων. This place is corrupted; in my judgment, it must be restored thus; οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ μυεῖοι, πολλοί τε πολλῶν ἅτε δαιμόνων καὶ αὐτῶν φίλοι. That is, *For they were almost innumerable and many in regard they were the friends of many Dæmons and of themselves.* I have expunged the word καὶ, becaus it had crept in hither, from the upper line. And by *those innumerable men*, against whom God raised one single person, *Constantine*; *Eusebius* means *Maxentius*, *Maximianus Herculius*, *Maximinus*, and *Licinius*; to whom *Diocletian* and *Galerius* may be added. But, by *those many friends, both of the Dæmons, and of themselves*, he means *the Presidents and Governours of Provinces, and the Commanders of the Milice*; who, that they might curry favour with the Emperours, molested the *Christians* in all places. It may also be written, ἅτε ὂν δαιμόνων καὶ αὐτῶν φίλοι, in another sense; that is, *many as being descended of many Dæmons, and the friends of those Dæmons.* Which sense seems truer. For, it answers to these words which follow, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἦν, &c; *But, this One Emperour* [*is*] *of One.* For *Eusebius* alludes to that passage in the Gospel; *Ye are of your father the devil, Joh.* 8. 44. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ μυεῖοι. πολλοί τε πολλῶν ἅτε φίλοι δαιμόνων; *For they were infinite; and many as being the friends of many Dæmons.* Which reading is purer and truer. *Vales.*

[l] Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσαν. οὕτω οὐδὲν εἰσίν. *Eusebius* here seems to have imitated *Dionysius Alexandrinus*; who in *his Paschal Letter* concerning the Tyranny of *Macrianus*, expresses himself in this manner, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἦν, &c. *now is not, for he never was*: which passage occurs in *the seventh Book of his Eccles. Histor. Chap.* 23. *Vales.*

* Or, Not to be ignorant of their, &c.

[m] Ἀπελέγχων, ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος πάλαι νενικημένον. The Translatour hath placed a distinction after the term ἀπελέγχων; and renders the passage thus; *Reipsa coarguit repressitque*; *utpote quod jam olim fuisset ab ipso Deo superatum, he really confuted and repress't it; in regard it had been long before vanquished by God Himself.* But I have taken away the distinction, and rendred it thus; *rebus ipsis convincens, jam pridem à Deo fuisse superatum, He does really*, &c. The Reader may make choice of which rendition he pleases. For there is but little difference. How *Constantine* actually demonstrated, that the *Dæmons* were vanquished; *Eusebius* does presently declare; when he says, that their Temples were rifled by *Constantine*, and bestowed on the *Christians*. *Vales.*

[n] Τοῖς νενικημένοις ὑπεξήκ. It must be written, ἐπεξῆκ. *Vales.*

† Namely, the *Dæmons*; whose Temples *Constantine* destroyed, and melted down their Images.

FOR, Whereas he perceived, that the simple multitude, like children, in vain stood in fear of those Bug-bears of Errour, made of Gold and Silver; it was his Sentiment, that they ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they would be like some pieces of Stones, cast before the feet of those who walk in the dark; [a] and because a smooth and plain passage thorow the Kings-high-way was in future to be open to all men. Having therefore diligently weighed these matters with himself, he was of opinion, that he stood not in need either of Military Forces or a numerous Army, in order to his giving Check to those things; but, that one, or two of those persons well known to him, were sufficient to effect this business: whom by one only Nod he dispatcht away into every Province. They, confiding in [the Emperour's] Piety, [and in their own Religiousness towards God,] made their way thorow the thickest crowds, and thorow infinite multitudes of people, and [b] fully discovered that ancient Errour [of Idolatry,] in all Cities, and throughout every Country. And in the first place, they commanded the Priests themselves, with much laughter and disgrace to bring forth their Gods, out of certain dark recesses. Then they divested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap't off that matter which seemed to be usefull, and * cast it into the fire, and melted it down; [c] so much as by them was thought to be of use and necessary, they reserved, and put it up safe. But, whatever was superfluous and wholly useless, that they left with the superstitious, for a lasting monument

CHAP. VIII.

[a] Καὶ ὁμαλὴν τοῖς πᾶσιν. It must be made τοῖς πᾶσιν, *to all men*; from the *Fuketian Copy*, and from *his Third Book concerning the Life of Constantine, Chap.* 54; where this passage occurs word for word. *Vales.*

[b] Πλάνης ἐπιεῖσλο φῶτας. Doubtless it is to be written ἐπιεῖσλο φωτὸν, *fully discovered*; and thus it is to be mended in the *Third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap.* 54; where the reading is ἐπιεῖσλο φθορὰν, *totally destroyed*. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis φῶτας. *Vales.*

* Or, tried it in the furnace and in the fire.

[c] Τὰ μὲν γὰρ λυσιτελῆ. The word γὰρ must be expunged; the *Fuketian Copy* acknowledges not that word. *Vales.*

ment of disgrace. Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto. For, at the same time that those Idols of the Dead, made of pretious matter, were spoyled in that manner we have declared; he *ordered the rest of the Images, consisting of Brass, to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, [celebrated] in the doting Fables [of the Greeks,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away bound. After these things, this great Emperour, having as 'twere light up a most bright Torch, lookt about with his Imperial Eye, if peradventure he could any where find, any Remains of Errour as yet lying concealed. And, as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised herself to Heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth that are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he, whilst he †was resident in the Imperial Palace of his own most beautifull City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower, a certain pernicious snare of Souls, lying concealed in the Province of the Phœnicians. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the Forums, or Streets; of which sort many are visible in Cities, most gloriously built for ornaments sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy Dæmon [termed] Venus, in part of the Top of [Mount] Libanus. This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all incontinent persons, and such as with all manner of dissoluteness had debauch't their own Bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the venerableness of their own Sex, appeased the Dæmon by suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawfull ‖ Coitions with women, and Adulteries, and other beastly and infamous facts were committed in that Temple, as in a place that was lawless, and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But, the impieties committed there, could not lye concealed from this Great Emperour also. But, when he himself had look't into them with the eye of an Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of being [enlightned with the Rayes] of the Sun it self, Wherefore he orders it to be totally demolished, together with [its Statues and] Consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the Engines of this impudent and Libidinous Errour, were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a Company of Souldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, [being scar'd] by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned modesty. When therefore the Emperour had in this manner [d] pull'd off those Vizards of abominable wickedness, which were visible in the Temple of that Dæmon the seducer of the people; and had exposed them to the view of all persons; he Preached his own Saviour in the presence of all.*

* Or, Set upon the other Images, made of Brass.

† Walk't up and down in, or, was conversant in.

‖ Or, Copulations of women.

[d] Φάσματα κακίων ἀμφαν κατασκευῶ. I can't approve of the Translatour's Version, who has rendred this place thus; *Ad hunc modum igitur Imperator, tum spectra illa improbitatis & nequitiæ, quæ hominum animi occæcati fuerant, palam sub omnium oculis subjecit,* &c; *In this manner therefore the Emperour, both exposed to publick view those Spectres of improbity and wickedness, wherewith the minds of men had been blinded,* &c. But I had rather render it thus; *Cùm flagitiorum larvas, quæ in Dæmonis illius populorum seductoris templo visebantur, detraxisset,* &c. *When therefore the Emperour had in this manner pull'd off,* &c. Φάσματα κακιῶν (for so the Accentuation is to be restored,) are the *integumenta vitiorum, the masks of vices,* wherewith the Heathens covered their own uncleanness. So above, *Eusebius* speaking of the Images of the *Dæmons*, says, κἄπειτα ἀπεγυμνῶντες τὰ φάσμα[Θ], &c; *Then they divested* [those Gods] *of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men.* Farther, this place is thus to be mended from the *Fuketian* Copy, ὥδε κὴ τὰ τῆς λαοπλάνε φάσματα κακίας. *Vales.*

Nor was there any one who could defend or assist the persons detected; no Dæmon; *no God; no Utterer of Oracles; no Diviner. Nor were the minds of men any longer wrap't up in thick and profound darkness: but being illustrated by the Rayes of unerring Piety, they condemned the ignorance of their Ancestours; and pityed their Blindness; and pronounc't themselves happy, in regard they were free'd from the cruel slavery of Errour.* [c] *Thus therefore in a moment, by the Will of the Great God, and the Emperour's Assistance and Ministery, all the kinds of Enemies and Adversaries, as well the visible as invisible, were totally destroyed: and in future, Peace, the best* Educatrix *of Youth, encompassed the habitation of all men. Nor were there any more Wars, because* The Gods *were not. Neither did there happen any Fights, either in the Countries or Cities, as there had been before, when the worship of* Dæmons *flourisht: nor were there any more effusions of bloud amongst men, such as had usually hapned, whilst the fury of* Polytheisme *was prevalent.*

[c] Οὕτω δὴ τὰ ὑπ' ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ βεβαχεῖ. Questionless it must be, ὅτω δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ βεβαχεῖ Thus therefore in a moment. Presently, I read ἀσαθὴ κυβερνέφ[Θ], *the best Educatrix* [or Breeder] *of Youth*; without the particle κὴ. For *Eusebius* alludes to that Verse of *Hesiod*, in his *Opera*;

Εἰρήνη τ' ἀσαθὴ κυβερνέφ[Θ].

Vales.

CHAP. IX.

NOw therefore 'tis seasonable, to oppose the new Face of affairs to the old, and inspect the Change of matters made for the better, by comparing the worser with them; and to discern and perceive clearly, in what manner heretofore, Porches and Consecrated Plots of Ground; Groves and Temples, were [a] *most elaborately founded and prepared for them; and how the Temples were* * *beautified with vast numbers of Consecrated Gifts. As for the Tyrants and those in whose hands the supream power then was, they had an high veneration for the Gods. The Nations also and people, in the fields and in all places, yea in their very Private dwellings, in their Store Houses namely and Bed-chambers,* [b] *honoured them with Statues, according to the Rites of their own Country. But, the fruit of their devotion, was not that mutual Peace, which we now behold with our eyes, but all things directly contrary hereto; to wit Wars, Fights, and Seditions; wherewith they were* † *sorely disquieted during the whole Course of their Lives, and filled their own Countries with bloud and intestine slaughters. Moreover, the Gods worshipt by them, with much flattery did indeed promise the then Emperours, Prophesies and Oracles, and predictions of things future.*

* Or, crown'd.

† Worn out.

[a] Αὐτοῖς φιλοπόνως ἐξεκεῖτο. You must understand τοῖς δαίμοσι, for the *Dæmons*; or else τοῖς ἕλλησι, *by the Heathens*: for both may be meant: write also ἐξησκεῖτο, *were elaborately founded*, or, *exquisitely prepared*. In the *Fuketian* Copy, the beginning of this chapter, and the close of the foregoing one, is omitted, by the carelessness of the Transcriber. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ ἀγάλμασιν ἐπίμων τὰ πάντα. This expression seems to me uncouth. For it can't well be said, πᾶν τὰ πάντα: nor can the term ἄγαλμα be well joyned with δαλάμους. Wherefore, I would more willingly reade this whole place, in this manner, ἔθνη τε κὴ δῆμοι κατ' ἀγρὸς κὴ πάντα τόπον, ἴδη τε κατ' οἴκους ἐν ἀυλοῖς αὐτῶν ταμείοις τε κὴ θαλάμοις, ἀγάλματον ἀυτοὺ ἐπίμων κατὰ τὰ πάτεια. *The Nations also and people,* &c. *Vales.*

But those very Gods [c] *could not* *foresee *their own Ruine, and were altogether unable to foretell it to their own selves. Which is a most convincing Argument, in order to the manifestation of their cheat and imposture. 'Tis certain, none of those, heretofore admired for their Oracles, ever foretold the Glorious Coming of the Common Saviour amongst men, or the new Preaching of that divine knowledge, which was first delivered by him. Neither* Pythius *himself, nor any other of the Great* Dæmons, *was ever apprehensive of their own desolation: nor did he presage or propheſie, who should vanquish and destroy them. What Diviner or Soothsayer hath foretold, that the worship of the Gods should be extinguished by the Coming of a Certain* † *New Person into the world; and, that the knowledge and worship of the supream Mediator of all things, should be diffused amongst all men? Who hath foreseen this Holy and Religious Principality, and this Our* Victor, *and the Trophies which he has in all places of the earth erected against* Dæmons, *and the Ruine of the* * *High places? Which of the* Hero's *hath ever declared in expres words, that the lifeless Statues should be melted, and from an useless Form be changed into necessary uses? Which of the Gods hath ever made any mention, concerning their own Statues which are melted down, and with disgrace and laughter* [d] *cut into thinn plates? Where* [*I beseech you*] *were the Defenders of those* [*Gods,*] *that could not give assistance to the Monuments consecrated to them, which were ruined by Men? What is become of them, who heretofore raised Wars, and who now behold their own vanquishers living in a most calm and secure Peace? Where are those who put their trust in them, as in Gods, and elevated their own minds by a vain and fruitless confidence;* [e] *who, when they had raised the Errour* [*of their own superstition*] *to the highest pitch, and had commenc't an implacable War against the Defenders of Truth; Wretches as they were, perished in a most miserable manner? Where are those Troops of Gyants, fighting against God Himself? And the hissings of Dragons; Who have whet their Tongues, and have uttered impious Expressions against the supream King? Those persons, professt Enemies to the supream Emperour, confiding in a multitude of Gods, fell on with vast numbers of men in Arms; carrying before them as their defence,* [f] *Resemblances of dead persons, in Statues void of life. But Our Emperour, cloathed with the Coat of Mail of Piety, having opposed against the multitude of his Enemies, the salutary and vivifick Standard, as some affrightning spectacle, and potent Preservative against mischiefs; obtained the Victory, both over his Enemies, and over the* Dæmons. *After which, with a gratefull mind, he rendred a Thanksgiving-prayer to* [*God*] *the Authour of his Victory; and with a loud voice, and by the Monuments of Statues raised, he made known to all men the Triumphant Standard; erecting this Great Trophy against all his Enemies, in the midst of the Imperial City; and issuing out an Expres Command to all men, that they should acknowledge this salutary Standard (which no Age can deface,) as the Preservative of the* Roman *Government, that is, the Empire of the whole world. And herewith he acquainted all persons, but more especially the Milice. To whom* [*he gave this in charge,*] *that they ought not to* * *place their hopes in their Spears and Armour, nor in the strength of their Bodies; but should acknowledge God to be the Giver of all Good, and particularly of Victory it self. Thus the Emperour himself (strange and almost incredible!) was his own Armie's Instructer in their devotions; and delivered to them pious* † *prayers, which were agreeable to the Divine Laws and Institutions; that they should lift up their hands on high, towards Heaven; but should* ‖ *fix the eyes of their minds on the highest object, namely on the Celestial King; and in their prayers should invoke him, as The Giver of Victory, The Saviour, The Preserver, and The Assistant. Moreover, that they should esteem of a day, as convenient and fit for prayers; to wit, that day, which really is the Chief and* § *First of*

[c] Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν προγνῶναι. I read, οὐκ ἐδύναντο προγνῶναι, could not foresee, or, foreknow. Valesius.

* Foreknow.

† Νέου τινὸς; it may be rendred, of a certain new-born child.

* Τῶν ὑψηλῶν. 'Tis a term which occurs in sacred Scripture; see 1 Kings, chap. 12, and 13. The Images of Dæmons were so termed, because they were commonly worshipped in high places. Valesius.

[d] Εἰς λεπτὸν τε καταπτομένων. Doubtless, the reading must be κατακοπτομένων, cut; which Christophorson perceived not. Valesius.

[e] Οἷς τὸ μὲν πλέον. As far as this place, there was a Chasme in the Fuketian Copy; which Manuscript gives us this reading of this place; οἷς οἱ τὸ μὲν πλέον. I am of opinion, that the first word is to be blotted out. Valesius.

[f] Νεκρῶν εἴδωλα κεκμώντων. Write δανόντων, as the reading is in his Life of Constantine, Book 2. Chap. 16; where this passage occurs. A little after, write, χαεισήειον ὑποδὺς ἐυχὴν τὸ τῆς νίκης ὅπλον; as 'tis in his Life of Constantine, and in the Fuketian Copy. Valesius.

* Or, *Hang their hopes on, &c.*

† See *his Life of Constantine, Book 4. Chap. 20.*

‖ Or, *Transmit the eyes — to the, &c.*

§ Καὶ πρώτην οὖσαν. He terms the *Lord's day, the first*; not only because 'tis the first day of the week; but also, in regard it was the first day of the world. Whence it may deservedly be termed the Birth-day of the world. Farther, the *Lord's Day* is not only termed the *first day*, but *the eighth* also. St *Austin*'s words (Book 1. *Concerning the Lord's Sermon on the Mount, Chap. 11.*) are these: *Hæc octava Sententia quæ ad Caput redit, &c: This eighth Sentence which returns to the Head, and declares the perfect man, is perhaps signified by Circumcision also on the eighth day in the Old Testament; and by the Resurrection of the Lord after the Sabbath, which as 'tis the eighth, so 'tis also the first day.* Before St *Austin*, *Hilarius* had said the same, in *his Prologue to his Comments on the Psalms*; where discoursing concerning *the seventh Number*, his words are these: *Quem tamen octoas, quia dies eadem prima quæ octava, &c: which nevertheless, the number eight (because the first day is the same with the eighth,) being added in the last Sabbath according to the Evangelick fulness, doth compleat.* See also his following words in *that Prologue*. Moreover, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in *his discourse when the day of the Theophania* had fal'n on a Sunday, speaks concerning the *Lord's day* in this manner: ᾗ τὸ ἕβδομον ᾗ τὸ πρέπον ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν τιμᾶν, &c: *Both Custome, and also duty doth require us, to honour every Sunday, and to observe that day as a Festival; in regard thereon our Lord Jesus Christ procured for us a Resurrection from the dead. Wherefore, in the sacred Scriptures, this day is both termed The first, as being the beginning of life to us; and also The eighth, in regard it surpasses the Sabbath of the Jews.* These words of *Theophilus* are cited in *the Typicon of* St *Saba*, and by *Balsamon* in *his Collection of Canons*. To whom add *Isidorus*, and *Beda* in the *Book de Divinis Officiis*, where they treat concerning Sunday. *Stephanus Gobarus* writes the same, in *his 29th Chapter*. To this custom it is perhaps to be referred, that the *Greeks* most commonly reckon the days of the week, not to the Sunday which precedes, but to that which follows. For, after the *Sunday of the Prodigal Son*, which is *the ninth Sunday before Easter*, those dayes which followed immediately, namely *the second, third*, and *fourth Feria*, and so on, were by the *Greeks* termed, ἡ δευτέρα τῆς ἀποκρέω, ἡ τρίτη, &c; untill the following Sunday, which was termed *Dominica τῆς ἀποκρέω*, and this week was called ἑβδομὰς τῆς ἀποκρέω. [See *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word ἀπόκρεως.] But after the *Dominica τῆς ἀποκρέω*, the *second Feria* which followed next, was termed τῆς τυρινῆς or τυροφάγου, and so the other days of that whole week, unto the following Sunday, which was called by the same name, ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς τυρινῆς. The same may be observed in the other Sundays, untill *Easter-day*. For after the *Dominica τῆς τυρινῆς*, the *second Feria* was termed *the second Feria of the Holy Fasts*; and the whole week was called so, untill the following Sunday, which had the same name. Lastly, the ἑβδομὰς μεγάλη [*the Great week*, or, *Passion-week*] which we call *the Holy Week*, is reckoned to the following Sunday, namely *Easter Day*, as it appears

appears from the *Typicon* of *Saint Saba*, *Chap.* 31. *Cyrillus* also, in *his Paschal Sermons*, always begins the week of *Easter*, which we now term *The Holy Week*, from the *second Feria*; and closes it with the following Sunday, namely *Easter-Day*. Nor does *Theophilus* do otherwise in *his Paschal Epistles*. Vales.

other days, and which is truly the [h] *Lord's, and the Salutary Day: and which has its* [i] *name from Light, Life, Immortality, and from every thing that is good. Moreover, He* [k] *himself, becoming his own Teacher of such good things, pays an adoration to his Saviour in the most private Apartments of his Imperial Palace; and sometimes by praying fulfills the Divine Laws; at others, by hearing the sacred Scriptures read, he cultivates and instructs his own mind. Farther, persons consecrated to God, and who are adorned with holiness of Life and the other virtues, are his Servants and Ministers; and them he has appointed to be the* * *Controllers of his whole House. Lastly, his* Protectors *and trusty Guards, armed with the weapons of good affection, do acknowledge the Emperour as their Instructer in a pious Life.*

[h] Κυριακὴν. This is the most ancient name of Sunday, whereby it was called even from the Apostles times. 'Tis certain, in the *Revelation of Saint John*, mention is made of the *Lord's day*: See *Chap.* 1. *verse* 10.

* Or, Keepers.

But, what *Eusebius* says here, and in *the Life of Constantine*; namely, that Sunday was consecrated and set apart for prayers and Ecclesiastick assemblies; this in my judgment, was instituted something later. For the first *Christians*, who had embraced the faith immediately after our Lords Ascent, met every day, always applying themselves to prayers, and all manner of Offices of Piety; as St *Luke* writes in the *Acts of the Apostles*. But afterwards, when the Heathens betook themselves in great numbers to the faith of Christ, and the Faithfull could not meet every day; it was appointed by the Apostles and their Successours, that at least on the *Lord's Day*, the Faithfull should meet together in the Church. Concerning which there is an eminent passage, in *Justin the Martyr's second Apology*, about the close of it. Τῇ τῶν ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, &c; *On the day termed Sunday, all persons, as well those who dwell in the Country, as them in the City, meet together*, &c. He has termed it *Sunday*, not *the Lord's Day*, because he spoke to the *Roman* Emperours, who were well acquainted with *Sunday*, but knew not *the Lord's Day*, which was an appellation proper to *Christians*. *Justin* repeats the same thing a little after, in the *same Apology*. Hereto likewise *Pliny* agrees in *his Epistle to Trajan*. *Affirmabant*, says he, *hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris*, &c. *They affirmed, that this was the Totall, either of their fault, or errour, that on a stated day they were wont to meet together before it was light, and sing an Hymn to Christ, as to God.* Where, by *a stated day* he means *The Lord's Day*. Therefore, from this place of *Pliny* it may be gathered, that the *Christians* who then lived in *Bithynia*, met together on the *Lord's Day* only. Otherwise, *Pliny*, would have said, that they were wont to meet *on stated days*, not *on a stated day*. Although this is not so much the Testimony of *Pliny* himself, as the *Christians* own, who confest that before *Pliny*, as he himself attests. Besides the *Lord's Day*, *Epiphanius* (in the *Epilogue to his Books against Heresies*,) affirms that an Assemblie on the *fourth* and *sixth Feria*; and *Clemens* (in *his Constitutions*) says, that a meeting together on the *Sabbath Day*, was instituted by the Apostles. But, as to what belongs to the *Stations of the fourth and sixth Feria*, we are informed from *Tertullian* in *his Book de Jejuniis*, that they were meerly arbitrary and at will, not determined by any positive Law or Command. And although it was *the Easterns* usage to meet together on *the Sabbath*, yet 'tis manifest from *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, and others, that in most Churches, Assemblies were not then held. There is an eminent passage of St *Jerom's*, on *the Epist. to the Galatians*, *Chap.* 4. *Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo*, &c. *And least a disordered Congregation of the people might lessen the faith in Christ, therefore some days are appointed, that we might all come together. Not that that day whereon we meet, is more solemn; but, that on whatever day there is an assembly, a greater joy may arise from the sight of one another.* Vales.

[i] Φωτὸς καὶ ζωῆς ἐπώνυμον. He says, that the *Lord's Day* has its name from light, not because it was by the Heathens termed *the day of the Sun*, but because 'tis the day of the Lord, that namely whereon the Lord rose, and conferred on us Life and Light: and because on that day we received the Holy Spirit, the Enlightner of our minds. See *Clemens Alexandrinus's Strom.* Book 6. where speaking concerning the Sabbath, there occurs a most elegant passage, which for brevities sake I here omit. The *Lord's Day* therefore is the day of Light, both because on that day the Light was first created, and also in regard we on that day received the knowledge of the truth by the Holy Spirit, who fell upon the Faithfull under the form of fire, and *without division was divided*, as *Clemens* words it in the forementioned place. *Vales.*

[k] Αὐτὸς τε ἑαυτῷ διδάσκαλος. That is, not satisfied in his instructing others, he himself practises those things which he teacheth, according to the command of the Gospel. *Vales.*

But the Emperour himself pays an honour to this Victorious Banner, having experimentally found a Divine Efficacy inherent in it. For, by this [Standard] *vast multitudes of the adverse Army have been put to flight; by it the Forces of invisible* Dæmons *have been subdued. By it, their insolence, who opposed God Himself, was repress't: by it, the tongues of slanderers and impious persons were silenced. By it the Barbarous Nations were vanquished. By it the frauds and mockery of Superstitious Errour were exposed and detected. Lastly, to it (which is the sum and perfection of all Goods,) the Emperour paying a due debt as 'twere, has erected Triumphal Arches in all places of the Earth. And with a bountifull and Royal hand* [hath founded] *Temples and Churches, in honour of it: and has issued forth an Order to all persons, that sacred Oratories should be built. In the very midst* [l] *therefore of the Provinces and Cities, eximious Monuments of his Imperial magnificence were forthwith raised; and in a short time they shined gloriously in every Country, and manifestly confuted and exposed the impiety of Tyrannick Government. For those* [Tyrants] *having by a madness of mind been a little before hurried on to wage a War against God; like mad dogs, vented their rage against the lifeless Structures, in regard they were unable to effect any thing against God Himself: and when they had thrown down the Oratories from their vast height to the very ground, and had dug up their very Foundations; they made them look like a City taken by the Enemy. Such was the Tragedy of wickednesses acted by them: wherein they attempted, as 'twere to assault the Deity it self; but were soon made sensible of their own madness. For a short space of time had scarce intervened, when a Storm poured on them from Heaven, swept them away and in one moment rendred them invisible: in so much that, neither kindred, nor issue, nor any the least relique of their memory, was left remaining amongst men; but, though they were numerous, yet in a minute, having first had stripes inflicted on them from Heaven, they all perished utterly, and became extinct. Such was the conclusion of these mens outragious Fury, whereby they had made an Insurrection against God. But this* [Our Emperour,] *who, armed with the Salutary Trophy, had alone fal'n upon the Enemies; (or rather, was not alone; for he who is the sole Emperour, was present with, and assisted Him;) hath built new Oratories far better than those which a little before had been demolisht; and hath made the latter much more magnificent, than the former were: one while adorning the City which bears his own name, with various Churches of God; at another time, honouring the chief* [City] *of* Bithynia, *with* [m] *a most stately and most beautifull* [Church.] *He hath likewise grac't the chiefest* [Cities] *of the other Provinces, with Ornaments of this nature. Moreover, when he had made choice of two eminent places in the East; the one in the Province of* Palestine, *because the vivifick Stream* [of saving faith] *has from thence, as from a Spring, diffused it self and overflowed*

[l] Τὸ δὲ φθάσαν φάσμα. The reading must be ὑψηλὸν δὲ; and we have rendred it accordingly. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis ὑψηλότατον. *Vales.*

[m] Μείζονι πομπῇ καὶ σεμνολεσάτῳ. It must be, μείζονι πομπῇ καὶ σεμνολεσάτῃ. For ἐκκλησίᾳ, *Church*, is understood; as 'tis apparent from *His third Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, *Chap.* 50. From whence it must be also here corrected, κεφαλεσάσας, *the chiefest* [Cities;] as the reading likewise is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

flowed all Nations; the other in the Metropolis [n] of the whole East, [n] which graces the name of Antiochus: in this latter, as 'twere in the Head of all the Provinces of that Tract, he hath consecrated [to God] a * most glorious & matchless Structure, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he hath encompassed the whole Temple, with a large circuit on the out side: but within, he hath raised the Basilica it self to an immense height, and has built it in an Eight-square Figure, and has variously adorned it; and having surrounded it on all sides with many lodging Rooms and Exhedræ, has crowned it with a variety of Ornaments. In this manner were these [Edifices] compleated. But in the Province of the Palestinians, in that City heretofore the Royal Seat of the Hebrews, in the middle of the City, [o] at the very Martyrium of Our Saviour, [he has erected] a † Basilica of a vast bigness, and an Holy House in Honour of the Salutary Cross, and has beautified it richly, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac't the Monument of the supream Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory,) and the Trophies that He raised against Death, with Ornaments that are inexpressible. And having selected three places in that Country, which are honoured with three Mystick Caves, He has beautified each of them with magnificent Structures: to [p] that Cave wherein [Our Saviour] first made his Divine appearance, he hath assigned a befitting honour: in the other, he has illustrated the memory of his last Assumption, in the Top of the Mount: but in that Cave, which is in the midst between the other two, he has extoll'd || the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these [Caves] the Emperour has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all persons the Salutary Sign [of the Cross.] [q] Which [Sign] gives the Emperour the reward of his piety, increases his whole Family and the time [of his Reigne,] and confirms the Throne of his Empire by * many periods of years; reserving the Fruits and Rewards of Virtue, for His most excellent Children, and for [r] His own Kindred, and for their Descendants. And this is a most convincing argument of the power of that God, whom the Emperour does worship; that He hath poyz'd the Scale of Justice with equal weights on both sides, and has assigned to each Party a fit and proportionate Reward. For the punishment due to impiety, immediately seized those who had assaulted and demolisht the sacred Houses; and they were forthwith swept away, without any Stock or Kindred, without any House, or Family. But this [Our Emperour,] who by Acts of Piety of all sorts, pays an Honour to His Lord; and who one while erects Churches to Him; at another time, manifests and makes Him known to His Subjects, by those Sacred Gifts which he hath dedicated to Him in all parts of the world: is most certainly known to have Him, and that most deservedly, the Preserver and Keeper of his Family, Empire, and Race. In this manner have God's performances been made known, by the Divine power and Virtue of the Salutary Sign.

[n] Κοσμεῖ μεσοποτάμειον. In the third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap. 50, instead of the verb κοσμεῖ, εἴληφεν is made use of. Indeed, this is a strange kind of an expression, μητροπόλεως ἣν τῶν ἐπώνυμον ἀντιόχου κοσμεῖ μεσοποτάμειαν. And at first blush it may seem to be an Enallage, instead of ἣ ἐπώνυμος ἀντιόχου κοσμεῖ μεσοποτάμεια, which [City] the Surname of Antiochus does grace. Yet, if any one shall inspect the matter more narrowly, he will confess, that this was spoken by Eusebius with a designe to greaten the thing. For such was the largness of the City Antioch, that it might seem rather to adorn its own Builder Antiochus, than to be adorned by his name. Vales.

* Or, Divine.

[o] Κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον. That is, at the very place of Our Lord's Sepulchre. For so Eusebius is wont to call the Sepulchre of Our Lord, as 'tis apparent from his Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 33. Μαρτύριον does properly signifie a place where the Reliques of Martyrs are depositted. The Latines have in like manner termed it Confessionem, Confession; which is the same with μαρτύριον. For μάρτυς is in Latine call'd Confessor. Thus, in Anastasius, we reade the Confession of Saint Peter. Below, at Chap. 11, Eusebius calls it, τῆς σωτηρίας ἀθανασίας μαρτύριον. Vales.

† See Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 43. note (c.)

[p] Τῷ μὲν περὶ τῆς θεοφανείας ἄντρῳ. The reading must be, τῷ μὲν πρώτης θεοφανείας. For, it follows, τῷ δὲ τῆς ὑστάτης ἀναλήψεως, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Farther, in the third Book of his Life of Constant. Chap. 41; He makes mention but of two Caves; whereas here he reckons up three. His discourse there, was concerning Helena, who built Churches at Bethlehem and on the mount of Olives. But here he treats concerning Constantine, who erected a most magnificent Church in the place of Our Lord's Sepulchre: to whom also Eusebius with good reason ascribes those Churches built by Helena, in regard they had been raised by the Emperour's cost. Vales.

|| Or, The salutary Victories of his whole Agony.

[q] Τὸν δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας. At my peril write τὸ δὲ; and understand σημεῖον, Signe. Which the Translatour having not perceived, made a notorious mistake. The Fuketian Copy confirms our Emendation. A little after, with the Translatour I reade χρόνον τε βασιλείας, &c, and the time of his Reigne &c; unless you would rather read, ὅλον ἅπαντα κὶ χρόνον αὔξει, θρόνον τε βασιλείας, &c, as we have rendred it; which to me seems righter. For θρόνον αὔξειν is not so elegant an expression. Vales.

* Or, Long.

[r] Καὶ αὐτῷ γένει. The reading must be ὠπῖ, his own. After the mention of Constantine's Children, Eusebius has, not superfluously, added his Stock or Kindred also: on account namely of Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, who were related to Constantine, being the Sons of his Brother. Vales.

CHAP. X.

CConcerning which [Sign] the Discourse might be large, wherewith they are well acquainted, [a] who have been initiated in those Mysteries delivered to them by divine persons. For, this * is that truly saving [Sign:] a thing wonderfull indeed to be related; but, far more admirable to be conceived: in what manner, as soon as it appeared on earth, That alone hath obscured all those Fables, many ages since invented concerning the Gods; and hath delivered up Errour, to darkness and oblivion; but hath discovered to all persons that Intellectual Light (which had illustrated the minds of men,) the One namely, and the true God. Therefore, all people, now changed to a better and more enlightened Condition, spit on the faces of their dead Idols; trample under foot the impious Rites of Dæmons, and deride that ancient Errour handed down to them from their Ancestours. And on the other side, men have every where founded Schooles of sacred Literature, and are all trained up as 'twere in the Precepts of the saving Discipline: to the intent that, they may no longer dread * things Created, which are visible to the eyes of flesh; nor lift up their eyes to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and stop in an admiration of those Bodies: but may confess Him, who transcends all these, Him who can't be perceived by sight, or any sense; to be the Creator of all things; and may learn to worship Him alone. All which singular and extraordinary Blessings and Favours [conferred] on men, had their rise from this Great and admirable Signe. By the power and virtue whereof, all those Ills which were before, now are not: and those [Goods] which before were not, are † every where resplendent, [deriving their Lustre] from the Rayes of Piety. Also, Discourses, Precepts, and Exhortations to a Sober and Pious Life, are Preach't in the hearing of all Nations; yea, even the Emperour Himself Preaches. And this is the greatest wonder, that so mighty an Emperour, does with so loud a Voice call out to the whole world, like some Interpreter

[a] Μύσταις θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν. The Translatour renders it, iis qui se sacrarum literarum professioni consecraverint; which Version I don't approve of. Μύσται are the persons initiated, who were partakers of the Mysteries. But θεολόγοι are they who initiate other, and deliver the Mysteries to them. Vales.

* Or, Was.

* Or, The Creation, visible, &c.

† Or, Amongst all persons.

to

to God the Supream King; and does invite all those Governed by Him, to the knowledge of the true God. And that, in the midst of the Imperial Palace, [b] *the trifling and ridiculous Compositures of impious men* [*are not recited,*] *as the usage was heretofore; but the Priests and Ministers of God, persons conspicuous for their Piety, with* * *Royal Hymns and Praises do celebrate the Festival. That, the sole God, He who is the Emperour of the Universe, is declared and set forth to all; and that the Evangelick Word* [*who promiseth us all things which are*] *good, does unite mankind to* [*God*] *the Supream King; shewing the glad tidings of His Celestial Father's being rendred propitious and benign to His Sons on earth. That, Quires do Laud Him with all manner of triumphant Songs; and, that the whole Body of mankind doth joyn in* The Chorus *together with the Angelick Companies in Heaven: and, that rational Souls, using those Bodies wherewith they are cloathed as some Musical Instruments,* [*do Laud*] *Him with befitting Hymns, and shout forth praises that are gratefull to him. That they who are Inhabitants of the* East, *together with those who dwell in the* West, *are instructed in His Precepts, at one and the same moment of time: and, that those who have received the* Southern *and* Northern *parts of the world as their allotment, do sing* † *to the same melodious Tune: studiously following a pious Course of Life, by the very same methods and precepts: conspiring in the praises of one God, who is Supream: admitting of one Saviour, His onely-begotten Son, the Authour of all Blessings: and* [*Lastly,*] *acknowledging one Moderatour and Emperour on Earth, and His Sons belov'd by God. Which Emperour, like some skilfull Pilot,* [c] *sits on high above the Rudder, and holding the Helm in his hand, Steers the Vessel in a straight Course; and by a prosperous gale of Wind, brings all those under his command, into a safe and calm Port. But God Himself, the Supream Emperour, stretches forth his right hand to Him from above, and hitherto constitutes Him the Conquerour of all his Enemies and Opposers; encreasing the Strength of His Empire by long periods of years. But will hereafter make Him a partaker of far more excellent Blessings, and will really fulfill his own Promises made to Him. Of which Promises the time present permits not a Rehearsal; but a departure out of this Life is to be expected: in as much as, 'tis not possible for things divine to be distinctly perceived and fully apprehended, by mortal eyes and corporeal ears.*

[b] Οὐκ ἔτως ἔθος τὸ πεὶν. I write, ἂκ ἔθ' ὡς τὸ πεὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀθέων φλήναφοι; and have rendred it accordingly: He means the *Pagan Sophistæ*, who in such like *Decennalian* Festivities as these, spoke *Panegyricks* to the Emperours. Such a one was *Nazarius's Panegyrick*, spoken to *Constantine*, in *his third Quinquennalia*, (or on the fifteenth year of his Empire,) and in the *Quinquennalia* of the *Cæsars*. Such also was *Themistius's Oration*, in *Valens's Quinquennalia*. Moreover, *Claudius Mamertinus* had prepared an Oration in the *Quinquennalia* of *Maximianus Herculius*, as he himself attests. In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is, ὂκ ἔθος τὸ πεὶν. *Vales.*

† Or, *Concordant Songs.*

[c] Ὑπερπεδᾶ ἀιωνυχέμβος. This is a most corrupt place, which nevertheless, I have, as I think, with ease amended. I write therefore, ὃ δ' ὃια σοφὸς κυβερνήτης ὑψίζυος ὑπὸ πηδαλίων ὀχέμβος, &c; that is, *Sublimis supra gubernaculum sedens, Sits on high above the Rudder.* But the Translatour dream't I know not what concerning *Ævum*. Presently, write ἐυθέα τε περαίνων, from the *Fuketian Copy*: for so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter. *Vales.*

CHAP. XI.

BUT, *Come on,* Victor Maximus Constantinus! [a] *in this Imperial Book* [*written*] *concerning the Supream Emperour, let us now deliver to You* * *Secret and Mysterious Matters: not that we may teach You, who have been instructed by God: nor that we may disclose Secrets to You, to Whom God Himself, long before these our discourses,* (*not from men, neither by any man, but by the Common Saviour Himself, and by the Presence and Appearance of His own Divinity, which hath often shined upon You,*) *hath opened and revealed things secret that were hidden: but, that we may bring untaught men to the Light; and may suggest to the ignorant, the Reasons and Causes of Your Pious and Religious Works and Deeds. Indeed, those great Actions dayly performed* [b] *by Your Virtue, thorowout the whole habitable World, in order to the promoting the Worship and Honour of God the Supream King; are celebrated in the mouthes of all Mortals. But, the Monuments of Gratitude, which You have consecrated to Your Preserver and Saviour, in Our Country,* (*I mean in the Province of* Palestine, *and in that City, whence, as from a Fountain-head, the Salutary Word hath powred forth its refreshing streams upon all men;*) *and the Trophies of that Victory gained over Death, which You have erected in the Edifices of Oratories, and in the Dedications of Sacred Houses:* [*I say,*] *those Lofty and most beautifull Works of an Imperial Magnificence, Structures truly Imperial, erected* [c] *about the Salutary* [Martyrium, *a Monument that deserves*] *an Immortal Memory; contain a Reason* [*for their having been built,*] *which is* [d] *not equally apparent and manifest to all persons.*

* See Chap. 11. note (*a.*)

* Or, *The Mysterics of Secret Discourses.*

[a] Ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ

[b] Πρὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς. It must be, πρὸς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς, *by your Virtue*; and so the Translatour read. *Vales.*

[c] Ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον τῆς ἀθανάτε μνήμης. It ought, I think, to be written, ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, *about the Salutary Martyrium*, as *Eusebius* has expresst himself in the *ninth Chapter*: where see what we have observed, at *note* (*o.*) It might also be, ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον μνῆμα, *about the Salutary Monument.* For, so it will be an elegant allusion, μνῆμα τῆς ἀθανάτε μνήμης, *a Monument of an immortal Memory.* And so *Eusebius* words it in the foresaid Chapter, μνᾶμά τε μνήμης ἀιωνίε χέμον, *and the Monument ——which deserves an eternal Memory.* Nevertheless I have observed, that τὸ σωτήριον is by *Eusebius* simply and absolutely taken to signifie the Salutary Signe of the Cross: δι' ἀνδὺς ἀρετῆς τῆ σωτηρίε, *by the Divine Virtue of the Salutary Signe*, as it occurs in the very close of the *ninth Chapter*: where nevertheless, the *Fuketian Copy* words it in this manner, σωτηρίε σημείε. *Vales.*

[d] Ὁ τοῖς πᾶσι. I don't doubt but it should be written, ὃ τοῖς πᾶσι περίδηλον ἔχει τὸν αἴτιον, *contain a reason ——which is not equally apparent and manifest to all persons.* Which Emendation is confirmed by the words of *Eusebius* that follow presently. *All persons*, says he, *are not acquainted with the reasons of those Works, which You have with great magnificence built near the Sepulchre of Our Lord. For, the Christians do indeed know them, and on that account do greatly admire You. But the Heathens deride such works as those.* The reading therefore in the *Fuketian Copy* is ill, thus, ἃ τοῖς πᾶσι, &c. *Vales.*

πᾶσι. The *Greek Rhetoricians* termed *Orations concerning the praises of Emperours*, βασιλικοὶ λόγοι; which the Latines are wont to call *Panegyricas*, *Panegyricks.* The method of these Orations is delivered by *Alexander Rhetor*, in *his Book* περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, *Chap.* 1: the Title of which *Chapter* ought to be, περὶ βασιλικῶν λόγε. *This Book* is extant amongst the *Greek Rhetoricians published by Aldus*, pag. 613; but, which is ill done, 'tis confounded with *Menander Rhetor's Book*, which treats concerning the same Subject. Farther, in the foresaid *Chapter* of *Alexander*, there is cited an Oration of the most fam'd *Sophist Callinicus*, with this Title, τύσας βασιλικὸς, written, if I mistake not, in praise of the *Emperour Philip.* Which I guess at from hence, because *Philip* was an *Arabian* as well as *Callinicus*, and was of mean birth: which are the Qualifications of that Emperour, to whom *Callinicus* spoke this Oration, as *Alexander* attests. The time suits very well also; For *Callinicus* lived in the Reign of *Gallienus*, as *Suidas* does witness. There is also extant a Βασιλικὸς of *Libanius's*, written by him in honour of *Constantius* and *Constans*, when he was at *Nicomedia*. *Eusebius* therefore alludes to these Orations, and terms this Oration βασιλικὸν σύγγραμμα. So in the foregoing *Chapter*, he has made use of this expression, βασιλικοῖς ὕμνοις παντηγείσαι, in allusion to the same thing; which the Translatour understood not. Moreover, this is to be remark't, namely that *this Oration* is by *Eusebius* termed βασιλικὸν σύγγραμμα, that is, *an Imperial Book.* For, 'tis indeed liker a *Book*, than *an Oration*; because by its too great length it exceeds the measure of an Oration. Wherefore I can't perswade my self, that it was recited by *Eusebius.* Vales.

'Tis

'Tis certain, they who have been enlightened by the Celestial power and influence of the Divine Spirit, do know and understand [*the true Cause of Your raising those Structures,*] *and on account thereof do deservedly admire You, and do stile that Your purpose of mind, a blessed resolution, as proceeding from no other than a divine impulse. But, those who are unskilled in matters divine, in a most immoderate manner deride, and scoff at that work, by reason of their blindness of mind: supposing it to be a mighty indecency, and a thing unbefitting* [*the Majesty of*] *so great an Emperour, to employ His care about the Monuments and Sepulchres of dead Bodies. For, would it not have been better (may some one of these persons say,) to observe and keep Our Ancestours Rites; and to appease the* Hero's *and Gods worshipt in each Province; and not to detest and abhor them, on account of such calamities as these? For, either they must be* * *affected with divine honours, in the same manner with* [c] *this person, by reason of that likeness there is in their miseries and infelicities: or else, if they are to be rejected, as being obnoxious to humane sufferings; 'tis just, that the very same sentence be pronounc't against Him also. These words will peradventure be said by some one of those persons, having first contracted His Brows, and in His own vain opinion thinking Himself wiser than others, and with much of gravity extolling his own arrogance. To whom nevertheless, a pardon of his ignorance is vouchsafed, (and* [f] *not to him only, but to every one who hath erred from the right way;) by the Gracious and mercifull Word of the Most Excellent Father; who hath Founded Schools and places of Instruction all over the whole world, in Countries and Villages, in fields and desert places, and in all Cities whatever; and freely invites* [*all persons*] *to learn the Divine Precepts: and like a most indulgent Saviour and Physitian of Souls, perswades both* Greeks *and* Barbarians; *Wise and Simple; Poor and Rich; Servants and Masters; Governours and the Governed; the impious; the unjust; the unlearned; the unclean; the blasphemous; to come, yea to hasten to a Divine Cure. With a loud voice therefore proclaiming to all persons oblivion of their former wickedness, thus He heretofore cryed out, saying;* * Come unto Me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. *And again.* I † am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. *And He adds the reason, saying:* [‖ For] they that be whole, need not a Physician, but they that are sick. *And* [*in another place,*] I desire not the death of a sinner [*so earnestly, as I desire*] his repentance. *Hence it is, that only that person who has been instructed in the knowledge of things Divine, (as soon as he shall have been acquainted with the reasons of that care and diligence imployed about the forementioned Works,) must of necessity acknowledge a far more excellent instinct than that which is meerly humane, to have been in our Emperour, and must admire His Pious disposition towards the worship of God; and must believe, that this Care and Sollicitude in reference to* * *the Monument of the Salutary Resurrection, was not exerted without Divine appoyntment; but was really the product of the inspiration of that God, whose faithfull servant and Minister of good things,* [*the Emperour*] *boasts Himself to be. Being fully perswaded, Greatest Emperour! that these things are truly gratefull and acceptable to You, I have taken a resolution, in this present Discourse to set forth to all persons, the Causes and* [g] *Reasons of Your Pious Fabricks: glorying in this, that I am as 'twere the Interpreter of Your Intention, and the Relatour of Your Pious mind: and that I teach all those things, which 'tis fit and agreeable every person should be instructed in, whose desire it is to understand the Reasons of the Power of God, and of Our Saviour: on account of which* [*Reasons*] *He who existed long before, and had the sole Care and management of the Universe, at length came down from Heaven to us: for which* [*reasons*] *he* [h] *cloathed Himself with the humane Nature: for which* [*Reasons Lastly,*] *He gave access even to death: moreover,* [*that I declare*] *the reasons of that immortal Life which followed hereupon, and of the Resurrection from the dead; and not the reasons only, but the most evident and rational demonstrations also, and the most indubitable Proofs, necessary to those who as yet stand in need of these things. But, now it is time, that we should here begin this our design'd discourse. They who have* * *ascribed the worship of God the Framer of the world and the supream Governour over all things, to those things created by Him; and have honoured the Sun and Moon, and the other parts of the world, and the first Elements* [*of all things,*] *Earth; Water; Air; Fire; with an appellation equal to their Maker and Framer: and have termed those things, Gods, which neither ever were, nor had subsisted, nor had had any name, unless they had been* [i] *present with and waited upon the Word of God who made the world: such persons, in my judgment, seem to differ very little from those, who* † *passing by the Architect of eximious Works in Imperial Palaces, greatly admire the Roofs and Walls, and*

* Or, *Deified.*

[c] Ὁμοίως πρὸ ἡμῶν. He means *Christ*, as the *Translatour* has well noted at the margin. These words are spoken by *Eusebius*, with an intent to personate the Heathens, who (when the *Christians* objected to them, the Adulteries, quarrells, slaughters, death, and also Sepulchres of their *Gods* and *Hero's*) answered in this manner. *If our Gods are to be rejected and despised on accounts of such humane Calamities as these, Your God is in like manner to be rejected also; whom you confess to have been condemned, to have been dead, and buried.* Vales.

[f] Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα. I should choose to write, ἃ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα πεπλανημένον, &c. For this seems to me more elegant. But the ordinary reading has the same sense; but 'tis not so expressive, nor so elegant. Nevertheless, he expresses himself so hereafter in this chapter. A little after I read διδασκαλεῖς καὶ διδασκαλεῖα, *Schools and places of Instruction*; not διδασκαλίας, *Doctrines.* Vales.

* Matth. 11. 28.

† Matth. 9. 13.

‖ Matth. 9. 12.

[g] Ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις. Without doubt it must be πρὸ λόγους; and a little after (as the words are plac't in the *Greek*,) εἰς πάντας ἀκοῦσαι βέλτιον: and so the Translatour seems to have read, who renders it thus: *Rerum pie & religiosè abs te gestarum rationes Causasque hoc præsenti sermone explicare constitui.* But he has rendred the word ἔργων ill, which does here signifie *Fabricks* or *Edifices*, which by the *Latines* are termed *Opera, Works.* For here *Eusebius* does manifestly treat concerning that Church, which *Constantine* had built at *Jerusalem*, in a most magnificent and admirable manner. Further, this passage does plainly confirm Our Emendation at *note (d.)* in this chapter, τοῖς πᾶσι περίβλεπτον ἔχει πρὸ ἀτιμίαν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, ἔργων πρὸ λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παρών μοι λόγῳ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀκοῦσαι βέλτιον. Vales.

[h] Ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεδύσετο. You must add the word φύσιν, *He cloathed Himself with the humane Nature*: which word is ill placed in the foregoing line. This Emendation is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

* *Changed*, or, *transferred.*

[i] Τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ παρέστη. The Translatour renders it, *Nisi verbo Dei in Lucem editæ fuissent, unless they had been brought to light by the Word of God.* But this rendition is not expressive enough of the propriety of the *Greek* Term. Wherefore, I would rather render it, *Nisi verbo Dei adstitissent, unless they had stood by the Word of God.* For 'tis a *Metaphor* taken from Servants, who, when their Lord calls, are at hand presently. Therefore this verb παρέστη is a fit word to be used concerning the Creation of the World. For the Lord said, *Let there be made, and they were made.* Farther, I have mended this place from the *Fuketian Copy.* For whereas the reading before was, καὶ ἐδαμῶν ἐδαμῶς ἦν, I have corrected it, ἃ ἐδαμῶν ἐδαμῶς ἦν. Vales.

† Or, *Contemning*, or, *neglecting.*

the

the Paintings thereon which consist of a variety of Flowers and Colours, and the Golden * Lacunaria, and the curious Workmanship thereon, and the Carv'd works of Stones; and to those very things, attribute the praise and name of the skill of the Artist: whereas, the Cause of the admiration ought not to be ascribed to those things visible to the eye, but onely to the Architect of those [curious pieces of work:] and in as much as 'tis to be acknowledged, that there are many works of great Art and Skill; but, that He only is wise and skillfull, who is the Authour of the Being of such Works as these, and of their being beheld by many. Nor, would they seem in any thing to differ from very young children, who should admire the Musical Instrument of the Harp it self, which consists of seven Strings; and not the Inventour Himself, and the person skilled in its Harmony, on account of this His knowledge: or they, who neglecting Him that had performed a brave piece of service in the Wars, should adorn the Spear, or the Shield, with Triumphant Crowns: or [Lastly] they, who should honour the Forums, the Streets, the Edifices, the lifeless Temples, and the † Gymnasia; in the same degree, with the Mighty Emperour, the Authour and Founder of the Great and Royal City: whereas 'tis not meet to admire the [Columns or] Stones, but rather the wise Builder Himself of this great Work, and Him by whose Laws and Sanctions it is Governed. In the very same manner also, they, who with the eyes of the Body behold this Universe, ought not to ascribe its Cause, either to the Sun, or Moon, or to any other of the Celestial Bodies: but must acknowledge all these to be the Workes of wisdom; being in the interim mindfull of the Maker and Framer of them, and preferring His Honour and Worship before all other things whatever. But, from a view of these very [Works,] with an entire affection of mind they must reverence and adore Him, namely the Word of God, the Supream Emperour [of this Universe,] who is not now to be perceived by the eyes of the body, but only by a pure and uncorrupt mind. For, in the Body of a man, no one hath ever termed the eyes, or head, or hands, or feet, or the rest of the members of a wise and knowing person, Wisdom; much less has any one termed the || Pallium within which such a person is wrapt, wise; or His house-hold-stuff, wise; or the Vessels necessary for a Philosopher's use, wise: but every prudent person admires the invisible and disappearing mind that is in man. In the same manner also, rather than [we should wonder at] the visible Works of this whole world, which are corporeal, and framed of one and the same matter; we ought to admire that undiscerned and invisible Word, the Framer and Beautifier of this Universe; Who is the onely-begotten [Son] of God: Whom the Maker of all things Himself, a Being that far transcends every substance, hath begotten of Himself; and hath constituted Him the Ruler and Governour of this Universe. For, whereas it was impossible, that the transient and frail substance of Bodies, and the Nature of rational Creatures which had been newly made, should approach God the Supream Rector, because of that infinity of distance whereby He excells them: (For He is unbegotten, plac'd above and beyond all things; inexplicable; incomprehensible; inaccessible; inhabiting Light that is not to be approach't, as the [k] sacred Oracles tell us: but they were produced out of nothing, and are vastly distant, and a long way separated from that unbegotten Nature:) with good reason therefore, the All-Good and Supream God, interposed as 'twere [l] the Middle, Divine, and Omnipotent Power of His own onely-begotten Word. Which [Power] is most intimately and most nearly conversant with the Father, and abides within Him, and enjoyes His Secrets: [m] nevertheless, it does most graciously condescend and let down it self, and in a manner adapts and fits it self to those, who are far distant from the Supream Height. For otherwise, it would be a thing neither pure nor holy, that He who is plac't above and beyond all things, should be joyned with corruptible matter and Body.

* Archt-Roofs.

† Places for Exercise, or, Schools.

‖ A long Garment worn by Philosophers.

[k] Οἱ ἱερεῖοι λόγοι. So also 'tis in the Fuketian Copy; instead of ἱεροὶ. *Vales.*

[l] Μέσην τινὰ προεμβάλλει. He terms the Son's power, a *middle* power between God the Father and things created, not that the Virtue and power of the Son is different from the Virtue and power of the Father. For *Eusebius* does plainly call it here, *the Divine power of the Son*. But He gives it the name of *Middle*, because the Father does nothing by Himself, but all things by the Son. Therefore ancient Divines attributed the *Monarchy* to the Father; but *the Administration* or οἰκονομία to the Son; as *Tertullian* informs us in *his Book against Praxeas*. See *the Twelfth Chapter*; where he does again term the Son, *the Middle*, and a certain Bond as 'twere, whereby things Created are coupled with the unbegotten Father. And least any one should think, that *Eusebius* deserves to be reproved here; *Alexander Bishop of Alexandria* (in *his Epistle to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople*,) expresses himself in the very same manner; ἀγνοοῦσιν οἱ ἀνάσκητοι, ὡς μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μεταξὺ πατρὸς ἀγεννήτου, καὶ υἱοῦ κτιστέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' οὗ ἂν ὄντων, λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων, ὧν μεσιτεύσαι φύσις μονογενὴς, &c. *Eusebius* (Book 1. *against Sabellius*) declares the same thing at large. *Non quia non sufficiebat Pater, ideo genuit Filium*: &c. *Not because the Father was not sufficient, therefore He begat the Son: but because those things which were made were not sufficient to bear the power of Him unborn. Therefore He speaks by a Mediatour. Why? Because we could not approach Him unborn.* Nevertheless, *Athanasius* refutes these assertions incomparably well, in *his third Oration against the Arians*, pag. 397. Vales.

[m] Περιότατά γε. Doubtless it must be, περιότατα δὲ συσχεθῆσαι, καὶ ἀμωσγέπως; we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

Therefore, the divine Word * *came down and put Himself into this Universe; and having taken the Reins of the whole world into His hands, Governs it by an incorporeal and divine power; and, like a most wise Charioteer, manages it according as it seems good to Himself. Now, the demonstration of this Discourse is clear and perspicuous. For, if those parts of the world do subsist of themselves, which we have usually termed the first Elements, namely, Earth; Water; Air; and Fire; which consist of a nature void of reason, as we see with our own eyes: [or [n],] if there be one matter [or, substance] common to them all, which those persons skilled in such things as these, are wont to term the Receptacle, Mother and Nurse of all: and if that be without Form and Figure, wholly void of Life and Reason: whence [hath it hapned,] (will any one affirm,) that there is in it Beauty and Ornature? Whence [proceeded] the distinction of the Elements? Whence, † the concord and agreement of things contrary? Who hath commanded the heavy Element of Earth to be carried on the moist substance [of Water?] Who hath turned back the nature of Waters, which tends downward, and hath carried it about on high, in the clouds? Who hath bound the force of Fire, and [hath commanded it] to lie hid in wood, and to mix with things contrary to its nature? Who hath mingled the cold air with the hot nature of Fire, and [o] by putting an end to the mutual fight between them, hath reduced them to concord*

* Or, *descended and mixt Himself with this*, &c.

[n] Εἰ μία τοῖς πᾶσιν. You will render this passage very clear and perspicuous, if you add a particle, in this manner; ἢ εἰ μία τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπόκειται οὐσία; or, *if there be*, &c. The meaning is: *For, whether the Elements have their proper substance, or whether there be one and the same matter in them all*, &c. *Vales.*

† Or, *The running together into one of*, &c.

[o] Τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μάχης. I write, τίς τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μάχης αὐτὰ διαλύσας, &c: or at least, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μάχης, &c; which latter reading we have followed. *Vales.*

cord and agreement? *Who hath propagated mankind, by inventing the* † *benefit of succession,* [*and hath enlarged it*] *to the* * *long-continuing space of an immortal Life? Who hath formed the Male, and fashioned the Female, thus as we see them; and* P *having made them both up into one harmonious Composition, hath found out one common principle of Generation to all living Creatures? Who has changed the liquid nature of Sperm, which of it self is corruptible, fluid, and* q *void of sense; and hath made it prolifick and fit for the begetting of living Creatures? Who even at this very instant works all these things, and infinite others besides these, which are far above wonder, and superiour to all admiration? Who is it, that every day and hour effects the Generations* [r *and corruptions*] *of all these, by an undiscerned and invisible power? The Wonder-working Word of God, is most deservedly to be lookt upon as the Authour of all these things. For the truly-omnipotent Word of God, diffuses Himself over all things; and having in an incorporeal manner extended Himself, both upwards to an immense height, and also downwards to a vast depth; and containing within His large hands as 'twere, the* s *Latitude and Longitude of the Universe, He hath compacted and bound together this whole world. Which when He had made up into an Instrument containing in it self all sorts of Harmony, for His own use; with* || *Reason and Wisdom He began to play upon the matter of Bodies, which is of it self irrational, without Form, and void of Figure;* t *fitly setting together and composing* the disjuncts *with* the Diatones. *He likewise Governs the Sun and Moon, and the other Luminaries of Heaven, by measures not to be unfolded; and leades* [*them*] *in such a manner, as may be most usefull and beneficial to this Universe. The same Word of God let Himself down upon the Earth also, where He produced living Creatures of every kind, and the variously-shap'd Beauties of Plants. The very same Word of God penetrated into the deep Recesses of the Sea likewise, and* u *invented the Nature of Swimming Creatures: and there also He made infinite and innumerable Forms and Varieties of all sorts of living Creatures. He it is, who perfecting and compleating the* † *Fœtus's conceived in the Wombe, within in the very Work-house of Nature, gives them Life and Form. He also lifts up on high the fluid and heavy Nature of the moist substance, and afterwards, when by a change He has made it sweet, brings it down gently and moderately to the Ground: but at Stated Seasons He bestows it in a more plentifull manner. Then, like some skilfull and excellent Husband-man, having sufficiently watered the fields with it, by dividing it into various Streams, and conveying it in several channells; and having mixt the moist substance with the dry ground; He dresses and adorns the Earth in a different manner; sometimes, with beautifull flowers;* W *at others, with a variety of figures; one while, with fragrant scents; at another, with various sorts of Fruits: and at another time He affords all manner of enjoyments that are delicious to the Taste.* x *But, why do I presume to rehearse the* * *wonderfull works of the Word of God, and to attempt impossibilities? whereas his Efficiency does far surmount all humane thought. Indeed, some persons have term'd Him* The Nature of the Universe; *others,* The Soul of the World; *others,* Fate. *Others have asserted, that He is that Supream and most Transcendent Being,* God; *thereby confounding, in a manner to me unintelligible, things that are at the greatest distance one from another: whilst they debase and throw down even to the earth, the Ruler of all things Himself, and the Unbegotten and Supream Nature; and joyn it with a Body, and with corruptible matter; and affirm that 'tis* † *wrap't up in the midst, between Living Creatures that are rational and irrational, between substances mortal and immortal. Thus they.*

* Or, *Powers.*

† Or, *Roll'd up.*

BUT, *The Divine Doctrine does assert,* CHAP. XII.
a *that That which is the Supream Good it Self, and the Cause of all things, is far beyond all Comprehension: and therefore, that it is ineffable, and inexpressible, nor can have a name given it; and that 'tis not only above expression, but all thought also. That 'tis not to be contained in place, nor is in Bodies: that* [*it exists*] *not in Heaven; nor in the* b Æther; a Ἀνώτατον αὐτὸ δή. The words seem to be misplaced, and are to be restored in this manner; ἡ δ' ἔνθεος διδασκαλία αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ ἀεὶ ἀσαθὲς ἀνώτατον, πάντων τ' ἄπιον, &c; *But, the Divine Doctrine does assert, that* &c. Valesius.

b The Ancients distinguished the *Æther*, from *the heaven*; and by that name of *Æther*, meant *the Element of Fire*. So *Anaxagoras*, as *Aristotle* tells us in *his third Book de Cœlo*: whom almost all persons did afterwards follow, except *the Peripateticks*. For the *Peripateticks* termed the substance of Heaven, *Æther*; (See *Aristotle de Mundo*;) and affirmed that was a fifth Element. The same is asserted by *Heraclides, in Allegoriis Homeri*. *Peripatetici*, says he, *Aiunt naturam Cælestium corporum aliam esse ab igne*, &c. *The peripateticks do say, that the Nature of the Celestial Bodies is different from fire, and do term it* κυκλοφορητικὴν (*a nature that moves circularly,*) *and say that it is a fifth Element. For fire, which in Greek is* αἰθὴρ, *does naturally move upwards: but the Sun and Moon do not.* But *the Stoicks* also themselves called the Element of fire, *Æther*; and thought that it was the principal part, (or the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν,) of the whole world. *Censorinus* (or whoever else is the Authour,) speakes to this effect, in *Chap.* 1. *de Naturali Institutione*. *Mundi Principale*

† Or, *Manner.*

* Εἰς μακρὸν ἀιῶνα. I reade it in one word, thus, εἰς μακραίωνα ζωῆς ἀθανάτου βίον διεξήγαγε, and have rendred it accordingly. *Eusebius* makes use of the same word above. *Valesius.*

P Ἄμφω τε εἰς ἀρμονίαν συναγαγών. I had rather point it thus, ἄμφω τε εἰς ἁρμονίαν συναγαγὼν μίαν, *and having made them both*, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. *Valesius.*

q Καὶ ἀλογίστου, *and void of reason.* I would rather say, ἀναιθήτου; which I have followed in my Version. *Valesius.*

r Τὰς τῶν γενέσεις καὶ ὠδῖνας. The two last words must be expunged, which crept in hither from the upper line. It might also be written, γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς, *the Generations and corruptions.* Valesius.

s Πλάτει τε καὶ μήκει. It must be, πλάτη τε καὶ μήκη τοῦ παντὸς ὠκοδόμησεν, &c. Which is required by the Rules of *Syntax*. Valesius.

|| Or, *A most wise and rational power, or faculty.*

t Τοῖς διατόνοις τὰ διεζευγμένα συνάπτων. They are terms properly belonging to *Musick*; concerning which, besides other Authours, see *Boëthius de Musicâ, Book.* 1. *Chap.* 24, *and* 25; where he treats concerning *the Synaphe*, and *the Diazeuxis*. But the Translatour has rendred it, *Lapides frontatos*, i. e. *Stones that are smoothed on both sides. and are even with the thickness of the wall, and are seen on both sides.* Than which rendition, there is nothing more absurd. Instead of the term διατόνοις, it should, I thinke, be τόνοις, *Tones*, or, *Notes*, I had almost forgot to give notice, that at the beginning of this period the reading should be, ἔρεισόν τε τοῦτο παναρμόνιον, &c. *Valesius.* Concerning the term *Diatones*, see *Boëthius's* foremention*ed Book, Chap.* 21; the Title of *which chapter* is, *De generibus Cantilenarum.*

u Νυκτὸς ἐπενόησε φύσιν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is truer, thus νηκτὸν ἐπενόησε φύσιν, *invented the Nature of Swimming Creatures*. Valesius.

† *Children.*

W Τότε δὲ χήμασι παντοίοις. The Translatour renders it, *modo herbarum formis cujusquemodi illustrando, sometimes by illustrating it with all sorts of forms of herbs.* Which Rendition I don't approve of. In my judgment, *Eusebius* does rather mean the various figures of Countries. For, *Europe* has one sort of figure, *Asia* another, *Africa* another. Now, in these parts of the world, all Provinces have their figures, which God the Framer of this Universe hath given them; having divided the world, like a most pleasant garden, into various Bedds. By this term may also be meant, the different Dresses and Garbs of the Earth. For sometimes the Earth is green with grass, at others 'tis yellow with Corn; here 'tis shady with woods; there, 'tis pleasant with Gardens. *Valesius.*

x Τί μὴ δεῖ. I think it must be, τί δέ μοι. That is, *But, why do I presume*, &c: which manner of Expression is very emphatical; when the Oratour does as 'twere stop and chide Himself. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis τί με δεῖ. *Valesius.*

Principale Solem quidam putant, ut Cleanthes,&c. Some think the Sun to be the Principal of the world, as Cleanthes: and Chrysippus, the Æther, by whose perpetual motion the things under it are held and administred. And the Æther it self suffers nothing. So also *Eusebius* uses it below in this chapter; and S^t *Austin* in *his* 147^th *Sermon de Tempore.* Vales.

or in any other part of the Universe: but, that 'tis wholly without all things, and hid within some secret Recess of the understanding. The sacred Oracles do teach, that He is to be acknowledged the [c] *Onely True God; He who is separated from all Corporeal Substance and* [d] *forreigne to all* Ministerial Oeconomie. *Wherefore all things, are said to have existed* from Him, *but not* by Him.

[c] Not that the Son is not the true God; but because the Name of God doth properly belong to the Father, in regard he is the Fountain and Authour of the Deity. But, whereas Our *Eusebius (in his Epistle to Euphration)* hath said, that the Son is not the true God, (as *Athanasius* and the *Fathers of the seventh Synod* do object against him;) that is in no wise to be born with. For, although the Father be properly termed God; so that, whenever God is simply and absolutely spoken, we presently understand the Father: nevertheless, the Son is no less truly God, than the Father; in regard the Divinity of the Father and of the Son, is one and the Same. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius (in his First Book against Marcellus, de Ecclesiastica Theologia, Chap. 10.)* has expressely affirmed that the Son is the true God. Although in the *following Chapter*, he does a little diminish from what he had said above. The words of Christ in S^t *John's Gospel (Chap. 17. v. 3.)* are these. *This is Life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* Vales. 'Tis the *Learned Petavius*'s opinion, that the word [*Onely*] in that Text of S^t *John*, does in no wise exclude the Son. For (as he notes from S^t *Basil, Epist.* 141. p. 927,) the words εἷς and μόνος are made use of in scripture, only to distinguish and separate the false Gods; that they may be removed, who are not true Gods, and therefore are not Gods. See *Petav. Dogm. Theolog. Tom.* 2. *De Trini. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 14.

[d] Ὑπερτικῆς οἰκονομίας ἀλλότειον. We have shown above, that ancient Divines attributed the Monarchy to God the Father; but to the Son, the οἰκονομίαν or *disposition*. Indeed, 'tis the Father's property to reigne: but the Son's property, who is the wisdom of the Father, is to dispose or set in order all things. Wherefore they affirmed, that Rest and Beatitude was the Father's property: but Operation, the Son's. Not that the Father Himself does not work; but because the Father works things unknown and secret; but the Son, things more manifest to us; as *Marius Victorinus* makes it out, in *his first book against the Arians*. And the Ancient Divines, before the *Nicene Council*, termed the Son ὑπηρέτην and ὕπαρχον: but afterwards they avoided these Names, as 'tis apparent from S^t *Chrysostome* in *his Sermon de Sigillis*. Vales.

But He Himself, as The Emperour, *within in secret and inaccessible apartments, inhabits Light that is always unapproachable, and by the sole power of His own Will does* [*every where*] *Determine and Command. For, from His being willing, proceeds the Existence of every thing that is; and He not being willing, it is not. Now, He wills all things that are good, because by His own Essence He is* [c] *Goodness it self. But God the Word, by whom are all things, issues from above* [f] *in a manner inexpressible, out of his Excellent Father, as out of an everlasting and immense Fountain, and flows forth like a River;* * *spreading his streames all abroad, in order to the common preservation of every thing. And (that I may make use of an instance taken from our selves,) as the invisible and undiscovered Mind in us, (which, what, and of what sort it is as to its Essence, no mortal ever yet knew;) residing like some Emperour within the private Apartments of his own Palace, does alone will, and conclude upon those things that are to be done: but Discourse, as 'twere the onely-begotten Son, begotten by the mind in a manner that is inexplicable, and by a power not to be expresst, proceeds out of its Bosome, as from its Parent; and is the first Messenger and Interpreter of its Parent's thoughts to all persons; and makes a publick declaration of those things which its Parent has concluded on in secret; and actually performs its Parents Resolves, conveying it self to the Ears of all men. Whence 'tis, that men receive benefit from Discourse: but no person has ever beheld with His eyes, the latent and invisible mind it self, which is the Parent of Discourse. In the very same manner, or rather in a manner far beyond all comparison and resemblance, the most Perfect Word of the Supream God, in regard He is the Onely begotten Son of the Father, not consisting of a power of pronunciation, nor as to His nature made up of syllables, names, and words; nor expresst by a voice which strikes through the air: but existing the Living and Operating Word of the Supream God, and subsisting personally, as being the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God; proceeds from His Father's Divinity, and* [*comes forth*] *out of his Kingdom. And, in as much as He is the Good Off-spring of the Good Father, and the Common Saviour of all things, He* [g] *passes thorow, and derives a moysture upon all* [*living Creatures:*] *and by reason of His own fulness of Reason, Wisdom, Light, and of all Goods, He diffuses Himself over all things, not only those that are at hand and near, but them also that are at the remotest distance, whether on the Earth or in the Sea, or where ever else; if besides these there be in nature any other Seat or Habitation allotted to things. To all which, with the greatest equity and justice He appoynts Limits, and* * *Regions, and Laws, and stated Inheritances; and by his Royal power bestows upon, and supplies each of them with those things that are fit and agreeable. And to some of them he assignes* [*for their place of Residence,*] *those Arches that are above the world;* [h] *again, to others* [*He appoints*] *The Heaven for their Habitation; to others, Ætherial Mansions; to others, the Air; to others, the Earth. And afterwards, He does again remove them from hence to other places; and makes an exact enquiry into the lives of every one of them, and rewards their Morals, Behaviour, and Conversation. He likewise provides food and nourishment, not only for Creatures endued with reason, but for those that are irrational also, which are of use to men:* [i] *and to these Latter, He affords the enjoyment of a mortal and temporary Life; but to the* Former, *a participation of* [*a Life*] *immortal. In fine, He Himself, as being the Word of God, effects all things, is every where present, and by His rational power does penetrate and pass thorow all things. And looking up to His own Father, agreeably to His will and appointment, He governs and manages all* [k] *inferiour things, and which are consequent to Him, in regard He is the Common Saviour of all: existing in a manner* The Middle [*between both,*] *and joyning that Substance which has an Original, with*

[c] Καὶ αὐτοαγαθὸν. 'Tis plain that it should be αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is αὐτοαγαθόν, in one word. *Vales.*

[f] Ἀνομβρῶν λόγῳ ἀῤῥήτῳ. Doubtless it must be λόγοις ἀῤῥήτοις, or λόγῳ ἀῤῥήτῳ, *in a manner inexpressible*; as *Eusebius* says a little lower. *Vales.*

* Or, *Wholly overflowing, in order, &c.*

[g] Ἐπιχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα ζῶν. The last word must be expunged; unless you would rather write ζῶα, *living Creatures*. For at this place He speaks chiefly concerning living Creatures. *Vales.*

* Or, *Places.*

[h] Τοῖς δ' αὐτὸν ἔφαγον οἰκεῖν. Write it in words disjoyned, thus, τοῖς δ' αὖ τὸν ἔφαγον οἰκεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἄυ διθείας διατιθεὰς, τοῖς δ' ἄυ ἀέρα: *again, to others* [*He appoints,*] &c. *Vales.*

[i] Καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητοῖς. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητῆς καὶ φθαρτοῖς ζωῆς ἀπόλαυσιν, τοῖς δὲ ἀθανάτου μετουσίαν παρέχων; in which manner the Translatour seems to have read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[k] Τὰ κάτω, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀκόλουθος. At this place the words seem to be transpo-

fed; which I thus set in order; τοῖς ἐκείνου νεύμασιν ἀκολούθως, τὰ κάτω ἢ μεθ' αὐτὸν διακυβερνᾶ, agreeably to his will and appointment, &c. A little after where the reading is, δεσμός τις μέσῳ ἕωτ, the word μέσῳ must be blotted out, in regard it occurs presently. *Valef.*

with the unbegotten [Father.] For the Word of God is a most firm middle Bond, which does bind together things distant one from another, and suffers them not to depart far asunder. He is that Providence which Governs the Universe: He it is, who takes care of, Composes, and Corrects all things. He is the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God. Lastly, He is the * Onely begotten Word, God begotten of God. For, † In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made: as the sacred expressions of Divine men do inform us. He is the Common Planter of all things, by whose assistance the substance of all things does sprout and flourish; being continually watered by showers from Him, and always [enlivened] with new Vigour, and every day endued with Comelines and Beauty. He holds the Reines [of the Universe in his hand,] and directs all things in a straight Course, and by the arbitrement of his Father, manages the Helm of that vast Ship of the whole World. Such an incomparable Artist as this, the Onely-Begotten Son namely, when He who is God over all, [1] as being the [most excellent] Father of the most excellent * Offspring. Fœtus, had begotten of Himself; He bestowed Him on this World as the chiefest Good: [m] and having infused Him as the Soul and Life into a Body inanimate, and [mixt] His own Word [and Reason] with the irrational Nature of Bodies; by the Divine power of His own Word He enlightened and gave life to formless Matter, which was without shape, life, and figure. Whom we ought to acknowledge and contemplate, as continually and in all places present in Matter, and in the Elements of Bodies; and as the Begetter of all Creatures endued with Life: and [must own] Him to be The Light; and the Intellectual Product of inexplicable Light. Who, as to Essence, is One; because begotten of One Father: but contains in Himself many powers and faculties. For, because there be many parts of the world, [n] we must not for that reason think that there are many Powers: nor, because many things have been made, is it therefore fit we should determine, that there be many Gods also. [o] Indeed, those Sons of persons that were worshippers of many Gods, in regard as to their minds they were childish and simple, have err'd miserably; whilst they Deified the Parts of the Universe, and divided the world, which in it self was one, into many. 'Tis the same, as if any person should take the eyes of one entire man, by themselves, and should say that they were one Man; and again, the ears, another man; and in like manner, the head, [another:] as also the neck, and the breast, and the shoulders, and the feet, and the hands; and having thus divided the rest of the members into pieces; and Lastly, by a mental abstraction, severed the Faculties of the Senses; should affirm Him, who is really but one, to be a great many men. [He that should proceed thus,] would do nothing more than expose his own madness to be laught at by men of sense. Exactly such a one is he, who forms to himself an infinite number of Gods, out of the parts of one world; or who supposes, that the world it self, which has both a Beginning, and also consists of many parts, is a God; and who does not understand, that 'tis no way possible, that the Divine Nature should consist of parts. For, should it be compounded, it would want some other thing, which might compound it: [p] nor again, could that in any wise be divine, which should consist of many parts. For, how [should it be divine,] whenas it would consist of [things] unlike and different, and of worse and better? But, [the Nature of God] is simple, indivisible, and uncompounded; and is far beyond all this visible constitution of the world. Wherefore, [q] that Preacher of Truth, has cryed out with a loud voice, plainly expressing Himself in this manner. 'Tis certain, the Word of God, who [existed] before all things, is the only Saviour of all rational Creatures. [r] But God who is above all, the Authour of the Generation of the Word; in regard He alone is the Cause of all things, is properly styled the Father of His own Word, as of His Onely-Begotten: but He Himself acknowledges no superiour Cause. Therefore, He Himself is the Onely God: but the Onely-Begotten proceeds from Him; He is the Saviour of all, the One Word of God, who [pierces] thorow all things. [s] Indeed, this sensible World (as 'twere some many-string'd Harp, made up of dislike chords, whereof some are sharp, others flat, some

[1] Οἷα πατὴρ ἀγαθόν. It will be far more elegant, if you add a word, in this manner, οἷα πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς, ἀγαθὸν, &c. *as being the most excellent*, &c. I don't doubt but *Eusebius* wrote thus: for he has often expresst himself so above. *Valef.*

[m] Ἅτε ψυχὴν καὶ σώματι ἀψύχῳ. Here also the particle is misplac't. Write therefore, ἅτε ψυχὴν σώματι ἀψύχῳ, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ σωμάτων, *and having infused him as the soul and life*, &c. Unless you had rather wholly expunge that particle. 'Tis indeed wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valef.

[n] Πολλὰς δυνάμεις ὑπολητέον. The *Translatour* has done ill in rendring it *Facultates, Faculties*. For, those which *Eusebius* does here term δυνάμεις, in the following member of the period he calls *Gods*. It ought therefore to have been rendred *Potestates*. For so the *Latines* do term *Dæmons*, whom the *Greeks are wont to stile* δυνάμεις. *Servius in B. 3. Æneid. Nam potestates*, says he, *aliæ Cælestes sunt*, &c. *For some powers are Celestial, others Terrene, others mixt.* And *in B. 4. Nam potestates aut terrenæ sunt*, &c. *For the powers are either Terrene, or Aerial, or Ætherial. Chalcidius* on *Plato's Timæus, pag. 97; Quæ potestates*, says he, *Ætherii, aerique sunt Dæmones*, &c. *Which powers are Ætherial and Aerial Dæmons, removed from our sight, and our other senses.* St *Austin* uses the same term, in *his tenth Book de Civitate Dei, Chap. 26:* and in *his Epistle to Volusianus. Apuleus* in *his Apology. Longinianus* in *his Epistle to Augustinus.* And *Amm. Marcellinus, Book 21.* Amongst the *Greeks*, nothing occurs more frequently. St *Jerom on the 2d Chapter of Joël: A dextris*, says he, *& à sinistris virtutes & fortitudines Dei legimus; quas Græci* δυνάμεις *Vocant*, &c. *Valef.*

[o] Δεῖ μὲν δὲ οἷα νήπιοι. At my peril write, οἱ μὲν δὴ, οἷα νήπιοι πολυθέων ἀνδρῶν παῖδες, &c. Which is the same as if he would have said, οἱ μὲν δὴ πολύθεοι, *Indeed, those Superstitious Worshippers of many Gods.* In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, δεινὴν δὲ οἷα, &c. πλάνην ἐπλανήθησαν. Excellently well. *Valef.*

[p] Οὐδ' ἂν πολυμερὴς ἴσοι. It must be οὐδ' ἂν πολυμερὴς, &c: *nor again, could*, &c. Presently, after those words πῶς γὰρ must be set a point of Interrogation; which the Translatour perceived not. *Valef.*

[q] He means St *John the Evangelist*, whose words he had cited a little before, *In the beginning was the Word*, &c. Which words *Eusebius* does now expound by way of paraphrase. *Valef.*

[r] Θεὸς δὲ ὁ ἐπέκεινα λόγου γεωσιάρχης. The Translatour construed the words thus, ὁ ἐπέκεινα λόγου. For he renders it, *Qui dicendo exprimi nequit, who can't be expresst in words.* Which rendition don't please me. I should therefore choose to construe the words another way, so as that it may be said, γεωσιάρχης λόγος, that is, *the Origine and Authour of the Word.* 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* is wont to term God the Father, τὸν ἐπέκεινα πάντων, *Him who is above all.* Indeed, at this place he compares *The Word* to *The Father.* And he says, that *The Word* is πρὸ πάντων, *before all things*: but *the Father*, He says, is ἐπέκεινα πάντων, *beyond*, or *superiour to all things*: every where attributing more to the Father. *Valef.*

[s] Ὡς μὲν ἓν ὁ αἰσθητὸς κόσμος, &c. Doubtless it must be, ὁ μὲν ἓν αἰσθητὸς κόσμος; *Indeed, this sensible world.* Which is made apparent from the following words. *Valef.*

some

some slack, others strain'd, and otherſome betwixt both; but all well fitted and proportion'd, according to the Rules of the Art of Muſick: in the ſame manner this world) conſiſting of many parts, and compounded in a various manner; of Cold namely and its contrary Heat; and again, of a moyſt ſubſtance, and dry the contrary thereto; and of all theſe making up one Harmony, may fitly be ſtyled the Great Muſical Inſtrument and Compoſure of the Great God. But the Divine Word, who neither conſiſts of parts, nor is made up of Contraries, but is indiviſible and uncompounded, with great art and skill does play upon [*this muſical Inſtrument*] *the Univerſe; and makes ſuch a melody as is* * *gratefull to his Father the ſupream King, and befitting Himſelf.* † *For, as in one Body, the Members and parts, the Bowels, and almoſt innumerable Entrails, are compacted and ſet together; but one inviſible ſoul is diffuſed through all its parts; & one mind, which is indiviſible and incorporeal: ſo alſo in this Univerſe, the World it ſelf, conſiſting of many parts, is made up into one; but the Word of God, whoſe power is manifold and Omnipotent, is in like manner One; and paſſes through all things, and is* ‖ *without wandring diffuſed and ſpread over all things, and is the cauſe of all things that are made in them. Do you not with your eyes ſee this whole world? How one Heaven containes* ‖ *innumerable* * *Quires of Stars which go their Rounds about it. Again, how One Sun* [*leads up*] *the many other* [*Daunces of the Stars,*] *and by the tranſcendency of His Own Light, obſcures the ſplendour of all the reſt. In the ſame manner, the Father being One, his Word muſt be One alſo, as being the excellent* [*Off-ſpring*] *of the excellent Father. But, ſhould any perſon complain, becauſe there are not more; ſuch a One has as good reaſon to find fault, becauſe there are not more Suns, more Moons, more Worlds, and a thouſand things beſide; whilſt like a mad man, he attempts to ſubvert and diſcompoſe thoſe things, which are right and well-conſtituted by Nature. For, as in things viſible, One Sun does enlighten this whole Senſible World: ſo in things intelligible, One Almighty Word of God illuminates all things, in a manner to us unknown and inviſible. For, even in Man himſelf, one Soul and one Faculty of reaſoning, is the Framer of many things all under one: for, one and the ſame mind, having been inſtructed in the knowledge of many matters, attempts both to till the Ground, and to build a Ship, and to ſteer it, and to ſet up an Houſe. Alſo, one mind and reaſon in man, is capable of numerous Sciences. For, one and the ſame mind is skill'd in* Geometry, *and in* Aſtronomy; *and delivers the rules of* Grammar, *and* Rhetorick, *and* Phyſick: *nor is* [*the mind*] *Miſtreſs of theſe Liberal Sciences only, but of Arts Manual alſo. And yet no man was ever hitherto of Opinion, that there are many* [*Rational*] *ſoules in one body: nor hath any one admired or had a ſuſpicion of many ſubſtances in the ſame man, becauſe he is capable of being skill'd in many Sciences. Let us ſuppoſe any one to have found an unform'd Lump of clay; and, (after He has ſoftened it with his hands) to have faſhioned it into the ſhape of a living Creature; the head in one figure: the hands and feet in another; and again the eyes in another, as alſo the cheeks in another; and likewiſe* † *by the Art of a Potter to have formed the ears, mouth, noſe, breaſt, and ſhoulders. Although there are many figures, parts and members formed in this one Body; yet it muſt not therefore be thought, that there were as many Framers of this Work: but we muſt acknowledge the Artiſt of the whole work to be but one; and muſt neceſſarily commend that ſingle perſon, who by the help of one Reaſon and one Faculty, has framed the whole Work. The ſame is to be thought concerning this whole world; which although it be one, yet conſiſts of many parts. Nor muſt we therefore ſuppoſe many framing Powers; or name many Gods: but muſt attribute the appellation of Divinity to the true God's One power and wiſdom, which is compleatly furniſhed with all manner of ſagacity, and with the perfection of Harmony: which by One and that a ſingular power and virtue, paſſes thorow all things; and goes through the whole world; and conſtitutes and enlivens all things; and laſtly* × *from it ſelf gives a various ſupply to all and ſingular Bodies and Elements. So alſo, one and the ſame impreſſion of the Solar Light, at one and the ſame inſtant illuſtrates the air; enlightens the eyes; heats the* [*ſenſe of*] *touching; fattens the earth, and gives increaſe to plants: beſides, it conſtitutes Time; rules and leades the Stars; goes round Heaven; beautifies the world; and renders the power of God, manifeſt and apparent to every one: and all theſe things it performs, by one and the ſame force of its own Nature. In like manner, the Nature of Fire, refines gold, melts lead; diſſolves wax; dries clay; and burns wood: ſo many, and ſuch great things it performs by one power and faculty, that namely of burning. In the very ſame manner, the Word of God, the ſupream Moderatour of all things, who paſſes through all things, exiſts in all things, and* ‖ *overſpreads all things, as well Celeſtial as Terreſtrial; governs things inviſible and viſible, and by* ʸ *unſpeakable powers rules the Sun Himſelf, Heaven, and the whole world; is preſent with all things by his active power, and goes thorow all things. And on the Sun Himſelf, and on the Moon, and the Stars, He ſheads forth a perpetual light out of His own Fountain of light. The Heaven, which He hath made as the moſt fit reſemblance of His own Greatneſs, He does for ever govern. But the Powers which are beyond Heaven and the world it ſelf, namely the Angels and Spirits, and the intelligent and rational ſubſtances; are by Him filled and enricht, with life and light, and wiſdom, and all manner of Virtue, and Beauty, and Goodneſs, out of his own Treaſures. Laſtly, by one and the ſame framing Faculty, He never ceaſes from furniſhing the Elements with ſubſtance, and Bodies with mixtures and Temperaments; and moreover, with Forms, and Figures, and innumerable Qualities;*

* Or, *Due.*

† Ὡς ὑφ' ἑνὶ σώματι. There is a particle wanting here; which I put in thus; ὡς μὲν ἓν ὑφ ἑνὶ σώματι, *for, as in one body.* It may alſo be, ὡς δὲ ὑφ' ἑνὶ, *But, as in one, &c.* Valeſ.

‖ Ἁπλανῶς ἐφιπτωμένου. Perhaps it ſhould be ἀφανῶς, *inviſibly.* For, *The Word* of God in an inviſible manner is diffuſed through all things. But the common reading is not raſhly to be rejected. For *Euſebius* means, that the Word of God is infuſed into all things, not as a ſpirit, which in a wandring motion paſſes thorow all things, and is carried ſometimes this way, another while that way; but as a Soul, which is ſpread into all the members at once, and wanders not from theſe, to thoſe. The Tranſlatour renders ἁπλανῶς, *reverà, really.* Valeſ.

‖ Ἀμφὶ μυείας. Any one may perceive, that the words are miſplac't here alſo. Write therefore, χωρείας ἄνεφεν ἀμφὶ τῶν πολύσημ; and we have rendred it accordingly. A little after, I read, ἥλιον εἷς, ἀλλ' ὃ πλείους, ὡς κ, &c. *Again, One Sun, but not more; ſo that even by the tranſcendency* ——*He obſcures*—— &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Daunces.*

× Ποικίλην τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς χορηγίαν πομπήν. The article muſt be blotted out; or at leaſt it muſt be πᾶσι ἐξ αὐτῆς, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* Preſently, where the reading is φωτὸς ἡλίου θερμόλη, I had rather read θερμόλη, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* Valeſ.

† *In Potters-work.* So *Valeſius.*

‖ Or, *Runs over.*

ʸ Ἀῤῥήτοις δυνάμεσιν. It muſt, I think, be, ἀῤῥήτων λόγων δυνάμεσιν ἐνισχεῖ; or elſe, as 'tis in the *Fuk. Copy,* ἀῤῥήτοις δυνάμεσιν, *by inexpreſſible* or *unſpeakable powers.* A little after, where the reading is, εἴτε αὖπω μὲν ἡλίῳ; the Tranſlatour ſeems to have read, εἶτα *moreover.* But it would be better, were it writen thus, ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν, &c; *and on the Sun Himſelf,* &c. *Valeſ.*

z Ἔν τε ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς. In the *Fuk. Copy*, these words ἔν τε are wanting; they don't indeed seem very necessary. *Vales.*

z *as well in living creatures as plants; not only in rational Beings, but in Brutes; differencing and distinguishing all things with an admirable variety, and by one and the same power plentifully supplying all things with all things: hereby most clearly demonstrating, that not an Harp consisting of seven Chords, but this one all-Harmonious World, is the work of The One World-creating Word.*

CHAP. XIII.

a Λέγω μὴ δὴ τὰ ἑξῆς καὶ διασαφῶ μοι. It must be written in conjoyned words, thus λέγωμὴ δῆτα ἑξῆς καὶ διασαφῶμοι, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

a PRocced we therefore in the next place to unfold the reason, which moved this Almighty Word to make His descent into this world. *A sort of ignorant and unthinking men, not apprehending that this Word of God has the Presidency over Heaven and Earth, that He was begotten of His Father's Divinity,* [*the stream*] *as 'twere from that supream Fountain it self, and is always present and conversant with this world; and that He exhibits most apparent and manifest Indications of His own Providence and Care in reference to men: have given the adorable name* [*of God*] *to the Sun and Moon, and to the Heaven it self and the Stars. Nor have they stop't here: but have likewise deified a terrene Nature, and the Fruits produc'd from the Earth, and all manner of nourishment of Bodies: framing for themselves Images of* Ceres, *of* Proserpina *and* Bacchus, *and of infinite other such like* [*Deities.*] *Neither has it sufficed them to proceed thus far: but they have not been afraid of declaring the thoughts of their own minds, and Speech it self the Interpreter of those thoughts, to be Gods: terming the mind,* Minerva; *and Speech,* Mercurius: *they have likewise named those faculties of the mind, whereby Arts and Sciences are acquired,* * Moneta *and* The Muses. *Nor have they stop't here: but making every day new accessions to their absurdities, by reason of their transcendent impiety, they have deified their own Commotions and perturbations of mind, which they ought to have had an aversion for, and to have cur'd by the Prescripts of Temperance. And even to their very Lust it self, and to the Mischievous and unruly disease of their Souls, and to those parts of the Body that are the Incentives to obscenity;* b *and moreover, to that intemperance excessively prone to filthy pleasures, they have given the names of* Cupido, Priapus, *and* Venus, *and other such like appellations as these. Nor have they stopt here: but debasing themselves to the Generations of Bodies, and to this mortal life here below, they have deified mortal men, and after death which is common to all, have termed them* Hero's *and Gods; imagining that the immortal and divine Nature does* * *wander about Tombes and Sepulchres. Nor has this put a stop to their madness: but they have honoured all sorts of irrational Creatures, and the most noxious kinds of Creeping things, with the venerable Title* [*of Divinity.*] *Neither were they satisfied herewith: but they have cut down Trees, and hew'd out Stones, and have dug forth the Mettals of the earth, Brass, Iron, and other matter; whereof they have form'd Resemblances of women and shapes of men, and figures of wild beasts and creeping things: and afterwards paid them a divine worship and honour. Nor have they put an end to their madness here: but have given the Name of Gods to those malignant* Dæmons, *which had hol'd in Images, and lay lurking within obscure and dark Recesses, and who with greediness gap'd after and swallowed* Libations, *and the stinking savours of sacrifices. Nor did they stop here: but* c *by certain Ligatures of forbidden Craft, and by* d *wicked and compulsory enchanting Verses and charms, they allured and enticed those* Dæmons *and invisible powers which fly about the Air, to be their* e Assistants *and* Familiars. f *Moreover, some mortal men were deified by one sort of people; others, by another. For the* Greeks *honoured* Bacchus, *and* Hercules, *and* Æsculapius, *and* Apollo, *and some other men, with the name of* Hero's *and Gods. But the* Egyptians *esteemed* Horus, *and* Isis, *and* Osiris, *and other such like men as these, to be Gods. And these persons, who on account of their transcendent sagacity, boasted of the Invention of* Geometry, Astronomy, *and* Arithmetick; *understood not, nor were so well skilled, (though in* g *their own judgments they lookt upon themselves to be such wise and knowing men;) as to weigh and consider, the measures of the power of God, and* [*to examine*] *how great a difference there is between* His, *and a mortal and brutish Nature.*

* Or, *Mnemosyne*, that is, *the Mother of the Muses.*

b Καὶ ὅπῃ τῇ περὶ ἀφροδίτων ἡδονῶν ἀκρασία. It is to be made, καὶ ἔτι πλὴν περὶ ἀφροδίτων ἡδονῶν ἀκρασίαν, &c. *and moreover*, &c; for 'tis referred to the word ἀνεπόνλες. *Eusebius* says, that unchast passions were consecrated by men. For they called their Lust by the name of *Cupid*; and the members wherewith acts of obscenity were performed, *Priapus*; and that intemperance which spreads it self into filthy pleasures, they termed *Venus*. This is the meaning of this place, which the Translatour perceived not. *Vales.*

* Roll, or, *Tumble.*

c Καταδέσμοις πολλὴν ἀπειργημένης γοητείας. καταδεσμὸς is a proper Term of *Magick Art*. *Artemidorus* (B. 1. C. 79.) joyns φαρμακείας and καταδέσμους together. *Plato* (B. 11. *De Legibus*, pag. 933.) has used καταδέσεις to signifie the same. See *Harpocration* in the verb καταδεῖδαι. The *Latines* call them *Ligaturas*, *Ligatures*. S^t *Austin*'s words, in *his seventh Tractate on* S^t *John*, are these. *Usque adeo, fratres mei*, &c. *In so much, my Brethren, that those very persons, who seduce by Ligatures, by charms, by the deceits and engines of the Enemy, mix the name of Christ with their own Charms.* *Orosius* (B. 4. C. 13.) calls it *obligamentum magicum, a Magick Bond* or *Tye*. Vales.

d Ἐκθέσμοις τε καὶ ἐναγέσιν ᾠδαῖς. It must be made ἐπαναγκάσιοις, *compulsory*; from the *Fuk. Copy*. Vales.

e Παρέδρους. *Tertullian* in *his Book De Anima*, has termed them in Latine *Paredros Spiritus*, which he joyns with the *Catabolick* and *Pythonick Spirits*, who were put into men by *Magicians*. Now, they were called *Paredri Dæmones*, who assisted men, and kept off diseases and unhappy accidents from them. This we are told by *Tertullian* (in *his Apolog. Chap.* 23.) in these words. *Si & somnia immittunt, habentes simul invitatorum angelorum & Dæmonum adsistentem sibi potestatem.* For *Magicians* had *Dæmons* that assisted and obeyed them, who were their *Paredri, Familiars*; by whose help they performed many miracles. Besides, they put such Spirits into others, that they might either infuse dreames into them, or be always present with them in order to their defence. The former sort of Spirits they termed ὀνειροπομπὰς, *senders or causers of Dreames*: the Latter they call'd παρέδρους, *Assistants* or *Familiars*. Sometimes also, by Magick charms they threw boys against the ground, who being afterwards raised, as 'twere from a Fit of the *falling-sickness*, foretold things future to those that consulted them. Which thing they performed by *Catabolick Spirits*, as *Heraldus* has rightly remark't at *Tertullian's Apology*. From hence *Salmasius*'s mistake is made apparent, who (in *his notes on Spartianus*, *pag.* 40,) affirms, that those were termed *Paredri*, who from being men were reckoned amongst the Gods, and were made Assessors to the Gods. Which opinion of *Salmasius's*, *Gothofred* has embraced, in *his notes on Tertullian's second Book ad Nationes*. *Turnebus* (*B. 26. Adversar.*) is much righter; save that he renders it *malos genios, evil Genii*: whereas notwithstanding, the *Good Genii*, and ἀλεξίκακοι were so termed, as *Lucian* writes concerning *Hephæstion*. Lastly, they usualy termed *the Infernal Gods*, not *the Celestial, Paredri*; which being not observed by *Salmasius*, was the occasion of his mistake. See *Demosthenes* in *Orat. Funebr.* about the close: and *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 1. *pag.* 45: and lastly *Rufinus's Eccles. Histor.* B. 2. Chap. 13. From which Authours 'tis plain, that *the Infernal Gods* were termed *Paredri*. *Vales.*

f Θυηλάς τε μὴ. I read θυηλάς γε μὴν ἄνθρας; *Moreover*, &c. Which though a small fault, yet ought not to have been omitted. *Vales.*

g Παρ' ἑαυτῆς οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. Here the words seem to be misplac't. I read therefore, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, οὐδὲ σωφῆκαν οἱ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς σοφοὶ, &c. Which way of writing this place, we have followed in our Version. In the *Fuk. Copy*, this passage is written thus, γεωμετρίας πλὴ εὑρεσιν, ἀστρονομίας τε καὶ ἀριθμητικῆς αὐξοντες, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, &c. Which reading I don't approve of. *Vales.*

Hence

Hence it was, that they were not ashamed of deifying every sort of filthy and ill-favoured Beasts, and all manner of living Creatures, and venomous Serpents, and savage Beasts. Also, the Phœnicians *gave the Title of Gods to* [h] Melcatharus *and* Usorus, *and to some other obscure persons, who had heretofore been men. And so did the* Arabians, *to one* [i] Dusares *and* Obadas; [k] *and the* Getæ, *to* Zamolxis; *and the* Cilicians, *to* Mopsus; *and the* Thebæans, *to* Amphiareus: *and again some* [*made Gods*] *of these, others of those; persons in nothing different from a mortal nature; but such as in reality were meer men. All the* Egyptians *by a general consent, the* Phœnicians, *the* Greeks, *and in short the whole Body of mankind which the Rayes of the Sun do enlighten,* [*have attributed divine honours*] *to the parts of the world, and to the Elements, and to* [l] *the fruits which spring out of the Earth. And which is yet more strange, although they acknowledge their adulteries, their Sodomies, and their Ravishments of women; nevertheless they have filled all Cities and Towns and Countries, with their Temples and Statues and Shrines; and in a conformity to the Morals of their Gods, they have totally ruined their own Souls. Indeed, in words and expressions you might frequently hear Gods named amongst them,* [m] *and Sons of Gods, also* Heroes, *and Good* Genii: *But the thing it self was quite different and contrary. For they grac't contrary things with contrary names: in the same manner as if a man desirous to shew another the Sun and the Luminaries in the Heaven, should not lift up His eyes thither; but should cast his hands downwards toward the earth, and throwing them on the ground, grope for the Celestial Powers in the dirt and mire. Thus mankind,* [*induced thereto*] *by a stupidity of mind, and the fraud of mischeivous* Dæmons, *was fully perswaded, that the intelligible Nature of God, which does far transcend Heaven and the world it self, resided below in the Generation of Bodies, in the* * *Affections of mortals, and in* † *death. Further, men were arrived at such an height of madness, that they sacrificed their dearest Pledges to them; nor would they spare even Nature it self; but, out of fury and a distraction of mind, murdered their only-begotten, and the dearest of their children. For, what can be supposed a madder action than this, to sacrifice men; and to pollute all Cities, and their own houses with intestine murders? Doe not the* Greeks *themselves give testimony to these matters? Is not every History fill'd with the rehearsall of these things? The* Phœnicians *did every year sacrifice their most beloved and only begotten children, to* Saturn. [n] *To the very same* [*God,*] *in* [*the Island*] Rhodes, *on the sixth day of the month* Metageitnion, *they offered men in sacrifice. Also at* Salamis, *in a Temple of* Minerva Agraulis *and* Diomedes, *'twas the custom, that a man, pursu'd by others should run round about the Altar thrice; after which the Priest stab'd him into the stomack with a Launce; and thus he laid him on a pile of wood set on fire, and wholly consumed him. In* Egypt *likewise, innumerable slaughters of men were committed. For at* Heliopolis, *three men were every day sacrificed to* Juno: *the barbarousness of which thing, King* [o] Amoses *having look't into and rightly considered, ordered the like number of men made up of wax, to be substituted in their room. Also in* [*the Island*] Chius *they sacrificed a man to* Bacchus Omadius; *and they did the like in* Tenedos. *In* Lacedæmon *they performed a sacrifice to* Mars *by* [*offering*] *men: and they did the very same in* Crete, *where they sacrificed a man to* Saturn. *At* Laodicea *in* Syria, *a Virgin was every year sacrificed to* Minerva; *in place of whom a Hart is now offered. Moreover, the* Libyans *and* Carthaginians *appeased their own Gods with humane sacrifices.* [p] *Also, the* Dumateni *of* Arabia *offered a Boy in sacrifice yearly, whom they were wont to bury under the Altar. History does inform us, that all the* Greeks *in general, before they marched out to war, usually sacrificed a man: and the* Thracians *and* Scythæ *are recorded to have done the like. The* Athenians *mention* [q] *the Virgins*

[h] Μελκάνθαρον, *Melcantharus. Eusebius* (book 1. *De Præparat. chap.* 10; where he sets forth the *Theology* of the *Phœnicians:*) terms the one of these Gods, *Melicarthus* the son of *Demaron*, the Grandchild [or, Nephew] of *Cælus*: the other he calls *Usous* Brother to *Hypsuranius*, who was the first that found out the Coverings of skins. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is μελκάθαρον καὶ ὔσωον, *Melcatharus and Usorus.* Vales.

[i] Δύσαρίν τινα καὶ ὄβοδον. The reading must be καὶ ὀβόδαν, *and Obodas.* For the *Arabians* worshipped *Obodas* and *Dusares*, as *Tertullian* tells us, *Book* 2. *ad Nationes, Chap.* 8. Concerning *Obodas* see *Uranius* in *his fourth Book of Arabick Antiquities. Obodas* was a most ancient King of the *Arabians*, who was buried amongst the *Nabathæi*, and had divine honours paid him by them; as *Stephanus* relates in the word ὀβόδα. From him many Kings of *Arabia* were afterwards called by the name of *Obodas*; two of whom *Josephus* mentions; the one in the times of *Alexander* King of the *Jews*; the other, in the Reign of *Herod. Strabo* also makes mention of the latter. Further, as far as may be conjectured from Histories, the *Arethæ* and *Obodæ* Reigned by turns amongst the *Arabians*: so that, after an *Arethas*, succeeded an *Obodas*; and after an *Obodas*, an *Arethas.* And this seems to have continued a long while. The *Nabathæi* worshipped *Dusares* also, by which name they meant *Bacchus*, as *Isidorus* in *Hesychius* informs us. *Stephanus* in the word Δυσάρειοι, speaks concerning this God also. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading here is, Δύσαρίν τινα ὄβοδον. *Vales.*

[k] Καὶ ὁπηγκτὸν. It must be written, καὶ οἱ γετῶς; understand παῖδες; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Zamolxis* is a known God of the *Getæ.* Presently, the reading must be, καὶ τὸν μόψον κίλικες, καὶ τ' ἀμφιάρεω θηβαῖοι. καὶ πάλιν ἕτεροι ἄλλος, ἄλλοι πάλιν ἑτέρους, &c; *and the Cilicians, to Mopsus,* &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις, ἄλλοι πάλιν ἑτέρους. *Vales.*

[l] Βλασθήτας καρπὲς λείπ. The last word was added by the Transcriber of this Book, to the intent he might thereby shew, that there is an imperfection here. Indeed, at this place some words seem to be wanting. Unless you have a mind to understand these words in common, θεὲς ἀπηρίθμησαν *gave the Title of Gods*, which are made use of a little before. In the *Fuketian Copy*, that word λείπει occurs not; but after the word καρπὲς a point is set. *Vales.*

[m] Καὶ θεῶν πάλας. I think it should be, καὶ θεῶν παῖδας, *and the Sons of Gods.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis πάλας. *Vales.*

* *Dispositions, or, passions.*

† *Or, Deaths.*

[n] Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ῥόδῳ. From *Porphyrius* it must be made πῷ δ' αὐτῷ τότῳ, *to the very same*; understand κρόνῳ, *Saturn.* Vales.

[o] Ἀφ' ὧν ἐμώσης. Doubtless it must be made ἀπ' ὧν, from *Porphyrius's Second Book de Abstinentia*; whom our *Eusebius* has transcrib'd here, almost word for word. And so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*; agreeably whereto we have rendred it. *Vales.*

[p] Καὶ δ' ἔ μάτῳ, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀ- εβείας. I reade καὶ δουματίωοι δὲ, *Also, the Dumateni*; from *Porphyrius* in the forecited place: although in *Porphyrius*, the ordinary reading is δουμάτιοι *Dumatii.* Nor is it otherwise written in *Eusebius's fourth Book De Præparatione, chap.* 16. But *Dumateni*, as I have said, pleases me best. *Stephanus's* words are these: δ'ουμαθὰ, πόλις ἀραβίας. ὁ πολίτης δουμαθηνὸς, ὡς γλαῦκος ἐν β. ἀραβικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας; that is: *Dumatha, a City of Arabia: a Citizen* [*whereof is termed*] *Dumathenus, as Glaucus,* [*says*] *in the Second Book of his Arabick Archæology.* Indeed the *Arabians* in their *Patronymicks*, most commonly have this termination. *Vales.*

[q] Τὰς λεωκόρους. These words are wanting in *Porphyrius*, which our *Eusebius* has added of his own. Indeed *Porphyrius*, in regard he treated concerning humane Victims, and spake of the *Athenians*, ought not to have omitted this instance. There was heretofore one *Leus Amongst* the *Athenians*, the son of *Orpheus*, as *Suidas* says; who (when *Athens* was afflicted with famine, and an answer had been given by *Apollo Delphicus*, that the City should no otherwise be preserved, unless some one of the Citizens would offer their daughters in sacrifice to the Gods;) delivered up his three daughters, *Phasithea*, *Theope*, and *Eubule*, to be sacrificed for the safety of the City. *Ælianus* Book 12. *Variæ Historiæ, Chap.* 28;) instead of *Phasithea*, names her *Praxithea.* Nothing occurs more frequently amongst the Greek Orators, than the mention of these three daughters of *Leus*; as in *Aristides's Panathenaicus*, in *Libanius's thirteenth Declamation. Demosthenes* or whoever else is the Authour, in the Oration entitled Ὑπαφιῶς, reckons this *Leus* amongst the ἐπώνυμοι, or *Founders of the Tribes*;

Tribes; from whom the Tribe of *Leon* took its name. For theſe are his words: ἡκηκόεσαν οἱ λεοντίδαι μυθολογημένας τὰς λέω κούρας, ὡς αὐτὰς ἔδοσαν σφάγιον τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας. *Clemens Alexandrinus* does likewiſe mention him, in *his Protrepticon*; and *Gregory Nazianzene* in *his Poem De Virtute*; and amongſt modern writers, *Leopardus* in *his nineteenth Book, in the laſt chapter ſave one.* Valeſ.

[r] *Erechtheus* the ſon of *Pandion*, had ſix daughters; *Protogenia*, *Pandora*, *Procris*, *Creuſa*, *Orithia*, and *Chthonia*.

daughters of Leus, [r] *and the daughter of* Erechtheus, *as offered in ſacrifice amongſt them. And who is ignorant, that even at this preſent,* [s] *in the City* Rome, *on the Feaſt of* Jupiter Latiaris, *a man is ſacrificed? The moſt approved perſons amongſt the Philoſophers, have by their own teſtimony evidenced, that theſe things are thus. Moreover,* Diodorus, *who compoſed* an Epitome of Libraries, *ſays that the* Africans *offered as a publick ſacrifice, two hundred of their nobleſt Boyes to* Saturn; *and that* [t] *three hundred other perſons voluntarily preſented their own ſons, not fewer in number, to be ſacrificed. But* Dionyſius, *the Writer of the* Roman Hiſtory, *does relate, that* Jupiter *himſelf in* [u] *his own name, and* Apollo, *required Humane ſacrifices in* Italy, *from thoſe termed* The Aborigines: *and ſays farther, that thoſe perſons from whom theſe ſacrifices had been required, offered a portion of all manner of Fruits to the Gods: but, becauſe they did not ſacrifice men alſo,* [he adds] *that they fell into all ſorts of Calamites; and, that they could not procure a relaxation from theſe miſchiefs, till ſuch time as they had* * Decimated *themſelves. And that, being in this manner compelled to take off every tenth man by offering him in ſacrifice, they became the Occaſioners of the depopulation of their own Country. With ſo many and ſuch great Calamities was the whole Body of mankind heretofore afflicted. Nor yet was this the only unhappineſs wherewith men were attended: but they were ſlaves to infinite other, and thoſe deplorable and incurable miſchiefs. For all the Nations diſperſt thorowout the whole world, both* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *ſtirred up as 'twere and provok'd by a deviliſh impulſe, were ſeized with the horrid and moſt ſore diſeaſe of Sedition; in ſo much that, the Sons of Men were unſociable, and irreconcileable one to another; the great Body of Common Nature was torn piece-meal* [and its members ſcatter'd] *here and there; and in every corner of the Earth men* † *were diſ-united, and ſtrove with one another on account of their different Laws and Forms of Government. And not only this; but being enraged by frequent commotions and inſurrections, they made attacks upon one another: ſo that, they ſpent their whole lives in continued fights and inteſtine wars; nor durſt any one, unleſs arm'd at all points like a warriour, ſtir abroad and travel whither he had a mind to go. Moreover, throughout all Countries and in the Villages, the* || *Boors* [w] *wore ſwords; and poſſeſt themſelves of proviſions of Arms, rather than of Tools and furniture to till the ground: and to pillage and make ſlaves of ſuch of the neighbourhood as they had taken Priſoners, was by them placed to the account of valour. Nor were they ſatisfied only with this; but taking an occaſion of leading unclean and wicked lives, from thoſe Fables which they themſelves had coyn'd concerning their own Gods; they ruined their own ſouls as well as bodies, by all the ways and methods of intemperance. Nor did*

[s] Κατὰ τὸν μεγάλην πόλιν, *in the great City.* The Tranſlatours have done ill in rendring it *Megalopolis.* For *Porphyrius*, whoſe words *Euſebius* makes uſe of here, gave *Rome* that name, according to the uſage of his own age; as it has been long ſince remark't by *Joſeph Scaliger* in *his Animadverſions on* Euſebius, *pag.* 53. 'Tis certain, *Libanius* in *his Oration* entitled βασιλικὸς, does ſo term the City *Rome.* Farther, what *Porphyrius* ſays, (namely, that at *Rome*, on the *Feſtival of Jupiter Latiaris*, ſtill in his age a man was ſacrificed;) is confirmed by *Lactantius*, Book 1. chap. 21. *Siquidem*, ſays he, *Latiaris Jupiter & nunc ſanguine colitur humano*; for *Jupiter Latiaris is even at this preſent worſhipt with humane bloud. Prudentius*'s words in *his firſt Book againſt Symmachus*, are theſe:

Funditur humanus Latiari in munere ſanguis.

Dion Caſſius ſpeaks concerning this Feaſt, in *his fourty third Book, pag.* 351. Now, the *Latiaria* were celebrated in *December*, as I think. For in that month the *Gladiators Show* was exhibited, as we are informed from *Hemmartius*'s *Calendarium.* In the *Latiare Sacrum* the uſage was, that the bloud of that *Gladiator* who had been killed in the encounter, ſhould whilſt it was warm be offered to *Jupiter*, and as it were flung in his face; as *Cyprian* relates in *his Book De Spectaculis*, and *Tertullian* in *his Apologetick*, Chap. 9. There is an eminent paſſage in *Juſtin the Martyr's Apology to the Senate*, where he ſpeaks concerning this ſolemnity. His words are theſe. —— τὰ ἴσα τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν πιαινομένῳ εἰδώλῳ. ὧν ὁ μόνον ἀλόγων ζώων αἵματα προσφέρεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, ἅπερ τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν ὁπλιτοτάτῳ καὶ εὐγενεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ τῷ προέχοντι τῆς ἡγεμονεύοντος αἵματι σπονδὴν ποιεῖσθε. —— *Doing the ſame things that are done by you to an Idol you worſhip. On which is ſprinkled not only the bloud of irrational Creatures, but humane Bloud alſo, by the eminenteſt and moſt noble perſonage amongſt you, who makes this Libation of the Blood of thoſe ſlain.* From which place we gather, that the *Prætor of the City* performed this ſacrifice: and that a man was not ſacrificed to *Jupiter*, as *Porphyrius* ſays; but only, that the bloud of a *Gladiator* killed in the *Theater*, was offered to *Jupiter.* Valeſ.

[t] Τριακοσίους ἑτέρους. The Tranſlatour has not hit the meaning of this place; he renders it thus: *Et nihilominus trecentos alios ſacrificio addidiſſe, and nevertheleſs added three hundred more to the ſacrifice.* But ἐπιδιδόναι is a proper term uſed concerning thoſe Fathers, who deliver up their children to be ſacrificed to the Gods, as we have ſeen above concerning *Leus* the *Athenian.* When therefore the Nobles in *Africa* had preſented three hundred Boyes to be ſacrificed to the Gods, *Diodorus* ſays, that three hundred other Boyes were in like manner preſented by other perſons; that they might ſhew their piety towards the Gods, no leſs evidently than the former had done. But I had rather read διακοσίους *two hundred*, inſtead of τριακοσίους *three hundred.* Queſtionleſs, it muſt either be διακοσίους *two hundred*, here; or elſe above, inſtead of διακοσίους *two hundred*, it muſt be made τριακοσίους *three hundred.* Valeſ.

[u] Αὐτῷ ὀνόματι. I think it muſt be αὐτῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διός; which reading I have followed in my rendition. But our *Euſebius* is miſtaken. For *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* (*pag.* 16.) relates, that the Gods required that of the *Pelaſgi*, not of the *Aborigines*; and that the men were not ſlain by them, but baniſht out of their Country. In the *Fuketian Copy* the word αὐτῷ is wanting. Valeſ.

* That is, *Offered every tenth man of themſelves in ſacrifice.*

† Or, *Rebell'd.*

|| Or, *Tillers of the Ground.*

[w] Indeed, about the beginning of *Diocletian's* Reign, the Boors in *Gallia*, having entred into a Combination amongſt themſelves, took up arms, and infeſted the High-ways, giving themſelves the name of *Bacaudæ*; as we are told by *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, and *Mamertinus* in *Maximianus's Panegyrick.* Farther, from this paſſage of *Euſebius* we are informed, that that ſort of Robbery was practiſed almoſt throughout the whole *Roman* world. Valeſ.

did they acquiesce herein; but passing those Bounds and Limits which Nature has set, they proceeded farther, and abused one another by the commission of such acts of Obscenity, as are as unfit to be declared, as incredible: And * men with men wrought that which is unseemly, and received in themselves that recompense of their errour which was meet, as the Sacred Scriptures do express it. Nor were they satisfied herewith; but having depraved those Notions concerning God, infused into them by nature, they lookt upon all affairs here below, as not managed with any thing of Care and Providence; but ascribed the Origine and Constitution of this Universe to † rash and fortuitous Chance, and to fatal Necessitie. Neither did they end here: but supposing their souls to perish together with their Bodies, they lead a brutish and lifeless life; not searching into the nature of the soul; not expecting the Tribunals of Divine judgment; not weighing in their minds the rewards of virtue, or the punishments of an unrighteous and wicked life. Moreover, whole nations, [enslaved] to various sorts of impiety, consumed away in a brutish course of life, as if rotted by some inveterate disease. For some made horrible and most unnatural Mixtures with their own Mothers: others married their own Sisters; others debauch'd their own daughters. And some murdered strangers, who had come to them: others fed upon humane flesh: others strangled their aged people, and afterwards feasted on them: others cast them to dogs, whilst they were yet living, to be devoured by them. The time would fail me, should I attempt to give a particular Narrative of all those mischiefs, of that complicated and inveterate disease, which had seized the whole Body of mankind. These, and ten thousand more of the same nature with these, [were the calamitous distempers;] on account whereof the most Gracious Word of God, compassionating [x] His own Rational Flock (heretofore by some of His Prophets, and long after that by other pious men, and then by those famous and illustrious persons who lived in the following ages,) incited those that were despair'd of and lost, to their own Cure: and partly by Laws, partly by various exhortations, and partly by all manner of instructions, He infused into men the Beginnings and first Rudiments of Divine Worship. [y] But when Mankind stood not any longer in need of humane power, but wanted an Assistant far superiour and more powerfull than man was; in regard the Sons of men wandred in errour this way and that way, and were most cruelly torn in sunder, not by wolves and fierce wild-beasts, but by terrible and raging Dæmons, and by furious and soul-destroying Spirits: at length The Word of God, in Obedience to His most Excellent Father's Command, with all imaginable willingness came to us Himself, and entred Our Tents. Now, the reasons of His descent hither, were the same with those I have mentioned above. [z] On account therefore of all which, when He was come to the converse of Mortals, He performed not that which had been usual and customary to Him; for He was incorporeal, and in an invisible manner could pass thorow the whole world, and by His Works themselves demonstrated the Greatness of His own power, to the Inhabitants as well of Heaven, as Earth. ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα πάντων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμιλίας, on account therefore of which, when He hastned to the converse of Mortals; or else παρεὼν, when he was come; which conjecture seems to me most certain. For though the same sense might be extracted from the ordinary reading, yet if we should retain that, I don't see whither these words εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμιλίας can be referred. But at length the *Fuketian Copy* hath confirmed our Conjecture, wherein the reading is, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα, πάντων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμιλίας παρεὼν. *Valesius.*

But He * made use of a new and unusual manner of acting. For, having assumed a mortal Body, He vouchsafed to discourse and converse with men; with this design, that He might save Mankind by its like.

BUt come on, in the procedure we will declare, on what account the Incorporeal Word of God, having * assumed a Body as an instrument, was present and conversant with men. And, by what other method could the Divine Essence (which can't be touched, is immaterial, and invisible,) shew it self to those, who seek for God in matter and below on the ground, [a] and who any other way were unable, or at least unwilling, to inspect the Parent and Maker of all things; unless He had exposed Himself to view under an humane Form and Shape? Hence it was, that by the most agreeable assistance of a mortal Body, He descended to a Converse with men, because such a Body was familiar and acceptable to them. For, as the common proverb assures us, Like loves its Like. [b] In the same manner therefore, the Word of God shewed Himself to those, who * were lead by a sense of things Visible, and who sought Gods in Statues and Sculptures of lifeless Images, and fancied that the Deity dwelt in matter and in a Body; and lastly, who termed mortal men, Gods. On this account He procured Himself † the Instrument of a Body, as some most holy Temple; the sensible habitation of a rational Faculty; a venerable and most sacred Statue, of far greater worth and value than every inanimate Image. For an Image consisting of lifeless matter, which has been form'd into an humane shape by the hands of sordid and mean Mechanicks, the substance Whereof is either Brass or Iron, Gold or Ivory, Stones or Wood; is a most fit and commodious Mansion for Dæmons. But that Divine Statue, fram'd and polisht by the ‖ Omnipotent industry of Divine Wisdom, was a partaker of Life and an intellectual substance. A Statue that was filled with all manner of Virtue: a Statue that was the Residence of God the Word, and a holy Temple of the most Holy God. The Inhabitant whereof [God] The Word, was conversant amongst, and became acquainted with mortals, by means of an Instrument that was familiar and of kin to them: nevertheless, He submitted not himself to the like passions with men; neither, as an humane mind is, was He bound * by the Bonds of the Body; nor, being made worse than Himself, did He change His own Divinity.

For,

* Rom. 1. 27.

† Or, Irrational and fortuitous Nature.

[x] Τῆς ἐναρίοις λογικῆς ἀγέλης. The Translatour seems to have read τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις λογικῆς ἀγέλης *his rational Flock amongst men.* But I had rather read, τῆς ἑαυτῆ λογικῆς ἀγέλης, *his own rational Flock.* For so *Eusebius* is wont to call God the Word, namely the Pastour of His rational Flock. Nevertheless in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, written in a contracted manner. *Valesius.*

[y] Ὡς ἂν ἐκέτ' ἀνθρωπείας. It must be ὡς δὲ ἐκέτ' ἀνθρωπείας, &c, *But when*, &c: or else, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, ὡς ἔν, *when therefore*, &c. *Valesius.*

[z] Ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα πάντων. I had long since guess'd, that the reading should be, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα πανσόφων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμιλίας παρεὼν.

[a] Ἄλλως θεῷ δυναμένοις. This whole place is thus to be mended; ἄλλως τε ὃ δυναμένοις ἢ μὴ βουλομένοις, τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἀφικνεῖσθαι τε καὶ ποιεῖσθαι ὑποπτεύειν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρωπείας σχήματός τε καὶ εἴδους, ἑαυτὸν ἔφηνεν, and who any, &c. In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is ἄλλως πως ὃ δυναμένοις. *Valesius.*

[b] Καὶ ταὐτὰ τοῖς. Without doubt it must be καὶ ταὐτὰ τοῖς, *In the same manner*; so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Valesius.

* Or, *Rejoyce in a sense*, &c.

† Or, *A Bodily Instrument.*

‖ Or, *Power* &c.

* Or, *To the Body.*

* Or, *Chang'd His usual manner, for a newer.*

CHAP. XIV.

* Or, *Made use of.*

*For, as the Rayes of the Sun (which though they fill all places, and touch Bodies that are dead and impure, yet) suffer nothing therefrom: so, and in a far more excellent manner also, the incorporeal Power of God The Word, neither suffers any thing, nor is He sensible of any detriment in reference to His own Essence, nor does That ever exist worse than It Self, * when, being Spiritual, It touches a Body. In this manner therefore the Common Saviour of all, exhibited Himself Beneficent and Salutary to all: demonstrating His wisdom by the Instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed, no otherwise than a Musician [does shew His skill] by an Harp. We are told in the Fables of the* Greeks, *that* Orpheus *by melody appeased all sorts of wild beasts, and mitigated the rage of savage monsters, by His skilfull strokes on the Chords of his Instrument. And this is both commonly reported amongst the* Greeks, *and also believ'd to be true; namely, that the lifeless Harp tam'd the wild-beasts; and* [c] *moreover, that it removed the Oakes, which were ravisht by its Musick. But the all-wise and all-harmonious Word of God, when He would administer all methods of cure to the souls of men, which were depraved by a manifold improbity; took into his hands a Musical Instrument,* [d] *the composure of his own wisdom, namely the Humane Nature; on which instrument He play'd Tunes, and by it did not charm* [e] *Brutes [as* Orpheus *did,] but Creatures endued with reason; civilizing the Morals of all persons, as well* Greeks *as* Barbarians; *and healing the outragious and brutish perturbations of their minds, by the Remedies of His Divine Doctrine. And, like some expert and knowing Physitian, applying to those sick minds, which sought the Deity in matter and in Bodies, a Natural, apposite, and fit * Medicament; He shewed God in Man. After this, in regard He manifested no less care towards Bodies, than towards Souls; even the eyes of flesh beheld some stupendious miracles, and divine Wonders, and Works of His own omnipotence. But in the interim, by a corporeal mouth and Tongue He desisted not from instilling saving Precepts, into the ears of flesh. In fine, He performed all things by the Humanity which He had assumed, on their account, who could no otherwise, than only by this means, be made sensible of * His Divinity. And these things He performed in obedience to His Father's Counsels,* [f] *Himself continuing the same that He was before with the Father: neither changing His Essence; nor * looſing His own Nature: not bound with the Bonds of flesh; nor making His abode in that place where His Humane Vessel was; and altogether hindred from being present in other places. But, during that very interim wherein He was conversant with men, by His presence He filled all things, and was with the Father, and was in the Father; and in that very instant took care of all things together, as well those which are in Heaven, as them on earth. Neither was He excluded, in the same manner that we are, from being present every where; nor hindred from performing divine works, according to His usual manner. But those things which were of Himself, He delivered to the Humane Nature; but, on the other hand, He received not those things which were of the Mortal Nature it self. He did indeed confer Divine power on mortal Nature: but, on the contrary, He drew nothing from a participation of the Mortal Nature. Therefore, neither was He any way polluted, at such time as His Body was born; nor again, at such time as His mortal Body was* [g] *dissolved, did He, in regard He is impassible, suffer any thing in reference to His Essence. For neither, if an Harp should by accident be broken, or the Chords thereof burst; is it * necessary that He Himself should suffer any thing, who playes upon the Harp. Nor, if the Body of any wise man happen to be punished, is there any reason we should affirm, that the wisdom in that wise man, or the Soul in that Body, is either mangled or burnt.* [h] *In the very same manner, and on a far better account, 'tis agreeable to reason we should assert, that the Power of the Divine Word received no dammage, from the * sufferings of the Body: in as much as, neither that instance of Light, which we have already made use of, does any ways permit the Solar Rayes, which are shot from Heaven upon the earth, and do touch dirt and mire and all manner of filth, to be polluted. For, though nothing hinders us from affirming, that even these things are illustrated by the Rayes of Light; yet we do not therefore [say,] that the Light it self is also bemired, or that the Sun is defiled by the mixture of Bodies: albeit these things are not wholly disagreeable to Nature it self. But, whereas that Saviour and incorporeal Word of God,* [i] *is The Life it self and the intellectual Light it self; whatsoever thing He shall have toucht by His divine and incorporeal Virtue, that thing must afterwards of necessity live, and be conversant in rational Light.* [k] *In like manner also, whatever Body He shall have toucht, that Body is forthwith sanctified and illuminated: and immediately every disease, sickness, and Trouble departs from it. And those things which before were empty, receive some portion from His Fulness. Wherefore, He spent almost the whole Course of His Life in such a manner, that He might sometimes shew His own Body to be lyable to the same passions that we are; but at others, that he might declare*

* Or, *When It incorporeally touches a Body.*

[c] Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ δένδρα τὰς φύσεις μεταβάλλειν, μουσικῇ ἐικοντα. Which words *Valesius* renders thus, *Et quercus Suavitate Cantûs delinitas immutasse, and that it changed the Oakes ravisht with the sweetness of its melody. Christophorson* and *Curterius* render this clause thus, *tum arbores (quæ fagi vocantur) musicæ suavitate delinitæ, situs suos mutare solent, also the Trees (which are termed Beeches) pleased with the sweetness of its Musick, are wont to change their Sites.* Perhaps the reading should be, καὶ δὴ τὰ δένδρα καὶ τὰς φύσεις, &c.

[d] Αὐτὸ ποίημα σοφίας ἢ ἄνθρωπον. *Eusebius* terms the Humane Nature which Christ assumed, ἢ ἄνθρωπον; in the same manner that the *Latine Fathers* are wont to speak concerning Christ, that He assumed *Hominem, man.* So *Eusebius* uses it a little above, where His words are, δι' ὀργάνου ᾧ προσέλαβε ἀνθρώπου, *by the instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed.* It occurs hereafter also. *Vales.*

[e] Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλόγοις. These words are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*; and seem to me to have been added by a Scholiast. *Vales.*

* Or, *Help.*

* Or, *Such a Divinity.*

[f] Μένων αὐτὸς πάλιν. Although this place be faultless, yet I can't omit that reading which I found in the *Fuketian Copy*, μένων αὐτὸς πάλιν ἄὐλος, οἷος, &c: which reading I think to be truer. A little after, where the reading is ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον σκεῦος, I have added a word from the *Fuk. Copy*; where 'tis thus worded, ἔνθα ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ, &c, *where His humane Vessel was.* Vales.

* Or, *Destroying.*

[g] Διαιρεμβύε. It must be made διαιρεθύε, *was dissolved*; as the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

* Or, *Likely.*

[h] Ταύτη τε πολὺ πλέον. I write ταύτη γε καὶ πολὺ πλέον; and have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ταύτη πολυπλέον. In this manner *Eusebius* has expresst Himself a little above. *Vales.*

* Or, *Affections.*

[i] Αὐτὸ ζωὴ πυρφόρον. The word αὐτὸ ζωὴ, and that which follows αὐτὸ φῶς, must in writing be joyned together, as one word, that is, as *Græcians* term it, ὑφ' ἕν. Farther, in the *Geneva-Edition*, this place was confused by the Printers fault; which we have restored thus, παντὸς ἃ ἂν ἐφάψαιτο, *whatsoever thing He shall have toucht.* And so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

[k] ταύτη τὸ καὶ σωμαθ. Without doubt it must be worded thus, ταύτη τοὶ καὶ σώμαθ, ἃ ἂν ἐφάψαιτο, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Nothing is more certain than this Emendation. For the following words do plainly shew, that *Eusebius* speakes here concerning a Body. And thus I found it written in the *Fuk. Copy.* Vales.

clare Himself to be God The Word: whilst He performed Great and Wonderfull Works, as God, and foretold things future long before they hapned; and demonstrated the word of God, (who was not seen by many,) by the things themselves; namely, by prodigious Works, Miracles, Signes, and Stupendious Powers; [1] and moreover, by Divine Doctrines, whereby He incited the minds of men, that they should prepare their souls for [the Blessedness] of that supernal Habitation which is beyond Heaven.

[1] Καὶ μὴν καὶ διδασκαλίαις. I read ναὶ μὴν καὶ διδασκαλίαις, &c, and moreover, &c. For so *Græcians* are wont to expres themselves. And thus 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

WHat remains now, but that we give an account of the cause and reason of that thing, which is the chief and principal of all: I mean the much-talk't-of End of His Life, and the manner of his Passion; and the grand Miracle of his [a] *Resurrection after death. After an explication of which [particulars] we will confirm the demonstrations of them all, by most manifest Testimonies. [The Divine Word] therefore, having, on account of those reasons mentioned by us,* [b] *made use of a mortal instrument, as of a* * *Statue most becoming the Majesty of God; and, in regard He is the Great Emperour, having by its Ministery, as 'twere by that of an Interpreter,* † *been conversant amongst men; He performed all things in such a manner as became the Divine Power. Now, if, after that life spent amongst men, He had by some other means* [c] *become invisible on a sudden and gone away; if He had conveyed away His Interpreter privately, and by a flight had endeavoured to rescue His own Statue from the danger of death; and if afterwards, of Himself He had adjudg'd that very mortal Body to death and corruption: doubtless, all men would have believed Him to have been a meer Apparition or Ghost.* [d] *Nor would He Himself have performed those things which became Himself; in regard (although He was The Life, and The Word of God, and The Power of God; yet) He would have delivered up His own Interpreter to death and corruption. Nor would those things which He had performed against the* * *devil, have been terminated by an illustrious conflict and Combat with Death. Nor could it have been accurately known whither He had withdrawn Himself: nor would He have been believed by those, who had not seen Him with their eyes: nor could it have been made apparent, that He has a nature superiour to Death: nor could He have freed Mortal Nature from [the infirmity of] its own condition: nor would He have been* † *fam'd thorowout the whole habitable world: nor could He have prevailed upon His own disciples to contemn death: nor would He have procured for those who are followers of His doctrine, the Hope of a life with God after death: nor would He have fulfilled the Promises of His own Discourses: nor would He have exhibited agreeable Events to the Prophetick Predictions concerning Himself: nor [in fine,] would He have undergone the last Combat of all; which was against Death it self. On account therefore of all these particulars, in as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His mortal Instrument, after that sufficient service which it had performed to the Divine Word, should have an end befitting God allotted to it; therefore [I say] His death is in this manner dispenc'd and ordered.* [c] *For, there remaining two things [to be done by Him] at the end of His Life; either that He should surrender up His whole Body to Corruption and Ruine, and so close His whole Life,* [f] *like a Play as 'twere, with a most disgracefull Catastrophe; or else, that He should manifest Himself to be superiour to Death, and by the assistance of Divine Power should render His mortal Body, immortal: the first of these two was repugnant to His own Promise. (For, 'tis not the property of fire, to cool; nor of light,* [g] *to darken. So, neither is it the [property] of Life, to die; nor, of the Divine Reason, to act contrary to reason.) For, how is it agreeable to reason, that He who had promised life to others, should be so negligent, as to suffer His own instrument to be corrupted, and should surrender up His own Image to destruction; and, that he who promised immortality to all that addres's themselves to Him, should by Death ruine the Interpreter of His own Divinity? The second thing therefore was necessary; I mean, that He should manifest Himself to be superiour to Death. In what manner then was that to have been done? Covertly and by stealth, or* * *openly and in the view of all? But, so glorious an Atchievement, had it been performed by Him in the dark and in secret, and had it been unknown to any one, would have been advantagious to no body. But when divulged and* † *fam'd amongst all persons, it would redound to the benefit and advantage of all, by reason of the miracle of the thing. Whereas then it was necessary, that his Instrument should be manifested to be above Death, and whereas*

[a] Ἀναμνήσεως, remembrance. It must be made ἀναβιώσεως, resurrection, as the Translatour seems to have read. Presently, the reading must be μετὰ τῶν τούτων θεωρείαν, after an explication, or consideration of which [particulars;] as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[b] Κεχρημένῳ τε, τοῦτο αὐτό. The words are misplac't here, a thing which has frequently hapned in these Books, as I have already told you. I write therefore, κεχρημένῳ, αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ οἷα μέσας βασιλεύς, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. In *Fuket's Copy* 'tis κεχρημένῳ, τούτῳ αὐτῷ, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Image.*

† Or, *Lived an humane Life.*

[c] Ἀφανὴς ὢν γεγονώς. One of the two last words must be expunged. *Vales.*

[d] Καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ. Questionless it must be written thus, καὶ ὅτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ πρέποντα διεπράξατο. Nor would He Himself, &c; the necessity of which emendation is plainly confirmed by the following words, *Vales.*

* Or, *Devils.*

† Or, *Heard of.*

[c] Δυοῖν γὰρ λειπομένων τῷ τέλει. I don't approve of the Translatour's rendition, who translates this place thus: *Nam cùm duæ rationes abeundi ex hâc vitâ sibi reliquæ essent, For whereas two reasons of departing out of this Life were remaining to Him.* As if in the *Greek* the reading were, τῶν τελοῦν. *Eusebius*'s meaning therefore is this; *whereas the one of two things was of necessity to be done by Christ in the close of His Life, namely, that He should either yield up His Body to be wholly consumed by death, or else should declare Himself to be superiour to death,* &c. You see how different this meaning is, from that of the Translatour. For Christ had not a two-fold reason for departing out of this life, but one only; namely, Death. For, as the *Poet* says, *Omnes una manet mors, one Death awaits all persons.* But in death, one of these two things remained to be performed by Christ, that he should either wholly submit to death, and deliver up His Body to it as some rich Spoyles, or else should shew Himself to be above Death, and should rescue His Body, as a prey, out of the jaws of Death. Besides, *Eusebius* has shown a little before, that death was necessarily to have been undergone by Christ. For, had He been minded to withdraw His Body privately, and as 'twere by Stealth, out of this life; without doubt all persons would have believed Him to have been a Ghost or Apparition, not a true and real man. He produces other reasons also, whereby He may confirm this. Which when He had set forth, at length He concludes in this manner. On account of all these reasons, says He, in as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Body should have an end befitting God allotted to it, Christ thus dispenc'd His own death. The one of these two things was to be done by Him in the end of this His Life, &c; as I have said already. And these words hang together excellently well. But the Translatour's exposition differs widely from *Eusebius*'s meaning, in regard *Eusebius* would demonstrate, that a single, not a double reason for departing out of this life was left remaining to Christ. *Vales.*

[f] Καὶ τῷ παντὶ δράματι. I should chuse to write, καθάπερ δράματι διαθεῖναι ποιησάντι πῶς τὸ παυλὸς βίου κατασχόντι, *and as of a Play, make a most reproachfull Catastrophe* [or, *calamitous conclusion*] *of His whole Life.* Vales.

[g] Οὐδὲ φωτὸς τὸ κηλεῖν. It must be τὸ σκοτίζειν, *to darken*; as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* Or, *With the greatest decency.*

† Or, *Heard.*

whereas this was not to have been performed in secret, but in the view of men; on account hereof it was, that He avoided not Death. For, had He done that, He would have been look upon as a Coward, and inferiour to Death. But by His conflict with death as with an Adversary, He rendred that Body which was mortal, immortal; after He had undergone that Combat for the Life, Immortality and salvation of all persons. And as, should any one have a mind to shew us a [h] *Vessel that can't be burnt, and which is above the power of fire, He could by no other means* * *make out the strangeness of the thing, than by taking the Vessel into His hands, by casting it into the fire, and afterwards by pulling it out of the flames entire and unconsum'd: in the very same manner, the Word of God who confers life on all, desirous to demonstrate that mortal instrument, which He had made use of in order to the salvation of men, to be superiour to Death; and to render it a partaker of His own life and immortality;* [i] *underwent a most usefull and advantagious dispensation:* [k] *forsaking His Body during a very short time, and surrendring up to Death that which was mortal, that its own nature might hereby be proved: then soon after rescuing it from Death again, in order to the manifestation of His Divine Power; by which [power] He made it* [l] *apparent, that that Eternal Life which He had promised, was superiour to all [the force of] Death. Now, the reason of this thing is evident and perspicuous. For, whereas it was altogether necessary for His disciples, that with their own eyes they should see a manifest and undoubted Reparation of life after death; in which [life] He had taught them to place their Hopes; in regard His design was, to render them Contemners and Vanquishers of death: not without reason it was, that He would have them behold this with their own eyes.* [m] *For it behoved such persons, who were about entring upon a pious Course of life, by the clearest view to behold and imbibe this first and most necessary Lesson of all: and much more those, who were forthwith to Preach Him thoroughout the whole world, and to declare to all men the* [n] *knowledge of God, the foundation of which knowledge had before been laid by Him amongst all Nations. Which persons ought to rely and ground upon the* [o] *firmest and most undoubted perswasion of a life after death; to the end that without any fear or dread of Death, they might with alacrity undertake the Combat,* [p] *against the errour of the Nations who worship many Gods. For, unless they had learnt to dispise Death, they would never have been provided against those perils [they were to undergo.] Wherefore, when, as 'twas requisite, He would arm them against the power of Death, He did not deliver them a Precept in naked words and bare expressions, nor, as the usage of men is, did He compose an Oration concerning the immortality of the soul, made up of Perswasives and Probabilities: but really and actually shewed them the Trophies erected against Death. This then was the first and most Cogent reason, of Our Saviour's engagement with Death. For He shewed His disciples, that death, which is formidable to all, was nothing; and by a clear view rendred them eye-witnesses of* [q] *that Life promised by Him: which very [life] He made the First-Fruits of our common hope, and of a future life and immortality with God. A second reason of His Resurrection was, the demonstration of that Divine Power which had dwelt in His Body. For, in regard men had heretofore deified mortal persons who had been vanquished by Death, and had usually termed them* Heroes *and Gods, whom Death had subdued; on this very account the most Compassionate Word of God, did even here manifest* * *who He was: shewing men, [that His own] nature was above Death. And He not only raised His Mortal Body, after 'twas separated from His Soul, to a second Life; but proposed that Trophy of immortality, which by His conquest of Death He had erected, to be viewed by all: and in His very death taught, that He alone was to be acknowledged the true God, who had been crown'd with the Rewards of Victory over Death. I could also assign you a third reason of Our Lord's death. He was a Sacred Victim, offered up for the whole Race of mankind, to God the Supream King of the Universe. A Victim sacrificed* † *instead of the Flock of men: a Victim which routed and destroyed the Errour of Diabolical Superstition. For, after that one Victim ad eximious sacrifice, namely the most Holy Body of Our Saviour, was slain for mankind,*

[h] Εἴ τις ἄκαυστον. Something must of necessity be added, thus, ἄκαυστόν τι σκεῦος, *some Vessel that can't be burnt.* 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, εἴ τις ἄκαυστον ἡμῖν καὶ πυρὸς κρεῖττον σκεῦός τι; in which manner *Christophorson* read. A little after, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis thus worded, σῶον καὶ ἀδιάφθορον ἐξελὼν τοῦ πυρός, *pulling it out of the flames entire and unconsum'd*; not as the reading is in the *Geneva-Edition*, διάφορον τοῦ πυρός. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Gain a belief of the Miracle*; so *Valesius.*

[i] Εὖ μάλα χρησίμως ὑπέστη τὴν οἰκονομίαν. At this place οἰκονομία seems to be taken by *Eusebius*, for the death or passion of Christ. So he has said above in this chapter concerning Christ, ταύτη πη καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος οἰκονομεῖται, *therefore [I say] His death is in this manner dispenc't and ordered.* See what I have noted at the *First Book of his Eccles. Histor. Chap.* 1. *Note (b.)* 'Tis certain *Epiphanius* calls the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, λατρείαν τῆς οἰκονομίας, that is, *the worship of the Lord's Passion.* ——— *Valesius.*

[k] These words must be helpt by a favourable interpretation. For Christ left not His own Body during the least moment of time. In regard, as 'tis wont commonly to be said, that which he had once assumed, he never parted with. But He suffered His own Body to be for some time destitute of the Company of His Soul. Presently, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, καὶ τοῦ ὄντος θανάτου φθαρῇς. But I would rather write, καὶ τὸ ὂν τοῦ θανάτου φθαρῇς, *and surrendring up to death that which was mortal.* *Valesius.*

[l] For Christ rising from the dead, plainly declared that eternal life, which He had preacht to all men, to be superiour to every death. And this the Translatour understood not; who, though his Version be otherwise elegant enough, yet frequently wanders from the true sense: in so much that in this particular, the Version of *this Panegyrick* may seem far meaner than the Translation of the *Ecclesiastick History.* *Valesius.*

[m] Χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς μέλλοντας. I had rather write χρῆν, that is, *it behoved.* Which reading the Translatour seems to have followed. *Valesius.*

[n] Ὑπ' ἀυτῆς τοῖς ἔθνεσι καταβληθείσης γνώσεως. What *Eusebius* says, namely that Christ before He dyed had sprinkled some seeds of the knowledge of God amongst the Nations, may be understood two ways. For either He means the seeds which were by nature put into mens minds, whereby they are instructed in the knowledge of God; or else He means the preaching of Christ, who when conversant on earth, had declared the worship of the true God, not only to the *Jews*, but to the *Gentiles* also. *Valesius.*

[o] Πεῖσμα μέγιστον. Here *Eusebius* has made use of πεῖσμα, instead of πεῖσις, or *perswasion*; whereas nevertheless, πεῖσμα is wont to be more frequently used to signifie *the greater Cable of a Ship.* In the same sense with that here, he has made use of this word in *his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Chap.* 13; σαφὲς τε πεῖσμα καὶ βέβαιον, *a firm and most evident instance to perswade me to believe.* *Clemens Alexandrinus* uses the same word frequently. *Chrysostome* (in *Hom.* 1. *On the Epistle to the Ephesians,*) notes, that this is a common but homely term, whereby is meant *a certain vehemency and eagerness of will:* his words are these, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλάκις ἐπίτασιν τοῦ θελήματος δηλοῦντες, καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα ἡμῶν λέγομεν. *Valesius.*

[p] Κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν. It must be, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυθέου πλάνης, &c, *against the Errour*, &c. A little after I read, ὑπεδείκνυς ἀυτοῖς τρόπαια, *shewing them the Trophies.* The *Fuketian Copy* confirms both Emendations. *Valesius.*

[q] Ἐπηγγελμένην παρὰ αὐτῷ ζωήν. This place is not a little difficult. For how can what *Eusebius* says be understood, that that life namely which Christ has promised, is the first-fruits of a future Life with God? Questionless, by *the Life* promised to us by Christ, *Eusebius* means *the Resurrection*, which is as 'twere the Entrance and Beginning of that eternal Life with God. Or rather he means the Resurrection of Christ's Body, which was the first-fruits and pledge as 'twere, of our hope and Resurrection, as *Eusebius* tells us in the close of this Chapter. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Himself.*

† Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης. See *Grotius De Satisfac. Christi. Chap.* 9.

kind, and offered up as the [r] *Substitute to ransome the Life of all Nations,* [s] *who, being before bound by the impiety of Diabolical Errour, stood convict of Treason as 'twere; thenceforward all the power of* [t] *impure and profane* Dæmons *became extinct; and all manner of terrestrial and fraudulent Errour was forthwith weakened, dissolv'd and confuted. The* [u] *Salutary Sacrifice therefore,* [taken] *from among men, namely the* * *very Body of the* [Divine] *Word, was sacrificed in place of the whole Flock of men.*

* Or, *Bodily Instrument.*

[r] Ἀντίψυχον. An elegant term, taken from the secretest mysteries of *Magicians* and *Conjurers*, who asserted that men were to be sacrificed, to the end the life of others might be redeemed. So *Antinous* was sacrificed instead of the Emperour *Hadrian*, that He might defer His Fate; as 'tis related by *Aurelius Victor*, and others. This is ἀντίψυχον, or ψυχὴ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς, *Life for Life*, as *Aristides* expresses Himself in *his Fifth Sacred Oration*. Farther, 'twas necessary, that He who was in this manner sacrificed, should voluntarily offer Himself to be slain. Which may be gathered both from *Aristides*, and from *Aurelius Victor*: in which Authour the words are these, *Cùm voluntarium ad vicem magi poposcissent.* Moreover, that custom of the *Romans*, who bequeath'd themselves to death for the safety of the Emperour, doth clearly shew this very thing. *Vales.* Whom the *Greeks* call'd ἀντίψυχοι, the *Latines* termed *Vicarii*; so *Stephens* in *his Latine Thesaurus*, in the word *Vicarius*. *Vicarii*, says he, *etiam interdum sunt*, &c. *Vicarii also are sometimes those, who bequeath themselves to destruction and death, that they may bring those mischiefs on their own heads, which were about to befall others.* Hence 'tis that *Valesius* does here render ἀντίψυχον, *Vicarium*.

[s] Τῶν πεὶν ἀσεβείας. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ἀσεβείας δαιμονικῆς πλάνης ἐνεσχημένων, *who, being before bound*, &c. For he alludes to the Crime of Treason, which the *Greeks* are wont to term ἀσεβείας ἔγκλημα, as 'tis apparent from *Dion Cassius*, in several places. *Vales.*

[t] Ἀνοσίων καὶ ἀνιέρων δαιμόνων. It must be made ἀνάσιων, *impure*; we have already taken notice of a mistake like this above. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἀνάσιον; and a little after, in the *same Copy* 'tis ἐλέλυτό τε καὶ παρεῖτο. *Vales.*

[u] Σωτήριον θαῦμα, *the salutary miracle*. It must be θῦμα, *sacrifice*; which I wonder *Christophorson* perceived not. So *Eusebius* has said a little above, ἱερεῖα δύτα ἑνὸς καὶ μεγάλε θύματος, *For, after that one Victim and eximious sacrifice*, &c. *Vales.*

And this was the Victim delivered unto death, concerning which mention is made in the Expressions of the Sacred Scriptures; which are sometimes worded in this manner, † Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world: *sometimes they run thus,* ‖ as a sheep He was led to the slaughter, and as a Lamb before His Shearer [He was] dumb. *And they likewise tell us the reason, by adding these words,* He bears our sins, and is tortured with pain for us: and we esteemed Him to be in labour and in stripes and in affliction. But He was wounded for our sins; and He was bruised by reason of our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace [was] upon Him; with His stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; every one has wandered in His own way: and the Lord hath delivered Him for our sins. *For these reasons therefore, the Humane Instrument of God the Word was sacrificed. But this Great High-Priest consecrated to God the Chief Governour and Supream King, being something else besides a Victim; namely, The Word of God; The Power of God, and The Wisdom of God; soon recalled His mortal* [Body] *from death; and presented it to His Father, as the First-fruits of Our common Salvation; having erected this for all mankind, as the Trophy of that Victory which He had gain'd over Death, and over the Army of* Dæmons, *and* [made it] *the final Abolishment of those humane Victims which of old had been usually offered in sacrifice.*

† John 1. 29.

‖ *See* Isa. ch. 53. v. 7, 4, 5, 6. according to the *Septuagint Version.*

CHAP. XVI.

BUT *whereas these things are thus, 'tis now seasonable we should come to the demonstrations: if indeed* [a] *the truth of these matters has any need of demonstration, and if it be indeed necessary, to produce testimonies in confirmation of deeds that are manifest and evident. Take therefore these demonstrations, having first prepared* * *your ears in order to a candid hearing of our discourse. All Nations upon the Earth were heretofore divided, and the whole Race of men* [b] *was minc't into Provinces, into various dominions over each Nation and place, into Tyrannies, and manifold Principalities. On which account, fights and continued Wars, Depopulations and Captivities, as well in the Countries as Cities, never left them. Hence the numerous Subjects of Histories, Adulteries and Rapes of women:* [c] *hence the calamitous destruction of* Troy, *and those Tragedies of the Ancients, whereof mention is made amongst all men. The Causes of which* [calamities] *should any one ascribe to their errour in worshipping many Gods, 'tis my sentiment He would not be mistaken. But, after the Salutary Instrument, namely the most Holy Body of Christ, (which appeared superiour to all Diabolical fraud* [and] *Force, and was a stranger to every fault, as well in deeds as words;) was erected against the* Dæmons, *as* [d] *some Trophy of Victory, and the Abolishment of ancient Mischiefs; immediately all the works of* Dæmons *were dissolved and dissipated: nor were there Dominions of places any more, nor manifold Principalities, nor Tyrannies, nor* † *Democracies, nor (which were wont to arise from thence,) Depopulations of Countries, and Sieges of Cities. But,* [e] *one God was Preach't amongst all men; and at the same time, one Empire also, that of the* Romans, *flourished over all; and that* [f] *irreconcileable and implacable hatred, which the Nations had born one to another almost from the remotest Date of time, became forthwith utterly extinct. And as the knowledge of one God was delivered to all men, and one way of Religion and Salvation,* [namely] [g] *the Doctrine of Christ, was delivered to men.*

* Or, *A candid ear for our discourse.*

† Or, *Republicks*; so *Valesius.*

[a] Τῆς τῶν ἀλη-θείας. This whole place is, in my judgment, thus to be restored; εἰ δὴ ἀποδείξεως δεῖ τὰ τῆς τῶν ἀληθείας, καὶ εἰ δὴ ἐνωρῶν πρεσμάτων, &c; *if indeed the truth*, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Κατετέμνε. It must be made κατατεμνόμενον, *was minc't*, or *cut*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this whole place runs thus; διήρητο μὲν πάντα τὰ πάλαι ὅπῃ γῆς ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὅλως ἀνθρώπων γένος, εἰς ἐθναρχίας καὶ τοπαρχίας, τυραννίδας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας κατετέτμητο. *Vales.*

[c] Ἔνθα τὰ ἰλίε κακά. I should rather write ἔνθεν. A little after I read, κρεῖττον πάσης δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας ὀφθὲν, &c; *which appeared superiour to all Diabolical Energy* or *Force*; the word πλάνης, *fraud*, being expunged as superfluous. Unless you would word it, as the *Fuketian Manuscript* does, πλάνης καὶ ἐνεργείας, *fraud and force*. Vales.

[d] Τρόπαιόν τε παλαιῶν κακῶν. Questionless 'tis to be written, νικητήριον τρόπαιον καὶ δαιμόνων, παλαιῶν τε κακῶν ἀποτρόπαιον, &c; which reading I have followed in my Version. Thus *Eusebius* has expresst himself a little above, in the close of the foregoing chapter; where speaking concerning the Body of Christ rais'd from the dead, his words are these: τρόπαιον ὁπλίκιον καὶ τῶν θανάτε καὶ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ὅλως πλάνης. ἅμα τε παλαιῶν ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν ἀποτρόπαιον, τοῦτ' ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνεσείας· *as the Trophy of that Victory*, &c. Which place casts no small light on this we have before us. For *Eusebius* says the same thing in both places. For he compares the Body of Christ, raised from death to life, and taken up into Heaven, to a Trophy which is erected over Enemies *Vales.*

[e] Θεὸς μὲν εἰς πάντας. It must be, θεὸς μὲν ἦς εἰς πάντας ἐκηρύπετο; *But, one God was Preach't amongst all men*; which is confirmed by the following words. *Vales.*

[f] Ἄπες. I read ἄσπεις καὶ ἀκατάλλακ—ἔχθρα, *irreconcileable and implacable hatred*. And so the Translatour seems to have read. So *Eusebius* expresses himself a little after this, ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἔχθρα καὶ μάχη πρὸς ἀλλήλους; *and at the same time that Hatred and Strife*, which, &c. I write also, ἀνήρητό τε, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[g] Σωτήρεός τε ἡ χεις. This place must, in my judgment, be written in this manner; καὶ τρόπος εἰς εὐσεβείας σωτηρίας τε, ἡ χεις διδασκαλία: which reading I have followed in my Version. *One way of Religion and Salvation*, says he, *namely the Doctrine of Christ, was delivered to men.* Vales.

whereas this was not to have been performed in secret, but in the view of men; on account hereof it was, that He avoided not Death. For, had He done that, He would have been lookt upon as a Coward, and inferiour to Death. But by His conflict with death as with an Adversary, He rendred that Body which was mortal, immortal; after He had undergone that Combat for the Life, Immortality and salvation of all persons. And as, should any one have a mind to shew us a [h] *Vessel that can't be burnt, and which is above the power of fire, He could by no other means* * *make out the strangeness of the thing, than by taking the Vessel into His hands, by casting it into the fire, and afterwards by pulling it out of the flames entire and unconsum'd: in the very same manner, the Word of God who confers life on all, desirous to demonstrate that mortal instrument, which He had made use of in order to the salvation of men, to be superiour to Death; and to render it a partaker of His own life and immortality;* [i] *underwent a most useful and advantagious dispensation:* [k] *forsaking His Body during a very short time, and surrendring up to Death that which was mortal, that its own nature might hereby be proved: then soon after rescuing it from Death again, in order to the manifestation of His Divine Power; by which [power] He made it* [l] *apparent, that that Eternal Life which He had promised, was superiour to all [the force of] Death. Now, the reason of this thing is evident and perspicuous. For, whereas it was altogether necessary for His disciples, that with their own eyes they should see a manifest and undoubted Reparation of life after death; in which [life] He had taught them to place their Hopes; in regard His design was, to render them Contemners and Vanquishers of death: not without reason it was, that He would have them behold this with their own eyes.* [m] *For it behoved such persons, who were about entring upon a pious Course of life, by the clearest view to behold and imbibe this first and most necessary Lesson of all: and much more those, who were forthwith to Preach Him thoroughout the whole world, and to declare to all men the* [n] *knowledge of God, the foundation of which knowledge had before been laid by Him amongst all Nations. Which persons ought to rely and ground upon the* [o] *firmest and most undoubted perswasion of a life after death; to the end that without any fear or dread of Death, they might with alacrity undertake the Combat,* [p] *against the errour of the Nations who worship many Gods. For, unless they had learnt to dispise Death, they would never have been provided against those perils [they were to undergo.] Wherefore, when, as 'twas requisite, He would arm them against the power of Death, He did not deliver them a Precept in naked words and bare expressions, nor, as the usage of men is, did He compose an Oration concerning the immortality of the soul, made up of Perswasives and Probabilities: but really and actually shewed them the Trophies erected against Death. This then was the first and most Cogent reason, of Our Saviour's engagement with Death. For He shewed His disciples, that death, which is formidable to all, was nothing; and by a clear view rendred them eye-witnesses of* [q] *that Life promised by Him: which very [life] He made the First-Fruits of our common hope, and of a future life and immortality with God. A second reason of His Resurrection was, the demonstration of that Divine Power which had dwelt in His Body. For, in regard men had heretofore deified mortal persons who had been vanquished by Death, and had usually termed them* Heroes *and Gods, whom Death had subdued; on this very account the most Compassionate Word of God, did even here manifest* * *who He was: shewing men, [that His own] nature was above Death. And He not only raised His Mortal Body, after 'twas separated from His Soul, to a second Life; but proposed that Trophy of immortality, which by His conquest of Death He had erected, to be viewed by all: and in His very death taught, that He alone was to be acknowledged the true God, who had been crown'd with the Rewards of Victory over Death. I could also assign you a third reason of Our Lord's death. He was a Sacred Victim, offered up for the whole Race of mankind, to God the Supream King of the Universe. A Victim sacrificed* † *instead of the Flock of men: a Victim which routed and destroyed the Errour of Diabolical Superstition. For, after that one Victim ad eximious sacrifice, namely the most Holy Body of Our Saviour, was slain for mankind,*

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[m] Χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς μέλλοντας. I had rather write χρῆν, that is, *it behoved*. Which reading the Translatour seems to have followed. *Valesi.*

[n] Ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων τὸ τοῖς

[o] Πεῖσμα μέγιστον. Here *Eusebius* has made use of πεῖσμα, instead of πεῖσις, or *perswasion*; whereas nevertheless, πεῖσμα is wont to be more frequently used to signifie *the greater Cable of a Ship.* In the same sense with that here, he has made use of this word in *his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Chap.* 13; σαφὲς τε πεῖσμα καὶ βέβαιον, *a firm and most evident instance to perswade me to believe. Clemens Alexandrinus* uses the same word frequently. *Chrysostome* (in *Hom.* 1. *On the Epistle to the Ephesians,*) notes, that this is a common but homely term, whereby is meant *a certain vehemency and eagerness of will:* his words are these, ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἐπίτασιν τῆς θελήσεως δηλοῦντες, καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα ἡμῶν λέγομεν. *Valesi.*

[p] Κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν. It must be, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυθείας πλάνης, &c. *against the Errour, &c.* A little after I read, ὀδηγοῦσι ἀνθρώποις τρόπαια, *shewing them the Trophies.* The *Fuketian Copy* confirms both Emendations. *Valesi.*

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* Or, *Himself.*

† Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης. See *Grotius De Satisfac. Christi. Chap.* 9.

kind, and offered up as the [r] *Substitute to ransome the Life of all Nations,* [s] *who, being before bound by the impiety of Diabolical Errour, stood convict of Treason as 'twere; thenceforward all the power of* [t] *impure and profane* Dæmons *became extinct; and all manner of terrestrial and fraudulent Errour was forthwith weakened, dissolv'd and confuted. The* [u] *Salutary Sacrifice therefore, [taken] from among men, namely the* * *very Body of the [Divine] Word, was sacrificed in place of the whole Flock of men.* the end the life of others might be redeemed. So *Antinous* was sacrificed instead of the Emperour *Hadrian*, that He might defer His Fate; as 'tis related by *Aurelius Victor*, and others. This is ἀντὶ ψυχῶν, or ψυχὴ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς, *Life for Life*, as *Aristides* expresses Himself in *his Fifth Sacred Oration*. Farther, 'twas necessary, that He who was in this manner sacrificed, should voluntarily offer Himself to be slain. Which may be gathered both from *Aristides*, and from *Aurelius Victor*: in which Authour the words are these, *Cùm voluntarium ad vicem magi poposcissent.* Moreover, that custom of the *Romans*, who bequeath'd themselves to death for the safety of the Emperour, doth clearly shew this very thing. *Vales.* Whom the *Greeks* call'd ἀντίψυχοι, the *Latines* termed *Vicarii*; so *Stephens* in *his Latine Thesaurus*, in the word *Vicarius*. *Vicarii*, says he, *etiam interdum sunt*, &c. *Vicarii also are sometimes those, who bequeath themselves to destruction and death, that they may bring those mischiefs on their own heads, which were about to befall others.* Hence 'tis that *Valesius* does here render ἀντίψυχον, *Vicarium*.

[r] Ἀντίλυτρον. An elegant term, taken from the secretest mysteries of *Magicians* and *Conjurers*, who asserted that men were to be sacrificed, to

* Or, *Bodily Instrument.*

[s] Τῶν πεὶν ἀσεβείας. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ἀσεβείας δαιμονικῆς πλάνης ἐνεσχημένων, *who, being before bound*, &c. For he alludes to the Crime of Treason, which the *Greeks* are wont to term ἀσεβείας ἔγκλημα, as 'tis apparent from *Dion Cassius*, in several places. *Vales.*

[t] Ἀνάγνων καὶ ἀνιέρων δαιμόνων. It must be made ἀνάγνων, *impure*; we have already taken notice of a mistake like this above. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἀνάγνων; and a little after, in the *same Copy* 'tis ἐλέλυτό τε καὶ παρεῖτο. *Vales.*

[u] Σωτήριον θαῦμα, *the salutary miracle*. It must be θῦμα, *sacrifice*; which I wonder *Christophorson* perceived not. So *Eusebius* has said a little above, ἱερεῖς δύτα ἐνὸς καὶ μεγάλου θύματος, *For, after that one Victim and eximious sacrifice*, &c. *Vales.*

And this was the Victim delivered unto death, concerning which mention is made in the Expressions of the Sacred Scriptures; which are sometimes worded in this manner, † Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world: *sometimes they run thus,* ‖ as a sheep He was led to the slaughter, and as a Lamb before His Shearer [He was] dumb. *And they likewise tell us the reason, by adding these words,* He bears our sins, and is tortured with pain for us: and we esteemed Him to be in labour and in stripes and in affliction. But He was wounded for our sins; and He was bruised by reason of our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace [was] upon Him; with His stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; every one has wandered in His own way: and the Lord hath delivered Him for our sins. *For these reasons therefore, the Humane Instrument of God the Word was sacrificed. But this Great High-Priest consecrated to God the Chief Governour and Supream King, being something else besides a Victim; namely, The Word of God; The Power of God, and The Wisdom of God; soon recalled His mortal [Body] from death; and presented it to His Father, as the First-fruits of Our common Salvation; having erected this for all mankind, as the Trophy of that Victory which He had gain'd over Death, and over the Army of* Dæmons, *and [made it] the final Abolishment of those humane Victims which of old had been usually offered in sacrifice.*

† John 1. 29.

‖ *See* Isa. ch. 53. v. 7, 4, 5, 6. according to the *Septuagint Version.*

CHAP. XVI.

BUT whereas *these things are thus, 'tis now seasonable we should come to the demonstrations: if indeed* [a] *the truth of these matters has any need of demonstration, and if it be indeed necessary, to produce testimonies in confirmation of deeds that are manifest and evident. Take therefore these demonstrations, having first prepared* * *your ears in order to a candid hearing of our discourse. All Nations upon the Earth were heretofore divided, and the whole Race of men* [b] *was minc't into Provinces, into various dominions over each Nation and place, into Tyrannies, and manifold Principalities. On which account, fights and continued Wars, Depopulations and Captivities, as well in the Countries as Cities, never left them. Hence the numerous Subjects of Histories, Adulteries and Rapes of women:* [c] *hence the calamitous destruction of* Troy, *and those Tragedies of the Ancients, whereof mention is made amongst all men. The Causes of which [calamities] should any one ascribe to their errour in worshipping many Gods, 'tis my sentiment He would not be mistaken. But, after the Salutary Instrument, namely the most Holy Body of Christ, (which appeared superiour to all Diabolical fraud [and] Force, and was a stranger to every fault, as well in deeds as words;) was erected against the* Dæmons, *as* [d] *some Trophy of Victory, and the Abolishment of ancient Mischiefs; immediately all the works of* Dæmons *were dissolved and dissipated: nor were there Dominions of places any more, nor manifold Principalities, nor Tyrannies, nor* † *Democracies, nor (which were wont to arise from thence,) Depopulations of Countries, and Sieges of Cities. But,* [e] *one God was Preach't amongst all men; and at the same time, one Empire also, that of the* Romans, *flourished over all; and that* [f] *irreconcileable and implacable hatred, which the Nations had born one to another almost from the remotest Date of time, became forthwith utterly extinct. And as the knowledge of one God was delivered to all men, and one way of Religion and Salvation, [namely]* [g] *the Doctrine*

* Or, *A candid ear for our discourse.*

[a] Τῆς τῶν ἀληθείας. This wholeplace is, in my judgment, thus to be restored; εἰ δὴ ἀποδείξεως δεῖ τὰ τῆς τῶν ἀληθείας, καὶ εἰ δὴ ἐναργῶν πραγμάτων, &c; *if indeed the truth*, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Κατετέμνετο. It must be made κατατεμνόμενον, *was minc't*, or *cut*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this whole place runs thus; διήρητο μὲν πάντα τὰ πάλαι ὅπῃ γῆς ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἅπᾶ ἀνθρώπων γένος, εἰς ἐθναρχίας καὶ τοπαρχίας, τυραννίδας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας κατετέτμητο. *Vales.*

[c] Ἔνθα τὰ Ἰλίου κακά. I should rather write ἔνθεν. A little after I read, κρεῖττον πάσης δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας ὀφθέν, &c; *which appeared superiour to all Diabolical Energy or Force*; the word πλάνης, *fraud*, being expunged as superfluous. Unless you would word it, as the *Fuketian Manuscript* does, πλάνης καὶ ἐνεργείας, *fraud and force*. Vales.

[d] Τρόπαιόν τε παλαιῶν κακῶν. Questionless 'tis to be written, νικητήριον τρόπαιον καὶ δαιμόνων, παλαιῶν τε κακῶν ἀποτρόπαιον, &c; which reading I have followed in my Version. Thus *Eusebius* has exprest himself a little above, in the close of the foregoing chapter; where speaking concerning the Body of Christ rais'd from the dead, his words are these: τρόπαιον ὁπηνίκιον καὶ τῦ θανάτυ καὶ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἀβρᾳτάξεως. ἅπᾶ τε παλαιῶν ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν ἀποτρόπαιον, ὧδ' ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνενεγκάμενος· *as the Trophy of that Victory*, &c. Which place casts no small light on what we have before us. For *Eusebius* says the same thing in both places. For he compares the Body of Christ, raised from death to life, and taken up into Heaven, to a Trophy which is erected over Enemies *Vales.*

† Or, *Republicks*; so *Valesius.*

[e] Θεὸς μὲν εἰς πάντας. It must be, θεὸς μὲν εἷς εἰς πάντας ἐκηρύττετο; *But, one God was Preach't amongst all men*; which is confirmed by the following words. *Vales.*

[f] Ἄσπεισον καὶ ἀκατάλακτον — ἔχθρα, *irreconcileable and implacable hatred.* And so the Translatour seems to have read. So *Eusebius* expresses himself a little after this, ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἔχθρα καὶ μάχη ἅπᾶ ἐθνῶν διελύετο; *and at the same time that Hatred and Strife, which*, &c. I write also, ἀνήρητό τε, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[g] Σωτήριός τε ἡ χρεία. This place must, in my judgment, be written in this manner; καὶ τρόπος εἰς εὐσεβείας σωτηρίας τε, ἡ χρεία διδασκαλία: which reading I have followed in my Version. *One way of Religion and Salvation*, says he, *namely the Doctrine of Christ, was delivered to men.* Vales.

ctrine of Christ; so also, at one and the very same time, in regard One Monarch was constituted over all the whole Roman Empire, a most profound peace * prevailed over the whole world. Thus by the appointment of One God, two signal Blessings, as 'twere two Branches, shot forth at one time amongst men; to wit the Empire of the Romans, and the † Doctrine of Christian piety. Before that [Empire,] some in a separate and particular manner Governed Syria; others Reigned over Asia; others, over Macedonia. Also some were in possession of Egypt severed from the other [Provinces;] and in like manner others, of the Country of the Arabians. Moreover, the Nation of the Jews had reduced Palestine under their jurisdiction and power. In every Village and City, and in all places, men were seiz'd with a kind of a madness as 'twere, and being really agitated by the Devil, committed murders one upon another, and made Wars and Fights their chief business. But two mighty Powers starting together, from the || same Barriers as 'twere, on a sudden made all things calm, and reduced them to an amicable Composure: I mean, the Empire of the Romans, which from that time was under the Government of a single person; and the Doctrine of Christ: which two [Powers] flourisht together, at one and the same time. Our Saviour's Power utterly destroyed those manifold Principalities and numerous Deities of Dæmons; publishing and declaring One Kingdom of God to all men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, even to those who inhabit the remotest Regions of the Earth. But the Empire of the Romans, in regard the Causes of many Principalities were * before hand taken away, reduced those [Principalities] which as yet remained visible, under its own Dominion; making this its chief business, to joyn together the whole Body of mankind in one common union and agreement. And it hath already reconciled and knit together in one, most Nations: but within a short time it will reach even as far as the utmost Confines of the Earth: in regard the Salutary Doctrine [of Christ] joyned with a Divine Power, does before hand make all things easie to it and renders them smooth and plain. Doubtless, this will be acknowledged a great Miracle by them, who, induced thereto by a love of truth, shall with attention weigh the thing, and shall not be desirous of detracting from, and reviling the eminentest † Blessings. For, at one and the very same juncture, the Errour of Dæmons was confuted; and at the same time that hatred and strife, which from remote ages had raged amongst the Nations, had an end put to it: and again, at the same time One God, and One knowledge of that God was Preacht amongst all; and at the same time One Empire was establisht amongst men; and at the same time the whole race of men was || reduced to peace and friendship; and all persons mutually profest themselves Brethren, and acknowledged their Own Nature. Immediately therefore, being as 'twere children [h] begotten by the same Father, to wit one God, and born of the same Mother, namely true piety, they began to salute and receive one another peaceably and affectionately: in so much as from that time the whole world seem'd in no point to differ from one well-governed House and Family; and any one might make a journey whither he listed, and travel to what place he pleased, withall imaginable security: and some might without danger pass from the Western to the Eastern Parts; again others might go from hence thither, as 'twere to their own Country: And the Responses of the ancient Oracles were fulfilled, as likewise numerous other predictions of the Prophets, which at present we have not leisure to cite: and moreover, those [Expressions] concerning the Divine Word, which run thus. * He shall have dominion from Sea to Sea, and from the River, unto the ends of the Earth. And again, † In His days righteousness shall rise, and abundance of peace. [And in another place:] || And they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and [their] spears into pruning-hookes; and nation shall not lay hand on sword against nation, and they shall not learn war any more. These things were predicted, and many ages since proclaimed in the Hebrew tongue: which appearing to be actually accomplished in Our days, do confirm the Testimonies of those ancient Oracles. But if, besides these, you desire plenty of other demonstrations, take them, not in words, but in deeds, and realities. Open the eyes of your own mind, and set open the Gates of thought. Forbear speaking for some time, and consider with your self. Ask your self, and enquire as 'twere of some other person, and make researches into the Nature of affairs in this manner. What King from the utmost memory of men; or Prince; or Philosopher; or Law-giver; or Prophet whether Greek or Barbarian, ever attained to so much power and authority, (I do not say after death, but whilst He was yet living, and breathing, and was able to perform many things;) as to fill the ears and tongues of all men upon earth, with [the Glory] of His own name? 'Tis certain, no person hath performed this, except only Our One Saviour, after that Victory gain'd over Death: when He both * gave His disciples a Command in words, and also afterwards actually accomplished it. † Go therefore, said He to them, make disciples of all nations in my name. And when He had foretold and affirmed to them, that His Gospel should be Preacht thorowout the whole world, for a Testimony to all Nations; to His words He forthwith added the actual completion of the thing. Immediately therefore, and not after a long interval of time, the whole world was filled with His Doctrine. What then has He to return in answer hereto, who at the beginning of this Oration blamed us; especially in regard the Testimony || of the eyes is superiour to all manner of * reasoning? But, who hath chased away that always-noxious and destructive Tribe of Dæmons (which heretofore prey'd upon the whole † Body of mankind, and by the motion and impulse of images shewed many Impostures and delusions amongst men;) by an invisible and potent hand, being as 'twere fierce and raging wild-beasts, from the Flock of men? What other person besides Our Saviour, by an invocation of Himself, and by the purest prayers in His Name put up to the Supream God, hath given a power of driving away the Remains of evil Spirits from among men, to those who with purity and sincerity would follow || that Rule of Living and discipline delivered by Him?

* Or, Embraced all things.

† Or, Pious Doctrine.

|| Ἀπὸ νύσσης μιᾶς. Valesius renders it ex unâ Transennâ. Νύσσα does properly signifie Meta, the Goal of a Race.

* That is, by the Doctrine of Christ which asserted God's Monarchy.

† Or, Goods.

|| Fitted or, made up into peace, &c.

h Ἐξ ἑνὸς φύντες πρὸς. Without doubt it must be written thus, ὑξ ἑνὸς φύντες παῖδες, begotten by one or the same father. The mistake arose from the contracted way of writing. *Vales.*

* Psal. 72. 8.

† Psal. 72. 7.

|| Esai. 2. 4.

* Or, Spake a word to His Confidents.

† Matth. 28. 19.

|| Or, Which is by sight.

* Or, Reason.

† Or, Nature of men.

|| Or, The Life of that Philosophy delivered, &c.

What

[i] Τίς μόνος ὁπλεῖν. The word μόνος can't have a place here. I write therefore from the *Fuketian* Manuſcript, τίς ὅτι τελεῖν παρέδωκεν ἄλλος. ἢ μόνος, &c; *what other perſon, ſave only*, &c. Preſently, the reading muſt be, διὰ δὴ τοῦ ἡμῖν καθ' ὅλης οἰκουμένης ἀνθρώπων; or elſe, as 'tis in the *Fuketian* Copy, διὰ ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλης ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης, *on which account*, ——— *thorowout the whole world*. For ſo *Euſebius* is wont to expreſs himſelf, as in the end of *Chap.* 13. Valeſ.

[i] *What other perſon, ſave onely our Saviour, hath taught his followers to offer unbloudy and rational ſacrifices, which* [*are performed*] *by prayers and* * Θεολογίας, *diſcourſe concerning God.* *a myſterious* * *naming of God? On which account, Altars have been erected thorowout the whole world, and Churches Conſecrated:* [k] *and Divine Miniſtrations of intellectual and rational ſacrifices, are offered up by all Nations to the Only God the Supream King. Who by a ſecret and inviſible power, hath cauſed thoſe ſacrifices, which were uſually* [l] *performed by Bloud and Gore, ſmoak and fire; as likewiſe thoſe cruel and furious ſlaughters of men, and humane Victims, to be aboliſhed and wholly extinguiſhed? In ſo much that, this thing is atteſted even by the very Hiſtories of the Heathens themſelves. For, all thoſe ſacrifices of men in all places of the Earth, were not aboliſhed till after* [*the publication of*] *Our Saviour's Divine Doctrine,* [*namely*] [m] *about the Times of* [*the Emperour*] *Hadrian. Whereas therefore, ſo many cogent arguments and evident demonſtrations do give confirmation to Our Saviour's Might and Power after His death, who is ſo iron-minded, as not together with others to give evidence to the Truth, and not to acknowledge His life* [*to be*] *divine? For great Atchievements* [*are the performances*] *of the Living, not of the dead: and thoſe things which we ſee, do furniſh us with a knowledge of things hidden. Not long ſince indeed, yeſterday as 'twere, a Race of men who fought againſt God; diſturbed the Life of men; turned all things upſide down, and were poſſeſt of great power and ſtrength. But when they were departed from among men; thenceforward they lay upon the earth,* [n] *more contemptible than dung; without breath; without motion; without voice. Nor is there now any account, or any mention made of them. For this is the* * *allotment of the dead. And He that is no longer, is no Body. But,* [o] *what can He do, who is no Body? But on the contrary, He who acts and works, and who is more powerfull than thoſe that are alive, how can He be ſuppoſed not to be? And although He be inviſible to eyes of fleſh, nevertheleſs the* [p] *faculty of judging conſiſts not in ſenſe: nor do we by the ſenſes of the Body perceive the reaſons and Rules of Arts, or Speculations of Sciences. Neither did ever any with His eyes ſee the mind that is in men, much leſs the ſtrength and power of God: but things of this nature are wont to be known and perceived by the works themſelves. Wherefore in our Saviour alſo, 'tis fit we ſhould inſpect and* * *diſcern His inviſible Power and Strength from His Works: namely, whether thoſe many illuſtrious Acts, which even till this preſent time are done by Him, muſt be acknowledged* [*the performances*] *of a perſon living; or whether 'tis to be ſaid, that they are the works of One who is not; or rather whether this queſtion be not altogether fooliſh and* † *incoherent. For, how can any one with reaſon affirm Him to be, who is not? In regard 'tis manifeſt by the conſent and ſuffrages of all, that that which is not, neither has any ſtrength, nor can it act, or operate.* [q] *For this is the Nature of the Living: but* [*the Nature*] *of the dead is contrary.*

* Or, Nature.

* Conſider, or, determine of.

† Or, Inconſiſtent.

[k] *Valeſius* in his note at this place tells us, that the *Geneva-Printers* deſignedly left out this clauſe [νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν θυσιῶν ἱερουργικὰς λειτουργίας, *and Divine Miniſtrations of intellectual and Rational ſacrifices*] becauſe, ſays he, it contained an illuſtrious Teſtimony concerning the unbloudy ſacrifice of the Maſs. But 'tis our Senſtiment, that *Valeſius* had as little ground for this aſſertion, from there words; as the *Geneva-men* had reaſon for that their omiſſion. Our Church in one of its prayers after the celebration of the Euchariſt, makes mention of a *ſacrifice of praiſe and thanksgiving*. And I verily believe, *Euſebius* means no other ſacrifice than that here; witneſs the two Epithets He gives theſe ſactifices, namely νοερῶντε καὶ λογικῶν, *intellectual and rational*.

[l] Καπνῷ τε περιστελλομένας θυσίας. I don't doubt but *Euſebius* wrote καπνῷ τε καὶ πυρὸς ὁπτελομένας θυσίας. τάς τε ὠμὰς, &c; *ſacrifices* ——— *performed by bloud and gore, ſmoke and fire; as likewiſe thoſe cruel*, &c. Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. *Valeſ.*

[m] *Euſebius* took this paſſage out of *Porphyrius's ſecond Book de Abſtinentia*, where he writes thus. καταλυθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας φασὶν τὰς ὑπὸ πάσι φησὶ πάλλας, ὁ ἄειρα τὰ περὶ τοῦ μίθρα συγγραφὰς μυσηείων, ἐφ' ἁδριανοῦ τοῦ ἀυτοκράτορος. That is, *But Pallas, who wrote beſt of all concerning the myſterious Rites of Mithra, ſays that humane Victims were almoſt every where aboliſhed, in the Reign of the Emperour Hadrian.* Which *Lactantius* does likewiſe confirm, in the *Firſt Book of his Divine Inſtitutes, Chap.* 21; in theſe words. *Apud Cyprios,* [In *Thyſius's* Edition 'tis *Apud Cypri Salaminem, At Salamine* [*a City*] *of Cyprus.*] *Humanam hoſtiam Jovi Teucer immolavit; idque ſacrificium poſteris tradidit: quod eſt nuper Hadriano imperante ſublatum. Amongſt the Cypriots, Teucer offered an humane ſacrifice to Jupiter; and delivered that ſacrifice down to poſterity: which was lately aboliſhed in the Reign of Hadrian. Tertullian* in the *ninth Chapter of his Apology* relates, that in *Africa* infants were publickly offered in ſacrifice to *Saturn*, untill *Tiberius's* Proconſulate, who for that reaſon crucified the Prieſts of *Saturn*. And he adds, that the Milice of *his own Country* (or, as ſome Copies have it written, *Patris ſui, of his own father*;) which executed that very office under *Tiberius* the *Proconſul*, were witneſſes of this thing. Whence it appears that the memory of this matter was as yet freſh. For why ſhould he cite the Souldiers or *Apparitors* of the *Proconſular Office* as witneſſes, unleſs ſome of thoſe had been yet alive, or could have been produced, who had attended upon the *Proconſul Tiberius*, at ſuch time as he crucified thoſe Prieſts. Wherefore, that *Proconſulate* of *Tiberius* might be fitly placed upon the times of the Emperour *Hadrian*; eſpecially in regard both *Porphyrius* and *Lactantius* do perſwade us to think ſo. Further, whereas *Pallas* only ſays, that they left off ſacrificing men almoſt every where; *Euſebius* without any exception affirms, that this cuſtom was aboliſhed amongſt all Nations whatever. Which I can ſcarce be induced to believe. For, both *Porphyrius* and *Lactantius*, in their fore-cited books, do atteſt, that *Jupiter Latiaris* was ſtill in their age worſhipped with humane Bloud at *Rome*. Beſides, *Tertullian* witneſſeth in *his Apology*, that in his age Infants were in ſecret ſacrificed to *Saturn*. Valeſ.

[n] Σκυβάλων ἐνθλιπτότερον. *Euſebius* alludes to that famous ſaying of *Heraclitus*, νέκυες κοπρίων ἐνθλιπτότεροι, *the dead are more deſpicable than muck*; of which ſaying *Strabo* makes mention in the end of *his ſixteenth book*, and *Origen* in *his fifth book againſt Celſus*. From whence came this proverbial expreſſion, κοπρίων ἐνθλιπτότερος, ſpoken *concerning a man of no value*. *Pollux, book* 5. *chap.* 46, κοπρίαν ἐνθλιπτότερος, εἰ χρὴ καθ' ἡράκλειτον λέγειν, *more contemptible than dung, if we ſhould ſpeak after the manner of Heraclitus*. *Julian* in *his Oration againſt Heraclius the Cynick*, pag. 421, makes uſe of the ſame ſaying of *Heraclitus*, in theſe words: ὀλιγωρεῖν δὲ πάντη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ, καὶ τὸν ἡράκλειτον, καὶ κοπρίων ἐνθλιπτότερον. ὅπως δὲ ῥᾴστα δὲ αὖπω τὰς θεραπείας ἀπαλλαγῶν, ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ ὀρθόνῃ τὸ σῶμα χρῆσθαι ὀπτάνῃ: *but wholly to deſpiſe the Body, and to account it according to Heraclitus, even more contemptible than dung. But with the greateſt eaſe to perfect its cure, as long as God ſhall order the Body to be uſed as an inſtrument.* Which place I have mended and ſupplied, from *Suidas* in the word ἡράκλειτος. For in the ordinary Editions, this paſſage is corrupt and imperfect. *Valeſ.*

[o] πράξει ἔτι. It muſt be written with an interrogation, thus, ὁ δὲ μηδεὶς ὢν πράξειε τί; *But, what can He do, who is no Body?* And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Manuſcripts* the reading is, πράξειέ τι. *Valeſ.*

[p] Οὐκ ἐν αἰσθήσει τὸ κριτήριον. 'Tis apparent that the reading ſhould be, ἐκ ἐν αἰσθήσει, that is, *judgment is not placed in ſenſe*. Therefore the verb ἐστὶ muſt be underſtood here; which *Chriſtophorſon* apprehended not; for he hath erroneouſly joyned theſe words with the following. There was a great diſpute amongſt the old Philoſophers περὶ κριτηρίου. So they termed *the Rule, whereby the truth of things is judged of by men*. The moſt ancient Philoſophers did not place *that power or faculty* in the Senſes, but in the Reaſon; as *Sextus Empiricus* informs us in *his ſeventh book againſt the Mathematici*. Farther, κριτήριον is taken two ways, *either for the faculty it ſelf, whereby truth is diſcerned*; or elſe *for the inſtrument of that faculty*. *Potamo* the *Philoſopher* termed *the firſt*, ὑφ' ὅ, *from which*; *the ſecond*, δι' ὅ, *by which*; as *Laërtius* tells us, in the *Proëme of his own work*. Valeſ.

[q] Αὕτη γὰρ φύσις νεκρῶν, *For this is the nature of the dead*. The words are miſplaced here; a thing which, as I have already advertized, does frequently happen in *theſe Books*. I write therefore, αὕτη γὰρ φύσις ζώντων. νεκρῶν δὲ ἡ ἐναντία. *For this is the Nature of the Living*: &c. A little before, ſome words are ill repeated, which fault the ſtudious Reader will eaſily mend of himſelf. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII. BUT 'tis here seasonable, that we should inspect the Performances of our Saviour in this our age; and should contemplate the living works of the living God. [a] For how should such Glorious Atchievements as these, not be the living Works of a living person, and of One who truly lives the Life of God? But, do You enquire what those are? Hear them. Not long since, some persons who had proclaimed war against God, with great obstinacy, and no less Power and Military Force, ruined and dug up from their very foundations, the Edifices of his Oratories; and resolved upon rendring His Churches wholly invisible; and with all imaginable Engines and Stratagems fought against Him who is not to be seen with eyes; casting and throwing against Him * the darts of impious Expressions. But the invisible God was avenged on them in an invisible manner. Immediately therefore, by one only Nod of the Deity, they became extinct; [those persons I mean] who a little before lived delicious and pleasant lives and were thrice-happy; who were celebrated amongst all men, as equal with the Gods; who during many periods of years [b] had Governed the Empire gloriously and happily, as long, namely, as there was peace and friendship between them and Him whom they afterwards opposed. But when they changed their minds, and were so audacious as to engage in an actuall war with God; and set their Gods in array against Ours, as their * Leaders and Defenders: immediately, in one moment of time, and by the Beck and Power of that God whom they opposed, they all underwent the deserved punishments of their audacious attempts. In so much that, giving ground to Him with whom they were engaged in war, and turning their Backs upon Him, they acknowledged His divinity as others had done; and hastned to grant and permit the clean contrary to those things, which a little before they had attempted. But our Saviour forthwith erected Victorious Trophies in all parts of the Earth; and did again adorn the whole world afresh, with holy Temples and † Consecrated Oratories: and in every City and Village, in all Countries, and in the desart places of the Barbarians, [c] He dedicated Churches and Temples, to one God the Supream King and Lord of all. Hence also 'tis, that those consecrated places are vouchsafed the name of the Lord; and take their appellation not from men, but from the Supream Lord Himself. For, from Him [d] they have the name of Churches.

[a] Εἰ γὰρ ἐ ζῶντ☩. It must, I think, be worded thus, πῶς γὰρ ἔ ζῶντ☩, with an interrogation; which reading I have followed in my Version. *Vales.*

* Or, Numerous darts of words.

[b] Τὴν εὐχὴν εὐδύναντες ὅτε ἦν τε. This place is corrupted with a double fault: nevertheless 'twas easie to restore it in this manner: διαπρεπῶς πάνυ ἀρχὴν εὐδύναντες ὅτε μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ὕστερον πολεμηθέντα φίλα τε ἦν αὐτοῖς, &c; had governed the Empire, &c. *Eusebius* means *Diocletian* and his Colleagues, who (says he) had governed the Republick gloriously and happily, as long as they maintained a peace with God and with the Churches. But after they attempted to bring a war upon God, and to persecute His most Holy worshippers; immediately all affairs were altered, and put into a worse posture. *Eusebius* says the same in the end of *his eighth Book.* Vales.

* Champions.

† Or, *Splendid Consecrations of Oratories.*

[c] Δεσπότῃ καθιερῶσε. It must, I think, be δεσπότῃ καθιερώσας. ἔνθεν γε, &c. And we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[d] Κυριακῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. I had rather read τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, *the name.* Nothing occurs more frequently in Ecclesiastick writers, than the name of κυριακὰ or *Dominica.* Nor have only the *Greeks* termed *Churches* thus, but the *Germans* also have borrowed this name from the *Greeks*, as *Walafridus Strabo* informs us in *his Book de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, Chap. 7. *Vales.* Hence likewise we have our name for them in *English*, to wit *Churches*; and hence 'tis that the *Scots* call them *Kirks.*

Let Him therefore that has a mind to it, come forth and inform us, who, after so great a Ruine and Devastation, hath raised the sacred Houses from their foundations to so vast an height? Who [*hath bestowed a Resurrection*] *upon those* [*Structures,*] † *wholly despair'd of as to their being rebuilt, and has vouchsafed them a Re-edification, whereby they are become far more splendid and stately, than they had been before?* * *and, which is most to be admired, hath not new-built them after the death of those Enemies of God; but whilst those very persons were yet alive, who had demolished them: in so much that, they themselves with their own mouthes, and by their own Letters recanted their bold attempts: and this they did, not whilst they were surrounded with the delights and pleasures of Life,* (*for thus any one might perhaps suppose, that they performed this* [c] *with a regard to kindness and clemency;*) *but at such time as they were pursued with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven. Who, after so many and such impetuous storms of Persecution, and in the very heat and extremity of dangers, thorowout the whole world kept fixt to the Precepts of His Divine Doctrine, infinite numbers of men that were zealous followers of a Philosophick Life, and strict worshippers of the Deity,* [f] *also women that were in Holy Orders, and Quires of Virgins which Dedicated the whole time of their Lives to a perpetual chastity of body and mind: and taught them abstinence from food, and most willingly to continue without meat and wine during the space of many days, and to* † *lead a hard and austere course of life, with a singular modesty and temperance? Who hath so far prevailed upon women, and numerous multitudes of men, that they should exchange the food of their Bodies, for that rational food that agrees with their rational souls,* [*which food is gotten*] *by* ‖ *a perusal of Divine Lessons? Who hath taught Barbarians and Peasants, women, children and servants, and innumerable multitudes of all Nations, to despise Death; and to perswade themselves, that their Souls are immortal, and that* [g] *there is an Eye of justice which inspects humane affairs; and that they should expect a future judgment from God* [*to pass upon*] *the pious and the impious; and that for that reason, they ought to lead just, holy, and sober lives?*

† Or, *Deprived of all hope.*

* Καὶ ἀνενεώσατο αὐτά. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is, αὐτὰ δὴ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ μέγιστον θαῦμα. which we follow. *Vales.*

[c] Φιλανθρωπίας λογισμῷ. Any one will easily perceive, though I hold my peace, that some words are wanting here. I write therefore, ὅπῃ γὰρ φιλανθρωπίας λογισμῷ τοῦτο πεφύκαι ἀνηρ τάχα ἂν τις νομίσειε, *for thus any one,* &c; which words must be included in a *Parenthesis.* Indeed *Christophorson* seems to have read so, as it appears from his Version. *Vales.*

[f] Γυναικῶν δὲ ἱερείας καὶ χορὸς ἀειπαρθένων. *Christophorson* joyned the word γυναικῶν with the term ἀειπαρθένων, which I don't approve of. For, by the term γυναικῶν, *Eusebius* means those women, who having been deprived of their husbands, consecrated their widowhood to God; and he distinguishes these from the Quires of Virgins. Farther, out of the number of widows, *Deaconnesses* and *Presbytereſſes* were wont to be chosen, as *Epiphanius* attests in the *Heresie of the Collyridiani*, and in the Epilogue of *his Books against Heresies.* Whence 'tis, that at this place *Eusebius* terms them ἱερείας. For those women did in a manner perform the Office of Priests; in regard they instructed women that were to be baptized. But the reading must be, γυναικῶν τε ἱερείας, *also women that were in Holy Orders*; and so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* These women, before they could be chosen *Deaconnesses*, were wont to be examined. Amongst other things, they were asked, whether they had washed the Saints feet; as *Origen* informs us in *his thirty second Tome on Saint* John's *Gospel.* Vales.

† Or, *To make use of the consuinence and strength of a hard life, with,* &c.

‖ Or, *Divine Readings.*

[g] Καὶ δίκης ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπάρχειν. Who sees not that the reading should be δίκης ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπάρχειν, *there is an eye of Justice.* For the

the ancients believed, that Justice had a most quick and sharp eye, which inspected all things that were done by men, and would never wink: which eye they appealed to as a witness, who had been any wayes injured. Nothing occurs more frequently, both amongst the *Grecks* and *Latines*. The *old Poets* words in *Stobæus* are these.

Ἐστὶν δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς, ὡς δὶ ἦπ' ἔχε
Λεύσσων πρησσόντα, πάνθ' ὅμως ἀεὶ βλέπει.

We have not leisure to produce more authorities; nor is it at all necessary, in regard the thing is so well known. Yet *Christophorson* saw not the Emendation of this place. *Vales.*

For 'tis in no wise possible, that those who are not thus disposed, should submit themselves to the yoke of piety. All which egregious performances, are even at this present accomplished, only by Our Saviour. But let us omit these things. Come on, we will now apply our selves to [*a conviction of*] *Him whose mind is as hard as flint, by such interrogatories as these. Tell me, Friend! and utter words that are rational;* * *Let your expressions be the products, not of a foolish and stupid heart, but of a soul endued with reason and understanding. Tell me* [*I say,*] *after you have often and duely weighed the matter with your self. Which of all the Sages who in times past have been famous, was known in the same manner with Our Saviour, and* † *proclaimed so infinite a number of ages since, by the Oracles of the Prophets, amongst the children of the* Hebrews, *anciently God's beloved people? Who in their minds had a fore-knowledge of the place of His Birth, and of the times of His Coming, and of His manner of Life; of His Miracles likewise, of His Discourses, and of His famous actions; and left them on record in the sacred Volumns.* h *Who hath shown Himself so swift a Revenger, of those audacious Attempts against Himself? that, immediately after that impious fact committed against Himself, the whole Nation of the* Jews *should be pursued and punished by an invisible Power, and their Royal Seat utterly demolished and overthrown from its very foundations, and the Temple, together with all the Ornaments and rich furniture therein, levell'd with the Ground. Who hath uttered predictions,* i *both concerning those impious men, and also in reference to the Church founded by Him over the whole world, exactly correspondent to the affairs themselves, and hath actually demonstrated and confirm'd the truth of those Predictions, in such a manner as Our Saviour hath done? Concerning the Temple of the Impious He had said,* *Matth. 23. 38. † See Matt. 24. 2. *Behold, your house is left to you desolate, and,* † *there shall not remain a stone upon a stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down. But concerning His own Church* [*He spake in this manner,*] ‖ *I will build my Church upon a rock, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* ‖ Matt. 16. 18. k *To have brought at first from fishing, men that were contemptible and* * *illiterate; and afterwards to have constituted them Law-givers, and Teachers to the whole world; what, and how mighty a thing does this seem to You? As for His promise to them, that He would make them Fishers of men, He not only uttered it in words, but performed it actually and abundantly: and conferr'd on them so great a degree of strength and power, that they composed writings, and published Books: and the authority of all those Books was so great, that being rendred into all Languages, as well of* Greeks *as* Barbarians, *thorowout the whole world, they are studiously read by all Nations; and the Contents of them are believed to be divine Oracles; of how mighty a prevalency is this, in order to a clear demonstration of His Divinity? How considerable likewise is that, namely that He foretold things future, and, long before it hapned, assured His disciples, that they should be brought before Kings and Princes, and should be punished, and undergo the extreamest of Torments, not for any foul act of their own, but only on account of their confession of His Name? Moreover, that He fitted and prepared them chearfully to endure these things; and so fortified them with the Arms of Piety, that in their Conflicts with their adversaries, their minds appeared firmer than an Adamant; what powerfulness of expression is it, which that matter does not exceed? Likewise, that not only those who had followed Him, but their successours also, and again they who immediately succeeded them, and at length such as have lived in this our present age, should with so undaunted a resolution* * *unite the Forces of their minds; that although they had done nothing worthy of death, yet with pleasure would endure all manner of punishments, and every sort of Torture, on account of their eximious Piety towards the supream God; what degree of admiration does not this surpass? What King did ever continue His Reign during so vast a number of Ages? Who does thus wage war after death, and does erect Trophies over His Enemies; and does subdue every place, Country, and City, as well* Grecian *as* Barbarian; *and does vanquish His Opposers by an invisible and latent* † *Hand? And, which is the chiefest thing of all that hath been hitherto rehearsed,* l *that Peace* * *by His Power procured for the whole world, concerning which we have already spoken what we judged agreeable, how should it not stop the mouthes of all slanderers? In as much as, the Unity and Concord of all Nations, did really concur in time with the Preaching of Our Saviour, and with the Doctrine by Him disseminated over the whole world: and in regard* [*both of them*] *had long before been foretold by the Prophets of God, I mean the* † *Universal Peace of the Nations, and the Doctrine delivered by Christ to the Nations. The whole length of the day would be insufficient for me,* ‖ *Dread Sir! should I attempt to sum up in one, those most clear and cogent arguments of Our Saviour's Divine Power, drawn from the things which are at this present Visible. For no man since the Creation, either amongst the* Grecians *or* Barbarians, *hath ever exerted such mighty Efforts of a Divine Power, as Our Saviour has done.* m *But why do I say men? when as, even they who amongst all Nations are styled Gods, have not been endued with such a mighty power upon Earth.*

h Ἦπις ὠπῶ ταχὺς. Doubtless the reading must be, πῖς ὅπω ταχὺς; in which manner also *Christophorson* seems to have read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

i Ἀυπρὶ τε πρὸι. It must be written πέρι, with the accent cast back to the first syllable; which is done, as often as the *preposition* is set after the word. Presently the reading must be, καταλλήλως τοῖς πράγμασι, *correspondent to the affairs themselves.* For 'tis referred to the word προρρήσεις, *predictions.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis καταλλήλως. *Vales.*

k Ἐξ ἁλείας μεταλαβεῖν πρὸ ἀρχήν. 'Tis a mistake of the Printer, I think, instead of μεταλαβεῖν, *to have brought:* so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

* Or, *Rusticks.*

* Or, *Bring forth fruit, not out of &c.*

† *Prefignified,* or, *declared.*

* Τὰς ψυχὰς νευρώσαι τὰς δυνάμεις, *make the Forces of their minds nervose,* or *sinewie.*

† Or, *Right-hand.*

l Πεπαυσθεῖσαν εἰρήνην. He means the Peace which Christ, at His Birth, bestowed on the *Roman* world. *Vales.*

* Or, *Which by his power reignes over the whole &c.*

† Or, *Worldly.*

‖ *Emperour.*

m Τί δὲ λέγω ἀνθρώπων. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἀνδρῶν; and just before, the reading is, ὅσην ὁ σωτὴς ἡμῖν; not, ὅσην ὁ σωτὴς ὁ ἡμέτερος. *Vales.*

*Or if the thing be otherwise, let Him that is desirous, make it out to us. Let * any of the Philosophers come forth and inform us, what God or* Hero *was ever heard of, from the very first Beginning of Time, who hath delivered to men the Doctrine of an Eternal Life and a celestial Kingdome, in such a manner as Our Saviour hath done: who has induced innumerable multitudes of men thorowout the whole world, to live in a conformity to the Precepts of a Celestial Philosophy; and has perswaded them, that they should † aspire to Heaven, and hope for those Mansions there provided for Pious Souls? What person, whether God, [n] or* Hero, *or man, hath ever * overspread and enlightened the [whole world,] from the rising as far as the setting Sun, with the brightest Beames of His Own Doctrine; running in a manner the same Course with the Sun: in so much that, all Nations where ever inhabiting, perform one and the same worship, to The One God? Who, whether God or* Hero, *hath crush't all the Gods and* Hero's *both* Grecian *and* Barbarian, *and hath made a Law, that no one of them should be esteemed a God; and hath so far prevailed, that this His Law should obtain every where: after which, when He was opposed by all, He Himself, being but One, hath routed the whole Force of His Adversaries, hath vanquished all those who had always been accounted Gods and* Hero's, *and hath brought the matter to this Issue, that all over the whole world, even from its remotest Limits, He Himself should alone be termed The Son of God by all Nations? Who hath commanded them who inhabit this vast Element of the Earth, as well those in the Continent, as them that live in the Isles, that meeting together [every week,] they should observe that termed the Lord's day, and celebrate it as a Festival: [o] and that they should not feed fat their own Bodies, but should make it their business, to enliven and cherish their Soules with Divine instructions? What God or* Hero, *so opposed as Our Saviour hath been, hath erected Victorious Trophies over His Enemies? for from * the first Times hitherto, they have not ceased their Hostilities, both against His Doctrine and People. But He being invisible, by an undiscern'd Power hath advanced His own Servants, together with the Sacred Houses, to the height of Glory. But what necessity is there, with so much of earnestness to attempt a Narrative, of Our Saviour's Divine Performances, which exceed all manner of expression? In as much as, though we be silent, the Things themselves do cry aloud to those, who are possest of Mental Ears. Undoubtedly, this is a new and wonderfull thing, and which was once only seen amongst the Race of mankind; that such signal Blessings as these should be [p] conferred on men; and, that He who really is the only Son of God from all eternity, should be visible on earth.*

CHAP. XVIII. [a] *BUT these things which You have heard from us, will perhaps be superfluous to* [a] Τὰ δὲ You [*Great Sir!*] *Who by experience it Self have frequently been made sensible [of the presence] of Our Saviour's Divinity, and who, not so much in words as deeds, have approved Your Self a Preacher of the Truth to all men. For You Your Self, Dread Sovereign! When You shall have leisure, can relate to us, if You please, innumerable Appearances of Our Saviour shewing You His Divinity; innumerable Visions in Your sleep: I mean not those Suggestions of His to You, which to us are secret and inexplicable; but those divine Councils and Advises infused into Your mind, and which are productive of matters universally advantagious, and every way usefull, in reference to the Care and Providence of Humane affairs. You will likewise unfold to us, in such a manner as they deserve, the apparent assistances of God Your Defender and Keeper in Your Wars: the Ruine of Your Enemies, and those that combin'd and plotted against You: Your Rescues in dangers: Your ready and expedite knowledge in difficulties: Your defence in Solitudes: Your * industry and readiness in straits and distresses: Your fore-knowledges of things future: Your Provident Care in reference to the whole of affairs: Your deliberations concerning matters uncertain and obscure: Your undertakings in relation to the most momentous Things: Your Administration of Civil matters: Your Ordering of Your Military Forces: Your † Reformations every where: Your Constitutions in reference to publick Right: Lastly, Your Laws, which are of singular use to the Lives of men. You will likewise without any Omission recount each of those matters, which are obscure to us, but most apparently manifest to Your Self alone, and are kept deposited in Your Imperial Memory, as in some secret Treasuries. In regard to all which particulars, as 'tis likely, when You had made use of the very same clear and cogent Arguments of Our Saviour's [Divine] Power, You raised a ‖ Basilica, as a Trophy of His Victory gain'd over Death, a Fabrick which You design'd all should view, as well the Faithfull as Infidels; and an Holy Temple of the Holy God; and most stately, splendid, and glorious Monuments of an immortal Life and a divine Kingdom; and [You gave] sacred Gifts [in memory] of the Victory of Our Saviour the Supream King, [Gifts] that are every way suitable to the Donour, and which do most exactly [b] befit an Emperour [who is a* Victor.] *Wherewith You have adorned that* Martyrium *and Monument of immortal Life, that [c] in Royal Characters You might express and represent the Celestial Word of God to be the* Victor *and Triumpher, [d] to all Nations; and, as well really as verbally, might publish a Pious and Religious Confession of God, in expressions which are clear, and that can't be obscur'd.*

[n] Ἢ ἡ ἥρως ἄλλος ἀνθρωπος. *Christophorson* has expung'd the last word, which is not ill done. Nevertheless it may be read, ἢ ἡ ἀνθρωπος, *or man.* Or else, μᾶλλον ἀνθρωπος, *much less man.* Valesius.

[o] Καὶ αὐτὰ σώματα παίνειν, *and to fatten their own Bodies.* I know indeed, that it was the *Christians* usage to feast more plentifully and splendidly on Sundays. But the word παίνειν, *to fatten,* or *feed fat,* is no fitting term to be used concerning *Christians.* Wherefore I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ἡ τὰ σώματα παίνειν, *and that they should not, &c.* Valesius.

[p] Τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐυηνοχέναι. *Christophorson* seems to have read ἀνθρωπον, as it appears from his Version, which runs thus, *Ut Homo tam egregia facinora ederet, that a man should perform such signal and extraordinary Actions.* But the *Fuketian Copy* hath opened to us the true reading of this place; which runs thus, τὸ, ἀνθρώποις ἐυηνοχέναι τὰ τοιαδὶ, ἡ τὸν ἀληθῶς, &c; *that such signal Blessings,* &c. For *Eusebius* means all those Blessings, which he has particularly reckoned up above: all which were conferred on men by Christ's coming down upon earth. *Valesius.*

[a] Τὰ δὲ

ἂν ἡ ἄλλως εἴη. Some words are wanting here; which we may supply thus, σοὶ βασιλεῦ, *to You O Emperour!* But the *Fuk. Copy* hath given us the true reading: where 'tis thus worded; ᾠετο δ' ἂν ἡ ἄλλως εἴη τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν σοὶ ἀκκόμοθα, and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valesius.*

* *Searches,* or, *discoveries.*

† Or, *Emendations in each particular.*

‖ See *His Life of Constant. B. 3. chap. 43. note (c.)*

[b] Ὅτι εἰκὸς βασιλεῖ. I am of opinion, that the word νικητῇ, *Victor,* is to be added after these words; not for this reason only, because *Constantine* had the surname of *Victor* given him; but also, in regard this word makes a great elegance here. For *Eusebius* says, that those sacred Gifts which *Constantine* gave to the *Jerusalem-Church,* (because they are the monuments of the Victory of Christ the Supream King,) do incomparably well befit an Emperour that is a *Victor.* Valesius.

[c] Βασιλικοῖς χαρακτῆσιν. I have rendred it *Regios Apices, Royal Letters* or *Characters.* For so *Eusebius* is wont to express himself as I have remark'd otherwhere. He says therefore, that *Constantine,* by that most magnificent Fabrick, and those most rich sacred Gifts, wherewith he had adorned the Sepulchre of Christ, (as 'twere by Royal Letters set up in some publick place,) had proclaimed Christ the Victor and Triumpher to all people. *Valesius.*

[d] Πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. With these words the *Fuketian Copy* does close *Eusebius's Panegyrick.* 'Tis certain, the words which follow, are but little necessary, nor do they seem to me to be *Eusebius's.* Valesius.

THE END.

THE

THE INDEX

Of the Chief Matters contained in the Text of theſe

HISTORIANS.

The Firſt Number ſhews the Page; the Second, the Column.

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Abari or *Abares*, a *Scythick* Nation, being heavily oppreſt by the *Turks*, leave their habitation, and come to the *Boſphorus*. 500. 1. at length lodge themſelves on the banks of the *Danube*. ibid. They make an excurſion as far as the *Long Wall*, and take many Cities. 519. 2.

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